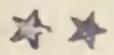


Lemuel Adams.

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C A T O's
LETTERS.

V O L. II.



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LETTERS

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C A T O ' s
L E T T E R S.

S I R,



WHILE I have been reading History, or considering the State of humane Affairs, how wofully they are neglected, how foolishly managed, or how wickedly disconcerted and confounded, in the most and best Countries: When I have remembered how large, every where, is the Source of Mischief, how easily it is set a running, and how plentifully it flows; how it is daily breaking into new Channels, and yet none of the old ones

are ever suffered to wax dry ; I have been apt to wonder, that the general Condition of Mankind, tho' already vastly unhappy, is not still worse.

Pope *Æneas Sylvius* must have had such Reflections as these, when he said, that *This World did, in a great Measure, govern itself*. He had many Examples before his Eyes, how easy it was to govern wretchedly, and yet continue to govern. The Papacy it self might particularly have furnished him with many Examples. It is a Fairy Dominion, founded upon Non-Entities, Inventions, and Abominations ; supported by Lies and Terrors ; exercised with Cruelty, Craft, and Rapine ; and producing Meanness, Delusion, and Poverty, where-ever it prevails.

What could appear more strange, incredible, and shameful, than to see a mean Monk, residing in a Corner of the World, and ruling and plundering it all ; living in Crimes, Pride, and Folly, and controuling *Christendom* by the Sounds of Humility, Holiness, and Infallibility ; subsisting upon the Spoils and Industry of Nations, and engaging Nations in a blind Conspiracy against themselves, for the Defence of their Oppressor ; pronouncing the Peace of God to Mankind, and animating Mankind to continual Quarrels and Slaughters ; declaring himself the Vicar of Christ, and making unrelenting War against the Followers of Christ ; and, finally, the Father of *Christendom*, and the Destroyer of Christians.

All this Villainy and Impudence was obvious to common Sense, and felt by long Experience. But how little do Men see, when they

they are taught to be afraid of their Eye-sight! Even the Reformation, one of the greatest Blessings that ever befel *Europe*, has but partially removed this mighty and enormous Usurpation. The Root of the Evil still remains; and Men are not yet weary of fighting about Words, Subtilties, Chimeras, and about the Shape of their Thoughts and Imagination; a Thing as much out of their own Power, as the Shape of their Limbs, or the Motion of the Winds: The Issue and Design of all which is, that their Leaders in Strife reap the Fruits of it, and gather the Spoils, the whole Spoils of those Battles, in which Craft only blows the Trumpet, while Ignorance weilds the Sword, and runs all the Danger.

If in this, as in other Wars, none would fight but those that are paid, or find their Account in fighting, the Combatants would soon be reduced to a few; and they too would quickly leave a Field where there was no Booty.

Will the World never learn, that one Man's Corn grows not the worse, because another Man uses different Words in his Devotion? That Pride and Anger, Wealth and Power, are of no Religion? And that Religion is inseparable from Charity and Peace?

I am told, that the famous Combustion, raised some Years ago at *Hamburgh*, by one *Krumbultz*, a Divine, and in which that free City had like to have perished, was occasion'd by this momentous Question, namely, whether in the Lord's Prayer we should say, *Our Father*, or, *Father our* ——— A hopeful Point of De-

bate, to be the Cause of Civil Dissention, and a true Specimen of the Importance and Consequences of Ecclesiastical Disputes, and of the Spirit of those that manage them!

It is a shameful Satire upon the Wickedness of some, and the Weakness of others, thus to endanger the Peace of Society and their own, for the Sake of a Sound; to be thus eager for Trifles; and thus to concern Heaven and Earth in behalf of Conceits, which of themselves concern neither: but, as they are generally managed, do both provoke God and hurt Men. But so it will ever be, as long as Men, in Possession of Reverence, find their Ends and Gratifications in fetching knotty Distinctions out of the plain Word of God, and making them of equal Importance with it.

Thus unhappy has the greatest Part of the World been, and is in its Ghostly Government; two Words which are a Contradiction to each other; since the Mind and Understanding, in which alone all Religion that is rational doth reside, can never be altered or controuled by any other Means, than that of Counsel, Reasoning, and Exhortation; which Method is utterly inconsistent with Force and positive Authority, as the same are implied in the Idea of Government.

Nor can I say, that Mankind have been more happy in their Civil Lot, and in their Administration of their Temporal Affairs, which are almost every where in a wretched Situation, and they themselves under the Iron Hand of the Oppressor. The whole Terra-queous Globe cannot shew Five free Kingdoms;
nor

nor perhaps half so many Kings, who make the Ease and Prosperity of their People their Care.

In enslaved Countries, (that is, in all Countries, except our own, and a very few more) the Good of the Governed is so far from entering into the Hearts and Counsels of the Governors; that it is opposite to the Genius of their Politicks, either to do them good, or to suffer them to acquire it for themselves. Their Happiness and Security, which are the very Ends of Magistracy, would be terrible to their Magistrates; who, being the publick Enemies of their Country, are forced, for their own Safety, to leave their People none.

How vile is that Government, and those Governors, whose only Strength lies in Whips and Chains; a sort of Instruments of Servitude, which it would much bet er become the Baseness of these Mens Natures to wear themselves, than to inflict upon others! A Prince of Slaves is a Slave; he is only the biggest and the worst; just as the Chief of the Banditti is one of them. Such a Prince is but a National Executioner, and for a Scepter he carries a bloody Knife.

Such, for the most part, by far the most part, are the Governors of the World: They derive their whole Greatness, Plenty, Splendor, and Security, from the Misery, Poverty, Peril, and Destruction of the Governed. Whoever makes just, equal, and impartial Laws, does, by doing so, but declare to the People, *Be Wicked at your Peril*: But he who rules them by Terrors and Standing Armies, does, in Ef-

fect, tell them in a terrible Tone, *be Happy if you dare.*

Who that has humane Compassion, can help feeling the Sorrows of his wretched Race, and behold, unconcerned, the forlorn and abject State of Mankind? Monks deceiving, alarming, and spunging them; their Governors taxing, mulcting, and squeezing them; Soldiers harassing, oppressing, and butchering them! And, in short, all the bitter Evils and crying Miseries in humane Power to inflict, deliberately and daily inflicted upon them! Nor do Things mend; on the contrary, the Mischiefs and Misfortunes of the World grow hourly greater, and its Inhabitants thinner.

All these black Considerations would lead a Man, who had no other Spirit or Guide but that of Nature, to think that Providence, tempted by the Sins of Men, had long ago renounced them, or signed a Decree of Vengeance against them, which has ever since been dreadfully executed, and continues to be.

If one was to consider Mankind in Theory only, his own Species would make no small Figure in his Imagination; he would see them formed by a divine Hand, and according to a divine Model; possessed of all the Advantages of Strength and Contrivance, guided by Reason, made wise by Observation, and cautious by their own Foresight and the Experience of others; directed by Laws and humane Constitutions; rendered discerning by the frequent Trials of Good and Evil, and many of them enlightened by divine Revelation: He would see them Lords of the Creation, Arbiters of
their

their own Condition and Felicity, invested with the Property and Use of Sea and Land, and with Dominion over every other Creature.

Thus Mankind appear in Speculation, powerful, wise, just, equal, and happy. But view'd in another Light, they make another Appearance. They use one another worse than they do the Beasts of the Field; and, by the wretched and monstrous Oeconomy and Government, almost every where found amongst them, they would seem not to have more Understanding, as they have certainly less Happiness. The Beasts do no where appoint or suffer one of their own Herd to monopolize the whole Soil, to engross every Advantage to himself, and to deprive them of all; and to kill and destroy, to disperse and to starve them at his Pleasure. Every one of them equally enjoys the Shelter and Pasture, the Air and the Water, which Nature makes common to them all.

But Men, their Masters, cannot boast such Security and Justice; they generally live at the meer Mercy of One, one of themselves, whose Views suffer him to have no Mercy. He is often a Madman, often an Idiot, and often a Destroyer; and the whole Art of his Government consisting in oppressing and terrifying, no other Talent is required, but a merciless Spirit and brutal Force.

Such is an Arbitrary Prince, and the Descendants of *Adam* know few others. Sometimes a Creature is seen to start into Imperial Power, whom the World never knew before, or knew only for his Infamy: Taken out of the Stews,

or out of a Dungeon, into a Throne; and without knowing how to rule himself, he rules an Empire; living a Recluse, and seen by no Body, he governs all but the Women or Parasites, who govern him; Millions of Men, and their Properties, are at the sole Discretion of one who has none, and a Creature void of Humanity disposes wantonly of a great Part of humane Kind.

This is the dismal State of all *Asia* and of all *Africa*, except a few free Towns. The Spirit of their Monarchs, which is generally alike, may be seen in a Story (among many others) which *Knox* tells us of the King of *Ceylon*, who, being in Danger of Drowning, was saved by the officious Affection or Ambition of one of his Slaves, who leap'd into the Water, and ventur'd his own Life to preserve his Master's. This, one would think, was the greatest and most heroick Kindness that one Man could do another. But mark how the Monarch requites it! why, the first Thing he did after he came to himself, was to order the Belly of his Preserver to be rip'd up, for daring to touch the Person of his sacred Majesty.

Nature has prepar'd many Advantages and Pleasures for the Use of Mankind, and given them Taste to enjoy them, and Sagacity to improve them: But their Governors do, almost universally, frustrate the kind Purposes of Nature, and render her Beneficence abortive, and marr all human Happiness. They have successfully studied the Arts of Misery, and propagated the Practice.

It is a melancholly Reflection, that when human Affairs are put into a bad Way, where they do not speedily recover, they never recover, or rarely ever. One great Reason is, that Power is always on the worst Side, and either promoting Mischief, or preventing its Removal; and the Champions of Dishonesty and Oppression are more artful and better paid, than the Patrons of Justice and Innocence.

It has hitherto been the good Fortune of *England*, (and I hope always will be) when Attempts have been made upon its Liberty, to recover it before it was quite gone, at least before the Sense of it was gone. And therefore it still subsists in spite of all the powerful, popular, and sanctified Attacks that have been made, and frequently made, upon it. Let us make much of it; while it remains, it will make us amends for all the Losses and Mischances which we have fallen under, or may fall under, and will enable us to get the better of them. It is the Root of our Felicity, and all our Civil Advantages grow from it. By it we exceed almost all other Nations many more Degrees, than some of them exceed us in Sun and Soil: We are Men, and they are Slaves. Only Government founded upon Liberty, is a publick Blessing; without Liberty, it is a publick Curse, and a publick Warrant for Depredation and Slaughter.

Let us therefore remember the mighty Difference between our selves and other Nations, and the glorious Cause of it, and always dearly cherish it. We are not the Prey of Monks, or Janizaries, or Dragoons, nor the blind Slaves
of

of unaccountable Will and Pleasure. Our Lives and Properties are secur'd by the best Bulwark in the World, that of Laws, made by our selves, and executed by our Magistrates, who are likewise made by us ; and when they are dishonestly executed, or wilfully neglected, our Constitution affords a Remedy, a tried and a practicable Remedy. And as no Nation ever lost its Liberty but by the Force of foreign Invaders, or the domestick Treachery of its own Magistrates ; we have the Sea and a great Navy for our Defenders against the former ; and Exorbitances of the other are prevented or restrain'd by an excellent Counterpoise, in the Frame of our Legislature.

That we may be for ever able to boast of all these Blessings, these glorious and uncommon Blessings, is the cordial Wish and passionate Prayer of

Yours, &c.

S I R,

I Shall, in this Paper, consider and discuss a great Point, namely, Whether the Killing of *Julius Caesar* was a Virtue, or a Crime? And because Dr. *Prideaux*, who condemns it, does not only speak his own Sense, but that of a great Party, I shall here transcribe what he says of it.

“ He was murder'd in the Senate-House, by
 “ a Conspiracy of Senators. This was a most
 “ base

“ base and villainous Act, and was the more so
 “ in that the prime Authors of it, *Marcus*
 “ *Brutus, Decimus Brutus, Cassius,* and *Trebonius,*
 “ and some others of them, were such as *Cæsar*
 “ had in the highest Manner oblig’d ; yet it
 “ was executed under the Notion of an high
 “ heroick Virtue, in thus freeing their Country
 “ from one whom they call’d a Tyrant ; and
 “ there are not wanting such as are ready, even
 “ in our Days, to applaud the Act. But di-
 “ vine Justice declar’d it self otherwise in this
 “ Matter : For it pursued every one of them
 “ that were concerned herein, with such a just
 “ and remarkable Revenge, that they were
 “ every Man of them cut off in a short Time
 “ after, in a violent Manner, either by their
 “ own, or other Mens Hands.

These are the Doctor’s Words, and this his
 Judgment, which is roundly pass’d ; but how
 justly, I hope to make appear before I have
 ended this Letter. He has not told us what it
 was, that, in his Opinion, rendered the Person
 of *Cæsar* so very inviolable. That *Cæsar* had
 for his Title, only Power and Success gain’d by
 Violence, and all wicked Means, is most cer-
 tain. That the acquiring and exercising of
 Power by Force, is Tyranny, is as certain ;
 nor did ever any reasonable Man say, that Suc-
 cess was a Proof of Right. They who make
 the Person of *Cæsar* sacred, declare the Person of
 a Tyrant, and an Usurper, to be sacred ; for
 no Man ever lived, to whom those two Cha-
 racters do more notoriously belong. And if all
 the Privileges and Impunity belonging to a law-
 ful Magistrate, who protects his People, and
 rules

rules himself and them by Law, and their own Consent, do also appertain to a lawless Intruder, who is stronger than all, by being worse than all; and under the mock Name of a publick Magistrate, is a publick Oppressor, Scourge, Usurper, Executioner, and Plunderer: Then all these blessed Consequences follow: That there is an utter End of all publick and private Right and Wrong; every Magistrate may be a Tyrant, and every Tyrant is a lawful Magistrate: That it is unlawful to resist the greatest humane Evil; that the necessary Means of Self-Preservation are unlawful; that tho' tis lawful and expedient to destroy little Robbers, who have as much Right, and more Innocence, than Great Ones, and who are only so for Subsistence; yet it is impious and unlawful to oppose great Robbers, who out of Lust, Avarice, Cruelty, or Wantonness, take away Life and Property, and destroy Nations at Pleasure: That real, great, and general Mischief, is defended by giving it a good Name, by which he who commits it is protected; and that Violence, Fraud, and Oppression may be committed with Security, if they be but call'd Magistracy; and the execrable Authors of them are not only safe, but sacred, if they be but call'd Magistrates: That tho' it be unlawful to be a publick Destroyer and Murderer, yet it is unlawful to destroy him; that is, it is unlawful to prevent or punish that which is most impious and unlawful: And finally, that any Man who can oppress and enslave the World, and destroy Nations, with the most and best Men in them, may do all this with Impunity.

If *Julius Cæsar* was a lawful Magistrate, then every Man who has Force and Villainy enough, may make himself a lawful Magistrate; and lawful Magistrates are, or may be made by Force and Villainy. But if Magistracy is not acquired by over-turning with the Sword all Law and Magistracy, then *Julius Cæsar* was no Magistrate; and if he was not, how came he by the Rights and Impunity with which lawful Magistrates only are vested?

Against any Man using lawless Force, every Man has a Right to use Force. What Crime would it have been in any *Roman*, or Body of *Romans*, even without any Commission from *Rome*, to have slain *Alarick*, or *Attila*, or *Brennus*, when they invaded the *Roman* Territories? And what more Right had *Cæsar* than they? In Truth, his Crime was infinitely greater than theirs, as he added the Sins of Ingratitude, Treachery, and Parricide, to that of Usurpation. The *Goths* and *Gauls* did indeed violate the Laws of Nations, in molesting and invading a Country, that owed them neither Subjection nor Homage: But *Cæsar* violated the Laws of Nature, and of his Country, by enslaving those whom he was entrusted and bound to defend.

Every Body, I believe, will own, that when he first made War upon his Country, his Country had a Right to make War upon him; and to destroy him, who sought to destroy them. And how came that Right to cease after he had, by his Success in Villainy and Usurpation, added to his Crimes, and made Death still more his Due? Or is it lawful to resist and kill a
 Robber

Robber before he has taken away your Money, but not after he has done it? And does a Villain grow sacred and inviolable, by the meer Merit of compleating his Villainy? If *Cæsar* had forfeited his Life, as he certainly had by all the Laws of *Rome*; why was it not as lawful to take it away by the Hands of Thirty Men, as by the Arms of Thirty Thousand, and in the Senate as well as in the Field?

The Reason why one private Man must not kill another in Society, even when he does that which deserves Death, is, That in Society no Man must be his own Judge, or take his own Revenge; but the more equitable Law must give it him, and there are Judges established for that Purpose. But if the Offender sets himself above the Law and the Judges, he leaves a Right to the Person injured to seek Redress his own Way, and as he can get it. Whoever puts himself in a State of War against me, gives me a Right of War against him; and Violence is a proper Remedy for Violence, when no other is left.

That Right which, in the State of Nature, every Man had, of repelling and revenging Injuries, in such manner as every Man thought best, is transferred to the Magistrate, when Political Societies are formed, and Magistracy established; but must return to private Men again, when the Society is dissolved: Which Dissolution may happen either through the natural Demise of the Persons entrusted with the publick Authority, where there is no Provision made in the Constitution for others to succeed them; or when by a superior unlawful Force,
they

they are restrained from answering the great End of their Trust, in protecting the Innocent; an End for which alone Men part with their natural Rights, and become the Members and Subjects of Society.

It is a most wicked and absurd Position, to say that a whole People can ever be in such a Situation, as not to have a Right to defend and preserve themselves, when there is no other Power in Being to protect and defend them; and much more so, that they must not oppose a Tyrant, a Traytor, an universal Robber, who by Violence, Treachery, Rapine, infinite Murders and Devastations, has deprived them of their legal Protection.

Now, that all these black Characters belonged to *Cæsar*, is indisputable Fact; nor was there ever a Traytor and a Tyrant in the World, if he was not one. He broke, outrageously broke, every Tye that can bind a humane Soul; Honour, Virtue, Religion, Law, Trust, Humanity, and every Thing that is sacred and valuable amongst Men. He was a Subject and Servant of the *Roman* Commonwealth, greatly honour'd and trusted by it; he was a Senator and High-Priest; he had been Consul; he was General of one of its greatest Armies, and Governor of one of its greatest and best Provinces. All this Power and Credit, all these Offices and Forces, he turn'd ungratefully, barbarously, and traiterously upon his Masters, and made a Prey of his Country with its own Money and Arms.

The Means by which he did this mighty and consummate Evil, were suitable to the End. He
stuck

stuck at nothing; nor was any Pitch of Baseness too high or too low for him. He even submitted his Person to infamous and unnatural Prostitution, for the Ends of Ambition; and from a Boy was in every Faction for embroiling and overturning the State; first in the bloody Measures of *Marius*; and afterwards in the more terrible Conspiracy of *Catiline*, to murder the Consuls and the Senate, to burn *Rome*, and to enslave the Commonwealth: And tho' he fail'd in that Conspiracy, he went on conspiring; he corrupted the People, and headed Parties of Desperadoes, to frighten those whom he could not bribe: He oppress'd the Provinces, and destroy'd their Inhabitants; he robb'd the Publick Temples; he slaughter'd the Armies of the Republick; he seiz'd the publick Treasure; and at last, he seiz'd the World, and extinguish'd its Liberty. Hear the dismal Dread of the *Roman* Senate and People, upon that dreadful Occasion, as the same is described by *Lucan*.

— *Fuit hæc mensura timoris,
Velle putant quocunque; potest —
Omnia Cæsar erat; privatæ curia vocis
Testis adest. Sedere patres, censere parati.
Si regnum, si Tempia sibi, jugulumque Senatus,
Exiliumque petat.* —

Lucan. Pharsal. L. 3. v. 99.

Thus fell *Rome*, the Glory and Mistress of the Earth, and the Earth with it, under the Yoke of a Tyrant, whose Parts encreas'd his Guilt, and made him the more dreadful. From
the

the numberless Mischiefs he had done to get Power, the highest were apprehended from him now he was possessed of it; and it was not doubted but he would have proceeded to Massacre and Conflagration, had he been provoked by Opposition.

— *Namque ignibus atris*

Creditur ut captæ rapturus Mania Romæ,

Lucan. ut supra, v. 108.

And therefore most of the Senators were fled with *Pompey*, and *Rome* was left defenceless to the Sword of the Usurper.

What now had the *Romans* to do in this calamitous Case, under this enormous Oppressor; owing them Duty and Allegiance as one of their own Citizens, but like a barbarous Conqueror and an Alien, holding them in Bonds with his Sword at their Throats? Law, Liberty, and Appeals were no more! A Tyrant was their chief Magistrate, and his Will their only Law. Because he had murder'd one half of the People, had he therefore a Right to govern the rest? And because he had robbed them of most of their Property, were they obliged to give him the Remainder? Does the Success of a Criminal sanctify his Crime, or are Crimes sanctified by their Greatness? If only an Intention to destroy the State, was High Treason and Death; how did the executing of that execrable Intention become lawful Government, and acquire a Right of Allegiance?

I say, what remain'd now to the *Romans* to be done for Relief? As to legal Process against
Cæsar,

there could be none ; *omnia Caesar erat !* Nor was there any publick Force great enough to oppose him. He had before destroyed or corrupted the Armies of the Commonwealth. Or, if a new Army could have been drawn together, ought an Opportunity to have been given him to have destroyed that too ? Or, was it lawful to kill him and Twenty or Thirty Thousand Men with him, and perhaps with the like Slaughter on the other Side, and with the Loss of the best and bravest *Romans* whom his Ambition had left unmurdered ; and yet was it unlawful to kill him, without all this Apparatus, Expence, and Mischiefe ? Strange ! that the killing by Surprize a single Traytor and Parricide, who had forfeited his Life by all the Laws of God and Man, should be esteemed a heinous and crying Crime ; and yet that the surprizing and cutting to Pieces a whole Army should be reckoned heroick Virtue !

It was a known Maxim of Liberty amongst the great, the wise, the free Antients, that a Tyrant was a Beast of Prey, which might be killed by the Spear as well as by a fair Chace, in his Court as well as in his Camp ; that every Man had a Right to destroy one who would destroy all Men ; that no Law ought to be given him who took away all Law ; and that, like *Hercules's* Monsters, it was glorious to rid the World of him, whenever, and by what Means soever, it could be done.

If we read the Stories of the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity, (Men of whom the present World is not worthy) and consider the
 Actions

Actions that gain'd them their highest Reverence and Renown, and recommended their Names to Posterity with the most Advantage; we shall find those in the first Rank of Glory, who have resisted, destroyed, or expelled Tyrants and Usurpers, the Pests, the Burthens, and the Butchers of Mankind. What can be more meritorious, what more beneficent to the World, than the saving of Millions of Men at the Expence of one grand Murderer, one merciless and universal Plunderer! And can there be any better or other Reason given for the killing of any guilty Man, but the preserving of the Innocent? Indeed, an Action so glorious to those that did it, and so benevolent and advantageous to those for whom it was done, could never have been censured in the World, if there had not lived in all Ages, abject Flatterers, and servile Creatures of Power, always prepared to sanctify and abet any the most enormous Wickedness, if it was gainful: And these are they who have often misled good Men into the worst Prejudices.

Timoleon, one of the wisest and most virtuous Men that ever blessed this Earth, spent a long and glorious Life in destroying Tyrants; he killed or caused to be killed his own Brother, when he could not perswade him to lay down an usurp'd Power, and no other Means were left to save his Country. And if this Action cost him afterwards much Grief and Melancholly, it was owing to his own tender Heart, and the Curses and Reproaches of a Mother otherwise indulgent. He was even censured for this his Sorrow, as if it got the better of his

his Love to Mankind ; and when he at last overcame it, he shew'd that it was not occasioned for having slain a Tyrant, but his Brother ; for he immortalized the rest of his Life in doing nothing else but destroying Tyrants, and restoring Liberty.

But if the killing *Cæsar* was so great a Crime, how comes *Catiline* to be still so universally detested for only intending what *Cæsar* accomplished ? It is true, *Cæsar* did not burn *Rome*, nor did he save it out of any Tenderness to it, but saved it for himself : He spared Fire only, because the Sword was sufficient. I would here ask another Question — If *Oliver Cromwell* had died by any of the numerous Conspiracies formed to take away his Life ; would Posterity have condemned the Action for this Reason alone, that it was done the only Way it could be done ?

But there is an Instance in the *Roman* History, that will set this Matter yet in a fuller Light — it is the Story of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* Slave and Gladiator, who bid fair for being Lord of the *Roman* World. He seems to me to have had personal Qualifications and Abilities, as great as those of *Cæsar*, without *Cæsar's* Birth and Education, and without the Measure of *Cæsar's* Guilt. For I hope all Mankind will allow it a less Crime in any Man to attempt to recover his own Liberty, than wantonly and cruelly to destroy the Liberty of his Country.

It is astonishing to consider, how a poor Slave from the Whip and the Chain, and followed only by about Seventy fugitive Gladiators,

tors, should begin a Revolt from the most powerful State that ever the World saw; should gather and form by his Courage and Dexterity a formidable Army; should inspire Resolution and Fidelity into the very Dregs of Mankind; should qualify his sudden Soldiers, composed of Thieves and Vagabonds, to face and defeat the *Roman* Legions, that were a Terror to the World, and had conquer'd it; and should keep together, without Pay or Authority, a raw and lawless Rabble, till he had vanquished Two *Roman* Armies, and one of them a *Prætorian* Army: And even when *Crixus*, his Fellow-Commander, envying his Glory and Success, had withdrawn from him, and carried with him a great Number of his Forces, and was cut to Pieces with Twenty Thousand of of his Men, by *Q. Arrius* the Prætor, yet he still continued to conquer. He beat that very *Arrius* that had killed *Crixus*; he defeated *Lentulus* the Consul; and he overcame *L. Gellius* another Consul; and in all likelihood, had he not been weakened by the above Defection of *Crixus*, he had beat *Crassus* too, and seen himself Lord of *Rome*.

Now I would ask the Advocates of lawless Power, the Friends to the Life and Name of *Cæsar*, whether *Spartacus*, if he had succeeded in his last Battle against *Crassus*, had been lawful and irresistible King of *Rome*? And whether the Senate and People of *Rome*, with the greatest Part of the known World, would have owed him Duty and Allegiance? Or would he not have continued still a Thief and a Robber? And if he had continued so, then by
all

all the Laws of Nature and Self-Preservation, as well as by the municipal Laws of every Country in the World, every Man was at Liberty to seize him how he could, and to kill him if he resisted, or run away.

Tell me. O ye unlimited Slaves, ye Beasts of lawless Power, ye loyal Levellers of Right and Wrong! how came *Cæsar* by a better Title to Dominion than *Spartacus* had, whose Sword was as good, tho' not quite so prosperous and destructive, as *Cæsar's*? Tell me where lay the Difference between them, unless in their different Success, and that *Spartacus* was as great a Man, but *Cæsar* a greater Traytor and Tyrant?

Indeed, had Sir *Robert Filmer*, or any other of the honest and sage Discoverers of *Adam's* right Heir, lived in those Days (as they have done since, and plainly pointed him out) and complimented *Cæsar*, as doubtless they would, with a lineal and hereditary Title from *Æneas*, wandering Prince of Troy; he might have been called the Lord's Anointed, as well as others, and his Assassination accounted Rebellion, and worse than the Sin of Witchcraft. But as I do not find that *Cæsar*, tho' he valued himself upon his Descent from the pious Trojan Heroe, did yet claim any dictatorial Right by Virtue of his illustrious Parentage; I have therefore taken Liberty to treat him as a meer Traytor, an Usurper, and a Tyrant.

I am, &c.

S I R,

S I R,

HAVING proved in my last, I think unanswerably, that *Cæsar* was rightly killed; I will here inquire, whether *Brutus* and the other Tyrannicides did right in killing him? And methinks, if it has been shewn that he ought to have been slain as an Enemy to every Roman Citizen, and virtuous Man; every Roman Citizen, and every virtuous Man, had a Right to slay him.

But since there are in our World so many little and cramped Spirits, who dare not think out of the vulgar Path, tho' ever so crooked and dark, and perhaps first struck out by Ignorance or Fraud: Narrow Minds, which lock'd up in received Systems, see all Things through false Mirrors, and as they are represented by strong Prejudices, prevailing Customs, and very often by Corruption and Party-Interest: I shall, as I have Occasion, endeavour to disperse these thick and deceitful Mists from before weak Eyes, and shall consider the present Question, as well as all others that come before me, as they appear in their own Nature, independent on the Quirks of Pedants, and the narrow Jurisdiction of inferior Tribunals: I shall bring them before the great Tribunal of Heaven; and assert the Cause of Liberty and Truth, by Arguments deduced from common Sense, and the common Good of Mankind.

It is generally alledged against *Brutus*, and some of those who joined with him in this great Action, that they were highly obliged by *Cæsar*; which is a strange Objection. How were they obliged? He gave *Brutus* a Life, which he could not take from him without Murther; and did a mighty generous Thing in not murdering *Brutus* for defending his Country, animated by his own virtuous Spirit, and the known Laws of *Rome*! This is the Obligation of a Highwayman, who, taking away your Money, which is all he wants, kindly leaves you your Life. Are you obliged in Honour, Conscience, or common Sense, to spare the Robber, because he was not a Murderer? Or are you obliged not to pursue and take him, and to kill him, if he refuses to submit? In Truth, *Cæsar* was one of the greatest Robbers and Murderers that ever lived: Every Man slain in that unjust, bloody, and unnatural War, which he wantonly and maliciously made upon his Country, was murdered: And the World was the mighty Spoil he gained by universal Murder and Rapine. He was, in short, a Man so consummately wicked, that the strongest Words you can use, and the bitterest Instances you can bring, to paint out him and his Actions, will be but faint compared to him and his Actions.

As to the Places and Favours conferred upon *Brutus*, by *Cæsar*, they were not *Cæsar's*, but *Rome's*. He was only *Rapti Largitor*. *Cæsar* had no Right to the Publick, nor to dispose of it, or its Emoluments. It was all barefaced Usurpation. Besides, when Favours of this, or
any

any kind, withhold a Man from his Duty, they are mischievous Baits and Corruptions; and ought to bind no Man, as they never will a virtuous Man. And we see how *Brutus*, who was the most virtuous Man upon Earth, understood and disregarded them.

They were only the artful Shackles of a Tyrant, intended to bind the bold and free Mind of *Brutus* to his Interest: But he, who owed no Allegiance but to the Commonwealth, scorn'd the deceitful Smiles and Generosity of its Oppressor; who was bribing him to be his Slave, with the Gifts and Offices of his Country, to which he himself had no Title, but *Brutus* had every Title. This therefore was a Piece of impudent Civility, which *Brutus* could not but detest, as it was a shameful and melancholly Proof of *Cæsar's* Tyranny, and of his own and *Rome's* Vassalage. They were hollow and destructive Favours; and it was High-Treason to be the Author of them: And was not Death signally due to such High-Treason? *Brutus* therefore made the properest Return.

Cæsar had usurped the *Roman* World, and was cantoning it out to his Creatures as became a Tyrant, and paying his personal Creatures with the publick Bounty. As the worst Tyrants must have some Friend; and as the best Men do them the most Credit, and bring them the most Support, if such can be got; *Cæsar* had Sense enough to know, that he could never buy *Brutus* too dear, and so paid him great Court. But *Brutus* saw the Tyrant's Design, and his own Shame; and every Civility

was a fresh Provocation. It was, as if a Thief breaking into a House to rob a Lady of her Jewels, spoke thus to her Son; *Sir, pray permit me, or assist me to cut your Mother's Throat and seize her Treasure, and I will generously reward you with your Life, and lend you one or two of her Diamonds to sparkle in as long as I think fit.* Could such a villainous Civility as this engage the Son, especially a virtuous Son to any thing but Revenge? And would not the only Way he could take it be the best Way?

Cæsar took from *Brutus* his Liberty, and his legal Title to his Life and Estate, and gave him in Lieu of it a precarious one during his own arbitrary Will and Pleasure: Upon the same Terms, he gave him some mercenary Employments, as Hire for that great good Man's Assistance to support his Tyranny. Could the great and free Soul of *Brutus* brook this? Could *Brutus* be the Instrument or Confederate of lawless Lust? *Brutus* receive Wages from an Oppressor! That great, virtuous, and popular *Brutus*; who, if the Commonwealth had subsisted, might from his Reputation, Birth, Abilities, and his excellent Worth, have challenged the most honourable and advantageous Offices in it, without owing Thanks to *Cæsar*.

So that the Injuries done by *Cæsar* to *Brutus*, were great, heinous, and many; and the Favours none. All the Mercy shewn by *Cæsar* was Art and Affectation, and pure Self-Love. He had found in the *Roman* People so universal a Detestation of the bloody Measures of *Marius*, *Cinna*, and *Sylla*: He saw the whole
Empire

Empire so reduced and enervated by repeated Proscriptions and Massacres, that he thought it his Interest to establish his new erected Dominion by different Measures; and to reconcile, by a false and hypocritical Shew of Clemency, the Minds of Men, yet bleeding with their late and former Wounds, to his Usurpation. That *Cæsar*, the usurping and destructive *Cæsar*, who had slaughtered Millions, and wantonly made Havock of humane Race, had any other sort of Mercy, than the Mercy of Policy and Deceit, will not be pretended by any Man, that knows his and the *Roman* Story. *Brutus* therefore being the most reverenc'd and popular Man in *Rome*, it became the Craft of the Tyrant to make *Brutus* his Friend; it was adding a sort of Sanctity to a wicked Cause: Whereas the Death of *Brutus* by *Cæsar*, would have made *Cæsar* odious and dreadful even amongst his own Followers.

But it is said, that *Brutus* submitted to *Cæsar*, and was bound by his own Act. Here the Allegation is true, but the Consequence false. Did not *Brutus* submit to *Cæsar*, as innocent Men are often forced to submit to the Gallies, the Wheel, and the Gibbet? He submitted as a Man robbed and bound submits to a House-breaker, who with a Pistol at his Heart, forces from him a Discovery of his Treasure, and a Promise not to prosecute him. Such Engagements are not only void in themselves, but aggravate the Injury, and become themselves fresh Injuries. By the Law of Nature and Reason, as well as by the positive Institutions of every Country, all Promises, Bonds, or Oaths, ex-

torted by Durefs, that is, by unlawful Imprifonments or Menaces, are not obligatory : It is, on the contrary, a Crime to fulfil them ; becaufe an Acquiefcence in the Impositions of lawlefs Villains, is abetting lawlefs Villains.

Befides, it was not in the Power of *Brutus* to alter his Allegiance, which he had already engaged to the Commonwealth, which had done nothing to forfeit the fame. For how lawful foever it is for Subjects to transfer their Obedience to a Conqueror, in a Foreign War, when the former Civil Power can no longer protect them ; or to a new Magiftrate made by Consent, when the old had forfeited or refigned : It is ridiculous to fuppofe they can transfer it to a domeftick Traytor and Robber ; who is under the fame Ties of Allegiance with themfelves, and by all Acts of Violence, Treafon, and Ufurpation, extorts a Submiffion from his oppreffed Masters and Fellow-Subjects — At leaft fuch Allegiance can never be re-engaged, whilft any Means in Nature are left to rid the World of fuch a Monster.

It is a poor Charge againft *Brutus*, that *Cæfar* intended him for his Heir and Succelfor. *Brutus* fcorned to fucceed a Tyrant : And what more glorious for *Brutus*, than thus to own that the dangerous and bewitching Profpèct of the greateft Power that ever mortal Man poffeffed, could not fhake the firm and virtuous Heart of *Brutus*, nor corrupt his Integrity ? To own that no personal Confiderations, even the higheft upon Earth, could reconcile him to a Tyrant ; and that he preferred the Liberty of the World, to the Empire of the World !

The

The above Charges therefore against *Brutus*, can hardly come from any but those, who, like the profane and slavish *Eſau*, would sell their Birthright for a Meſs of Pottage; would sacrifice their Duty to their Interest; and, unconcern'd what becomes of the rest of Mankind, would promote Tyranny, if they might but shine in its Trappings. But an honest Mind, a Mind great and virtuous, scorns and hates all Ambition, but that of doing Good to Men, and to all Men; it despises momentary Riches, and ill-gotten Power; it enjoys no vicious and hard-hearted Pleasures, arising from the Miseries of others: But it wishes and endeavours to procure impartial, diffusive, and universal Happiness to the whole Earth.

This is the Character of a great and good Mind; and this was the great and sublime Soul of the immortal *Brutus*.

From this Mention of the slippery and dangerous Favours of Tyrants, I would just observe as I go along, that to any Man who values Virtue or Liberty, Twenty Pounds a Year in a free Country, is preferable to the being First Minister to the *Great Turk*; whose Ministers, by their Station and Allegiance, are obliged to be Oppressors, and are often rewarded with the Bow-string for their most faithful Services to their Master, and for Services perhaps performed by his Command.

But to return to *Brutus*: He had on his Side, the Law of Self-Preservation, and the Spirit of the *Roman* Constitutions, and of those Laws of Liberty, which had subsisted near Five Hundred Years, but were now destroyed by the

Usurper. And during all those long and renowned Ages of Liberty, the destroying of Tyrants was ever accounted Glory and Heroism. And, as every Law of the Commonwealth was against *Cæsar*, who was an open Enemy to the Commonwealth; the Commonwealth, and all its Laws, were for *Brutus*, its greatest and best Subject. *Cæsar's* Laws were none, and worse than none; but the whole Life and Actions of *Brutus* were agreeable to the Constitution of his Country.

Suppose *Brutus*, having kill'd *Cæsar*, had succeeded him: He could not have been a greater Usurper than *Cæsar* was. And yet would he, in that Case, have been less sacred and inviolable than *Cæsar*? I hope the oppressing of Mankind, is not a less Crime than the killing of their Oppressor.

Our *Brutus* could not have greater Ties of Affection to the Tyrant *Cæsar*, who usurp'd *Rome*, and destroy'd its Liberties; than the elder *Brutus* had to his own Sons, whom he put to Death, for a Plot to restore the Tyrant *Tarquin*, a Thousand times more innocent than *Cæsar*: And as to the sudden manner of putting him to Death, *Mutius Sævo'a* is immortalized for a bold Attempt, to kill by Surprize the *Tuscan* King *Porfenna*, who was a foreign Enemy, making unjust War upon *Rome*, to restore *Tarquin*: And the like Immortality is bestow'd upon *Judith*, for killing *Holophernes* deceitfully, when it could be done no other Way. Now both these Men were publick Enemies; but neither of them a publick Traitor: *Cæsar* was both; and *dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?*
Was

Was ever *Aratus* mentioned with Reproach, or does Dr. *Prideaux* mention him with Reproach, for surprizing and expelling *Nicocles*, Tyrant of *Scicyon*, or has he not gain'd deathless Fame by that worthy Action? And how comes the little Tyrant *Nicocles* to be less sacred than the great Tyrant *Cæsar*, who did Millions of Mischiefs more than *Nicocles*?

Let us now see what Dr. *Prideaux* says of *Cæsar*. After having told us, that *he was excited by Ambition and Malice*, that *he justly had for the Reward thereof that Destruction* by which he fell; the Doctor adds these Words: "He is said to have slain Eleven Hundred and Ninety Two Thousand Men; which proves him to have been a terrible Scourge in the Hand of God, for the Punishment of the Wickedness of that Age—And consequently, he is to be reputed the greatest Pest and Plague, that Mankind had therein: But notwithstanding this, his Actions have with many acquired great Glory to his Name: Whereas true Glory is due only to those who benefit, not to those who destroy Mankind."

All this is honestly and justly said; but I cannot reconcile it to what he has said before, about the Death of that Destroyer. Sure, upon his own Principles, never was true Glory more due to any mortal Man, than to *Brutus*? His Life and Studies were laid out in doing good to Mankind; whereas *Cæsar* was indeed the greatest Pest and Plague that Mankind had. For, besides all the Wickedness he did with his own wicked Hands and Counsels, he frustrated all the Purposes, Virtue, and Bravery of the

old *Romans*, in establishing Liberty, and in conquering, polishing, and setting free great part of the barbarous World. All the Battles they fought, were fought for him; all the Blood they spilt, was spilt for him. *Cæsar* took all, and over-turn'd all. Besides, all the numberless and heavy Mischiefs, that the *Roman* World suffered from succeeding Tyrants, were, in a great Measure, owing to *Cæsar*, who established a Government by Tyrants. He was in this Sense the Author of all the Barbarity, Rapine, and Butcheries, brought upon the Empire, by the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, and other Barbarians, who easily mastered an Empire, weakened, and already almost destroyed, by the Folly, Madness, Cruelty, and Prodigality of the Imperial Tyrants, his Successors.

The Doctor takes Notice, that *Cassius Parmensis*, being the only remaining Tyrannicide, was put to Death by the Command of *Augustus*. And he observes upon it, that Murder seldom escapes the vindictive Hand of God, and especially the Murder of Princes. All this may be true; and yet, What is all this to *Julius Cæsar*? If *Cæsar* was a Prince, any Robber or Murderer that has Force and Villainy enough, may be a Prince; and Blood, and Wounds, and Treason, constitute a Prince. Every Soldier in *Cæsar's* Army had as good a Right to the Government of *Rome*, as *Cæsar* had. Was his Stile like that of a Prince, or the Father of his Country, when he told his Soldiers, according to *Petronius*, and agreeably to what he did afterwards;

— *Ite furentes*

Ite mei comites, & causam dicite ferro.

Judice fortuna cadat alea : Sumite bellum ;

Inter tot fortes armatus nescio vinci.

Was not this setting up openly Violence and the Sword for a Title ? If *Rob Roy* had conquer'd *Scotland*, with his barbarous Highland Host ; would he have been a Prince, Prince of *Scotland* ? Was *Cromwell* a Prince ? And would *Massianello* and *Jack Straw*, had they succeeded, have been Princes ?

As to *Cæsar's* Parts, they added vastly to his Crimes, and were, as he applied them, only a great Capacity to do great Mischief ? *Curse on his Virtues, they have undone his Country.* Besides, there were doubtless many Men in *Rome*, who had equal Parts, and infinitely more Merit. *Brutus* particularly had—The Devil has much greater Abilities than *Cæsar* had, and is also a Prince, and a very great Prince ; and the Executioner of God's Vengeance too, and the greatest Executioner : And yet are we not expressly commanded to resist him ? The Plague is often the Instrument of God's Judgment, are we therefore not to resist the Plague, by proper Diet and Antidotes ? The Bite of an Adder may be the Judgment of God ; Is it therefore a Sin to tread upon the Adder's Head and kill him ? Or are Antidotes against all other Plagues lawful ; but none lawful against the worst, the most lasting and destructive of all Plagues, the Plague of Tyranny ? Or is an Adder less sacred than a Tyrant ? And why ? I hope God made Adders as well as *Cæsar*. A Storm may be a
Judg-

Judgment; must we not therefore discharge a great Gun against it, in order to disperse it? Or pray how comes one Sort of the Instruments of God's Judgment to be more sacred than another? I am sure, God detests Tyrants; and if they are God's Ministers, so are Plagues and Serpents, and so is *Satan* himself.

Brutus was one of the properest Persons to kill *Cæsar*; as he was of all the Men in *Rome* the most revered and popular. His Wisdom, and Virtue, and publick Spirit, were known and adored: And the Consent of the Senate, and of all good Men, was with him; and none but the prostitute Creatures of Power, and those that ambitiously sought it, with their deceiv'd and hireling Followers, condemn'd him; nor durst even they at first. But *Brutus* out of his too great Goodness and Generosity, spared *Anthony*, who ought to have accompanied *Cæsar*. But while the wild *Anthony* remain'd, the Root of the Evil was not quite pluck'd up. He began a new War upon his Country. The Senate however declar'd for the Tyrannicides, and declar'd *Mark Anthony* a publick Enemy for making War upon *Decimus Brutus*, who was one of them; and sent both the Consuls with an Army against *Anthony*, and in Defence of *Brutus*: And had it not been for the treacherous and ungrateful young *Cæsar*, the Commonwealth would have been, in all likelihood, thoroughly established. But this young Traitor, like his Uncle *Julius*, turn'd the Arms of the Commonwealth upon the Commonwealth, and join'd with its Enemy *Mark Anthony*, to oppress it.

The terrible Proceedings and bloody Proscriptions that followed this Agreement are well known. Nor is it at all strange, that not one of the Tyrannicides survived the Civil War, or died a natural Death. They were almost all Soldiers and Commanders, and were either mostly slain in Battle, or by the Command of Conquerors: Their Enemies got the better, and they had no where to fly to. The World was possess'd by the Usurpers. And if *Brutus* and *Cassius* kill'd themselves, rather than fall into their Enemies Hands, and adorn the Triumphs of successful Traitors; several of the Chiefs of the other Party did also kill themselves during the War; particularly *Dolabella*, and many of the Principals of his Party at *Antioch*, when *Cassius* besieg'd them there. Was this also a Judgment?

Brutus and *Cassius* kill'd themselves! And what then? Was it not done like *Romans*, like virtuous old *Romans*, thus to prefer Death to Slavery? It was a *Roman* Spirit, and those who possess'd it, did as much disdain to be Tyrants, as to submit to Tyranny; a Spirit that scorn'd an ignominious Life, held only at the Mercy of an Usurper; or by flattering his Villainy and abetting his Usurpations; and a Spirit, which those that want it can never admire. Great Souls are not comprehended by Small! It is undoubtedly true, that by the Precepts of Christianity we are not at Liberty to dispose of our own Lives; but are to wait for the Call of Heaven to alleviate or end our Calamities: But the *Romans* had no other Laws to act by, but the natural Dictates of uncorrupted Reason?

son ? I call upon the great Pretenders to Philosophy and refined Morals, to assign one fair Reason, why a *Roman*, why *Brutus* and *Cassius*, should prefer a miserable Life to an honourable Death ; should bear Vassalage, Chains, and Tortures of Body or Mind, when all those Evils were to be avoided by doing only that, which by the Course of Nature every Man must soon do. It is better not to be, than to be unhappy ; and the severest Judgment on the Wicked is, that they shall live for ever, and can never end their Miseries : Much less can it be any Service to Society, to keep alive by Art or Force a melancholy, miserable, and useless Member, grown perhaps burdensome too by Age and Infirmities.

In this Light we must view the Actions of the old *Romans*, guided only by Nature, and unrestrain'd from Suicide by any Principles of their Religion. We find, on the contrary, in History, many Examples of the great and magnanimous Heroes of Antiquity, chusing voluntary Death, often in the midst of Health, with the greatest Calmness of Mind ; sometimes from Satiety of Life and Glory, either when they could gain no more ; or apprehending that the future Caprices of unconstant Fortune might sully the past ; and oftner still, to avoid submitting to Disgrace and Servitude.

A voluntary Death from such Motives as these, was, among the Ancients, one of the Paths to Immortality ; and, under certain Circumstances, none but mean and abject Minds declined it. *Roman Ladies* often chose it. And *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Ægypt*, chose a long premeditated

meditated Death, rather than be led Captive to Rome. And when *Perseus* sent to *P. Æmilius*, beseeching him with all Earnestness, That so great a Prince, late Lord of *Macedon*, and good part of *Greece*, might not be led, like a Slave, in Chains at his Chariot Wheels, to grace his Triumph; he received this short Answer, that *It was in his own Power to prevent it*: Thus signifying to him, that he deserved the Disgrace, if he would live to bear it.

Even under the Dispensations of a new Religion, which God Almighty condescended personally to teach Mankind, Humane Nature has prevailed so far over revealed Truths, that in Multitudes of Instances a voluntary Death is approved, at least not condemned, by almost the greatest part of the World. Men in extreme Pain and Agonies do often refuse Physick, and the Means of preserving their Lives, Days, Weeks, and Months longer. Men in lingering and desperate Distempers go, uncall'd, to mount a Breach in a Siege, or into the midst of the Battle, to meet certain Death. Great Commanders have done the same, when the Day went against them, rather than survive being beaten. Commanders of Ships have blown up themselves and their Ships, rather than be the Prey of the Conqueror. Towns besieged, when they could defend themselves no longer, have first burnt their Town, and then precipitated themselves desperately amongst their Enemies, to procure an honourable Death and Revenge. Even common Malefactors often chuse to dye, rather than discover their Accomplices; and always get Credit by doing so. And the Stories
of

of the *Decij*, of *Calanus*, of the great *Cato*, and even of *Otho*, and many other of the great Examples of Antiquity, made immortal by this Act of ancient Heroism, are still read with Admiration.

I shall, for a Conclusion of this long Paper, give my Readers the Sentiments of the excellent Mr. *Cowley*, concerning *Brutus* and *Cæsar*, in his Ode, intitl'd BRUTUS.

Can we stand by and see
Our Mother robb'd, and bound, and raviſh'd be;
Yet not to her Assistance ſtir,
Pleas'd with the Strength and Beauty of the Ravisher?
Or ſhall we fear to kill him, if before

The cancell'd Name of Friend he bore?
Ingrateful Brutus do they call?
Ingrateful Cæſar, who could Rome intral!
An Act more barbarous and unnatural
(In th' exact Ballance of true Virtue tried)
Than his Succeſſor Nero's Parricide!

* * * * *

What Mercy could the Tyrant's Life deſerve
From him who kill'd himſelf rather than ſerve?

* * * * *

What Joy can humane Things to us afford,
When we ſee perish thus by odd Events,
By ill Men and wretched Accidents,
The beſt Cauſe, and beſt Man that ever drew a Sword?
When we ſee

The falſe Octavius and wild Anthony,
God-like Brutus, conquer Thee?

I am, &c.

S I R,

S I R,

I Intend to entertain my Readers with Dissertations upon *Liberty*, in some of my succeeding Letters; and shall, as a Preface to that Design, endeavour to prove in this, that Liberty is the unalienable Right of all Mankind.

All Governments, under whatsoever Form they are administered, ought to be administered for the Good of the Society; and when they are otherwise administered, they cease to be Government, and become Usurpation. This being the End of all Government, even the most Despotick have this Limitation to their Authority: And, in this Respect, the only Difference between the most absolute Princes and limited Magistrates is, that in free Governments there are Checks and Restraints appointed and expressed in the Constitution it self; and in despotick Governments, the People submit themselves to the Prudence and Discretion of the Prince alone: But there is still this tacit Condition annex'd to his Power, that he must act by the unwritten Laws of Discretion and Prudence, and employ it for the sole Interest of the People, who give it to him, or suffer him to enjoy it, which they ever do for their own Sakes.

Even in the most free Governments, single Men are often trusted with discretionary Power:

But

But they must answer for that Discretion to those that trust them. Generals of Armies, and Admirals of Fleets have often unlimited Commissions, and yet are they not answerable for the prudent Execution of those Commissions? The Council of Ten, in *Venice*, have absolute Power over the Liberty and Life of every Man in the State: But if they should make use of that Power to slaughter, abolish, or enslave the Senate; and, like the *Decemviri* of *Rome*, to set up themselves; would it not be lawful for those, who gave them that Authority for other Ends, to put those Ten unlimited Traitors to Death, any Way they could? The Crown of *England* has been for the most part entrusted with the sole Disposal of the Money given for the Civil List, and often with the Application of great Sums raised for other publick Uses; and yet, if the Lord-Treasurer had applied this Money to the Dishonour of the King, and Ruin of the People, (tho' by the private Direction of the Crown it self) will any Man say that he ought not to have compensated for his Crime, by the Loss of his Head and his Estate?

I have said thus much, to shew that no Government can be absolute in the Sense, or rather Nonsense, of our modern Dogmatizers, and indeed in the Sense too commonly practised. No barbarous Conquest; no extorted Consent of miserable People, submitting to the Chain to escape the Sword; no repeated and hereditary Acts of Cruelty, tho' called Succession; no Continuation of Violence, tho' named Prescription; can alter, much less abrogate these funda-

fundamental Principles of Government it self, or make the Means of Preservation the Means of Destruction, and render the Condition of Mankind infinitely more miserable than that of the Beasts of the Field, by the sole Privilege of that Reason which distinguishes them from the Brute Creation.

Force can give no Title but to Revenge, and to the Use of Force again: Nor could it ever enter into the Heart of any Man, to give to another Power over him, for any other End but to be exercised for his own Advantage: And if there are any Men mad or foolish enough to pretend to do otherwise, they ought to be treated as Idiots and Lunaticks; and the Reason of their Conduct must be derived from their Folly and Phrenzy.

All Men are born free: Liberty is a Gift which they receive from God himself; nor can they alienate the same by Consent, tho' possibly they may forfeit it by Crimes. No Man has Power over his own Life, or to dispose of his own Religion, and cannot consequently transfer the Power of either to any body else: Much less can he give away the Lives and Liberties, Religion or acquired Property of his Posterity, who will be born as free as he himself was born, and can never be bound by his wicked and ridiculous Bargain.

The Right of the Magistrate arises only from the Right of private Men to defend themselves, to repel Injuries, and to punish those who commit them: That Right being conveyed by the Society to their publick Representative, he can execute the same no further than the Benefit and Security

Security of that Society requires he should. When he exceeds his Commission, his Acts are as extrajudicial as are those of any private Officer usurping an unlawful Authority, that is, they are void; and every Man is answerable for the Wrong he does. A Power to do Good, can never become a Warrant for doing Evil.

But here arises a grand Question, which has perplexed and puzzled the greatest part of Mankind: And yet, I think, the Answer to it is easy and obvious. The Question is, Who shall be Judge whether the Magistrate acts justly, and pursues his Trust? To this it is justly said, that if those who complain of him are to judge him, then there is a settled Authority above the chief Magistrate, which Authority must be itself the chief Magistrate; which is contrary to the Supposition; and the same Question and Difficulty will recur again upon this new Magistracy. All this I own to be absurd; and I aver it to be at least as absurd to affirm, that the Person accused is to be the decisive Judge of his own Actions, when it is certain he will always judge and determine in his own Favour; and thus the whole Race of Mankind will be left helpless under the heaviest Injustice, Oppression and Misery that can afflict humane Nature.

But if neither Magistrates, nor they who complain of Magistrates, and are aggriev'd by them, have a Right to determine decisively, the one for the other; and if there is no common establish'd Power, to which both are subject: Then every Man interest'd in the
Success

Success of the Contest, must act according to the Light and Dictates of his own Conscience, and inform it as well as he can. Where no Judge is or can be appointed, every Man must be his own ; that is, when there is no stated Judge upon Earth, we must have Recourse to Heaven, and obey the Will of Heaven, by declaring our selves on that which we think the juster Side.

If the Senate and People of *Rome* had differed irreconcilably, there could have been no common Judge in the World between them ; and consequently no Remedy but the last ; for that Government consisting in the Union of the Nobles and the People, when they differed, no Man could determine between them : and therefore every Man must have been at Liberty to provide for his own Security, and the general Good, in the best Manner he was able. In that Case the common Judge ceasing, every one was his own : The Government becoming incapable of acting, suffered a political Demise : The Constitution was dissolved, and there being no Government in Being, the People were in the State of Nature again.

The same must be true, where two Absolute Princes, governing a Country, come to quarrel, as sometimes two *Cæsars* in Partnership did, especially towards the latter End of the *Roman* Empire ; or where a Sovereign Council govern a Country, and their Votes come equally to be divided. In such a Circumstance, every Man must take that Side which he thinks most for the Publick Good, or chuse any proper Measures for his own Security. For, if I owe
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my Allegiance to two Princes agreeing, or to the Majority of a Council; when between these Princes there is no longer any Union, nor in that Council any Majority, no Submission can be due to that which is not; and the Laws of Nature and Self-preservation must take place, where there are no other.

The Case is still the same, when there is any Dispute about the Titles of Absolute Princes, who govern independently on the States of a Country, and call none. Here too every Man must judge for himself what Party he will take, and to which of the Titles he will adhere; and the like private Judgment must guide him, whenever a Question arises whether the said Prince is an Idiot or Lunatick, and consequently whether he is capable or incapable of Government. Where there are no States, there can be no other Way of judging; but by the Judgment of private Men, the Capacity of the Prince must be judged, and his Fate determined. Lunacy and Idiotism are, I think, allowed by all to be certain Disqualifications for Government; and indeed they are as much so, as if he were deaf, blind, and dumb, or even dead. He who can neither execute an Office, nor appoint a Deputy, is not fit for one.

Now I would fain know, why private Men may not as well use their Judgment in an Instance that concerns them more; I mean that of a Tyrannical Government, of which they hourly feel the sad Effects, and sorrowful Proofs; whereas they have not by far the equal Means of coming to a Certainty about the natural Inca-

Incapacity of their Governor. The Persons of great Princes are known but to few of their Subjects, and their Parts to much fewer; and several Princes have, by the Management of their Wives, or Ministers, or Murderers, reign'd a good while after they were dead. In Truth, I think 'tis as much the Business and Right of the People to judge whether their Prince be good or bad, whether a Father or an Enemy, as to judge whether he be dead or alive; unless it be said (as many such wise Things have been said) that they may judge whether he can govern them, but not whether he does; and that it behoves them to put the Administration in wiser Hands, if he is a harmless Fool, but it is impious to do it, if he is only a destructive Tyrant; that Want of Speech is a Disqualification, but Want of Humanity none.

That Subjects were not to judge of their Governors, or rather for themselves in the Business of Government, which of all humane Things concerns them most, was an Absurdity that never entered into the Imagination of the wise and honest Antients: Who, following for their Guide that everlasting Reason, which is the best and only Guide in humane Affairs, carried Liberty and humane Happiness, the legitimate Offspring and Work of Liberty, to the highest Pitch that they were capable of arriving at. But the above Absurdity, with many others as monstrous and mischievous, were reserved for the Discovery of a few wretched and dreaming *Mahometans* and Christian Monks, who,

who, ignorant of all Things, were made, or made themselves, the Directors of all Things ; and bewitching the World with holy Lies, and unaccountable Ravings, dressed up in barbarous Words and uncouth Phrases, bent all their Fairy-Force against common Sense and common Liberty and Truth, and founded a pernicious, absurd, and visionary Empire upon their Ruins. Systems without Sense, Propositions without Truth, Religion without Reason, a rampant Church without Charity, Severity without Justice, and Government without Liberty or Mercy, were all the blessed Handy-Works of these religious Madmen, and godly Pedants ; who, by pretending to know the other World, cheated and confounded this. Their Enmity to common Sense, and Want of it, were their Warrants for governing the Sense of all Mankind : By Lying, they were thought the Champions of the Truth ; and by their Fooleries, Impieties, and Cruelty, were esteemed the Favourites and Confidants of the God of Wisdom, Mercy, and Peace.

These were the Men, who having demolished all Sense and humane Judgment, first made it a Principle, that People were not a Judge of their Governor and Government, nor to meddle with it, nor to preserve themselves from publick Destroyers, falsely calling themselves Governors : And yet these Men, who thus set up for the Support and Defenders of Government, without the common Honesty of distinguishing the Good from the Bad, and Protection from Murder and Depredation, were at the same
Time

time themselves the constant and avowed Troublers of every Government which they could not direct and command; and every Government, however excellent, which did not make their Reveries its own Rules, and themselves alone its peculiar Care, has been honoured with their professed Hatred; whilst Tyrants and publick Butchers, who flattered them, have been deified. This was the poor State of *Christendom*, before the Reformation; and I wish I could say, of no Parts of it since.

This barbarous Anarchy in Reasoning and Politicks, has made it necessary to prove Propositions which the Light of Nature had demonstrated. And, as the Apostles were forced to prove to the misled *Gentiles*, that they were no Gods which were made with Hands; I am put to prove, that the People have a Right to judge, whether their Governors were made for them, or they for their Governors? Whether their Governors have necessary and natural Qualifications? Whether they have any Governors or no? And whether, when they have none, every Man must not be his own? I therefore return to Instances and Illustrations from Facts, which cannot be denied, tho' Propositions as true as Facts may, by those especially who are defective in Point of Modesty or Discernment.

In *Poland*, according to the Constitution of that Country, it is necessary, we are told, that, in their Diets, the Consent of every Man present must be had to make a Resolve effectual: And therefore, to prevent the cutting of People's Throats, they have no Remedy but to

cut the Throats of one another ; that is, they must pull out their Sabres, and force the refractory Members (who are always the Minority) to submit. And amongst us in *England*, where a Jury cannot agree, there can be no Verdict ; and so they must fast till they do, or till one of them is dead, and then the Jury is dissolved.

This from the Nature of Things themselves, must be the constant Case in all Disputes between Dominion and Property. Where the Interest of the Governors and that of the Governed clash, there can be no stated Judge between them : To appeal to a Foreign Power, is to give up the Sovereignty ; and for either Side to submit, is to give up the Question : And therefore, if they themselves do not amicably determine the Dispute between themselves, Heaven alone must. In such Case, Recourse must be had to the first Principles of Government itself ; which being a Departure from the State of Nature, and a Union of many Families forming themselves into a political Machine for mutual Protection and Defence, it is evident, that this form'd Relation can continue no longer than the Machine subsists and can act ; and when it does not, the Individuals must return to their former State again. No Constitution can provide against what will happen, when that Constitution is dissolved. Government is only an Appointment of one or more Persons, to do certain Actions for the Good and Emolument of the Society ; and if the Persons thus intrusted, will not act at all, or act contrary to their Trust, their Power must

must return of Course to those who gave it.

Suppose, for Example, the Grand Monarch had bought a neighbouring Kingdom and all the Lands in it, from the Courtiers, and the Majority of the People's Deputies; and amongst the rest, the Church-Lands, into the Bargain, with the Consent of their Convocation or Synod, or by what other Name that Assembly was called; Would the People and Clergy have thought themselves obliged to have made good this Bargain, if they could have help'd it? I dare say neither would; but, on the contrary, that the People would have had the Countenance of these reverend Patriots to have told their Representatives in round Terms, that they were chosen to act for the Interest of those that sent them, and not for their own; that their Power was given them to protect and defend their Country, and not to sell and enslave it.

This Supposition, as wild as it seems, yet is not absolutely and universally impossible. King *John* actually sold the Kingdom of *England* to his Holiness: And there are People in all Nations ready to sell their Country at Home; and such can never have any Principles to withhold them from selling it Abroad.

It is foolish to say, that this Doctrine can be mischievous to Society, at least in any Proportion to the wild Ruin and fatal Calamities which must befall, and do befall the World, where the contrary Doctrine is maintained: For, all Bodies of Men subsisting upon their own Substance, or upon the Profits of

their Trade and Industry, find their Account so much in Ease and Peace, and have justly such terrible Apprehensions of Civil Disorders, which destroy every Thing they enjoy ; that they always bear a Thousand Injuries before they return one, and stand under the Burthens as long as they can bear them, as I have in another Letter observed.

What with the Force of Education, and the Reverence which People are taught, and have been always used to pay to Princes ; what with the perpetual Harangues of Flatterers, the gaudy Pageantry and Outside of Power, and its gilded Ensigns, always glittering in their Eyes ; what with the Execution of the Laws in the sole Power of the Prince ; what with all the regular Magistrates, pompous Guards and standing Troops, with the fortified Towns, the Artillery, and all the Magazines of War, at his Disposal ; besides large Revenues, and Multitudes of Followers and Dependents, to support and abet all he does : Obedience to Authority is so well secured, that it is wild to imagine that any Number of Men, formidable enough to disturb a settled State, can unite together and hope to overturn it, till the publick Grievances are so enormous, the Oppression so great, and the Disaffection so universal, that there can be no Question remaining, whether their Calamities are real or imaginary, and whether the Magistrate has protected or endeavoured to destroy his People.

This was the Case of *Richard* the Second, *Edward* the Second, and *James* the Second, and will ever be the Case under the same Circum-

Circumstances. No Society of Men will groan under Oppressions longer than they know how to throw them off; whatever unnatural Whimfies and Fairy Notions idle and sedentary Babblers may utter from Colleges and Cloisters; and teach to others for vile Self-ends, Doctrines, which they themselves are famous for not practising.

Upon this Principle of People's judging for themselves, and resisting lawless Force, stands our late happy *Revolution*, and with it the just and rightful Title of our most excellent Sovereign King *George*, to the Scepter of these Realms; a Scepter which he has, and I doubt not will ever sway, to his own Honour, and the Honour, Protection, and Prosperity of us his People.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THERE is no Government now upon Earth, which owes its Formation or Beginning to the immediate Revelation of God, or can derive its Existence from such Revelation: It is certain, on the contrary, that the Rise and Institution or Variation of Government, from Time to Time, is within the Memory of Men or of Histories; and that every Government, which we know at this Day in the World, was established by the Wisdom and Force of meer Men, and by the Concurrence of Means and

Causes evidently humane. Government therefore can have no Power, but such as Men can give, and such as they actually did give, or permit for their own Sakes : Nor can any Government be in Fact erected but by Consent, if not of every Subject, yet of as many as can compel the rest ; since no Man, or Council of Men, can have personal Strength enough to govern Multitudes by Force, or can claim to themselves and their Families any Superiority, or natural Sovereignty over their Fellow-Creatures naturally as good as them. Such Strength, therefore, wherever it is, is civil and accumulative Strength, derived from the Laws and Constitutions of the Society, of which the Governors themselves are but Members.

So that to know the Jurisdiction of Governors, and its Limits ; we must have recourse to the Institution of Government, and ascertain those Limits by the Measure of Power, which Men in the State of Nature have over themselves and one another ; And as no Man can take from many, who are stronger than him, what they have no Mind to give him ; and he who has not Consent must have Force, which is itself the Consent of the Stronger ; so no Man can give to another either what is none of his own, or what in its own Nature is inseparable from himself ; as his Religion particularly is.

Every Man's Religion is his own ; nor can the Religion of any Man, of what Nature or Figure soever, be the Religion of another Man, unless he also chuses it ; which Action utterly excludes all Force, Power, or Government. Religion can never come without Con-
viction,

viction, nor can Conviction come from Civil Authority; Religion, which is the Fear of God, cannot be subject to Power, which is the Fear of Man. It is a Relation between God and our own Souls only, and consists in a Disposition of Mind to obey the Will of our great Creator in the Manner which we think most acceptable to him. It is independent upon all humane Directions, and superior to them; and consequently uncontrollable by external Force, which cannot reach the free Faculties of the Mind, or inform the Understanding, much less convince it. Religion therefore, which can never be subject to the Jurisdiction of another, can never be alienated to another, or put in his Power.

Nor has any Man in the State of Nature, Power over his own Life, or to take away the Life of another, unless to defend his own, or what is as much his own, namely his Property. This Power therefore, which no Man has, no Man can transfer to another.

Nor could any Man, in the State of Nature, have a Right to violate the Property of another; that is, what another had acquired by his Art or Labour; or to interrupt him in his Industry and Enjoyments, as long as he himself was not injured by that Industry and those Enjoyments. No Man therefore could transfer to the Magistrate that Right which he had not himself.

No Man in his Senses was ever so wild as to give an unlimited Power to another to take away his Life, or the Means of Living, according to the Caprice, Passion, and unreasonable Pleasure of that other: But if any Man restrained himself from any Part of his Pleasures,

or parted with any Portion of his Acquisitions, he did it with the honest Purpose of enjoying the rest with the greater Security, and always in Subserviency to his own Happiness, which no Man will or can willingly and intentionally give away to any other whatsoever.

And if any one, through his own Inadvertence, or by the Fraud or Violence of another, can be drawn into so foolish a Contract, he is relievable by the eternal Laws of God and Reason. No Engagement that is wicked and unjust, can be executed without Injustice and Wickedness: This is so true, that I question whether there be a Constitution in the World which does not afford, or pretend to afford, a Remedy for relieving ignorant, distressed and unwary Men, trepaned into such Engagements by artful Knaves, or frightened into them by imperious ones. So that here the Laws of Nature and general Reason supersede the municipal and positive Laws of Nations; and no where oftner than in *England*. What else was the Design, and ought to be the Business of our Courts of Equity? And I hope whole Countries and Societies are no more exempted from the Privileges and Protection of Reason and Equity, than are private Particulars.

Here then is the natural Limitation of the Magistrate's Authority: He ought not to take what no Man ought to give, nor exact what no Man ought to perform: All he has is given him, and those that gave it must judge of the Application. In Government there is no such Relation as Lord and Slave, lawless Will and blind Submission; nor ought to be amongst Men:
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But the only Relation is that of Father and Children, Patron and Client, Protection and Allegiance, Benefaction and Gratitude, mutual Affection and mutual Assistance.

So that the Nature of Government does not alter the natural Right of Men to Liberty, which in all political Societies is alike their due; But some Governments provide better than others, for the Security and impartial Distribution of that Right. There has been always such a constant and certain Fund of Corruption and Malignity in humane Nature, that it has been rare to find that Man, whose Views and Happiness did not center in the Gratification of his Appetites, and worst Appetites, his Luxury, his Pride, his Avarice and Lust of Power; and who considered any publick Trust reposed in him, with any other View, than as the Means to satiate such unruly and dangerous Desires! And this has been most eminently true of Great Men, and those who aspired to Dominion. They were first made Great for the Sake of the Publick, and afterwards at its Expence. And if they had been content to have been moderate Traytors, Mankind would have been still moderately happy; but their Ambition and Treason observing no Degrees, there was no Degree of Vileness and Misery, which the poor People did not often feel.

The Appetites therefore of Men, especially of Great Men, are carefully to be observed and stopp'd, or else they will never stop themselves. The Experience of every Age convinces us, that we must not judge of Men by what they ought to do, but by what they will

do; and all History affords but few Instances of Men trusted with great Power without abusing it, when with Security they could. The Servants of Society, that is to say, its Magistrates, did almost universally serve it by seizing it, selling it, or plundering it; especially when they were left by the Society unlimited as to their Duty and Wages. In that Case, these faithful Stewards generally took all; and being Servants, made Slaves of their Masters.

For these Reasons, and convinced by woful and eternal Experience, Societies found it necessary to lay Restraints upon their Magistrates or publick Servants, and to put Checks upon those who would otherwise put Chains upon them; and therefore these Societies set themselves to model and form national Constitutions with such Wisdom and Art, that the publick Interest should be consulted and carried on at the same Time, when those entrusted with the Administration of it were consulting and pursuing their own.

Hence grew the Distinction between Arbitrary and Free Governments: Not that more or less Power was vested in the one than in the other; nor that either of them lay under less or more Obligations, in Justice, to protect their Subjects, and study their Ease, Prosperity and Security, and to watch for the same. But the Power and Sovereignty of Magistrates in free Countries was so qualified, and so divided into different Channels, and committed to the Direction of so many different Men, with different Interests and Views, that the Majority of them could seldom or never find their Account

in betraying their Trust in fundamental Instances. Their Emulation, Envy, Fear, or Interest, always made them Spies and Checks upon one another. By all which Means, the People have often come at the Heads of those who forfeited their Heads, by betraying the People.

In despotick Governments, Things went far otherwise, those Governments having been framed otherwise; if the same could be called Governments, where the Rules of publick Power were dictated by private and lawless Lust; where Folly and Madness often sway'd the Scepter, and blind Rage wielded the Sword. The whole Wealth of the State, with its Civil or Military Power, being in the Prince, the People could have no Remedy but Death and Patience, while he oppressed them by the Lump, and butcher'd them by Thousands: Unless perhaps the Ambition or personal Resentments of some of the Instruments of his Tyranny procured a Revolt, which rarely mended their Condition.

The only Secret therefore in forming a Free Government, is to make the Interests of the Governors and of the Governed the same, as far as humane Policy can contrive. Liberty cannot be preserved any other Way. Men have long found, from the Weakness and Depravity of themselves and one another, that most Men will act for Interest, against Duty, as often as they dare. So that to engage them to their Duty, Interest must be linked to the Observance of it, and Danger to the Breach of it. Personal Advantages and Security, must be the
Rewards

Rewards of Duty and Obedience ; and Disgrace, Torture, and Death, the Punishment of Treachery and Corruption.

Humane Wisdom has yet found out but one certain Expedient to effect this ; and that is, to have the Concerns of all directed by all, as far as possibly can be : And where the Persons interested are too numerous, or live too distant to meet together on all Emergencies, they must moderate Necessity by Prudence, and act by Deputies whose Interest is the same with their own, and whose Property is so intermingled with theirs, and so engaged upon the same Bottom, that Principals and Deputies must stand and fall together. When the Deputies thus act for their own Interest, by acting for the Interest of their Principals ; when they can make no Law but what they themselves, and their Posterity, must be subject to ; when they can give no Money, but what they must pay their Share of ; and when they can do no Mischief, but what must fall upon their own Heads in common with their Countrymen ; their Principals may then expect good Laws, little Mischief, and much Frugality.

Here therefore lies the great Point of Nicety and Care, in forming the Constitution, that the Persons entrusted and representing, shall either never have an Interest detached from the Persons entrusting and represented, or never the Means to pursue it. Now to compass this great Point effectually, no other Way is left, but one of these two, or rather both ; namely, to make the Deputies so numerous, that that there may be no Possibility of corrupting the Majority ;

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or, by changing them so often, that there is no sufficient Time to corrupt them, and to carry the Ends of that Corruption. The People may be very sure, that the major Part of their Deputies being honest, will keep the rest so; and that they will all be honest, when they have no Temptations to be Knaves.

We have some Sketch of this Policy in the Constitution of our several great Companies, where the general Court, compos'd of all its Members, constitutes the Legislature, and the Consent of that Court is the Sanction of their Laws; and where the Administration of their Affairs is put under the Conduct of a certain Number chosen by the Whole. Here every Man concerned, saw the Necessity of securing Part of their Property, by putting the Persons intrusted under proper Regulations; however remiss they may be in taking Care of the Whole: And if Provision had been made, that, as a third Part of the Directors are to go out every Year, so none should stay in above three, (as I am told, was at first promised) all Jugling with Courtiers, and raising great Estates by Confederacy, at the Expence of the Company, had, in a great Measure been prevented; tho' there were still wanting other Limitations, which might have effectually obviated all those Evils.

This was the ancient Constitution of *England*: Our Kings had neither Revenues large enough, nor Offices gainful and numerous enough in their Disposal, to corrupt any considerable Number of Members; nor any Force to frighten them: Besides, the same Parliament seldom

seldom or never met twice: For, the serving in it being found an Office of Burden and no Profit, it was thought reasonable that all Men qualified should, in their Turns, leave their Families and domestick Concerns, to serve the Publick; and their Boroughs bore their Charges. The only Grievance then was, that they were not called together often enough, to redress the Grievances which the People suffered from the Court during their Intermision: And therefore, a Law was made in *Edward* the Third's Time, that Parliaments should be held once a Year.

But this Law, like the Queen's Peace, did not execute it self; and therefore the Court seldom convened them, but when they wanted Money, or had other Purposes of their own to serve; and sometimes raised Money without them: Which arbitrary Proceeding brought upon the Publick numerous Mischiefs; and, in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, a long and bloody Civil War. In that Reign an Act was passed, that they should meet of themselves, if they were not called according to the Direction of that Law, which was worthily repeal'd upon the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second: And in the same kind Fit, a great Revenue was given him for Life, and continued to his Brother. By which Means, these Princes were enabled to keep standing Troops, and to corrupt Parliaments, or to live without them; and to commit such Acts of Power as brought about, and indeed forced the People upon the late happy Revolution. Soon after which, a new Act was passed, that Parliaments should
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be rechosen once in three Years : Which Law was also repealed, upon his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, that the present Parliament might have Time to rectify those Abuses which we laboured under, and to make Regulations proper to prevent them *All* for the future. *All* which has been since happily effected ; and, I bless God, we are told, that the People will have the Opportunity to thank them, in another Election, for their great Services to their Country. I shall be always ready, on my Part, to do them Honour, and pay them my Acknowledgments, in the most effectual manner in my Power. — But more of this in the succeeding Papers.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE most reasonable Meaning that can be put upon this Apothegm, that *Virtue is its own Reward*, is, that it seldom meets with any other. God himself, who having made us, best knows our Natures, does not trust to the intrinsic Excellence and native Beauty of Holiness alone, to engage us in its Interests and Pursuits, but recommends it to us by the stronger and more affecting Motives of Rewards and Punishments. No wise Man, therefore, will in any Instance of Moment trust to the meer Integrity of another. The Experience of all Ages may convince us, that Men, when they are

are above Fear, grow for the most part above Honesty and Shame : And this is particularly and certainly true of Societies of Men, when they are numerous enough to keep one another in Countenance ; for when the Weight of Infamy is divided amongst many, no one sinks under his own Burden.

Great Bodies of Men have seldom judged what they ought to do, by any other Rule than what they could do. What Nation is there that has not oppressed any other, when the same could be done with Advantage and Security ? What Party has ever had Regard to the Principles which they professed, or ever reformed the Errors they condemned ? What Company, or particular Society of Merchants or Tradesmen, has ever acted for the Interest of general Trade, tho' it always filled their Mouths in private Conversation ?

And yet Men, thus form'd and qualified, are the Materials for Government. For the Sake of Men it is instituted, and by the Prudence of Men it must be conducted ; and the Art of political Mechanism is, to erect a firm Building with such crazy and corrupt Materials. The strongest Cables are made out of loose Hemp and Flax ; and the World it self may, with the Help of proper Machines, be moved by the Force of a single Hair ; and so may the Government of the World as well as the World it self. But whatever Discourses I shall hereafter make upon this great and useful Subject, I shall confine my self in this Letter to free monarchical Constitutions alone, and to the Application of some of the Principles laid down in my last.

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It is there said, that when the Society consists of too many, or when they live too far apart to be able to meet together, to take Care of their own Affairs, they can no otherwise preserve their Liberties, than by chusing Deputies to represent them, and to act for them; and that these Deputies must be either so numerous, that there can be no Means of corrupting the Majority, or so often changed, that there shall be no Time to do it so as to answer any End by doing it. Without one of these Regulations, or both, I lay it down as a certain Maxim in Politicks, that it is impossible to preserve a free Government long.

I think I may with great Modesty affirm, that in former Reigns, the People of *England* found no sufficient Security in the Number of their Representatives. What with the Crowd of Offices in the Gift of the Crown, which were possessed by Men of no other Merit, nor held by any other Tenure, but merely a Capacity to get into the House of Commons, and the Disservice they could and would do their Country there: What with the Promises and Expectations given to others, who by Court-Influence, and often by Court-Money, carried their Elections: What by artful Caresses, and the familiar and deceitful Addresses of great Men to weak Men: What with luxurious Dinners and Rivers of *Burgundy*, *Champaign* and, *Tokay*, thrown down the Throats of Gluttons; and what with Pensions, and other personal Gratifications, bestowed where Wind and Smoke would not pass for current Coin: What with Party Watch-words and imaginary Terrors,
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spread amongst the drunken 'Squires, and the deluded and enthusiastick Bigots, of dreadful Designs in *Embrio*, to blow up the Church, and the Protestant Interest; and sometimes with the Dread of mighty Invasions just ready to break upon us from the Man in the Moon: I say, by all these corrupt Arts, the Representatives of the *Engliss* People, in former Reigns, have been brought to betray the People, and to join with their Oppressors. So much are Men governed by artful Applications to their private Passions and Interest. And it is evident to me, that if ever we have a weak or an ambitious Prince, with a Ministry like him, we must find out some other Resources, or acquiesce in the Loss of our Liberties. The Course and Transiency of humane Affairs, will not suffer us to live always under the present righteous Administration.

So that I can see no Means in humane Policy to preserve the publick Liberty and a monarchical Form of Government together, but by the frequent fresh Elections of the People's Deputies: This is what the Writers in Politicks call Rotation of Magistracy. Men, when they first enter into Magistracy, have often their former Condition before their Eyes: They remember what they themselves suffered, with their Fellow Subjects, from the Abuse of Power, and how much they blamed it; and so their first Purposes are to be humble, modest and just; and probably, for some Time, they continue so. But the Possession of Power soon alters and viciates their Hearts, which are at the same time sure to be leavened, and puffed up
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to an unnatural Size, by the deceitful Incense of false Friends, and the prostrate Submission of Parasites. First, they grow indifferent to all their good Designs, and then drop them: Next they lose their Moderation; afterwards, they renounce all Measures with their old Acquaintance and old Principles; and seeing themselves in magnifying Glasses, grow, in Conceit, a different Species from their Fellow Subjects; and so by too sudden Degrees become insolent, rapacious and tyrannical, and ready to catch at all Means, often the vilest and most oppressive, to raise their Fortunes as high as their imaginary Greatness. So that the only Way to put them in mind of their former Condition, and consequently of the Condition of other People, is often to reduce them to it; and to let others of equal Capacities share of Power in their Turn; and this also is the only Way to qualify Men, and make them equally fit for Dominion and Subjection.

A Rotation therefore, in Power and Magistracy, is essentially necessary to a free Government: It is indeed the Thing it self; and constitutes, animates, and informs it, as much as the Soul constitutes the Man. It is a Thing sacred and inviolable, wherever Liberty is thought sacred; nor can it ever be committed to the Disposal of those who are trusted with the Preservation of National Constitutions: For tho' they may have the Power to model it for the publick Advantage, and for the more effectual Security of that Right; yet they can have none to give it up, or, which is the same Thing, to make it useless.

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The Constitution of a limited Monarchy, is the joint Concurrence of the Crown and of the Nobles (without whom it cannot subsist) and of the Body of the People, to make Laws for the common Benefit of the Subject; and where the People, through Number or Distance, cannot meet, they must send Deputies to speak in their Names, and to attend upon their Interest: These Deputies therefore act by, under, and in subservency to the Constitution, and have not a Power above it and over it.

In *Holland*, and some other free Countries, the States are often obliged to consult their Principals; and, in some Instances, our own Parliaments have declined entering upon Questions of Importance, till they had gone into the Country, and known the Sentiments of those that sent them; as in all Cases they ought to consult their Inclinations as well as their Interest. Who will say that the Rump, or Fag-end of the Long Parliament of Forty One, had any Right to expel such Members as they did not like? Or to watch for their Absence, that they might seize to themselves, or give up to any body else, the Right of those from whose Confidence and Credulity they derived the Authority which they acted by?

With Thanks to God, I own, we have a Prince so sensible of this Right, and who owes his Crown so intirely to the Principles laid down, and I think fully proved in these Letters; that it is impossible to suspect, either from his Inclinations, his Interest, or his known Justice, that he should ever fall into any Measures to destroy that People, who have given him his
Crown,

Crown, and supported him in it with so much Generosity and Expence; or that he should undermine, by that Means, the Ground upon which he stands. I do therefore the less regard the idle Suspicions and Calumnies of disaffected Men, who would surmise, that a Design is yet on Foot to continue this Parliament — a Reflection the most impudent and invidious that can be thrown upon his Majesty, his Ministers, or his two Houses; and a Reflection that can come from none but professed, or at least from concealed *Jacobites*.

It is no less than an Insinuation, that our most excellent Sovereign King *George* has a Distrust of his faithful Subjects; that he will refuse them the Means of their own Preservation, and the Preservation of that Constitution which they chose him to preserve; that he will shut his Ears against their modest, just, and dutiful Complaints; and that he apprehends Danger from meeting them in a New and Free-chosen Parliament. This is contrary to the Tenour of his whole Life and Actions; who, as he has received Three Crowns from their Gift, so he lies under all the Ties of Generosity, Gratitude, and Duty, to cherish and protect them, and to make them always great, free, and happy.

It is a most scandalous Calumny upon his faithful Servants, to suggest that any of them, conscious of Guilt and Crimes, feared any thing from the most strict and rigorous Inspection into their Proceedings. Some of them have already stood the fiery Tryal, and come off triumphant with general Approbation. They have, besides the Advantage of his Majesty's most gracious Pardon,

Pardon, which they did not want, and which was not passed for their Sakes. Who therefore can suspect that Patriots so uncorrupt, so prudent, and so popular, will dishonour their Master, give up the Constitution, ruin their Country, and render themselves the Objects of universal Scorn, Detestation and Curses, by advising the most odious, dangerous, and destructive Measures, that ever Counsellors gave a Prince.

It is a most ungrateful Return to our illustrious Representatives, to suggest, that Men who have left their domestick Concerns to serve their Country at their own Expence, and without any personal Advantages, and have bestowed their Labours upon the Publick for a much longer Time than their Principals had at first a Right to expect from them; and have, during all that Time, been rectifying the Abuses which have crept into our Constitution; and have assisted his Majesty in going through two very useful and necessary Wars, and have regulated our Finances, and the Expence of our Guards and Garrisons, and corrected many Abuses in the Fleet and the Civil Administration; and have taken effectual Vengeance of all those who were concerned in promoting, procuring, aiding, or assisting the late dreadful *South-Sea* Project. — I say, after so many Things done by them for the publick Honour and Prosperity, it is the basest Ingratitude to surmise, that any of them would give up that Constitution which they were chosen, and have taken so much Pains, to preserve.

I do indeed confess, if any Invasion was to be feared from *Muscovy*, *Mecklenburg*, *Spain*, or *Civita Vecchia*; if new Provinces were to be obtained Abroad, new Armies to be raised, or new Fleets to be equipped upon warlike Expeditions: If new Provision was wanting for the Civil List, and new Taxes to be levied, or new Companies to be erected to pay off the publick Debts: If the Universities were to be further regulated, or any Inspection was necessary into the Increase of Fees and Exactions of Civil Officers; if there was the least Ground to suspect Bribery or Corruption in a Place where it should not be; or if there was any new Project on Foot to banish tyrannical and popish Principles far out of the Land: I say, that in such a Scene of Affairs, I dare not be altogether so positive in my Assertion, that we ought to venture, and at all Events to leave to Chance that which we are in Possession of already.— But as we are at present in the happy State of Indolence and Security, at Peace with all the World and our own Consciences; as little more Money can be raised from the People, most of it being already in Hands, which, according to the Rules of good Policy, unite Dominion and Property; as our Benefactors too are generous and honourable, our Boroughs not insensible or ungrateful, nor the Counties themselves inexorable to shining Merit: So it is much to be hoped, that another Parliament may be chosen equally deserving, and as zealous for the publick Interest; or at worst, there are honest and tried Measures at Hand, which will undoubtedly make them so.

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And I offer this as a conclusive, and I think a most convincing Argument, that the Kingdom will be obliged with a new Election.

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S I R,

I Have shewn in a late Paper, wherein consists the Difference between Free and Arbitrary Governments, as to their Frame and Constitution; and in this and the following, I shall shew their different Spirit and Effects. But first I will shew wherein Liberty it self consists.

By Liberty, I understand the Power which every Man has over his own Actions, and his Right to enjoy the Fruits of his Labour, Art, and Industry, as far as by it he hurts not the Society, or any Members of it, by taking from any Member, or by hindering him from enjoying what he himself enjoys. The Fruits of a Man's honest Industry are the just Rewards of it, ascertain'd to him by natural and eternal Equity, as is his Title to use them in the Manner he thinks fit: And thus, with the above Limitations, every Man is sole Lord and Arbiter of his own private Actions and Property — A Character of which no Man living can divest him but by Usurpation, or his own Consent.

The entering into political Society, is so far from a Departure from this natural Right, that

to preserve it, was the sole Reason why Men did so; and mutual Protection and Assistance is the only reasonable Purpose of all reasonable Societies. To make such Protection practicable, Magistracy was formed, with Power to defend the Innocent from Violence, and to punish those that offered it; nor can there be any other Pretence for Magistracy in the World. In order to this good End, the Magistrate is intrusted with conducting and applying the united Force of the Community; and with exacting such a Share of every Man's Property, as is necessary to preserve the Whole, and to defend every Man and his Property from foreign and domestick Injuries. These are Boundaries of the Power of the Magistrate, who deserts his Function whenever he breaks them. By the Laws of Society, he is more limited and restrained than any Man amongst them; since, while they are absolutely free in all their Actions, which purely concern themselves; all his Actions, as a publick Person, being for the Sake of the Society, must refer to it, and answer the Ends of it.

It is a mistaken Notion in Government, that the Interest of the Majority is only to be consulted, since in Society every Man has a Right to every Man's Assistance in the Enjoyment and Defence of his private Property; otherwise the greater Number may sell the lesser, and divide their Estates amongst themselves; and so, instead of a Society, where all peaceable Men are protected, become a Conspiracy of the Many against the Minority: With as much Equity may one Man wantonly dispose of all,

and Violence may be sanctified by mere Power.

And it is as foolish to say, that Government is concern'd to meddle with the private Thoughts and Actions of Men, while they injure by neither the Society, or any of its Members. Every Man is, in Nature and Reason, the Judge and Disposer of his own domestick Affairs; and, according to the Rules of Religion and Equity, every Man must carry his own Conscience. So that neither has the Magistrate a Right to direct the private Behaviour of Men; nor has the Magistrate, or any Body else, any manner of Power to model People's Speculations, no more than their Dreams. Government being intended to protect Men from the Injuries of one another, and not to direct them in their own Affairs, in which no one is interested but themselves; it is plain, that their Thoughts and domestick Concerns are exempted intirely from its Jurisdiction: In truth, Mens Thoughts are not subject to their own Jurisdiction.

Idiots and Lunaticks indeed, who cannot take Care of themselves, must be taken Care of by others: But whilst Men have their five Senses, I cannot see what the Magistrate has to do with Actions by which the Society cannot be affected; and where he does meddle with such, he does it impertinently or tyrannically. Must the Magistrate tye up every Man's Legs, because some Men fall into Ditches? Or, must he put out their Eyes, because with them they see lying Vanities? Or, would it become the Wisdom and Care of Governors to establish a travelling

travelling Society, to prevent People by a proper Confinement from throwing themselves into Wells, or over Precipices? Or to endow a Fraternity of Physicians and Surgeons all over the Nation, to take Care of their Subjects Health, without being consulted; and to vomit, bleed, purge, and scarify them at Pleasure, whether they would or no, just as these established Judges of Health should think fit? If this were the Case, what a Stir and Hubbub should we soon see kept about the established Potions and Lancets; every Man, Woman, and Child, tho' ever so healthy, must be a Patient, or woe be to them! The best Diet and Medicines would soon grow pernicious from any other Hand; and their Pills alone, however ridiculous, insufficient, or distasteful, would be attended with a Blessing.

Let People alone, and they will take care of themselves, and do it best; and if they do not, a sufficient Punishment will follow their Neglect, without the Magistrate's Interposition and Penalties. It is plain that such busy Care and officious Intrusion into the personal Affairs, or private Actions, Thoughts, and Imaginations of Men, has in it more Craft than Kindness; and is only a Device to mislead People, and pick their Pockets, under the false Pretence of the publick and their private Good. To quarrel with any Man for his Opinions, Humours, or the Fashion of his Cloths, is an Offence taken without being given. What is it to the Magistrate how I wash my Hands, or cut my Corns, what Fashion or Colours I wear, or what Notions I entertain, or what

Gestures I use, or what Words I pronounce, when they please me, and do him and my Neighbour no hurt? As well may he determine the Colour of my Hair, and controul my Shape and Features.

True and impartial Liberty is therefore the Right of every Man to pursue the natural, reasonable, and religious Dictates of his own Mind; to think what he will, and act as he thinks, provided he acts not to the Prejudice of another; to spend his own Money himself, and lay out the Produce of his Labour his own Way; and to labour for his own Pleasure and Profit, and not for others who are idle, and would live and riot by pillaging and oppressing him, and those that are like him.

So that Civil Government is only a partial Restraint put by the Laws of Agreement and Society upon natural and absolute Liberty, which might otherwise grow licentious: And Tyranny is an unlimited Restraint put upon natural Liberty, by the Will of one or a few. Magistracy, amongst a free People, is the Exercise of Power for the sake of the People; and Tyrants abuse the People, for the sake of Power. Free Government is the protecting the People in their Liberties by stated Rules; Tyranny is a brutish Struggle for unlimited Liberty to one or a few, who would rob all others of their Liberty, and act by no Rule but lawless Lust.

So much for an Idea of Civil Liberty. I will now add a Word or two, to shew how much it is the Delight and Passion of Mankind; and then shew its Advantages.

The Love of Liberty is an Appetite so strongly implanted in the Nature of all living Creatures, that even the Appetite of Self-preservation which is allowed to be the strongest, seems to be contained in it; since by the Means of Liberty, they enjoy the Means of preserving themselves, and of satisfying their Desires in the Manner which they themselves chuse and like best. Many Animals can never be tamed, but feel the Bitterness of Restraint in the midst of the kindest Usage: and rather than bear it, grieve or starve themselves to Death; and some beat out their Brains against their Prisons.

Where Liberty is lost, Life grows precarious, always miserable, and often intolerable. Liberty is to live upon one's own Terms; Slavery is to live at the meer Mercy of another; and a Life of Slavery is to those who can bear it, a continual State of Uncertainty and Wretchedness, often an Apprehension of Violence, and often the lingering Dread of a violent Death: But by others, when no other Remedy is to be had, Death is reckoned a good one. And thus to many Men, and to many other Creatures as well as Men, the Love of Liberty is beyond the Love of Life.

This Passion for Liberty in Men, and their Possession of it, is of that Efficacy and Importance, that it seems the Parent of all the Virtues: And therefore, in free Countries there seems to be another Species of Mankind, than is to be found under Tyrants. Small Armies of *Greeks* and *Romans* despised the greatest Hosts of Slaves; and a Million of Slaves have been sometimes beaten and conquered by a few

Thousand Freemen. Infomuch, that the Difference seem'd greater between them than between Men and Sheep. It was therefore well said by *Lucullus*, when, being about to engage the great King *Tigranes's* Army, he was told by some of his Officers, how prodigious great the same was, consisting of between three and four Hundred Thousand Men : *No matter*, said that brave *Roman*, drawing up his little Army of Fourteen Thousand, but Fourteen Thousand *Romans* : *No matter* ; *The Lion never enquires into the Number of the Sheep*. And these Royal Troops proved no better ; for the *Romans* had little else to do but to kill and pursue ; which yet they could scarce do for laughing ; so much more were they diverted than animated by the ridiculous Dread and sudden Flight of these Imperial Slaves and Royal Cowards.

Men eternally cowed and oppressed by haughty and insolent Governors, made base themselves by the Baseness of that sort of Government, and become Slaves by ruling over Slaves, want Spirit and Souls to meet in the Field Freemen, who scorn Oppressors and are their own Governors, or at least measure and direct the Power of their Governors.

Education alters Nature, and becomes stronger. Slavery, while it continues, being a perpetual Awe upon the Spirits, depresses them, and sinks natural Courage ; and Want and Fear, the Concomitants of Bondage, always produce Despondency and Baseness : Nor will Men in Bonds ever fight bravely, but to be free. And indeed, what else should they fight for ; since every Victory they gain for a Tyrant,

rant, makes them poorer and fewer; and, increasing his Pride, increases his Cruelty, and their own Misery and Chains?

Those, who from Terror and Delusion, the frequent Causes and certain Effects of Servitude, come to think their Governors greater than Men, as they find them worse, will be apt to think themselves less: And when the Head and the Heart are thus both gone, the Hands will signify little: They who are used like Beasts, will be apt to degenerate into Beasts. But those, on the contrary, who by the Freedom of their Government and Education, are taught and accustomed to think freely of Men and Things, find, by comparing one Man with another, that all Men are naturally alike; and that their Governors, as they have the same Face, Constitution, and Shape with themselves, and are subject to the same Sickness, Accidents, and Death with the meanest of their People; so they possess the same Passions and Faculties of the Mind which their Subjects possess, and not better. They therefore scorn to degrade and prostrate themselves, to adore those of their own Species, however covered with Titles, and disguised by Power: They consider them as their own Creatures; and, as far as they surmount themselves, the Work of their own Hands, and only the chief Servants of the State, who have no more Power to do Evil than one of themselves, and are void of every Privilege and Superiority, but to serve them and the State. They know it is a Contradiction in Religion and Reason, for any Man to have a Right to do Evil; and that not.

to resist any Man's Wickedness, is to encourage it ; and that they have the least Reason to bear Evil and Oppression from their Governors, who of all Men are the most obliged to do them good. They therefore detest Slavery, and despise or pity Slaves ; and adoring Liberty alone, as they who see its Beauty and feel its Advantages always will, 'tis no wonder they are brave for it.

Indeed, Liberty is the divine Source of all humane Happiness. To possess, in Security, the Effects of our Industry, is the most powerful and reasonable Incitement to be industrious : And to be able to provide for our Children, and leave them all that we have, is the best Motive to beget them. But where Property is precarious, Labour will languish. The Privileges of thinking, saying, and doing what we please, and of growing as rich as we can, without any other Restriction, than that by all this we hurt not the Publick, nor one another, are the glorious Privileges of Liberty ; and its Effects, to live in Freedom, Plenty, and Safety.

These are Privileges that increase Mankind, and the Happiness of Mankind. And therefore Countries are generally peopled in Proportion as they are free, and are certainly happy in that Proportion : And upon the same Tract of Land that would maintain a Hundred Thousand Freemen in Plenty, Five Thousand Slaves would starve. In *Italy*, fertile *Italy*, Men die sometimes of Hunger amongst the Sheaves, and in a plentiful Harvest ; for what they sow and reap is none of their own ; and their cruel
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and greedy Governors, who live by the Labour of their wretched Vassals, do not suffer them to eat the Bread of their own Earning, nor to sustain their Lives with their own Hands.

Liberty naturally draws new People to it, as well as encreases the old Stock; and Men as naturally run when they dare from Slavery and Wretchedness, whithersoever they can help themselves. Hence great Cities losing their Liberty become Desarts, and little Towns by Liberty grow great Cities: as will be fully proved before I have gone through this Argument. I will not deny, but that there are some great Cities of Slaves: But such are only Imperial Cities, and the Seats of great Princes, who draw the Wealth of a Continent to their Capital, the Center of their Treasure and Luxury. *Babylon, Antioch, Seleucia, and Alexandria*, were great Cities peopled by Tyrants, but peopled partly by Force, partly by the above Reason, and partly by Grants and Indulgences. Their Power, great and boundless as it was, could not alone people their Cities; but they were forced to soften Authority by Kindness; and having brought the Inhabitants together by Force, and by driving them Captive like Cattle, could not keep them together without bestowing on them many Privileges, to encourage the first Inhabitants to stay, and to invite more to come.

This was a Confession in those Tyrants, that their Power was mischievous and unjust; since they could not erect one great City, and make it flourish, without renouncing in a great Measure their Power over it; which by grant-

ing it these Privileges, in Effect they did. These Privileges were fix'd Laws, by which the Trade and Industry of the Citizens was encouraged, and their Lives and Properties ascertained and protected, and no longer subjected to the Law of mere Will and Pleasure: And therefore, while these free Cities, enjoying their own Liberties and Laws, flourished under them; the Provinces were miserably harassed, pillaged, dispeopled, and impoverished, and the Inhabitants exhausted, starved, butchered, and carried away Captive.

This shews that all Civil Happiness and Prosperity is inseparable from Liberty; and that Tyranny cannot make Men, or Societies of Men, happy, without departing from its Nature, and giving them Privileges inconsistent with Tyranny. And here is an unanswerable Argument amongst a Thousand others, against absolute Power in a single Man. Nor is there one Way in the World to give Happiness to Communities, but by sheltering them under certain and express Laws, irrevocable at any Man's Pleasure.

There is not, nor can be, any Security for a People to trust to the mere Will of One, who, while his Will is his Law, cannot protect them if he would. The Number of Sycophants and wicked Counsellors, that he will always and necessarily have about him, will defeat all his good Intentions, by representing Things falsely, and Persons maliciously; by suggesting Danger where it is not, and urging Necessity where there is none; by filling their own Coffers under Colour of filling his, and by raising Money
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for themselves, pretending the publick Exigencies of the State ; by sacrificing particular Men to their own Revenge, under Pretence of publick Security ; and by engaging him and his People in dangerous and destructive Wars, for their own Profit or Fame ; by throwing publick Affairs into perpetual Confusion, to prevent an Enquiry into their own Behaviour ; and by making him jealous of his People, and his People of him, on purpose to manage and mislead both Sides.

By all these, and many more wicked Arts, they will be constantly leading him into cruel and oppressive Measures, destructive to his People, and scandalous and dangerous to himself ; but entirely agreeable to their own Spirits and Designs. Thus will they commit all Wickedness by their Master's Authority, against his Inclinations, and grow rich by the People's Poverty, without his Knowledge ; and the Royal Authority will be first a Warrant for Oppression, and afterwards a Protection from the Punishment due to it. For, in short, the Power of Princes is often little else but a stalking Horse to the Intrigues and Ambition of their Ministers.

But if the Disposition of such a Prince be evil, what must be the forlorn Condition of his People, and what Door of Hope can remain for common Protection ! The best Princes have often evil Counsellors, and the Bad will have no other : And in such a Case, what Bounds can be set to their Fury, and to the Havock they will make ? The Instruments and Advisers of Tyranny and Depredation always thrive

thrive best and are nearest their Ends, when Depredation and Tyranny run highest : When most is plundered from the People, their Share is greatest ; we may therefore suppose every Evil will befall such a People, without supposing extravagantly. No Happiness, no Security, but certain Misery, and a vile and precarious Life, are the blessed Terms of such a Government— A Government, which necessarily introduces all Evils, and from the same Necessity neither must nor can redress any.

The Nature of his Education, bred up as he ever is in perpetual Flattery, makes him haughty and ignorant ; and the Nature of his Government, which subsists by brutish Severity and Oppression, makes him cruel. He is inaccessible, but by his Ministers, whose Study and Interest will be to keep him from knowing or helping the State of his miserable People. Their Master's Knowledge in his own Affairs, would break in upon their Scheme and Power ; they are not likely to lay before him Representations of Grievances caused by themselves ; nor, if they are the Effects of his own Barbarity and Command, will he hear them.

Even where absolute Princes are not Tyrants, there Ministers will be Tyrants. But it is indeed impossible for an Arbitrary Prince to be otherwise, since Oppression is absolutely necessary to his being so. Without giving his People Liberty, he cannot make them happy ; and by giving them Liberty, he gives up his own Power. So that to be and continue Arbitrary, he is doomed to be a Tyrant in his own Defence. The Oppression of the People, Corruption,

ruption, wicked Counsels, and pernicious Maxims in the Court, and every where Baseness, Ignorance, and Chains, must support Tyranny, or it cannot be supported. So that in such Governments there are inevitable Grievances, without possible Redress; Misery, without Mitigation or Remedy; and whatever is good for the People, is bad for their Governors; and what is good for the Governors, is pernicious to the People.

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I Go on with my Considerations upon Liberty, to shew that all Civil Virtue and Happiness, and every moral Excellency, all Politeness and all good Arts and Sciences, are produced by Liberty; and that all Wickedness, Baseness, and Misery, are immediately and necessarily produced by Tyranny; which being founded upon the Destruction of every thing that is valuable, desirable, and noble, must subsist upon Means suitable to its Nature, and remain in everlasting Enmity to all Goodness and even human Blessing.

By the Establishment of Liberty, a due Distribution of Property and an equal Distribution of Justice is established and secured. As Rapine is the Child of Oppression, Justice is the Offspring of Liberty, and her Hand-maid; it is the Guardian of Innocence, and the Ter-

ror of Vice : And when Fame, Honour, and Advantages are the Rewards of Virtue, she will be courted for the Dower she brings ; otherwise, like Beauty without Wealth, she may be praised, but more probably will be calumniated, envied, and very often persecuted ; while Vice, when it is gainful, like rich Deformity and prosperous Folly, will be admired and pursued. Where Virtue is all her own Reward, she will be seldom thought any ; and few will buy that for a great Price, which will sell for none. So that Virtue, to be followed, must be endowed, and her Credit is best secured by her Interest ; that is, she must be strengthened and recommended by the publick Laws, and embellished by publick Encouragements, or else she will be slighted and shun'd.

Now the Laws which encourage and encrease Virtue, are the fix'd Laws of general and impartial Liberty ; Laws, which being the Rule of every Man's Actions, and the Measure of every Man's Power, make Honesty and Equity their Interest. Where Liberty is thoroughly establish'd, and its Laws equally executed, every Man will find his Account in doing as he would be done unto, and no Man will take from another what he would not part with himself : Honour and Advantage will follow the Upright, and Punishment overtake the Oppressor. The Property of the Poor will be as sacred as the Privileges of the Prince, and the Law will be the only Bulwark of both. Every Man's honest Industry and useful Talents, while they are employ'd for the Publick, will be employ'd for himself ; and while he serves himself, he will

will serve the Publick : Publick and private Interest will secure each other ; and all will chearfully give a Part to preserve the Whole, and be brave to defend it.

These certain Laws therefore are the only certain Beginnings and Causes of Honesty and Virtue amongst Men. There may be other Motives, I own ; but such as only sway particular Men, few enough, God knows : And universal Experience has shewn us, that they are not generally prevailing, and never to be depended upon. Now these Laws are to be produced by Liberty alone, and only by such Laws can Liberty be secured and increased : And to make Laws certainly good, they must be made by mutual Agreement, and have for their End the general Interest.

But Tyranny must stand upon Force ; and the Laws of Tyranny being only the fickle Will and unsteady Appetite of one Man, which may vary every Hour ; there can be no settled Rule of Right or Wrong in the variable Humours and sudden Passions of a Tyrant, who, though he may sometimes punish Crimes more out of Rage than Justice, will be much more likely to persecute and oppress Innocence, and to destroy Thousands cruelly, for one that he protects justly. There are Instances of Princes, who, being out of Humour with a Favourite, have put to Death all that spoke well of him, and afterwards all that did not : Of Princes, who put some of their Ministers to Death, for using one or two of his Barbers and Buffoons ill ; and others, for using a whole Country well : Of Princes, who have destroyed a whole
 People

People for the Crimes or Virtues of one Man; and who, having killed a Minion in a Passion, have, to revenge themselves upon those who had not provoked them, destroyed, in the same unreasonable Fury, a Hundred of their Servants who had no Hand in it, as well as all that had; who yet would have been destroyed, had they not done it: Of Princes, who have destroyed Millions in single mad Projects and Expeditions: Of Princes, who have given up Cities and Provinces to the Revenge or Avarice of a vile Woman or Eunuch, to be plundered, or massacred, or burned, as he or she thought fit to direct: And of Princes, who, to gratify the Ambition and Rapine of a few sorry Servants, have lost the Hearts of their whole People, and detach'd themselves from their good Subjects, to protect these Men in their Iniquity, who yet had done them no other Service, but that of destroying their Reputation, and shaking their Throne.

Such are Arbitrary Princes, whose Laws are nothing but sudden Fury, or lasting Folly and Wickedness in uncertain Shapes. — Hopeful Rules these, for the governing of Mankind, and making them Happy! Rules which are none, since they cannot be depended upon for a Moment; and generally change for the worse, if that can be. A Subject worth Twenty Thousand Pounds to Day, may, by a sudden Edict issued by the dark Counsel of a Traitor, be a Beggar to Morrow, and lose his Life without forfeiting the same. The Property of a whole Kingdom shall be great, or little, or none, just at the Mercy of a Secretary's Pen, guided

guided by a Child, or a Dotard, or a foolish Woman, or a favourite Buffoon, or a Gamester, or whoever is uppermost for the Day; and the next Day shall alter entirely the Yesterday's Scheme, tho' not for the better; and the same Men, in different Humours, shall be the Authors of both. Thus in Arbitrary Countries, a Law aged Two Days is an old Law; and no Law is suffered to be a standing Law, but such as are found by long Experience to be so very bad, and so thoroughly destructive, that human Malice, and all the Arts of a Tyrant's Court cannot make them worse — A Court which never ceaseth to squeeze, kill, and oppress, till it has wound up human Misery so high, that it will go no further. This is so much Fact, that I appeal to all History and Travels, and to those that read them, whether in Arbitrary Countries, both in *Europe* and out of it, the People do not grow thinner, and their Misery greater; and whether Countries are not peopled and rich in Proportion to the Liberty they enjoy and allow.

It has been long my Opinion, and is more and more so, that in slavish Countries the People must either throw off their cruel and destroying Government, and set up another in its Room, or in some Ages the Race of Mankind there will be extinct. Indeed, if it had not been for free States, that have repaired and prevented in many Places the Mischiefs done by Tyrants, the Earth had been long since a Desert, as the finest Countries in it are at this Day by that Means. The Gardens of the World, the fruitful and lovely Countries of the
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lower *Asia*, filled formerly by Liberty with People, Politeness, and Plenty, are now gloriously peopled with Owls and Grasshoppers; and perhaps here and there, at vast Distances, with Inhabitants not more valuable, and less happy; a few dirty Huts of Slaves groaning, starving, and perishing under the fatherly Protection of the *Sultan*, a Prince of the most Orthodox Standard.

The Laws therefore of Tyrants are not Laws, but wild Acts of Will, counselled by Rage or Folly, and executed by Dragoons. And as these Laws are evil, all sorts of Evil must concur to support them. While the People have common Sense left, they will easily see whether they are justly governed and well or ill used; whether they are protected or plundered: They will know that no Man ought to be the Director of the Affairs of All, without their Consent; that no Consent can give him unlimited Power over their Bodies and Minds, and that the Laws of Nature can never be entirely abrogated by positive Laws; but that, on the contrary, the entering into Society, and becoming subject to Government, is only the parting with natural Liberty in some Instances, to be protected in the Enjoyment of it in others.

So that for any Man to have Arbitrary Power, he must have it without Consent; or if it is unadvisedly given at first, they who gave it soon repent when they find its Effects. And in Truth, all those Princes that have such Power, do, by keeping up great Armies in Time of Peace, effectually confess that they rule
without

without Consent, and dread their People, whose worst Enemies they undoubtedly are. An Arbitrary Prince therefore must preserve and execute his Power by Force and Terror; which yet will not do, without calling in the Auxiliary Aids and strict Allies of Tyranny, Imposture, and constant Oppression. Let his People be ever so low and miserable, if they are not also blind, he is not safe. He must have established Deceivers to mislead them with Lies, and terrify them with the Wrath of God, in case they stir Hand or Foot, or so much as a Thought, to mend their doleful Condition; as if the good God was the Sanctifier of all Villainy, and the Patron of the worst of all Villains! And he must have a Band of standing Cut-throats to murder all Men who would sacrilegiously defend their own. And both his Cut-throats and his Deceivers must go Shares with him in his Tyranny.

Men will naturally see their Interest, and feel their Condition; and will quickly find that the Sword, the Rack, and the Sponge, are not Government, but the Height of Cruelty and Robbery; and will never submit to them, but by the united Powers of Violence and Delusion: Their Bodies must be chained, and their Minds enchanted and deceived, and the Sword must be kept constantly over their Heads, and their Spirits kept low with Poverty, before they can be brought to be used at the wanton and brutish Pleasure of the most dignified and lofty Oppressor. So that God must be belied, and his Creatures must be fettered, frightened, deceived, and starved, and Mankind made base
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and undone, that one of the worst of them may live riotously and safely amongst his Whores, Butchers, and Buffoons.

Men, therefore, must cease to be Men, and in Stupidity and Tameness grow Cattle, before they can become quiet Subjects to such a Government; which is a Complication of all the Villainies, Falseness, Oppression, Cruelty, and Depredation, upon the Face of the Earth: Nor can there be a more provoking, impudent, shocking, and blasphemous Position, than to assert all this *Groupe* of Horrors, or the Author of them, is of God's Appointment.

*If such Kings are by God appointed,
Satan may be the Lord's Anointed.*

And whoever scatters such a Doctrine ought, by all the Laws of God, Reason, and Self-Preservation, to be put to Death as a general Poisoner, and an Advocate for publick Destruction.

All Men own, that it is the Duty of a Prince to protect his People: And some have said, that it is their Duty to obey him, when he Butchers them — An admirable Consequence, and full of sweet Consolation! His whole Business and Office is to defend them, and to do them good; therefore, they are bound to let him destroy them — Was ever such Impudence in an enlighten'd Country? It is perfectly agreeable to the Doctrines and Followers of *Mahomet*: But shall *Englishmen*, who make their own Laws, be told, that they have no Right to the common Air, and to the Life and Fortune which God has given them; but by
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the Permission of an Officer of their own making; who is what he is only for their Sakes and Security, and has no more Right to these Blessings, nor to do Evil, than one of themselves? And shall we be told this by Men, who are eternally the first to violate their own Doctrines? Or shall they after this have the Front to teach us any Doctrine, or to recommend to us any one Virtue, when they have thus given up all Virtue and Truth, and every Blessing that Life affords? For there is no Evil, Misery, and Wickedness, which Arbitrary Monarchies do not produce, and must produce; nor do they, or can they produce any certain, general or diffusive Good.

I have shewn, in my last, that an Arbitrary Prince cannot protect his People if he would; and I add here, that he dares not. It would disgust the Instruments of his Power, and the Sharers in his Oppression, who will consider the Property of the People as the Perquisite of their Office, and claim a Privilege of being little Tyrants, for making him a great one: So that every Kindness to his Subjects will be a Grievance to his Servants, and he must assert and exercise his Tyranny to the Height for their Sakes, or they will do it for him. And the Instances are rare, if any, of any Absolute Monarch's protecting in earnest his People against the Depredations of his Ministers and Soldiers, but it has cost him his Life; as may be shewn by many Examples, in the *Roman History*: For this the Emperor *Pertinax* was murder'd, and so was *Galba*.

Machiavel has told us, that it is impossible for such a Prince to please both the People and his Soldiers : The one will not be satisfied without Protection, nor the other without Rapine : To comply with the People, he must give up his Power ; and to comply with his Soldiers, he must give up his People. So that to continue what he is, and to preserve himself from the Violence of his Followers, he must countenance all their Villainies and Oppression, and be himself no more than an Imperial Thief at the Head of a Band of Thieves ; for which Character he is generally well qualified by the base and cruel Maxims of that sort of Power, and by the vile Education always given to such a Prince, by the worst and most infamous of all Men, their supple and lying Sycophants.

Even the Christian Religion can do but little or no Good in Lands of Tyranny, since Miracles have ceased ; but is made to do infinite Harm, by being corrupted and perverted into a deadly Engine in the Hands of a Tyrant and his Impostors, to rivet his Subjects Chains, and to confirm them thorough Wretches, Slaves, and Ignorants I cannot indeed say, that they have the Christian Religion at all amongst them, but only use its amiable Name to countenance abominable Falshoods, and Nonsense, and heavy Oppression ; and to defend furious and implacable Bigotry, which is the direct Characteristick and Spirit of *Mahometanism*, and destroys the very Genius and first Principles of Christianity. All this will be further shewn hereafter. I shall conclude with observing, that Arbitrary Monarchy is a constant
War

War upon Heaven and Earth, and against the Souls as well as Bodies and Properties of Men.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have in former Letters began to shew, by an Induction of Particulars, and shall hereafter more fully shew, that Population, Riches, true Religion, Virtue, Magnanimity, Arts, Sciences and Learning, are the necessary Effects, and Productions of Liberty ; and shall spend this Paper, in proving that an extensive Trade, Navigation, and Naval Power, entirely flow from the same Source : In this Case, if natural Advantages and Encouragements are wanting, Art, Expence, and Violence, are lost and thrown away. Nothing is more certain than that Trade cannot be forced ; she is a coy and humorous Dame, who must be won by Flattery and Allurements, and always flies Force and Power ; she is not confined to Nations, Sects, or Climates, but travels and wanders about the Earth, till she fixes her Residence where she finds the best Welcome and kindest Reception ; her Contexture is so nice and delicate, that she cannot breathe in a tyrannical Air ; Will and Pleasure are so opposite to her Nature, that but touch her with the Sword and she dies : But if you give her gentle and kind Entertainment, she is a grateful and beneficent Mistress ; she will

will turn Desarts into fruitful Fields, Villages into great Cities, Cotages into Palaces, Beggars into Princes, convert Cowards into Heroes, Blockheads into Philosophers, will change the Coverings of little Worms into the richest Brocades, the Fleeces of harmless Sheep into the Pride and Ornaments of Kings, and by a farther Metamorphosis will transmute them again into armed Hosts and haughty Fleets.

Now it is absolutely impossible, from the Nature of an Arbitrary Government, that she should enjoy Security and Protection, or indeed be free from Violence, under it. There is not one Man in a Thousand that has the Endowments and Abilities necessary to govern a State, and much fewer yet that have just Notions how to make Trade and Commerce useful and advantageous to it; and amongst these, 'tis rare to find one who will forgo all personal Advantages, and devote himself and his Labours wholly to his Country's Interest: But if such a Phoenix should arise in any Country, he will find it hard to get Access to an Arbitrary Court, and much harder yet to grapple with and stem the reigning Corruptions in it, where Virtue has nothing to do, and Vice rides triumphant; where Bribery, servile Flattery, blind Submission, riotous Expence, and very often Lust and unnatural Prostitutions, are the Ladders to Greatness; which will certainly be supported by the same Methods by which it is obtained.

What has a virtuous Man to do, or what can he do, in such Company? If he pities the People's Calamities, he shall be called Seditious; if he recommends any Publick Good, he shall be

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be called Preaching Fool; if he should live soberly and virtuously himself, they will think him fit only to be sent to a Cloyster; if he does not flatter the Prince and his Superiors, he will be thought to envy their Prosperity; if he presumes to advise his Prince to pursue his true Interest, he will be esteemed a formidable Enemy to the whole Court, who will unite to destroy him: In fine, his Virtues will be Crimes, Reproaches, and of dangerous Consequence to those who have none. As Jays pick up all the little pilfering Rogues of a Country, so such Courts engross all the great Ones; who have no Business there but to grow rich, and to riot upon the publick Calamities, to use all the Means of Oppression and Rapine, to make hasty Fortunes before the Bow-string overtakes them, or a sudden Favourite supplants them.

Now what Encouragement or Security can Trade and Industry receive from such a Crew of Banditti? No Privileges and Immunities, or even Protection, can be obtained but for Money, and are always granted to those who give most; and these again shall be curtailed, altered, abrogated, and cancelled, upon the Change of a Minister, or of his Inclinations, Interest, and Caprices: Monopolies, exclusive Companies, Liberties of Pre-emption, &c. shall be obtained for Bribes or Favour, or in Trust for great Men, or vile and worthless Women. Some Merchants shall be openly encouraged and protected, and get Exemptions from Searches and Duties, or shall be connived at in escaping them; others shall be burthened,

oppressed, manacled, stopt, and delayed, to extort Presents, to wreak Revenge, or to give Preference of Markets to Favourites. Governors of Port-Towns, or of Colonies, who have purchased their Employments at Court, shall be indulged and countenanced in making Reprisals upon the Traders, and to enable them to satisfy the yearly Presents due to Minions: Admirals and Commanders of Men of War shall press their Sailors, or be paid for not doing it, and Military Officers and Soldiers shall molest and interrupt them in the Course of their Commerce and honest Industry.

Nor shall it be in the Power of the most vigilant, active, and virtuous Prince to prevent these and a Thousand other daily Oppressions; he must see with his Ministers Eyes, and hear with their Ears; nor can there be any Access to him but by their Means, and by their Leave: Constant Spies shall watch and observe the first Intentions, or least Approaches to a Complaint; and the Person injured shall be threatned, way-laid, imprisoned, and perhaps murdered; but if he escapes all their Treacheries, and can get to the Ear of his Prince, 'tis great odds but he will be treated and punished as a Calumniator, a false Accuser, and a seditious Disturber of his Majesty's Government: No Witness will dare to appear for him, and many false ones will be suborned against him; and the whole Posse of Ministers, Officers, Favourites, Parasites, Pathicks, Strumpets, Buffoons, Fiddlers, and Pimps, will conspire to ruin him, as a common Enemy to their common Interests.

But if all these Mischiefs could be avoided, the Necessities of such a Prince, arising from the Profusion and vast Expence of his Court, from his foolish Wars, and the Depredations, Embezzlements, and various Thefts of his Ministers and Servants, will be always calling for new Supplies, for new Extortions, which must be raised by all the Means by which they can be raised: New and sudden Impositions shall be put upon Trade, new Loans be exacted from Merchants; Commodities of general Use shall be bought up by the Prince's Order, and perhaps upon Trust, and afterwards retailed again at extravagant Advantages: Merchants shall be encouraged to import their Goods upon Promises of easy and gentle Usage, and these Goods when imported shall be subjected to exorbitant Impositions and Customs, and perhaps confiscated upon frivolous Pretences. But if these, and infinite other Oppressions, could be prevented for some time, by the Vigilance of a wise Prince, or the Care of an able Minister, yet there can be no probable Security, or even Hopes of the Continuance of honest and prudent Measures in such a Government; for One wise Prince so educated, there will be Twenty foolish ones, and for One honest Minister, there will be a Thousand corrupt ones.

Under such natural Disadvantages, perpetual Uncertainties, or rather certain Oppressions, no Men will embark large Stocks and extensive Talents for Business, breed up their Children to precarious Employments, build Forts or plant Colonies, when the Breath of a weak Prince,

or the Caprice of a corrupt Favourite, shall dash at once all their Labours and their Hopes; and therefore it is impossible that any Trade can subsist long in such a Government, but what is necessary to support the Luxury and Vices of a Court; and even such Trade is, for the most part, carried on by the Stocks, and for the Advantage of free Countries, and their own petty Merchants are only Factors to the others. True Merchants are Citizens of the World, and that is their Country where they can live best and most secure; and whatever they can pick up and gather together in tyrannical Governments, they remove to free ones. *Tavernier* invested all the Riches he had amassed by his long Ramble over the World in the barren Rocks of *Switzerland*: And being asked by the last King of *France*, how it came to pass that he, who had seen the finest Countries on the Globe, came to lay out his Fortune in the worst; he gave his haughty Majesty this short Answer, That he was willing to have something which he could call his own.

As I think it is evident by what I have said before, that Trade cannot long subsist, much less flourish, in Arbitrary Governments; so there is so close and inseparable a Connexion between that and Naval Power, that I dare boldly affirm, that the latter can never arrive to any formidable Height, and continue long in that Situation, under such a State. Where there is an extensive Trade, great Numbers of able-bodied and courageous Sailors, Men bred to Fatigues, Hardships, and Hazards, and consequently Soldiers by Profession, are kept in
constant

constant Pay ; not only without any Charge to the Publick, but greatly to its Benefit ; not only by daily adding to its Wealth and Power, but by venting and employing Abroad, to their Country's Honour and Safety, those turbulent and unruly Spirits that would be Fuel for Factions, and the Tools and Instruments of ambitious or discontented Great Men at Home. These Men are always ready at their Country's Call, to defend the Profession they live by, and with it the publick Happiness: They are, and ever must be, in the publick Interest, with which their own is so closely united ; for they subsist by exporting the Productions of the People's Industry, which they constantly encrease by so doing : They receive their Pay from the Merchants, a Sort of Men always in the Interests of Liberty, from which alone they can receive Protection and Encouragement. And as this Race of Men contribute vastly to the publick Security and Wealth, so they take nothing from it : They are not quartered up and down their native Country, like the Bands of despotick Princes, to oppress their Subjects, interrupt their Industry, debauch their Wives and Daughters, insult their Persons, to be Examples of Lewdness and Prodigality, and to be always ready at Hand to execute the bloody Commands of a Tyrant.

No Monarch was ever yet powerful enough to keep as many Seamen in constant Pay at his own Expence, as single Cities have been able to do without any at all : The Pay of a Sailor, with his Provision, is equal to that of a Trooper in Arbitrary Governments ; nor can they learn their

Trade, by taking Sea-Air for a few Summer Months, and waſting about the Coaſts of their own Country : They gain Experience and Boldneſs, by various and difficult Voyages, and by being conſtantly inured to Hardſhips and Dangers. Nor is it poſſible for ſingle Princes, with all their Power and Vigilance, to have ſuch regular Supplies of Naval Proviſions, as trading Countries muſt have always in Store. There muſt be a regular and conſtant Intercourſe with the Nations from whom theſe Supplies come ; a certain and regular Method of paying for them ; and conſtant Demands will produce conſtant Supplies. There are always numerous Magazines in the Hands of private Merchants, ready for their own Uſe or Sale. There muſt be great Numbers of Shipwrights, Anchor-Smiths, Rope and Sail-Makers, and infinite other Artificers, ſure always of conſtant Employments ; and who, if they are oppreſſed by one Maſter, may go to another. There muſt be Numbers of Ships uſed for Trade, that, upon Occaſions, may be employed for Men of War, for Transports, for Fireſhips, and Tenders. Now all theſe Things, or ſcarce any of them, can ever be brought about by Arbitrary Courts ; Stores will be embezzled, exhausted, and worn out before new ones are ſupplied ; Payments will not be punctually made ; Artificers will be diſcouraged, oppreſſed, and often left without Employ : Every thing will be done at an exorbitant Expence, and often not done when it is paid for ; and when Payments are made, the greateſt Part ſhall go in Fees, or for Bribes, or in ſecret Truſts.

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For these Reasons, and many others, despotic Monarchs, though infinitely powerful at Land, yet could never rival *Neptune*, and extend their Empire over the liquid World; for though great and vigorous Efforts have been often made by these haughty Tyrants of Mankind, to subject that Element to their Ambition and their Power, being taught by woful Experience, arising from perpetual Losses and Disappointments, of what vast Importance that Dominion was to unlimited and universal Sovereignty; yet all their Riches, Application and Pride have never been able, in one Instance, to effect it. Sometimes indeed, like a Phantome, she has made a faint Appearance at an Arbitrary Court, but disappear'd again at the first Approach of the Morning Light: She is the Portion of free States, is married to Liberty, and ever flies the foul and polluted Embraces of a Tyrant.

The little State of *Athens* was always able to humble the Pride, and put a Check to the growing Greatness of the towering *Persian* Monarchs, by their Naval Power; and when stripp'd of all their Territories by Land, and even their Capital City, the Seat of their Commonwealth, yet had Strength enough left to vanquish their numerous Fleets, which almost covered the Sea, and to defeat an Expedition carried on by Armies that drank up Rivers, and exhausted all the Stores of Land.

The single City of *Venice* has proved it self and Over-match in Naval Power to the great *Ottoman* Empire, possessed of so many Islands, useful Ports, environ'd with so many Sea Coasts,

and abounding with all sorts of Stores necessary to Navigation ; and in the Year Fifty six, gave them so signal an Overthrow at the *Dardanel*s, as put that State in such a Consternation, that they believed their Empire at an End ; and 'tis thought if the *Venetians* had pursued their Victory, they had driven them out of *Constantinople*, and even out of *Europe* ; for the Grand Seignior himself was preparing to fly into *Asia*. The little Island of *Rhodes* defended itself for some Ages against the whole Power of the *Sultan*, tho' encompassed by his Dominions ; and it was with great Difficulty, Hazard, and Expence, that he at last overcame them, and drove the Inhabitants to *Malta*, where they have ever since braved his Pride, and live upon the Plunder of his Subjects : And notwithstanding all his numerous and expensive Efforts to share with the Christians the Dominion of the Sea ; yet there are no other Seeds or Traces of it left through his great and extensive Territories, but what are found in the free Pyratial States of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*.

Neither the *Sophi* of *Persia*, the *Great Mogul*, the many Kings who command the Banks of the *Ganges*, nor all the haughty Potentates of *Asia* and *Africk*, are able to contend at Sea with the *Englisk* or *Dutch East-India* Companies, or even to defend their Subjects against but few Pyrates, with all their Population, and their Mines of Gold and Diamonds.

Spain in all her Pride, with the Wealth of both *Indies*, with Dominions so vast and extensive, that the Sun rises and sets within them, and a Sea-Line, which if extended would environ

viron the Earth, yet was not able to dispute their Title to that Element with a few revolted Provinces, who grew up through the Course of an expensive War to that amazing Greatness, that in less than a Century they saw themselves, from a few Fisher-Towns encompassed with Bogs and Morasses, become a most formidable State, equal to the greatest Potentates at Sea, and to most at Land; to have great Kings in a distant World submit to be their Vassals; and, in fine, to be Protectors of that mighty Nation from whom they revolted. Here is a stupendious Instance of the Effects of Liberty, which neighbouring Monarchs with Twenty times the Territory tremble at, and Posterity will hardly believe.

France with all its Oeconomy, Address, and Power, with its utmost and most expensive Efforts, and the Assistance of neighbouring and rival Kings, has not been able to establish an Empire upon that coy Element. She saw it, like a Mushroom, rise in a Night, and wither again the next Day. It's true, at immense Expence and infinite Labour, she got together a formidable Fleet, and with it got Victories, and took Thousands of rival Ships; yet every Day grew weaker as her Enemies grew stronger, and could never recover a single Defeat, which in *Holland* would have been repaired in a few more Weeks than the Battle was Days in fighting: So impossible it is for Art to contend against Nature, and Slavery to dispute the Naval Prize with Liberty.

Sweden and *Denmark*, though possessed of the Naval Stores of *Europe*, who subsist by that

Commerce, and are constantly employed to build Ships for their Neighbours, yet are not able, with their united Force, to equip, man out, and keep upon the Sea for any considerable Time, a Fleet large enough to dispute with an *English* or *Dutch* Squadron; and I dare venture my Reputation and Skill in Politicks, by boldly asserting, that another vain and unnatural Northern Apparition will soon vanish and disappear again, like the Morning Star at the Glimmering of the Sun, and every one shall ask, *Where is it?*

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have shewn in my last, that Trade and Naval Power are produced by Liberty only; and shall shew in This, that Military Virtue can proceed from nothing else, as I have in a good Measure shewn already.

In free Countries, as People work for themselves, so they fight for themselves: But in Arbitrary Countries, 'tis all one to the People, in Point of Interest, who conquers them; they cannot be worse used; and when a Tyrant's Army is beat, his Country is conquered: He has no Resource, his Subjects having neither Arms, nor Courage, nor Reason to fight for him: He has no Support but his standing Forces, who, for enabling him to oppress, go Sharers in his Oppression; and fighting for themselves while they fight for him, do sometimes fight well:

But

But his poor People, who are oppressed by him, can have no other Concern for his Fate, than to wish him the worst.

In Attacks upon a free State, every Man will fight to defend it, because every Man has something to defend in it. He is in love with his Condition, his Ease, and Property, and will venture his Life rather than lose them, because with them he loses all the Blessings of Life. When these Blessings are gone, it is Madness to think that any Man will spill his Blood for him who took them away, and is doubtless his Enemy, tho' he may call himself his Prince: It is much more natural to wish his Destruction, and help to procure it.

For these Reasons, small free States have conquered the greatest Princes; and the greatest Princes have never been able to conquer free States, but either by surprizing them basely, or by corrupting them, or by Forces almost infinitely superior, or when they were distracted and weaken'd by domestick Divisions and Treachery.

The *Greeks* thought scarce any Number of *Persians* too great for their own small Armies, or any Army of their own too small for the greatest Number of *Persians*. *Agessilaus* invaded the great *Persian* Empire, the greatest then in the World, at the Head of no more than Ten Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, and carried all before him; he defeated the *Asiatick* Forces with so much Ease, that they scarce interrupted his March; he subdued their Provinces as fast as he entered them, and he took their Cities without setting down before them: And had he not been recalled by his
Countrymen

Countrymen, to defend his own City against a Confederacy of other *Greek* Cities, much more terrible Foes than the greatest Armies of the great King, it is very probable that that brave old *Spartan* would have soon robbed him of his Empire.

And not long before this, when *Cyrus* made War upon his Brother *Artaxerxes* for the Crown, Thirteen Thousand auxiliary *Greeks* entertain'd by him for that End, routed the Emperor's Army of Nine Hundred Thousand Men, and got the Victory for *Cyrus*, had he outliv'd the Battle to enjoy it. And though they had now lost the Prince they fought for, and afterwards *Clearchus* their General, who with other of their Officers was treacherously murdered by the *Persians* when they had brought him to a Parley; tho' they were in great Streights, destitute of Horses, Money, and Provisions, far from Home, in the Heart of an Enemy's Country, watched and distressed by a great Army of Four Hundred Thousand Men, who waited for an Occasion to cut them off in their Retreat, if they attempted it; yet these excellent Soldiers, excellent by being Freemen, commanded by the famous *Xenophon*, made good that Retreat of Two Thousand Three Hundred Miles over the Bellies of their Enemies, through Provinces of *Persians*, and in spite of a vast Host of *Persians*, who coasted and harass'd them all the Way.

Alexander of *Macedon*, with his free *Greeks*, attack'd the *Persians*, and beat them at all Disadvantages in the open Fields, when they were five, ten, nay, twenty Times his Number; and

and having passed the *Hellepont* with not Fifteen Thousand Pounds in his Treasury, and not above Thirty-five Thousand Men in his Army, he made himself Master of that great and overgrown Empire, with as much Expedition as he could travel over it; and though he fought three Battles for it, he scarce lost in them all one Regiment of his Men.

Leonidas, at the Head of Four Thousand *Greeks*, fought *Xerxes* at the Head of Six and twenty Hundred Thousand *Persians*, according to *Herodotus*, in the Streights of *Thermopylae* for two Days together, and repulsed them at every Assault with vast Slaughter; nor did they at last get the better of him, till being led by a treacherous *Greek* a secret Way over the Mountains, they fell upon him in the Rear, and surrounded him with their Numbers; neither did he then desert his Post, tho' all his Men retreated, except Three Hundred *Spartans*, who resolutely stood by him, and were all slain with him upon the Spot; with Twenty Thousand *Persians* round them.

The *Romans*, enjoying the same Liberty, and animated by it, vanquished all the enslaved Nations of the known World, with the same Ease, and upon the same unequal Terms. The subduing of free Countries cost them long Labour and Patience, great Difficulty, and a World of Blood; and they suffered many Defeats before they got a decisive Victory: The Inhabitants being all Freemen were all brave; all Soldiers, and were exhausted before their States could be conquered: And the *Volsicians*, *Aequians*, *Tuscans*, and *Samnites* preserved their Liberties

Liberties, as long as they had Men left to defend them. The *Samnites* particularly declared in their Embassy to *Hannibal*, that having often brought great Numbers of Men into the Field against the *Romans*, and sometimes defeated the *Roman* Armies, they were at last so wasted that they could not resist one *Roman* Legion.

But when the *Romans* came to War against great and arbitrary Kings, they had little else to do but to shew their Swords; they gained Battles almost without fighting, and Two or Three Legions have routed Three or Four Hundred Thousand Men. One Battle generally won a Kingdom, and sometimes two or three. *Antiochus* was so frightened with one Skirmish with *Acilius* at *Thermopylae*, that he run away out of *Greece*, and left all he possessed there to the *Romans*; and being beaten afterwards by *Scipio*, the Brother of *Africanus*, he quitted to them all his Kingdoms and Territories on this side Mount *Taurus*. And *Paulus Aemilius*, by one Battle with *Perseus*, became Master of *Macedonia*. *Tigranes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Syphax*, all Monarchs of mighty Territories, were still more easily vanquished. So that the great Kingdoms of *Asia*, *Aegypt*, *Numidia*, and *Macedon*, were all of them much more easily overcome, and suffered much fewer Defeats than the *Samnites* alone, though inhabiting a small barren Province.

The only dreadful Foes the *Romans* ever found, were People as free as themselves; and the most dreadful of all were the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* alone beat them oftner, and slew more of their Men in Battle, than all the Kings in
the

the World ever did, or could do. But for all the great and repeated Defeats he gave them, though he had destroyed Two Hundred Thousand of their Men, and many of their excellent Commanders; and though, at the same Time, their Armies were cut off in *Spain*, and with them the two brave *Scipio's*; and though they had suffered great Losses in *Sicily*, and at Sea; yet they never sunk nor wanted Soldiers, nor their Soldiers Courage; and as to great Commanders, they had more and better than ever they had before: And having conquered *Hannibal*, they quickly conquered the World.

This vast Virtue of theirs, and this unconquerable Spirit, was not owing to Climate or Complexion, but to Liberty alone, and the Equality of their Government, in which every *Roman* had a Share: They were nursed up in the Principles of Liberty; in their Infancy they were instructed to love it, and Experience afterwards confirmed their Affections, and shewed them its glorious Advantages: Their own happy Condition taught them a Contempt and Indignation for those wretched and barbarous Governments, which could neither afford their Subjects Happiness nor Protection: And when they attack'd these Governments and their wretched People, they found themselves like Lions amongst Sheep.

It is therefore Government alone that makes Men cowardly or brave: And *Boccalini* well ridicules the absurd Complaint of the Princes of his Time, that their Subjects wanted that Love for their Country which was found in free States, when he makes *Apollo* tell them,
that

that no People were ever in Love with Rapine, Fraud, and Oppression; that they must mend their own Administration, and their Peoples Condition; and that People will then love their Country, when they live happily in it. The old *Romans* were Masters of Mankind; but the present Race of People in *Rome*, are not a Match for one of the *Swiss* Cantons; nor could these Cantons ever be conquered, even by the united Forces of the House of *Austria*. *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was the last that durst invade them; but tho' he had been a long Terror and constant Rival to *Louis* the XIth of *France*, a crafty, politic, and powerful Monarch; and often too hard for him; he paid dear for his Bravery in attacking the *Switzers*, and lost by doing it Three Armies, and his own Life. They were a free People, and fought in their own Quarrel; the greatest Incitement upon Earth to Boldness and Magnanimity. The *Switzers* had a Property, tho' in Rocks; and were Freemen, though amongst Mountains. This gives them the Figure they make in *Europe*; such a Figure, that they are courted by the greatest Princes in it, and have supported some of them in their Wars, when their own native Slaves could not support them.

The *Dutch*, having revolted from the greatest Potentate then in *Europe*, defended themselves against all his Power for near an Hundred Years, and grew rich all the Time, while he grew poor; so poor, that *Spain* has never yet recovered its Losses in that War: And though they are in their Constitution more
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formed for Trade than War, yet their own Bravery in their own Defence is astonishing to those that know not what the Spirit of Liberty can do in any People: Even their Women joined to defend their Walls; as the Women of *Sparta* once did, and as the Women of *Barcelona* more lately did, tho' the united Force of the Two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain* had at last the Honour to take that City, especially when We, who had engaged them in the War, had also given them up.

These same *Dutch* in that War, when they were closely besieged in one of their Towns by the *Spanish* Army, let in the Sea upon their Country, trusting rather to the Mercy of that Element, than to the Mercy of an invading Tyrant; and the Sea saved them. It must be remembered too, that they had the Power of the Emperor, as well as that of *Spain*, to contend with; both these mighty Monarchs having joined their Counsels and Arms to subdue Seven little Provinces, which yet they never were able to subdue: The City of *Ostend* alone cost them a Three Years Siege, and an Hundred and Thirty Thousand Men; and when they took it, they took only a Heap of Rubbish, to which it was reduced before it was surrendered.

In free States, every Man being a Soldier, or quickly made so, they improve in a War, and every Campaign they fight better and better: Whereas the Armies of an absolute Prince grow every Campaign worse; especially if they are composed of his own Subjects, who being Slaves, are with great Difficulty and long Discipline

cipline made Soldiers, and scarce ever made good ones ; and when his old Troops are gone, his new ones signify little. This was eminently shewn in the late War with *France*, which degenerated in Arms every Year ; while the *English* and *Dutch* did as evidently mend. And doubtless, if the *French* Barrier of fortified Towns had been quite broken through, as it was very near, One Battle would have completed the Conquest of *France*, and perhaps it would not have cost a Battle.

And if free States support themselves better in a War than an absolute Prince, they do likewise much sooner retrieve their Losses by it. The *Dutch*, when they had been beaten twice at Sea by *Cromwell's* Admirals and *English* Seamen, with great Slaughter and Loss of Ships, did notwithstanding, in Two Months Time after the second great Defeat, fit out a Third Fleet of a Hundred and Forty Men of War, under the famous *Van Trump* : Upon this Lord *Clarendon* observes, that “ there cannot be a greater Instance of the Opulency of that People, than that they should be able, after so many Losses, and so late a great Defeat, in so short a Time, to set out a Fleet strong enough to visit those who had so lately overcome them.” This is what no Arbitrary Prince in *Europe*, or upon the Face of the Earth, could have done ; nor do I believe, that all the Arbitrary Monarchs in *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, with all their united Powers together, could do it at this Day. The whole Strength of the *Spanish* Monarchy could not fit out their famous *Armada*, without the Assistance

Assistance of Money from the little free State of *Genoa*; and that invincible *Armada*, being beaten by the *English* and quite destroyed, *Spain* has never been able, with all her *Indies*, and her Mountains of Silver and Gold, to make any Figure at Sea since, nor been able to pay that very Money which equip'd that its last great Fleet.

The little City of *Tyre* gave *Alexander the Great* more Resistance, and cost him more Labour to take it, than to conquer the great Monarchy of *Asia*; and tho', when with infinite Labour and Courage he had taken it, he burnt it to the Ground, slew eight thousand *Tyrians* in the Sackage of their Town, crucified two thousand more, and sold all the rest for Slaves; yet some of the Citizens, with their Wives and Children, being escaped to *Carthage*, (a Colony of their own) and others being conveyed away and saved by their Neighbours the *Sidonians* during the Seige, they returned and rebuilt their desolated City; and in so small a Time as nineteen Years afterwards, endured another Seige of fifteen Months from *Antigonus*, the most powerful of all *Alexander's* Successors; nor could he take it at last, but upon honourable Terms. What an Instance of the Blessings and Power of Liberty and Trade!

From the Moment the *Romans* lost their Liberty, their Spirit was gone, and their Valour scarce ever after appeared. In the Beginning of *Augustus's* Reign, the best and bravest of them perished by the Sword, either in the Civil War, where *Romans* fighting against *Romans*, Multitudes were slain with *Brutus* and *Cassius*,
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the last brave Men that ever drew a Sword for the Commonwealth, or in the bloody Proscriptions that followed; wherein all the excellent Men and Assertors of Liberty, who escaped the Battle, were gleaned up and murdered by Soldiers and Informers, and amongst the rest, the divine *Cicero*. Afterwards, when *Augustus* had got the World to himself, *Jura omnium in se traxit*; Flatterers were his only Favourites, and none were preferred to Magistracy, but the servile Creatures of his Power; Liberty was extinct, and its Spirit gone, and tho' there was a universal Peace, yet the Power of the Empire continually decayed. *Augustus* himself was so sensible of this, that the Loss of two or three Legions under *Varus* in *Germany*, frightened him, and had almost broke his Heart; not from any Tenderness in it, for he had butchered Myriads, and enslaved all; but he knew that now *Roman* Legions were hard to be got, and scarce worth getting. Having destroy'd so many brave *Romans*, and made the rest base by Slavery, and by the Corruptions which support it, he knew the Difficulty of forming a *Roman* Army.

His Successors were worse; they went on in a perpetual Series of Slaughters, dreading and destroying every Thing that had the Appearance of Virtue or Goodness; and even so early as *Tiberius's* Reign, That Emperor, says *Tacitus*, knew *magis Fama quam vi stare res suas*, that his Empire was supported more by the Reputation of *Roman* Greatness, than by the real Strength of the *Romans*, who grew every Day more and more weak and wretched; and tho' they had

now

now and then a little Sun-shine in the Reign of a good Emperor, yet the Root of the Evil remained : They were no longer Freemen ; and for far the most part, their Government was nothing else but a constant State of Oppression, and a continued Succession of Massacres. Tyrants governed them, and Soldiers created and governed the Tyrants, or butchered them if they would not be Butchers.

As to military Virtue, it was no more : The Prætorian Bands were only a Band of Hangmen with an Emperor at their Head ; *Italy* and the Provinces were exhausted ; the *Roman* People were nothing but an idle and debauched Mob, who cared not who was uppermost, so they had but a little Victuals and saw Shews : The provincial Armies were foreign Hirelings, and there was not a *Roman* Army in the *Roman* Empire. *Inops Italia, plebs urbana imbellis, nihil in exercitibus validum præter externum.* This was said not long after the Death of *Augustus* ; nor do I remember an Instance of one great *Roman* Captain after *Germanicus* and *Corbulo* ; the first murdered by *Tiberius*, his Uncle and Father by Adoption ; and the other by *Nero*, for whom he reconquered and settled the *East* ; and after *Vespasian* and *Titus*, every *Roman* Emperor of remarkable Bravery was a Foreigner, and every Victory gained by them, was gained by Foreigners ; who being all Mercenaries, were perpetually setting up and pulling down their own Monarchs. At length, being possessed of the whole Power of the Empire, they took it to themselves ; and thus it ended, and became dismembered by several Nations, and into several

veral Governments, according to their Fortune; and it is remarkable, that tho' those Nations had frequent Wars amongst themselves about the Countries they invaded, yet they had nothing to apprehend from the *Romans* while they were seizing *Roman* Provinces.

Tyrants are so sensible that when they have lost their Army, they have lost all, that amongst their other destructive Expedients to preserve themselves, whatever becomes of their People, one of their Methods is to lay whole Counties waste, and to keep them waste, to prevent an Invader from subsisting; and their best Provinces are by this Means turned often into Wilderesses. For this Reason a March to *Constantinople* is scarce practicable to an Enemy from any Quarter.

I will conclude with answering an Objection: It may be said, that the Armies of Tyrants do often fight bravely, and are brave; and I own it is true in many Instances: But I desire it may be remembered, that in Arbitrary Countries, nothing flourishes except the Court and the Army. A Tyrant must give his Spoilers Part of the Spoil, or else they will fight but faintly for it, or perhaps put him to death if he does not. The most absolute Princes must therefore use their Soldiers like Freemen, as they tender their own Power and their Lives; and under the greatest Tyrants, the Men of War enjoy great Privileges, even greater than in Free States. The Privileges and Immunities they enjoy, constitute a Sort of Liberty, dear to themselves, but terrible always to the Subject, and often pernicious to the Prince; it
being

being the certain Condition of a Tyrant, that to be able to oppress his People, or plague his Neighbours, he must empower his Soldiers to destroy himself.

The chief Forces therefore of an Arbitrary Prince, consist of Freemen: Such were the Prætorian Bands of the *Roman* Emperors, and such are the *Turkish* Janizaries; and both of them, tho' they maintained the Tyranny, have frequently kill'd the Tyrants; and such are the Grand Seignior's *Zaims*, *Tymariots*, or Horsemen, who have Lands given them in the Provinces, and are the only Nobility and Gentry there: And such too were the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt*, which Country at last they usurped for themselves, having put the King their Master to death. I might mention here the *Swiss* Guards, and *Gens d'armes* of a neighbouring Prince, which are his Janizaries. As to the *Turkish* Janizaries, I own the Sultan may put particular Men of them to death, but no Sultan dares touch their Privileges as a Body; and two or three of their greatest Emperors were deposed and destroyed by them for attempting it.

Meer Slaves can defend no Prince, nor enable him even to rule over Slaves: So that by giving Liberty, or rather Licentiousness, to a few, the Slavery of All is maintained.

All this does, I think, fully prove, that where there is no Liberty, there can be no Magnanimity. It is true, Enthusiasm has inspired Armies, and most remarkably of all the *Saracen* Armies, with amazing Resolution and Fury; but even that was Fierceness for Liberty
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of Opinion to themselves, and for subduing all Men to it; and besides, this Courage of Enthusiasm is rarely eminent, except in the first Rise of States and Empires.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Shall shew in this Paper, that neither the Christian Religion, nor Natural Religion, nor any thing else that ought to be called Religion, can subsist under Tyrannical Governments, now that Miracles are ceased. I readily confess, that such Governments are fertile in Superstition, in wild Whimsies, delusive Phantoms, and ridiculous Dreams, proper to terrify the humane Soul, degrade its Dignity, deface its Beauty, and fetter it with slavish and unmanly Fears, to render it a proper Object of Fraud, Grimace, and Imposition; and to make Mankind the ready Dupes of gloomy Impostors, and the tame Slaves of raging Tyrants. Servitude established in the Mind, is best established.

But all these bewildered Imaginations, these dark and dreadful Horrors, which banish Reason, and contract and imbitter the Heart, what have they to do with true Religion, unless to destroy it?—That Religion, which improves and enlarges the Faculties of Men, exalts their Spirits, and makes them brave for God and themselves; that Religion, which
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gives them great and worthy Conceptions of the Deity; and that Religion, which inspires them with generous and beneficent Affections to one another, and with universal Love and Benevolence to the whole Creation. No Man can love God, if he loves not his Neighbour; and whoever loves his Neighbour, will neither injure, revile, nor oppress him: Nor can we otherwise shew our Love to God, than by kind, humane and affectionate Actions to his Creatures: *A new Commandment, says our blessed Saviour, I give unto you, that ye love one another.*

Almighty God, the great Author of our Nature, and of all Things, who has the Heavens for his Throne, and the Earth for his Footstool, is raised far above the Reach of our Kindness, our Malice or our Flattery. He derives infinite Happiness from his own infinite Perfections; nor can any frail Power or Actions of ours lessen or improve it: Religion therefore, from which he can reap no Advantage, was instituted by him for the Sake of Men, as the best Means and the strongest Motive to their own Happiness, and mutual Happiness; and by it Men are taught and animated to be useful, assisting, forgiving, kind and merciful one to another. But to hurt, calumniate or hate one another for his Sake, and in Defence of any Religion, is a flat Contradiction to his Religion, and an open Defiance of the Author of Religion: And to quarrel about Belief and Opinions, which do not immediately and necessarily produce practical Virtue and social Duties, is equally wicked and absurd. This is

to be wicked in behalf of Righteousness, and to be cruel out of Piety. A Religion which begets Selfishness and Partiality only to a few, and its own Followers, and which inspires Hatred and Outrage toward all the rest of the World, can never be the Religion of the merciful and impartial Maker and Judge of the World. Speculations are only so far a Part of Religion, as they produce the moral Duties of Religion, general Peace and unlimited Charity, publick Spirit, Equity, Forbearance, and good Deeds to all Men: And the Worship of God is no longer the Worship of God, than as it warms our Minds with the Remembrance of his gracious Condescensions, his indulgent Care, Bounty, and Providence, exercised towards us; and as it raises and forms our Affections to an Imitation of such his divine and unrestrained Goodness, and to use one another kindly by his great Example, who uses us all so. So that our worthy, tender, and beneficent Behaviour to one another, is the best Way to acknowledge his to us: It is the most acceptable Way we can worship him, and the Way he will best accept our Worship: And whatever Devotion has not this Effect, or a contrary Effect, is the dry or mad Freaks of an Enthusiast, and ought to be called by another and a properer Name.

This is a general Idea of true Religion, and these are the certain and only Marks of it: All which, as they are opposite to the Essence and Spirit of an Arbitrary Government; so every Arbitrary Government is an Enemy to the Spirit of true Religion, and defeats its Ends. In these Governments, in Defiance of Religion,
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Humanity, and common Sense, Millions must be miserable to exalt and embellish one or a few, and to make them proud, arrogant, and great : Protection and Security are no more ; the Spirit of the People is sunk ; and their Industry discouraged and lost, or only employed to feed Luxury and Pride ; and Multitudes starve, that a few may riot and abound. All Love to Mankind is extinct, and Virtue and publick Spirit are dangerous or unknown ; while Vice, Falshood and servile Sycophancy become necessary to maintain precarious Safety and an ignominious Life : And, in fine, Men live upon the Spoils of one another, like ravenous Fishes and Beasts of Prey : They become rapacious, brutish and savage to one another, as their cruel Governors are to them all ; and as a further Imitation of such Masters, their Souls are abject, mean, and villainous. To live upon Prey, and worry humane Race, is the Genius and Support of Tyrants, as well as of Wolves and Tygers ; and it is the Spirit and Practice of Men to resemble their Governors, and to act like them. Virtue and Vice in Courts, run like Water in a continual Descent, and quickly overflow the inferior Soil.

Torva Læna lupum, &c.

Now, what can be found here to answer the Spirit and Precepts of the Christian Religion, which is all Love, Charity, Meekness, mutual Assistance, and mutual Indulgence ; and must either destroy Tyranny, which destroys all these, or be destroyed by it ? A Religion given by

God to inspire Men with every social Virtue, and to furnish them with every Argument for social Happiness, will never find Quarter, much less Protection, from a Government, which subsists by an unrelenting War against every Virtue, and all humane Felicity. On the contrary, all its divine Doctrines shall be perverted, all its divine Principles mangled, and both its Principles and its Precepts corrupted, disguised and wrested, to be made free of the Court: Truth will be made to patronize Imposture, and Meekness to support Tyranny: Obedience to equal Laws, and Submission to just Authority, shall be turned into a servile and crouching Subjection to blind Rage and inhumane Fury; complaisant and respectful Behaviour into slavish Flattery, and supple Homage to Power; Meekness and Humility into Dejection, Poverty of Spirit, and bodily Prostrations; Charity, Benevolence, and Humanity, into a fiery and outrageous Zeal, to propagate fashionable and gainful Opinions: Christian Courage shall be changed into Cruelty and brutish Violence; impartial Justice into savage Severity; Protection into Oppression and Plundering; the Fear of God into the Fear of Man; and the Worship of the Deity into an idolatrous Adoration of a Tyrant.

Tho' God Almighty sent his only Son into the World to teach his Will to Men, and to confirm his Mission by Wonders and Miracles; yet, having once fully manifested himself and his Law, he has left it to be propagated and carried on by humane Means only, according to the Holy Writings inspired by him; and if

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the Powers of the World will not submit to those Directions, and will neither pursue them themselves, nor suffer their Subjects to pursue them, nor leave them the Means of doing it; then the Christian Religion must take the Fate of all sublunary Things, and be lost from amongst Men, unless Heaven interposes again miraculously in its Favour. Now the Experience of all Ages will convince us, that all tyrannical Princes will be against the Religion, which is against them; and either abolish it, or, which is much worse, pervert it into a deadly and unnatural Engine, to encrease and defend that Pride and Power, which Christianity abhors; and to promote those Evils and Miseries, which Christianity forbids, and were it left to itself, would prevent or relieve. A Religion modelled by usurped Power, to countenance Usurpation and Oppression, is as opposite to the Christian Religion, as Tyranny is to Liberty, and Wickedness to Virtue. When Religion is taught to speak Court-Language, and none are suffered to preach it, but such as speak the same Dialect; when those who are Ministers of the Gospel, must be also the Ministers of Ambition, and either sanctify Falshood and Violence, by the Word of Mercy and Truth, or hold their Tongues; when Preferments and worldly Honours are on the Side of Imposture, and Gallies, Racks, and Dungeons are the Rewards of Conscience and Piety; the Good and Efficacy of Christianity will be as effectually gone, as if it were formally exchanged for *Mahometanism*; and under those Circumstances if its Name is retained, it is only

retained to do Evil, and might be innocently banished with the Thing. The Christian Religion has as rarely gained by Courts, as Courts have improved by the Christian Religion; and Arbitrary Courts have seldom meddled with it, but either to persecute it, or debase and corrupt it; nor could the Power and Fury of Tyrants ever hurt or weaken it so much as their pretended Favours and Countenance have done: By appearing for it, they turned their Power most effectually against it. Their avowed Persecution of Christianity, did only destroy Christians; but afterwards, while they set up for protecting none but the true Christians, that is, those that were as bad as themselves, and having no Religion of their own, adopted blindly the Religion of their Prince; and for punishing all who were not true Christians, that is, all that were better than themselves, and would take their Religion from no Man's Word, but only from the Word of God; they listed Christians against Christians, and disfigured, undermined and banished Christianity itself, by false Friendship to its Professors: And these Professors thus corrupted, joining a holy Title to an impious Cause, concurred in the Conspiracy, and contended fiercely in the Name of Christ for secular Advantages, which Christ never gave nor took, and for a secular Sovereignty, which he rejected, and his Gospel forbids. Thus one sort of Tyranny was artfully made to support another, and both by a Union of Interests maintained a War against Religion under Colour of defending it, and fought the Author of it under his own Banner; that is, as

Dr. Tillotson finely says, *They lied for the Truth, and killed for God's Sake.*

The many various and contradictory Opinions of weak Enthusiasts, or of designing Men, and all the different and repugnant Interpretations of Scripture, published and contended for by them, could have done but small Prejudice to Religion and Society, if humane Authority had not interposed with its Penalties and Rewards, annexed to the believing or not believing fortuitous Speculations, useles Nottions, dry Idea's, and the inconsistent Reveries of disordered Brains; or the selfish Inventions of usurping Popes, ambitious Synods, and turbulent and aspiring Doctors, or the crafty Schemes of discontented or oppressive Statesmen: For all these have been the important Causes, and the wicked Fewel of religious Wars and Persecutions.

It is so much the general Interest of Society to perform and to encourage all its Members to perform the practical Duties of Religion, that if a stronger and more prevailing Interest were not thrown by Power into the contrary Scale, there would be no Difference amongst Men about the Nature and Extent of their Duties to Magistrates, to Parents, Children, and to Friends and Neighbours: And if these social Duties (the only Duties humane Society, as such, is concerned to promote) were agreed upon and practised, the Magistrate would have no more to do with their Opinions than with their Shape and Complexion; nor could he know, if he would, by what Method to alter

them. No Man's Belief is in his own Power, or can be in the Power of another.

The utmost Length the Power of the Magistrate can in this Matter extend, beyond that of Exhortation, which is in every Man's Power, can be only to make Hypocrites, Slaves, Fools, or Atheists. When he has forced his Subjects to bely their Consciences, or to act against them, he has in effect driven them out of all Religion, to bring them into his own; and when they thus see and feel the professed Defender of Religion overturning all its Precepts, exhorting by Bribes, and rebuking by Stripes, Confiscations, and Dungeons, and making Christianity the Instrument of Fury, Ambition, Rapine, and Tyranny; what can they think, but either that he is no Christian, or that Christianity is not true? If they come to suspect it of Imposture, they grow Infidels; and if they grow into a Belief that Religion countenances Bitterness, Outrage, and Severities, nay, commands them, they become Bigots; the worst and most mischievous Character of the Two: For, Unbelievers, guided by the Rules of Prudence or Good-nature, may be good Neighbours and inoffensive Men; but Bigotry, standing upon the Ruins of Reason, and being conducted by no Light but that of an inflamed Imagination, and a sour, bitter, and narrow Spirit, there is no Violence nor Barbarity which it is not capable of wishing or acting.

Happiness is the chief End of Man, and the saving of his Soul is his chief Happiness; so that every Man is most concerned for his own
Soul,

Soul, and more than any other can be : And if no Obstruction is thrown in his Way, he will for the most part do all in his Power for his own Salvation, and will certainly do it best ; and when he has done all that he can, he has done all that he ought : People cannot be saved by Force, nor can all the Powers in the World together make one true Christian, or convince one Man. Conviction is the Province and Effect of Reason ; and when that fails, nothing but the Grace of God can supply it : And what has the Power and Penalties of Men to do either with Reason or Grace ; which being both the Gifts of God, are not to be conquered by Chains, tho' they may be weakened, and even banished by worldly Allurements blended with Christianity, and by the worldly Pride of its Professors ?

The Methods of Power are repugnant to the Nature of Conviction, which must either be promoted by Exhortation, Kindness, Example, and Arguments, or can never be promoted at all : Violence does, on the contrary but provoke Men, and confirm them in Error ; nor will they ever be brought to believe, that those who barbarously rob them of their present Happiness, can be charitably concerned for their future.

It is evident in Fact, that most of the different religious Institutions now subsisting in the World, have been founded upon Ambition and Pride, and were advanced, propagated, and established by Usurpation, Faction, and Oppression : They were begun for the most part by Enthusiasts, or by designing and un-

preferred Churchmen ; or at least occasioned by the continued Usurpations and Insults of cruel and oppressive ones, and always in Times of Faction and general Discontent. Turbulent and aspiring Men, discarded and discontented Courtiers, or ambitious and designing Statesmen, have taken Advantage from these general Disorders, or from the hot and giddy Spirits of an enthusiastical or oppressed People ; and from thence have formed Parties, and setting themselves at the Head, formed National Establishments, with the Concurrence of weak Princes, and sometimes in Opposition to them, by the Assistance of factious Clergymen and factious Assemblies, and often by Tumults and popular Insurrections ; and at last, under Pretence of saving Mens Souls, they seized their Property. A small Acquaintance with Ecclesiastical History, and the History of the *Turks* and *Saracens*, will shew such Causes as these to have given Rise to most of the National Religious Establishments upon Earth : Nor can I see how any future Ones can arise by other Means, whilst Violence and worldly Interest have any thing to do with them.

Such therefore as is the Government of a Country, such will be made its Religion ; and No-body, I hope, is now to learn what is, and ever will be, the Religion of most Statesmen ; even a Religion of Power, to do as little Good, and as much Mischief as they please. Nor have Churchmen, when they ruled States, had ever any other View ; but having double Authority, had generally double Insolence, and remarkably less Mercy and Regard to Conscience

science or Property, than others who had fewer Ties to be merciful and just: And therefore the worst Tyrants have been they, who united in one Person the Royalty and Priesthood. The Pope's Yoke is more grievous than that of any Christian Prince upon Earth; nor is there a Trace of Property, or Felicity, or of the Religion of *Jesus Christ*, found in the Dominions of this Father of *Christendom*; all is Ignorance, Bigotry, Idolatry, Barbarity, Hunger, Chains, and every Species of Misery. And the *Caliphs* of *Ægypt*, who founded the *Saracen* Empire there, and maintained it for a great while, were at once Kings and Priests; and there never lived more raging Bigots, or more furious and oppressive Barbarians. The Monarchy of *Persia*, which is also a severe Tyranny, has the Priesthood annexed to it; and the *Sophy* is at the same time the *Caliph*. The *Turkish* Religion is founded on Imposture, blended with outrageous and avowed Violence; and by their Religion, the imperial Executioner is, next to their *Alcoran*, the most sacred Thing amongst them: And though he is not himself Chief Priest, yet he creates and uncreates him at Pleasure, and is without the Name of *Mufti*, the chief Doctor, or rather Author of their Religion; and we all know what sort of a Religion it is.

In Fact, as Arbitrary Princes want a Religion suited to the Genius of their Power, they model their Religion so as to serve all the Purposes of Tyranny, and debase, corrupt, discourage, or persecute all Religion which is against Tyranny, as all true Religion is: For
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this Reason, not one of the great Absolute Princes in *Europe* embraced the *Reformation*, nor would suffer his People to embrace it, but they were all bitter and professed Enemies to it: Whereas all the great free States, except *Poland*, and most of the small free States, became *Protestants*. Thus the *English*, *Scotch*, the *Dutch*, the *Bohemians*, and *Sweden* and *Denmark*, (which were then free Kingdoms) the greatest Part of *Switzerland*, with *Geneva*, and all the *Hans-Towns*, which were not awed by the Emperor, threw off the *Popish* Yoke: And not one of the free *Popish* States, out of *Italy*, could be ever brought to receive the *Inquisition*; and the State of *Venice*, the greatest free State there, to shew that they received it against their Will, have taken wise Care to render it ineffectual: And many of the *Popish* free States would never come into Persecution, which they knew would impoverish and dispeople them; and therefore the States of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, and *Catalonia*, opposed, as much as they were able, the Expulsion of the *Moors*, which was a pure Act of Regal Power, to the undoing of *Spain*, and therefore a destructive and barbarous Act of Tyranny. As to the *Protestant* Countries, which have since lost their Liberties, there is much miserable Ignorance, and much bitter and implacable Bigotry, but little Religion, and no Charity amongst them.

We look upon *Mentexuma*, and other Tyrants, who worshipped God with humane Sacrifice, as so many Monsters, and hug our selves that we have no such Sons of *Moloch* here in *Europe*; not considering, that every Man put
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to Death for his Religion, by the *Inquisition* and elsewhere, is a real humane Sacrifice, as it is burning and butchering Men for God's Sake.

I think No-body will deny but that in King *James's* Time, we owed the Preservation of our Religion to our Liberties, which both our Clergy and People almost unanimously concurred to defend, with a Resolution and Boldness worthy of *Britons* and *Freemen*. And as the Cause and Blessings of Liberty are still better understood, its Spirit and Interest do daily increase. Most of the Bishops, and many of the inferior Clergy, are professedly in the Principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, notwithstanding the strong and early Prejudices of Education. And I hope soon to see them all as thorough Advocates for publick Liberty, as their Predecessors were, upon Grounds less just, in the Times of *Popery*; and then there will be an End of the pernicious and knavish Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory*; and all the World will unite in paying them that Respect which is due to their holy Office.

I shall conclude with this short Application, That as we love Religion, and the Author of it, we ought to love and preserve our Liberties.

I am, &c.

SIR,

S I R,

HAVING already shewn that Naval Trade and Power cannot subsist but in free Countries alone, I will now shew, that the same is true of domestick Arts and Sciences; and that both these, and Population, which is their constant Concomitant, and their chief Cause as well as their certain Effect, are born of Liberty, and nursed, educated, encouraged, and endowed by Liberty alone.

Men will not spontaneously toil and labour but for their own Advantage, for their Pleasure or their Profit, and to obtain something which they want or desire, and which, for the most part, is not to be obtained but by Force or Consent. Force is often dangerous; and when employed to acquire what is not ours, it is always unjust; and therefore Men, to procure from others what they had not before, must gain their Consent; which is not to be gained, but by giving them in lieu of the Thing desired, something which they want and value more than what they part with. This is what we call Trade; which is the Exchange of one Commodity for another, or for that which purchases all Commodities, Silver and Gold.

Men, in their first State, content themselves with the spontaneous Productions of Nature, the Fruits of the Field, and the liquid Stream, and such occasional Supplies as they now and then.

then receive from the Destruction of other Animals. But when those Supplies become insufficient to support their Numbers, their next Resource is to open the Bosom of the Earth, and by proper Application and Culture, to extort her hidden Stores: And thus were invented Tillage and Planting. And an Hundred Men thus employed, can fetch from the Bowels of our common Mother, Food and Sustenance enough for Ten Times their own Number; and one Tenth part more may possibly be able to supply all the Instruments of Husbandry, and whatever is barely necessary to support these Husbandmen: So that all the rest of the People must rob or starve, unless either the Proprietors of the Land will give them the Produce of their Estates for nothing, or they can find something wherewithal to purchase it.

Now in Countries where no other Arts are in Use, but only Husbandry and the Professions necessary to it, and to support those who are employed about it; all the other Inhabitants have no Means of purchasing Food and Raiment, but by selling their Persons, and becoming vile Slaves and Vassals to their Princes, Lords, or other Proprietors of the Land; and are obliged, for necessary Sustenance, to follow them in their wild Wars, and their personal and factious Quarrels, and to become the base Instruments of their Ambition and Pride. Great Men will rather throw their Estates into Forests and Chases, for the Support of wild Beasts, and for their own Pleasure in hunting them, than into Farms, Gardens, and fruitful Fields,

if they can get nothing from the Productions of them.

This is the forlorn Condition of Mankind, in most of the wild Empires of the *East*; this was their Condition in all the *Gothick* Governments; and this is the Condition of *Poland* and of the *Highlands* of *Scotland*; where a few have Liberty, and all the rest are Slaves. And nothing can free Mankind from this abject and forlorn Condition, but the Invention of Arts and Sciences; that is, the finding out of more Materials and Expedients to make Life easy and pleasant; and the inducing People to believe, what they will readily believe, that other Things are necessary to their Happiness, besides those which Nature has made necessary. Thus the Luxury of the Rich becomes the Bread of the Poor.

As soon as Men are freed from the Imporunities of Hunger and Cold, the Thoughts and Desire of Conveniency, Plenty, Ornament, and Politeness, do presently succeed: And then follow after, in very quick Progression, Emulation, Ambition, Profusion, and the Love of Power: And all these, under proper Regulations, contribute to the Happiness, Wealth, and Security of Societies. It is natural to Men and Societies, to be setting their Wits and their Hands to work, to find out all Means to satisfy their Wants and Desires, and to enable them to live in Credit and Comfort, and to make suitable Provision that their Posterity may live so after them.

Necessity is the Mother of Invention, and so is the Opinion of Necessity. Whilst Things
are.

are in their own Nature necessary to us, or, from Custom and Fancy, made necessary; we will be turning every Thought, and trying every Method, how to come at them; and where they cannot be got by Violence and Rapine, Recourse will be had to Invention and Industry. And here is the Source of Arts and Sciences; which alone can support Multitudes of People, who will never be wanting to the Means which bring them Support.

Wherever there is Employment for People, there will be People; and People, in most Countries, are forced, for want of other Employment, to cut the Throats of one another, or of their Neighbours; and to ramble after their Princes in all their mad Conquests, ridiculous Contentions, and other mischievous Maggots; and all to get, with great Labour, Hazard, and often with great Hunger and Slaughter, a poor, precarious, and momentary Subsistence.

And therefore, whatever State gives more Encouragement to its Subjects, than the neighbouring States do, and finds them more Work; and gives them greater Rewards for that Work; and by all these laudable Ways makes humane Condition easier than it is elsewhere, and secures Life and Property better; that State will draw the Inhabitants from the neighbouring Countries to its own; and when they are there, they will, by being richer and safer, multiply faster. Men will naturally fly from Danger to Security, from Poverty to Plenty, and from a Life of Misery to a Life of Felicity.

And

And as there will be always Industry wherever there is Protection; so wherever there is Industry and Labour, there will be the Silver, the Gold, the Jewels, the Power, and the Empire. It does not import who they are that have conquered, or inhabit the Countries where Silver and Gold are Natives, or who they are that toil for them in the Mine, since they will be the Possessors of the Coin, who can purchase it afterwards with the Goods and Manufactures which the Proprietors of the Mine and their People want. One Artificer in *England*, or *Holland*, can make Manufacture enough in a Week to buy as much Silver and Gold at the Mine, as a Labourer there can dig and prepare in a Month, or perhaps Two: and all the while that *Spain* and *Portugal* lessen their Inhabitants, we encrease ours: They lose their People by sending them away to dig in the Mines; and we, by making the Manufactures they want, and the Instruments they use, multiply ours. By this Means every Man they send out of their Country is a Loss to it, because the Return and Produce of their Labour goes to enrich rival Nations; whereas every Man we send to our Plantations, adds to the Number of our Inhabitants here at Home, by maintaining so many of them employed in so many Manufactures which they take off there; besides so many Artificers in Shipping, and all the numerous Traders and Agents concern'd in managing and venting the Produce of the Plantations, when 'tis brought hither, and in bringing it hither: So that the *English* Planters in *America*, besides maintaining themselves and Ten times as many

Negroes,

Negroes, maintain likewise great Numbers of their Countrymen in *England*.

Such are the Blessings of Liberty, and such is the Difference which it makes between Country and Country! The *Spanish* Nation lost much more by the Loss of their Liberties, followed with the Expulsion of the *Moors*, than ever they got by the Gold and Silver Mountains of *Mexico* and *Peru*, or could get by all the Mines of Gold, Silver, and Diamonds upon Earth.

Where there is Liberty, there are Encouragements to Labour, because People labour for themselves; and no one can take from them the Acquisitions they make by their Labour: There will be the greatest Numbers of People, because they find Employment and Protection; there will be the greatest Stocks, because most is to be got, and easiest to be got, and safest when it is got; and those Stocks will be always encreasing by a new Accession of Money acquired elsewhere, where there is no Security of enjoying it; there People will be able to work cheapest, because less Taxes will be put upon their Work, and upon the Necessaries which must support them whilst they are about it: There People will dare to own their being rich, there will be most People bred up to Trade, and Trade and Traders will be most respected; and there the Interest of Money will be lower, and the Security of possessing it greater, than it ever can be in Tyrannical Governments, where Life and Property, and all Things must depend upon the Humour of a Prince, the Caprice of a Minister, or the Demand of a Harlot. Under those Governments, few People
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can have Money, and they that have must lock it up, or bury it to keep it, and dare not engage in large Designs, when the Advantages may be reaped by their rapacious Governors, or given up by them in a senseless and wicked Treaty: Besides such Governors contemn Trade and Artificers; and only Men of the Sword, who have an Interest incompatible with Trade, are encouraged by them.

For these Reasons, Trade cannot be carried on so cheap as in free Countries: and whoever supplies the Commodity cheapest, will command the Market. In free Countries, Men bring out their Money for their Use, Pleasure, and Profit, and think of all Ways to employ it for their Interest and Advantage. New Projects are every Day invented, new Trades searched after, new Manufactures set up; and when Tradesmen have nothing to fear but from those whom they trust, Credit will run high, and they will venture in Trade for many times as much as they are worth: But in Arbitrary Countries, Men in Trade are every Moment liable to be undone, without the Guilt of Sea or Wind, without the Folly or Treachery of their Correspondents, or their own want of Care or Industry; their Wealth shall be their Snare, and their Abilities, Vigilance, and their Success shall either be their undoing, or nothing to their Advantage: Nor can they trust any one else, or any one else them, when Payment and Performance must depend upon the Honesty and Wisdom of those who often have none.

Ignorance of Arts and Sciences, and of every Thing that is good, and Poverty, Misery, and
Desol.

Desolation, are found for the most part all together, and are all certainly produced by Tyranny. In all the great Empires of *Morocco*, *Abyssinia*, *Persia*, and *India*, there is not amongst the Natives such a Thing as a tolerable Architect; nor one good Building, unless we except a Palace built by a *Portuguese* for the *Abyssinian* Emperor; and perhaps there may be in all these vast Continents, a few more good Houses built by *Europeans*. The *Aethiopians* have scarce such a Thing as an Artificer amongst them; their only Weavers are the *Jews*, who are likewise their Smiths, whose highest Employment in Iron is to make Heads for their Spears; and for Artists of their own, their wretched Trumpeters and Horn-winders seem to be the highest; and when the *Jesuits* built a few Churches and Chappels in their Country, the whole Nation were alarm'd, taking them for so many Castles and Fortresses. The rest of their Condition is of a piece; they are abjectly miserable, in spite of their Soil, which in many Places is luxuriant, and yields Three Crops a Year: Of such small Effect are the Gifts of God to his Creatures, when the Breath of a Tyrant can blast them!

In *Persia*, the Carpenters and Joyners have but Four Tools for all their Work, and we may guess what sort of Work they make; they have a Hatchet, a Sawe, and a Chizzel, and one sort of Plainer, brought thither not long since by a *Frenchman*. As to Printing, they have none; nor any Paper but coarse brown Stuff, which cannot be folded without breaking to Pieces. In Painting, they do not go beyond
Birds

Birds and Flowers, and are utterly ignorant of Figures and History.

Egypt was once the Mother of Arts and Sciences, and from thence *Greece* had them: But *Egypt* losing its Liberties, lost with them all Politeness, as all Nations do; and the Pyramids were built by the first *Egyptian* Tyrants, while the Knowledge of Arts was not yet lost in Barbarism, and before the Country was dispeopled, else they never had been built. Nor could all the Power of the *Ottoman* Empire build such in the Place now, tho' the *Turks* were not Savages in the Sciences, as they are. "Till the
 " Time of *Ramphsinitus*, says *Herodotus*, the *Egyptians* report, that Liberty flourished, and the
 " Laws were the highest Power." Then he tells us, that *Cheops*, the Successor of that King, falling into all Debauchery and Tyranny, employed a hundred thousand of his People in drawing of Stone; *Diodorus Siculus* says, three hundred and sixty thousand were employed in this inhumane Drudgery — and then he began a Pyramid. The *Egyptians* grew afterwards in Ignorance, Barbarity, and Vileness, and almost any Body that invaded them, mastered them; and when they were defended, the free *Greeks* defended them, a Band of them being generally entertained for that End by the *Egyptian* Kings. It is true, one or two of the *Ptolemies*, particularly the First, attempted to revive Arts and Learning amongst them; but the Attempt came to nothing: They were Slaves, incapable either of tasting or producing Embellishments and Excellencies of Liberty, of which they had been long deprived; and therefore

fore the *Greek* Artists, and Professors in *Egypt*, had the Glory of every Improvement to themselves, as indeed they were the Authors of all. The *Romans* afterwards left there many Monuments of their Grandeur and Politeness: But their free Government ended; as Tyranny succeeded, so did Barbarity, all over the Empire; and no where more than in *Egypt*, which is at this Day the Prey of robbing and thieving *Arabs*, and of oppressive and devouring *Turks*.

I shall here subjoin a summary Account given us by that great and judicious Traveller Monsieur *Tavernier*, concerning the Condition of the Three great Eastern Empires, best known to us. It is in his last Chapter of *The History of the Great Mogul*.

There is, says he, almost no Person secure from the Violence of the Governors, *Timariots*, and Farmers of the Royal Rents; nor can the Princes, tho' they were disposed, hinder these Violences, nor prevent the Tyranny of their Servants over their People; which should be the chief Employment of a King. This Tyranny is often so extensive, that it leaves to the Peasant and Tradesman neither Food nor Raiment, but robs them of the common Necessaries of Life, and they live in Misery, and die with Hunger: They either beget no Children; or if they do, they see them perish in their Infancy, for want of Food: Sometimes they desert their Hutts and Land, to become Lacqueys to the Soldiers, or fly to Neighbouring Nations, (*where their Condition is not mended.*) In short, the Land is not till'd but by Force, and there,

therefore wretchedly till'd ; and great Part of it lies waste and is lost : There is no Body to clear the Ditches and Water-Courses ; no Body to build Houses, or to repair those that are ruinous. The *Timariot* will not improve the Ground for his Successor, not knowing how soon he may come ; nor will the Peasant work for a Tyrant, and starve while he does it : And neither *Timariot* nor Peasant will labour for Bread which others are to eat. So the Peasant is left to starve, and the Land to become a Desert.

Hence it is, that we see those vast States in *Asia* run and running to wretched Ruin : Most of their Towns are raised with Dirt and Earth ; and you see nothing but ruinous Towns, and deserted Villages : And hence it is, that those celebrated Regions of *Mesopotamia*, *Anatolia*, *Palestina*, with those admirable Plains of *Antioch*, and so many other Countries, anciently so well manured, so fertile, and so full of People, are all at present half deserted, abandoned, and untilled, or become pestilent and uninhabitable Bogs. *Egypt* is in the like Condition ; and within these fourscore Years, above the tenth Part of its incomparable Soil is lost by Poverty, and want of Hands to scour the Channels of the *Nile*, and remove the Sand which covers their Fields.

From the same Causes, Arts languish and starve in those Countries : For with what Heart can an Artizan labour and study for ignorant Beggars, who are not Judges of his Work, and cannot pay him for it, or for Grandees who will not ? He is so far from any Prospect of Reward,

ward, that he is not only without all Hopes of Wealth, Office, or Lands; but, to avoid being thought rich, he must live poorly: He must never eat a good Meal, never wear a decent Coat, and never appear to be worth Six-pence. Nay, he is happy if he can escape the *Korra*; a terrible Whip exercised by the great Lords upon the Artists; the Encouragement of Ingenuity.

Indeed, the Knowledge and Beauty of Arts had been lost in those Countries long since, were it not that the Kings and Grandees give Wages to certain Handicraftsmen, who work in their Houses, and to escape the Whip, do their best: Besides, the rich Merchants, who share their Gains with Men in Power, to be protected by them, do give these Handicraftsmen a little more Pay, and but a little. We must not therefore think, upon seeing rich Eastern Stuffs here, that the Workman there is in any Condition or Esteem: He works not for himself, and only Necessity and the Cudgel makes him work; and let him work how he will, he is doomed to live miserably, to cloath himself meanly, and to eat poorly.

Traffick also in those Countries, is faint and decaying: For how many are there that care to take much Pains, to make dangerous Voyages, and take long Journies; to be constantly running up and down; to write much, to live in perpetual Anxiety and Care, and to risque all Hazards and Chances; and all for a precarious Gain, which is at the Mercy of the next greedy Governor?

This whole Chapter of *Tavernier* deserves every Man's reading: I have only Room to add Part of another Paragraph. Talking of the *Turkish* Empire: We have travell'd, *says he*, through almost all the Parts of it; we have seen how woefully it is ruined and dispeopled; and how in the Capital City, the raising of five or six thousand Men, requires three whole Months: And we know what a Fall it must have had before now, had it not been for the Supplies of Christian Slaves and Captives brought thither every Year, from all Parts. Without doubt, if the same Sort of Government continue, that State will destroy itself: It is at this Day maintained by its own Weakness, and must at last fall by it. The Governors are frequently changed to make Room for new Oppressors; but neither has any one Governor, or one Subject in the whole Empire, a Penny that he can call his own, to maintain the least Party; nor, if he had Money, are there any Men to be had in these wide desolate Provinces. A blessed Expedient this, to make a State subsist! An Expedient, much like that of a *Brama* of *Pegu*, who, to prevent Sedition, commanded that no Land should be till'd for some Years together; and having thus destroyed half the Kingdom with Hunger, he turned it into Forests: Which Method, however, did not answer his End, nor prevent Divisions in that State, which was reduced so low, that a Handful of *Chinese* Fugitives were like to have taken and mastered the Capital City, *Ava*.

Thus far *Tavernier*. Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, that it is a reigning Maxim in the *Turkish* Policy,

licity, to lay a great Part of their Empire waste.— A Maxim, which they need take no Pains to practise; since without destroying deliberately their People and Provinces, which yet they do, the dreadful Spirit of their Government creates Desolation fast enough in all Conscience.

The whole City of *Dibli*, the Capital of *India*, is obliged to follow the Great Mogul their Emperor, when he takes a Journey, their whole Dependence being upon the Court and the Soldiery; for they cannot support themselves; nor is the Country round them, which is either waste, or its Inhabitants starving, able to support them. So that the Citizens of this mighty Metropolis, are only the wretched Suttlers to a Camp; and they are forced to leave their Houses empty, and stroll after their Monarch, whenever he is graciously disposed to take a Jaunt; and are absent sometimes from home a Year and a half together.

The Jesuit, *Nicholas Pimenta*, who was in *Pegu* about an hundred and twenty Years ago, gives this Account of it: The last King, *says he*, was a mighty King, and could bring into the Field a Million and sixty thousand Men, taking one out of ten: But his Son had, by his Wars, his Oppressions, his Murders, and other Cruelties, made such quick Dispatch of his Subjects, that all that were left did not exceed seven Thousand, including Men, Women, and Children. What an affecting Instance is here of the Pestilential Nature of Tyranny!

It is not unlikely that some of these fatal Wars were made by this inhumane Prince, for White Elephants; and that he either made or provoked Invasions upon that Score, as I have instanced in another Paper: And I shall here add something to make this Conjecture still more probable. Mr. *Ralph Fitch*, a Merchant of *London*, was at *Pegu* thirteen or fourteen Years before *Pimenta*, in the Reign of the above potent King; and he says, "Such is the Esteem that this King has for an Elephant of this Colour, that amongst his other Titles, he is called *King of the White Elephant*; a Title, which to him seems as lofty as any of the rest. And that no other Prince round about him may wear this glorious Title, therefore none of them must keep a White Elephant, tho' Nature gave it them; but must send it to him, or an Army shall fetch it; for rather than not have it, he will make War for it."

He says, that the Houses of these Creatures are splendidly gilt, and so are the Silver Vessels out of which they are fed. When they go to the River to be washed, which they do every Day, six or seven Men bear up a Canopy of Cloth of Gold or Silk over them; and as many more march with Drums and musical Instruments before them; and when they come out of the Water, their Feet were washed in great Silver Basons by Persons of Quality, whose Office it is thus to serve them. *Tavernier* says, the Great Mogul allows fixt Pensions (and sometimes very large ones) to every Elephant, with proper Attendance; nay, two Men are employed in
the

the sultry Months, to stand, one on each Side, to fan them.

I only mention this, to shew how much more Care these Tyrants take of their Beasts, than of their People. And it is too true of all Arbitrary Princes; their Stable of Horses is dearer to them than their People, and live infinitely better.

This is almost universally true wherever there are such. Nay, they value their Dogs more than they do the Lives of Men. When the Grand Seignior goes a Hunting, a great Number of Peasants must enclose the Ground for several Leagues round, and keep in the Game; and this they must often do for many Days together, sometimes in Ice and Snow, with hungry Bellies. By which Means their Work is neglected, their Grounds are destroyed, and they themselves are many times killed in the Sport, or starved in attending it; and it often happens, that forty or fifty of his own Followers perish in a Day. *Sultan Mahomet's* grand Falconer had once the Honesty and Boldness to represent to his Master all this Destruction and Carnage which attended his endless Passion for Hunting; but all the Answer which he received from this Father of the Faithful, was, *By all Means take Care of the Dogs, let them have Cloathing and other Accommodations.*

This Paper upon Arts and Population grows too long; I shall therefore reserve to another what I have to say further upon this Subject.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Here send you what I have to say further upon Arts, Industry, and Population. To live securely, happily, and independently, is the End and Effect of Liberty; and it is the Ambition of all Men to live agreeably to their own Humours and Discretion. Nor did ever any Man that could live satisfactorily without a Master, desire to live under one; and real or fancied Necessity alone makes Men the Servants, Followers, and Creatures of one another. And therefore all Men are animated by the Passion of acquiring and defending Property, because Property is the best Support of that Independency, so passionately desired by all Men. Even Men the most dependent have it constantly in their Heads and their Wishes, to become independent one Time or other; and the Property they are acquiring, or mean to acquire by that Dependency, is intended to bring them out of it, and to procure them an agreeable Independency. And as Happiness is the Effect of Independency, and Independency the Effect of Property, so certain Property is the Effect of Liberty alone, and can only be secured by the Laws of Liberty; Laws which are made by Consent, and cannot be repealed without it.

All these Blessings, therefore, are only the Gifts and Consequences of Liberty, and only

to be found in free Countries; where Power is fixed on one Side, and Property secured on the other; where the one cannot break Bounds without Check, Penalties, or Forfeiture, nor the other suffer Diminution without Redress; where the People have no Masters but the Laws, and such as the Laws appoint; where both Law and Magistracy are formed by the People or their Deputies, and no Demands are made upon them, but what are made by the Law; and they know to a Penny, what to pay before it is asked; and where they that exact from them more than the Law allows, are punishable by the Law; and where the Legislators are equally bound by their own Acts, and equally involved in the Consequences.

There can be no Good, where there are none of the Causes of Good; and consequently all the Advantages of Liberty must be lost with Liberty, and all the Evils of Tyranny must accompany Tyranny. I have in my last taken a View of the *Eastern Monarchies*, with Regard to the miserable Decay of their People and Arts; I shall in this confine myself, for Instances, to *Europe*, and begin with *Muscovy*, by far the greatest Empire for Territory in *Christendom*: And because the best short Account that I have seen of that Government, is given by *Dr. Giles Fletcher*, who was there in the latter End of *Q. Elizabeth's* Time, I shall here transcribe Part of that Account.

Talking of the many wicked and barbarous Arts used by the late *Czars* of *Russia*, to drain and oppress their People, he says: "They

“ would suffer their People to give freely to the
 “ Monasteries, (as many do, especially in their
 “ last Wills) and this they do, because they
 “ may have the Money of the Realm more
 “ ready at Hand, when they list to take it,
 “ which is many Times done; the Friars part-
 “ ing freely with some rather than lose all.

“ *John Basilowitz* pretended to resign the
 “ Crown to the Prince of *Cazan*, and to retire
 “ for the rest of his Life to a Monastery: He
 “ then caused this new King to call in all the
 “ Ecclesiastical Charters, and to cancel them.
 “ Then pretending to dislike this Fact, and
 “ the Misrule of the new King, he resumed
 “ the Scepter, possessed as he was of all the
 “ Church Lands, of which he kept what he
 “ would, and gave new Charters for the rest.
 “ By this he wrung from the Ecclesiasticks a
 “ vast Sum, and yet hoped to abate the ill
 “ Opinion of his Government, by shewing a
 “ worse.

“ When they want to levy a new Tax, they
 “ make a Shew of Want; as was done by
 “ Duke *Theodore*, who, tho' left very rich by
 “ his Father, yet sold most of his Plate, and
 “ coined the rest, that he might seem in Ne-
 “ cessity; whereupon presently came out a
 “ new Tax upon his People.

“ They would sometimes send their Messen-
 “ gers into the Provinces to forestal and en-
 “ gross the Commodities of the Country, ta-
 “ king them at small Prices, what they them-
 “ selves list, and selling them again at excessive
 “ Prices to their own Merchants, or to Stran-
 “ gers. If they refuse to buy them, then they
 “ force

“ force them into it : The like they do, when
 “ any Commodity thus engrossed, Foreign or
 “ Native, such as Cloth of Gold, Broad Cloth,
 “ and the like, happens to decay, by lying up-
 “ on Hand, it is forced upon the Merchants
 “ at the Emperor's Price, whether they will or
 “ no.

“ Besides the engrossing of foreign Commo-
 “ dities, and forcing them upon the Merchants,
 “ they make a Monopoly for a Season of all
 “ such Commodities as are paid the Prince for
 “ Rent or Custom; and this they do to en-
 “ hance the Price of them : Thus they mono-
 “ polize Furs, Corn, Wood, &c. during all
 “ which Time, none must sell of the same
 “ Commodity, till the Emperor's be all sold.

“ The above mention'd *John Basilowitz* sent
 “ into *Permia* (a Country of the poor *Sa-*
 “ *moides*) for certain Loads of *Cedar*, tho' he
 “ well knew that none grew there; and the
 “ Inhabitants returned Answer, that they could
 “ find none. Whereupon he taxed the Coun-
 “ try in Twelve Thousand Rubles. ———

“ Again, he sent to the City of *Moscow* to pro-
 “ vide for him a Measure full of Fleas for a
 “ Medicine. They answered, that the Thing
 “ was impossible; and if they could get them,
 “ yet they could not measure them because of
 “ their leaping out. Upon which, he set a
 “ Mulct upon them of Seven Thousand Ru-
 “ bles.

“ To these may be added, their Seizures
 “ and Confiscations upon such as are under
 “ Displeasure, and the Connivance at the Op-
 “ pressions and Extortions of the Governors

“ of the Provinces, till their Time be expired,
 “ and then turning all their wicked Plunder
 “ into the Emperor's Treasury, but never a
 “ Penny back again to the right Owner, how
 “ great or evident soever the Injury be.

“ As to the People, they are of no Rank or
 “ Account, and esteemed no better than Villains,
 “ and so they subscribe themselves in all their
 “ Writings to any of the Nobility, as they
 “ of the Nobility do to the Emperor : And in-
 “ deed, no Bond Slaves are kept more in Awe
 “ and Subjection, than the common People
 “ are, by the Nobility, Officers, and Soldiers ;
 “ so that when a poor *Moufick* (one of the
 “ Commonalty) meets any of them upon the
 “ High-way, he must turn himself about, as
 “ not daring to look them in the Face, and
 “ fall down with his Head to the very
 “ Ground.

“ And as to the Lands and Goods of these
 “ miserable People, they are so exposed to the
 “ Rapine of the Nobility and Soldiers, besides
 “ the Taxes, Customs, and Seizures, and other
 “ publick Exactions laid upon them by the
 “ Emperor, that they are utterly discouraged
 “ from following their Trades and Professions ;
 “ because the more they have, the more Dan-
 “ ger they are in, not only of their Goods,
 “ but even of their Lives : And if they hap-
 “ pen to have any thing, they convey it into
 “ Monasteries, or hide it in Woods or under
 “ Ground, as Men do when they are in fear
 “ of a Foreign Invasion. So that many Vil-
 “ lages and Towns are intirely without Inha-
 “ bitants ; and in the Way towards *Moscow*,
 “ be-

“ betwixt *Volaghda* and *Yareflave*, for about an
 “ Hundred *English* Miles, there are at least
 “ Fifty Villages, some half a Mile long, some
 “ a whole Mile long, that stand wholly deso-
 “ late, without a single Inhabitant. The like
 “ Desolation is seen in all other Places of the
 “ Realm, as I have been told by those that
 “ travelled the Country.

“ In every great Town the Emperor hath a
 “ Drinking House, which he rents out: Here
 “ the Labouring Man and Artificer many times
 “ spends all from his Wife and Children.
 “ Some drink away all they wear about them,
 “ to their very Shirts, and so walk naked;
 “ and all for the Honour of the Emperor.
 “ Nay, while they are thus drinking them-
 “ selves naked, and starving their Families,
 “ No-body must call them away, upon any
 “ Account, because he would hinder the Em-
 “ peror's Revenue.

“ The capital Punishments upon the People
 “ are very cruel; but if Theft or Murder
 “ be committed upon them by one of the No-
 “ bility, he is seldom punished, or so much as
 “ called to account for it, because the People
 “ are the Slaves of the Nobility: Or if these
 “ Crimes are committed by a Gentleman Sol-
 “ dier, perhaps he may be imprisoned at the
 “ Emperor's Pleasure, or perhaps fined ———
 “ and that is all.

I make this Quotation upon Memory, having
 only taken down some Hints when I read it;
 but I can assert it to be a just one, and almost
 wholly in the Doctor's Words.

I know much has been said of the Improvements made by the present Czar, and of his many Projects in Favour of Arts and Trade : And it is very true, that he is a Prince of a very active and inquisitive Genius. But tho' he has made himself a more powerful Prince than any of his Predecessors were, I do not find that the Numbers of his People are increased, or their general wretched Condition much mended. He has a vast Army constantly on Foot, and keeps vast Numbers of his poor Subjects constantly employ'd in making Havens and Canals ; great Taxes are raised, and great and daily Waste made of his People, who are likewise miserably oppressed by his *Boyars*, to whom he still leaves the raising of Money and the Direction of Trade : So that the general Oppression remains, Trade is deadened and distressed, and the People burdened beyond Measure ; sudden and arbitrary Duties are laid upon Commodities imported ; the old Way of Monopolies is continued ; the State of the Exchange, and the Allay and uncertain Value of the current Coin, are as bad as they can be ; Arts and Ingenuity are really discouraged, and those who have Skill in any Art must conceal it, to avoid working for nothing ; there are Grievances without Number, and like to be, for he who complains is certainly undone, and Petitions are answered with Stripes, and sometimes with Death itself. In short, the Condition of the *Russian* People is much upon the same Foot as it was in Dr. *Fletcher's* Time ; and whoever doubts it, may find full Conviction from Capt. *Perry's* State of *Russia*, under the present Czar. In

In *Poland*, nothing can be more miserable than the Condition of the Peasants, who are subject to the mere Mercy of the great Lords, as to Life and Death and Property; and must labour Five Days in the Week, nay, sometimes Six, for these Lords; and if they cannot subsist themselves and their Families upon one Day's Labour in Seven, they must famish. The State of the other Northern Kingdoms is, with respect to the People, as wretched as any yet named: They have many Soldiers, endless Taxes, dreadful Poverty, few People, and gaudy Courts. It is indeed said of some Arbitrary Princes in some Parts of *Europe*, that they are merciful to their Subjects, and do not use them barbarously; that is, they do not deliberately butcher them, but only take all they have, and leave them to starve peaceably upon the rest: All the Riches of the Country are to be seen at Court, and the People are wretchedly poor. *Cantabit vacuus* — A Countryman once complained to General *Kirk*, that his Soldiers had plundered him of all he had in the World; *Thou art a happy Man*, says the General, *for then they will plunder thee no more.*

The woful Decay of People and Plenty in many States in *Italy* is so astonishing, that were it not obvious to every Eye that sees it, and so well attested to those who have not seen it, by those who have, it would seem beyond all Belief. “When I came into the Pope's Territories at *Pent Centino*, (says *Dr. Burnet*) there was a rich Bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stock'd with Cattle: But as I passed

“ passed from *Montifiascone* to *Viterbo*, this ap-
 “ peared yet more amazing; for a vast Cham-
 “ pain Country lay almost quite deserted. And
 “ that wide Town, which is of so great Com-
 “ pass, hath few Inhabitants, and those look’d
 “ poor and miserable. When I was within a
 “ Day’s Journey of *Rome*, I fancied the Neigh-
 “ bourhood of so great a City must mend the
 “ Matter, but I was much disappointed; for
 “ a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly
 “ that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw
 “ out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it
 “ nor Cattle upon it, to the Tenth part of
 “ what it could bear. The Surprize this gave
 “ me increased upon me, as I went out of
 “ *Rome* on its other Side, chiefly all the Way
 “ to *Naples*, and on the Way to *Civita Vecchia*;
 “ for that vast and rich Champain Country
 “ which runs all along to *Terracina*, which from
 “ *Civita Vecchia* is a Hundred Miles long, and
 “ is in many Places Twelve or Twenty Miles
 “ broad, is abandoned to such a Degree, that as
 “ far as one’s Eye can carry one, there is often
 “ not so much as a House to be seen — The
 “ Severity of the Government hath driven
 “ away the Inhabitants; and their being driven
 “ away hath reduced it to such a Pass, that it
 “ is hardly possible to people it.” He adds,
 that in *Rome* itself, “ it is not possible for the
 “ People to live and pay Taxes; which has
 “ driven, as ’tis believ’d, almost a Fourth
 “ Part of the People out of *Rome* during this
 “ Pontificate.

He tells us elsewhere, that the *Pope* buys in
 all the Corn of *St. Peter’s* Patrimony. “ He
 “ buys

“ buys it at Five Crowns their Measure, and
 “ even that is slowly and ill paid. So that
 “ there was Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns
 “ owing upon that Score when I was at *Rome*.
 “ In selling this out, the Measure is lessen'd a
 “ Fifth Part, and the Price of the Whole is
 “ doubled; so that what was bought at Five
 “ Crowns is sold out at Twelve; and if the
 “ Bakers, who are obliged to take a determin'd
 “ Quantity of Corn from the Chamber, can-
 “ not retail out all that is impos'd upon them,
 “ but are forced to return some Part of it
 “ back, the Chamber discounts to them only
 “ the first Price of Five Crowns.

It is observed by another noble Author of
 our Country, that *Mario Chigi*, Brother to Pope
Alexander the VIIth, by one sordid Cheat upon
 the Sale of Corn, is said within Eight Years to
 have destroyed above the Third part of the
 People in the Ecclesiastical State; and that that
 Country, which was the Strength of the *Ro-*
mans in the *Carthaginian* Wars, suffered more
 by the Covetousness and Fraud of that Villain;
 than by all the Defeats received from *Hannibal*.

The Country of *Ferrara* was formerly very
 populous, and the Lands being fertile, were
 well cultivated; but since the Pope has got
 Possession of it, it is almost depopulated; the
 Lands are nigh desolate, and for want of Peo-
 ple, it is like the rest of the Ecclesiastical State,
 unhealthy to live in. His Holiness has reduced
 the Inhabitants from above an Hundred Thou-
 sand, to about a Dozen. In the City itself,
 Grass grows in the Streets, and most of the
 Houses are empty.

The Great Duke's Dominions lie much in the same dismal Solitude. When *Sienna* and *Pisa* were free States, they swarmed with People, and were rich in Trade and Territory: *Sienna* alone was computed to have had above half a Million of Subjects; but in a matter of a hundred and fourscore Years, during which Time it has been in the Possession of his Highness of *Florence*, they are sunk below twenty thousand, and these miserably poor. The same is the abject Condition of *Pisa*, *Pistoja*, *Arezzo*, *Cortona*, and many other great Towns. *Florence*, his Capital particularly, which in the Days of Liberty, could by the Ringing of a Bell, bring together, of its own Citizens and the Inhabitants of the Valley of *Arno*, a hundred and thirty-five thousand well armed Men in a few Hours Time, is now so poor and low, that it could not bring together three tolerable Regiments in thirteen Months.

The City of *Pisa* alone was reckoned, when it was free, to have had a hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants, all happy in Liberty and Commerce; and now they are about ten thousand, without Liberty, and Commerce, and Bread. Formerly an hundred of its Citizens could fit out an hundred Gallies, and maintain them during a War, at their own Charge; and now the whole City could not furnish out nor maintain one. Their stately Palaces are desolate, like their Territory, or let out for Stables, or any other sorry Use, at three or four Pounds a Year Rent. Their Streets are covered with Grass; their Territory, by being waste, is grown unwholesome, and their few Remains of
 People

People are starving. And that great State which the Great Duke could not master without the Armies of *Spain*, are not now able to contend with his infamous Crew of Tax-gatherers. The People are famish'd Slaves, their Houses are Ruins, their Trade is gone, their Land unmanured, and yet their Taxes are not lessened; and if there be any Plenty amongst them, 'tis only Plenty of Beggars.

The same is the Condition of the *Milanese*, and other Countries under the same sort of Government; the People starve in the best Soils: Whereas in *Switzerland*, and in the Territories of *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and the *Grisons*, they are numerous, and live happily in the worst. “ The
 “ People in *France*, (says the Author of the
 “ Supplement to Dr. Burnet's Travels) especial-
 “ ly the Peasants, are very poor, and most of
 “ them reduced to great Want and Misery;
 “ and yet *France* is an extraordinary good
 “ Country. The People of *Switzerland* (which
 “ is a Country of Mountains) cannot be said to
 “ be very rich, but there are very few, even
 “ of the Peasants, that are miserably poor.
 “ —The most Part of them have enough to
 “ live on. Every where in *France*, even in the
 “ best Cities, there are Swarms of Beggars;
 “ and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all
 “ *Switzerland*. The Houses of the Country
 “ People in *France* are extreamly mean; and
 “ in them no other Furniture is to be found
 “ but poor nasty Beds, Straw-Chairs, with
 “ Plates and Dishes of Wood and Earth. In
 “ *Switzerland*, the Peasants have their Houses
 “ furnished with good Feather-Beds, good
 “ Chairs

“ Chairs, and other convenient Household-
 “ Stuff; their Windows are all of Glass, al-
 “ ways kept mended and whole; and their
 “ Linnen, both for Bedding and their Tables,
 “ is very neat and white.”

This was written above thirty Years ago, when *France* was in a much better Condition than it has been since. The Glory of their late Grand Monarch cost them much Misery, and many Myriads of People. And yet even thirty Years ago, their Miseries were great and affecting! “ As I came from *Paris* to *Lyons*, (says *Dr. Burnet*,) “ I was amazed to see so
 “ much Misery as appeared not only in Vil-
 “ lages, but even in big Towns, where all the
 “ Marks of an extreme Poverty shewed them-
 “ selves, both in the Buildings, the Cloths,
 “ and almost in the Locks of the Inhabitants:
 “ And a general dispeopling in all the Towns,
 “ was a very visible Effect of the Hardships
 “ under which they lay.” What blessed Cir-
 cumstances that great Kingdom is in now, *Mr. Law*, who is amongst us, can best tell; tho’ we all pretty well know. It is really a Science, and no easy one, to know the Names, Numbers, and Quality of their Taxes; which are so many, so various, and so heavy, that one of their own Writers calls them, *Inventions proper to impoverish the People, and to enrich the Dictionaries.* *Bulion*, Treasurer to *Lewis XIII.* told his Master, that *his Subjects were too happy, they were not yet reduced to eat Grass.* And the cruel Spirit and Politicks of that Minister were afterwards so well improved, that I am apt to think their present Felicity is no Part of their Misfortunes. Such

Such Instances shew what hopeful Methods such Governments take to encrease People, Trade, and Riches.

As to the politer Arts, I own several of them have flourished under some of the Popes themselves, and some other Arbitrary Princes; such as Painting, Architecture, Sculpture, and Musick. But these Arts, and the Improvements of them, were so far from owing any Thing to that Sort of Government, that by Liberty alone, and the Privileges given to the Professors of them, they came to excel in them; nor would they ever have excelled upon the common Foot and Condition of their other Subjects: So that to make them Excellent, they made them Free. And thus even Tyrants, the Enemies of Liberty, were, for their Furniture, Luxury, Pomp, Pleasure, and Entertainment, forced to be beholding to Liberty; and for those particular Purposes, they gave it to particular Men. But for the rest of their Subjects, they were left by them in the Condition of Brutes, both in Point of Livelihood and Knowledge, for it is more Liberty than Shape, that makes the Difference; since Reason without Liberty proves little better, and sometimes worse than none. Servitude marrs all Genius, nor is either a Pen or a Pencil of any Use in a Hand that is manacled.

I am, &c.

S I R,

S I R,

I Beg Leave to interrupt my Discourse upon General Liberty for one Post or more, as Occasion shall present, and desire you will publish the enclosed Letter in your Journal, in the Place which used to be filled with one to your self.

To the Freeholders, Citizens, and Burghers of the Counties, Cities, and Towns of Great-Britain:

GENTLEMEN,

Here is no Natural or Political Body but is subject to the Variations and Injuries of Time. Both are composed of Springs, Wheels, and Ligaments, all in perpetual Motion, and all liable to wear out and decay: And as the Parts are mortal, the Whole must be mortal too. But as natural Bodies may continue their Existence, and preserve their Duration, by Action, by the Addition of new Particles, or by removing from Time to Time all occasional Obstructions which clog their Motion, and check their Vigour, as long as their Stamina, first Principles, or original Constitution is capable of subsisting; so a political Machine may do the same: And some Writers in Politicks have asserted, that the same might be immortal; which is not my Opinion.

But

But whether this is true or not, certain it is that in many Respects a Political Body has the Advantage of a Natural One. We can often look into its inmost Frame and Contexture; and when any of its constituent Parts are decayed or worn out, can supply it with new ones; (which cannot be done in the other without a total Dissolution of the Fabrick :) And we can frequently annex additional Props and Buttresses to support for some Time a tottering Building, and hinder it from falling upon our Heads. This is often all that can be done in decayed Governments, when a State is in a Catahexy; and this is what is every honest Man's Duty to do, when he can do no better. But, I thank God, the Constitution of *England* is yet sound and vigorous: Many of its Parts are active and strong; and if some Members are corrupted or decayed, there are Materials at Hand to supply the Defect. There is Wealth and Power in being: Our Country abounds with Men of Courage and Understanding; nor are there wanting those of Integrity and publick Spirit: There is an ardent Desire and diffusive Love of Liberty throughout the Kingdom; and many begin to be tired, sick, and ashamed of Party-Animosities, and of quarrelling with their Neighbours, their Relations, and often with their best Friends, to gratify the Pride, the Ambition, and Rapine of those, who only sell and betray them. It is yet in our Power to save our selves, and most Men have Inclinations to do it; and it is only owing to the Art and Address of our common Enemies, if we do not agree on the Means of doing it.

I dare therefore affirm, that there is such a general Disposition towards Liberty through the whole Kingdom, that if there shall be found in the next House of Commons as many honest, bold, and wise Men, as would have saved *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, *England* is yet safe, in spite of all the Efforts of Delusion and Bribery: And I dare as freely affirm, that if some vigorous and bold Resolutions are not there taken to assist our most excellent King towards discharging the publick Debts, and in redressing all sorts of publick Corruptions, the Liberty of *Great Britain*——My Heart can speak no more.

It lies upon you, Gentlemen, to give Motion to the Machine: You are the first Springs that give Life to all virtuous Resolutions: Such as you shew your selves, such will be your Representatives: Such as is the Tree, such will be the Fruit. Chuse honest Men, free and independent Men, and they will act honestly for the publick Interest, which is your Interest. It is not to be expected that Criminals will destroy their own Handywork; that they will either reform or punish themselves; or, that Men, who have brought our Misfortunes upon us, will go about in good Earnest to redress them, or even own that there are any such. Besides, deep Wounds must be probed and searched to the Core, before they can be cured; and those who gave them can seldom bear to see the Operation, much less will they pay for the Cure, if they can be at ease by the Death of the Patient.

Let us not therefore, my Countrymen, desert or deceive our selves, or think we can be safe, if ever such Men can get into Power. Let us not again be deluded with false Promises and deceitful Assurances, but let us judge what Men will do by what they have done. What warm and plausible Remonstrances have you formerly heard and received? What impetuous Storms and Hurricanes of false and counterfeit Zeal against Oppressions and Miscarriages in the late Reigns; against exorbitant Pensions, outrageous Taxes, wild and expensive Expeditions; against encreasing the publick Debts; against standing Troops quartered up and down your Countries; against oppressive Companies, to the Destruction of your Trade and Industry; against private Mens raising immense Estates upon your Ruin; and against their bribing and corrupting the Guardians of the publick Liberty? — And are you at last perfectly easy in every one of those Complaints?

Now, therefore, my best Friends, is the Time to help your selves: Now act honestly and boldly for Liberty, or forget the glorious and charming Sound. Let not a publick Traitor come within the Walls of your Cities and Towns, without treating him as an Enemy to your King and Country deserves. Throw your Eyes about your several Countries, and chuse your Patrons, your Protectors, your Neighbours and your known Friends; chuse for your Representatives Men whose Interests are blended with your own; Men who have no Hands dipt in the publick Spoils, but have suffered by them as much as you your selves
 have

have suffered ; Men who have not jobbed for Stock, nor for Wages, nor for you.

Make not so foolish a Bargain, as for a little loose Money, to give up desperately all you have ; your Liberties, your Estates, your Families. Is it for your Sakes, think you, that these Jobbers of Stocks, and of Honesty, and of their Country, come to caress you, flatter you, and bow to you ? Do you, or can you believe that they come to impair their own Fortunes, to encrease yours ? Or think you not that they will have their Pennyworths out of you ? Depend upon it, they will ; and, for every Bucket of Water thrown into your Wells, they will pump out Tuns.

Reason not therefore, as too many of you have done, and I fear yet do, That since those you trust make personal Advantages of your Confidence and Credulity, you ought to share in those Advantages. But throw your Choice upon such who will neither buy you nor sell you. Whoever purchases an Office at more than it is honestly worth, must be supported by him who sells it, in all dishonest Gains ; or else he will call for his Money again, if he knows how to get it. No Man will bribe you into your own Interests, or give you Money that he may have leave to serve you by his own Labour, and at his farther Expence ; but will think himself at Liberty to make Reprisals : He will find no Difficulty in himself to sell those, who have before sold themselves and their Country : Nor can you have any Right or Pretence to reprove one that does so.

Mistake not, my Countrymen, in believing that Men in your Condition and Circumstances are too low for the Scythe, and that you can shrink out of publick Misfortunes. For you, Gentlemen, are the first Principles of Wealth and Power. From your Labour and Industry arises all that can be called Riches, and by your Hands it must be defended: Kings, Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, and military Officers, do all support their Grandeur by your Sweat and Hazard, and in Tyrannical Governments upon the Peoples Spoils: They there riot upon the Subsistence of the poor People, whose Poverty is their Riches. In corrupt Administrations, your Superiors of all Kinds make Bargains, and pursue Ends at the publick Expence, and grow rich by making the People poor.

You feel the first Effects of tyrannical Government, and Great Men are generally made the Instruments of it, and reap the Advantages. Exorbitant Taxes, want of Trade, Decay of Manufactures, Discouragement of Industry, Insolence and Oppression of Soldiers, Exactions of Civil Officers, Ignorance, Superstition, and Bigotry, are all the constant Concomitants of Tyranny, and always produce it, and are produced by it. And all these terrible Evils must fall most signally upon the middle and inferiour Ranks of Mankind: There must be a great Number of Slaves to furnish up one grand Monarch, and the poor People must be those Slaves. He must engage many in his Interest, before he can establish a Power which destroys the rest; and all these Many must be supported,

and have their Condition better'd by the Change ; and all this Charge and Expence the wretched People must work for and pay

Forget therefore, Gentlemen, the foolish and knavish Distinction of *High Church* and *Low Church*, *Whig* and *Tory* ; Sounds which continue in your Mouths when the Meaning of them is gone, and are now only used to set you together by the Ears, that Rogues may pick your Pockets. I own my self to be one of those, whom one Side in Respect, and the other in Contumely, call *Whigs* ; and yet I never discoursed with a candid and sensible *Tory*, who did not concur with me in Opinion, when we explained our Intentions. We both agreed in our Notions of old *English* Liberty, in a Passion for Freedom to our selves, and to procure it for every one else : We were both for preserving the *English* Monarchy, and the Legal Constitution of the National Church against its enthusiastick Friends and Enemies ; and were for giving Liberty of Conscience to those, who through a prejudiced Education, or, as we believed, a less Capacity of Judging, were so unhappy as to think differently from our selves, in an Affair which concerned us not, and which we had nothing to do with.

We both honoured and resolved to preserve upon the Throne our most Excellent Sovereign King *GEORGE*, and to endeavour to continue him a glorious King over honest Men, and Freemen ; and not to attempt to make him, what he scorns to be made, a Patron of Parasites, and a Lord of Slaves : And we thought we could not shew our Duty to him more effectually.

effectually, than in bringing to exemplary Punishment, all who had betrayed him and us: We wished the old Names of Distinction and Faction buried deep as the Center, and nothing heard in their Room, but Court and Country, Protestant and Papist, Freemen and Slaves. It will lie at your Door, Gentlemen, to put an End to the above silly and wicked Gibberish. Choose those who have no Interest to continue it, and it will not be continued.

Consider, my dear Friends and Countrymen, what I have said, and think what you are doing, while you are raising Hue and Cry after Men who will betray you; while you are sending afar for Courtiers, for Directors of Bubbles, for Company-men, and publick Pick-pockets, to represent you; while you are giving up, perhaps for ever, to the Mercy of Blood-Suckers, your honest Industry, and the just Profits of your Trade, for a poor momentary Share of their infamous Plunder; and thereby bringing a Canker upon your Subsistence, and the just Resentment of Heaven upon your Endeavours. Shew your selves once, and once for all, *Britons* and Freemen, and not foreign and saleable Slaves; shew that you know how to honour your King, and yet to keep your Liberties; that you obey him out of Choice, and not out of servile Fear; that you know how to distinguish your Loyalty to your Prince, from a blind Submission to his and your own Servants; and that you can make your Duty to him consistent with a vigorous Resolution to punish all who betray him and you.

If you did but know, Gentlemen, how you are used above, by those who think it worth

their Time to flatter you below, and to your Faces, you would not want my Advice and Admonitions. You are called the Mobb, the Canal, the stupid Herd, the Dregs and Beasts of the People, and your Interest is never thought of by those Men, who thus miscal you ; Men who have no more Wit, and much less Honesty than your selves ; and Men whose Insolence and Sauciness are owing to Wealth, which they have plundered from you. It depends now upon your selves, whether you will deserve these base and reproachful Names, or not ; shew that you are Men, and you will be used like Men ; but if you sell your selves like the Beasts in the Field, the Purchasers will have a Right to sell you again, and make honest Gains out of a villainous Bargain.

For my own Particular, I cannot give my self leave to despair of you, because I must at the same time despair of old *English* Liberty : You are our *Alpha* and *Omega*, our first and last Resource ; and when your Virtue is gone, all is gone. It is true, you have a wise and virtuous Prince at present, who will not take Advantage of your Follies, and you may depend upon the same Security from his Son : But neither he nor his Son, nor his Family, are Immortal ; and therefore, I hope you will act wisely, and trust to your selves alone. But whatever Part, Gentlemen, you shall think fit to take, you shall not do it blindfold, and in the Dark. You shall have the fair and dark Side of your Conduct laid before you, and then you may chuse whether you will be Freemen or Vassals ; whether you will spend your own Money and Estates, or let others worse than you spend them

them for you : Methinks the Choice should be easy. You shall hear more from me upon this Subject ; and you may believe me,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very sincere and

most affectionate humble Servant.

A Second Letter to the English Freeholders.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are born to Liberty, and it is your Interest and Duty to preserve it. The Constitution you live under is a mixed Monarchy, where your Governors have every Right to protect and defend you, and none to injure and oppress you. You have a large Share in the Legislature ; you have the sole Power over your own Purfes ; and you have an undoubted Right to call to Account and punish the Instruments of your Oppression : But it depends upon your selves alone to make these Rights of yours, these noble Privileges, of use to you. The best Laws give no Security if they are not executed, but indeed become worse than no Laws ; and they never will be executed, unless those who are entrusted with the Execution of them have an Interest in their Execution.

All Men desire naturally Riches and Power ; and almost all Men will take every Method, just or unjust, to attain them. Hence the Difficulty of governing Men, and of instituting a

Government equally proper to restrain them and protect them ; and hence the Insufficiency of simple Forms of Government, to provide for the Happiness and Security of Societies. An Arbitrary Prince will quickly grow into a Tyrant ; the uncontroul'd Dominions of the Nobles will as certainly produce *Oligarchy*, or the Tyranny of a Few ; that is, Pride, Combination, and Rapine in the Sovereigns, and Misery and Dejection in the Many ; and the unrestrained Licentiousness of the Multitude will beget Confusion and Anarchy. To provide against these certain and eternal Evils, mixed Forms of Government were invented, where Dominion and Liberty are so equally tempered, and so mutually checked one by another, that neither of them can have Interest and Force enough to oppress the other.

These Institutions have provided against many Evils, but not against all ; for, whilst Men continue in this State of Degeneracy, that is, whilst Men are Men, Ambition, Avarice, and Vanity, and other Passions, will govern their Actions ; and in spite of all Equity and Reason, they will be ever usurping, or attempting to usurp upon the Liberty and Fortunes of one another, and all Men will be striving to enlarge their own. Dominion will always desire Increase, and Property always to preserve it self ; and these opposite Views and Interests will be causing a perpetual Struggle : But by this Struggle Liberty is preserved, as Water is kept sweet by Motion.

The Nature and Reason of this sort of Government, is to make the several Parts of it
 controul

controul and counterpoise one another, and so keep all within their proper Bounds. The Interest of the Magistracy, which is the Lot and Portion of the Great, is to prevent Confusion, which levels all Things: The Interest of the Body of the People, is to keep Power from Oppression, and their Magistrates from changing into Plunderers and Murderers; and the Interest of the standing Senate, which is, or ought to be composed of Men distinguishable for their Fortunes and Abilities, is to avoid Ruin and Dissolution from either of these Extremes: So that, to preserve Liberty, all these co-ordinate Powers must be kept up in their whole Strength and Independency.

Names will not defend you, Gentlemen, when the Thing signified by them is gone. The Emperors of *Rome* were as absolute with the Shew of a Senate, and the Appearance of the Peoples chusing their Prætors, Tribunes, and other Officers of the Commonwealth, as the *Eastern* Monarchs are now without these seeming Checks, and this Shew of Liberty: And in some Respects they were more secure, as the Infamy of their Tyranny was shared by these Assemblies, and the Advantages were all their own; and the Condition of the People was rather the worse for these Mock Magistrates and pretended Representatives, who, under the Colour and Title of the Protectors of the People, were, at the Peoples Expence, the real Helpers and Partakers of the Tyrant's Iniquity. The Kings of *France* have Parliaments, but Parliaments which dare not dispute their Royal Pleasure; and the poor People

would not fare one Jot the better, if these Parliaments were bribed not to dispute it.

This wretched Case, Gentlemen, will be yours, and the wretched Case of your Posterity, if ever an ambitious Prince and designing Minister shall hereafter be able to corrupt or awe your Representatives. And whatever wicked Bargains are then made, will be made at your Expence, and you must pay the terrible Reckoning at last. You have a King at present, from whom you have none of these Things to fear. But, alas! Gentlemen, how few *Titus's* and *Trajans* were there found amongst the *Roman* Emperors! and how few can *England* shew since the Conquest! It requires therefore your best Thoughts and most vigorous Resolutions to preserve your Constitution intire in all its Parts, without suffering any one Part to prevail so far over the other, as to reduce it, in Effect, though not in Name, to a simple Form of Government, which is always Tyranny. It will be all one to you, whether this is brought about by Confederacy or by Force. Whatever be the villainous Means, Violence. Oppression, and every Rank of Evil, will be the End.

In order to this honest or publick Design, you ought to chuse Representatives, whose Interests are at present the same with your own, and likely to continue the same; Representatives, who are not already pre-ingaged, nor, from their Circumstances, Education, Profession, or Manner of Life, likely to be engaged, in a contrary Interest. He will prove but a sorry Advocate, who takes Fees from your Adversary;

verfary; and as indifferent a Plenipotentiary, who receives a Pension from the Prince whom he is commissioned to treat with: Nor can there be any Security in the Fidelity of one, who can find it more his Interest to betray you, than to ferve you faithfully.

Virtue and Vice will be but ill ballanced, when Power and Riches are thrown into the wrong Scale. A great Protestant Peer of *France*, having changed his Religion in Compliance with his Master, *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who had changed too, was soon after asked by that Monarch publickly, which of the two Religions he thought the best? *The Protestant, Sir, undoubtedly is the best*, faid the Peer, *by your own Royal Confession; fince in the Exchange for it, your Majesty has given me Popery, and a Marshal's Staff to boot.* Where Boot is given, there is always a tacit Confession that the Exchange is unequal without it. Chufe not therefore fuch who are likely to truck away your Liberties for an Equivalent to themfelves, and to fell you to thofe againft whom it is their Duty to defend you. When their Duty is in one Scale, and a Thousand Pounds a Year, or more, or even lefs, is thrown into the contrary Scale, you may eafily guefs, as the World goes, how the Ballance is like to turn.

It is the Right and Duty of the Freeholders and Burghers of *Great Britain*, to examine into the Conduct, and to know the Opinions and Intentions of fuch as offer themfelves to their Choice. How can any of them be truly represented, when they know not who represents them? And as it was always their Right, they

had once the frequent Means and Opportunity to resent effectually the Corruptions of those who had basely betrayed their sacred Trust; and of rejecting with Scorn and Detestation, such Traiterous Parricides; and of sending up honest and wiser Men in their Room. This, my dear Countrymen, we had once the frequent Means of doing: Make Use now, O worthy and free *Britons!* make good Use of this present Dawn, this precious Day of Liberty, to recover once more that invaluable Privilege. Do not wildly chuse any One, who has given up, or attempted to give up your Birthrights; and above all, that Right which secures all the rest. Admit no Man to be so much as a Candidate in your Counties and Burroughs, till he has declared in the clearest Manner, and in the most express and solemn Words declared, his most hearty and vigorous Resolutions, to endeavour to Repeal all Laws which render you incapable to serve your King, or to punish Traitors, or to preserve your original and essential Rights. This, Gentlemen, is your Time; which, if you suffer it to be lost, will probably be for ever lost.

There are a sort of Men who proude about the Country to buy Boroughs; Creatures, who accost you for your Votes with the Spirit and Design, and in the Manner of Jockeys; and treating you like Cattle, would purchase you for less or more, just as they think they can sell you again. Can you bear this Insult, Gentlemen, upon your Honesty, your Reason, and your Liberties? Or if there are any amongst you, who countenance such vile and execrable

execrable Bargains, which affect and involve you all in their Consequences, ought they not to be treated like publick Enemies, as indeed they are, and be hunted from amongst you? I have often wondered how a little contemptible Corporation, consisting, as some of them do, of Broom-makers, Hedge-breakers, and Sheep-stealers, could stand the Looks and Rebukes of a rich and honest Neighbourhood, after these dirty Rogues had openly sold at the Market-Cross, perhaps for Forty Shillings a-piece, not only their own Liberties, but, as far as in them lay, the Liberties of that rich Neighbourhood, and of all *England*. Such saleable Vermin ought to be treated as Persons excommunicate, as the Pests and Felons of Society, which they would sell for Porridge: And if proper Abhorrence were every where shewn towards them, and no Commerce held with them, they would soon grow honest out of Necessity; or if they did not, they might justly fear, like guilty *Cain*, that every Man they met would kill them. If this Method was taken, it would cure Corruption of this kind: Let those who sell their Country be every where renounced and shun'd by their Neighbourhood and their Country, and such a Sale will soon be over.

The Majority of you, Gentlemen, are yet uncorrupted: Indeed none but a few of the worst and poorest of you are yet corrupted. The Body of the Freeholders know not what it is to take Money; and chuse their Representatives from amongst themselves, and from a thorough Acquaintance, either with the Mem

or with their Characters. The little beggarly Boroughs only are the Pools of Corruption; with them, Money is Merit, and full of Recommendation. They engage for Men without knowing their Names, and chuse them sometimes without seeing their Faces; and yet their Members, when they are chosen, are as good as yours; that is, their Votes are as good. It is in your Power, Gentlemen, and in that of your honest Neighbours, to cure this mighty Evil, which has hitherto been incurable, or not suffered to be cured. They are but a few, and an inconsiderable few, in Comparison of you; and cannot live without you, though you can without them.

Try the Expedient which I propose; neither buy nor sell with those Reprobate Mercenaries, who sell themselves and you. Consider how much it imports you; your All is concern'd in it. This is not a Dispute about Dreams or Speculations, which affect not your Property; but it is a Dispute whether you shall have any Property, which these Wretches throw away, by chusing for the Guardians of Property Men whom they know not, or who are only known to them by a very bad Token, that of having corrupted them.

Lay not out your Money with those who for Money sell your Liberties, which is the only Source of your Money, and of all the Happiness you enjoy. Remember how, when your All is at Stake, as it always is in an Election of those who are either to guard, or to give up your All; I say, remember, how wantonly and blindly upon that Occasion, these
Wretches

Wretches surrender themselves, and you, and your All, and all *England*, to the best Bidder, without knowing, often, who he is. What Mercy do these cruel Slaves deserve at your Hands? The most horrible Thing that they can do against you and your Posterity, they do.

When *Hannibal* had gained his last and greatest Battle against the *Romans*, and many of the Nobility were deliberating about leaving *Rome*, the young *Scipio* entred the Room with his Sword drawn, and obliged every Man present, to bind himself with an Oath not to desert their Country. And will you, Gentlemen; suffer the little Hireling Inhabitants of Boroughs, who receive from you and your Neighbours their daily Bread; will you, can you suffer them to betray you, to give up your Fortunes, and to comprehend you as they do, in the Sale they make of Themselves? Do you not know how much you are at the Mercy of their Honesty, how much it depends upon their Breath whether you are to be Freemen or Slaves: And yet will you stand stupidly by, and see them truck you away for loose Guineas? Would you allow the Common Laws of Neighbourhood to such as steal or plunder your Goods, rob you of your Money, seize your Houses, drive you from your Possessions, enslave your Persons, and starve your Families? No sure, you would not. And yet will you, and can you continue to treat as Neighbours and Friends, those rash, wicked, and merciless Profligates; who, as far as in them lies, would bring upon you and your Posterity, all those
black

black and melancholly Evils, by committing the mighty and sacred Trust of all your Lives and Properties to Men, who hire them to betray it; and having first made them Rogues, may afterwards, for ought they know, make them Slaves, and you with them.

Can you bear this, Gentlemen? It is the Root of all your heavy Sufferings, and may yet produce worse and more heavy. You are Freemen, and Men of Reason and Spirit; awaken your Spirit, exert your Reason, and assert your Freedom. You have a Right to petition the Parliament, you have a Right to address the King, to propose your Thoughts and Grievances to Both; and to be heard and relieved when you suffer any. And from the same Reason and Equity, you, Gentlemen Freeholders, have a Right and a near Concern to advise your neighbouring Boroughs in the Choice of their Members; and to warn them of the Consequences, if they make a bad one.

For God's sake, Gentlemen, and for your own, and for all our sakes, shew your Spirit, your Understanding, and your Activity, upon this Occasion; and the hearty Prayers and Wishes of every honest Man will attend you.

Alas! Gentlemen, with Tears I tell you, the Cure of Corruption is left to you ——— A Cure from another Quarter is cruelly denied to us. A worthy Attempt was lately made to destroy it effectually; and we hoped that no Man, or Set of Men, pretending to common Honesty, would have had the Face to discourage or frustrate that Attempt; but it was frustrated, and we know where, and by whom,

whom, and for what Ends. Those who owe their whole Figure, and Fortune, and Force to Corruption, rather than part with it, seem determined to see the Nation consumed and perish in it. Your Help must be from God and your selves; be honest, and make your Neighbours honest; both are in your Power, and I glory that they are. As you love your Liberties, exercise your Virtue; they depend upon it. Remember the true but dismal Picture I have given you of Slavery and arbitrary Power; and if you would avoid them, be virtuous, scorn Bribes, and abhor the Man that offers them, and expose him. Consider him as an accursed Tempter, and a barbarous Ravisher, who would buy you out of your Integrity, and spoil you of your Liberties.

Give me leave now, Gentlemen, to mark out to you more particularly, what sort of Men you ought not to chuse: Chuse not those who live at a great Distance from you, and whose Abilities, Probity, and Fortunes are not well known to you. When you have chosen them, it will be too late to know them. Chuse not the eldest Sons of Noblemen, who must be naturally in the Interest of the Nobility, as the Nobility generally are in the Interest of the Court, whatever it be. Reject Bigots of all Kinds, and Sides: Those Men, whose Minds are shut up in Band boxes, and who walk upon Stilts, have not Thoughts large enough for governing Society. Even their Honesty, when they have any, is useless to the Publick; and is often, on the contrary, made an ill Instrument in the Hands of those who have none.

Reject

Reject also all timorous, fearful, and dastardly Spirits; Men, who having good Principles, either dare not own them, or dare not act according to them. Chuse not Men who are noted for Non-Attendance, and who have been Members of Parliaments, without waiting upon the Business of Parliament; Men, who will probably be engaged in a Fox-Chace, in a Tavern, or in other debauch'd Houses, tho' the Kingdom were undoing. While your Happiness or Misery depends so much upon the Breath of your Representatives; it is of great Importance to you, that their Attendance be as constant as their Behaviour is honest. What Excuse can they offer for themselves, when by their wanton Absence, a Vote may pass which may cost you Millions? We know what bold Advantages have been taken in former Parliaments, of a thin House, to raise great and unexpected Sums from the Nation, to enable its worst Foes to carry on an unnatural Conspiracy against it.

Reject with Indignation those Men, who, in the late execrable *South-Sea* Conspiracy, took Stock for Votes; and for an infamous Bribe in Stock, voted your Liberties, and Purfes, into the merciless Claws of the *South-Sea* Traitors, and are since many of them justly undone by the Bargain. And think you, Gentlemen, that these Men who could sell their Country, when they had a Stake in it, will not sell it for less, when they have none? You ought to add to the same Class, and treat in the same Manner, all those who headed and abetted.

abetted that destructive Scheme, or endeavoured to protect those who did so.

You are to be particularly careful, that those you chuse be duly qualified according to Law, and that no Deceit is practised in obtaining temporary Qualifications. You ought to enquire into their Estates, and how they came by them; and if they have none, as many who stand Candidates, I am told, have not, you may guess who assists them, and what hopeful Services are expected from them. Such Men you may be sure will never speak your Sense in Parliament — nor even their own, if they have any; nor be suffered to consult your Interest. — They must work for their Masters against you, who ought to be so.

Neither can you expect to be well served by Men, whose Estates are embarked in Companies: They themselves will be engaged with their Fortunes in the particular Interest of such Companies, which are always against the Interest of general Trade; and they will be but too apt to fall into the Juggling and Artifices of Courts, to raise their Stock to imaginary Values — A certain and known Method to promote Cheating, and to sink Trade.

Shun likewise all those who are in the Way of Ambition; a Passion which is rarely gratified by Integrity, and an honest Zeal for your Good; shun all Men of narrow Fortunes, who are not for your Purpose, from obvious Reasons; shun all Lawyers, who have not established Practice or good Estates, and who are consequently more liable to Corruption,
and

and whom the Court has more Means of corrupting, than other Men ; shun all Men involved in Debt, all Men of ill Morals, and debauched and dishonest Lives, all Gamesters, and all Men who spend more than their Income. Their Extravagance makes them necessitous, and their Necessities make them venal.

We do not ordinarily trust a Man with a small Sum without a Note, or Mortgage, or a Bond ; and such Security is but reasonable ; and is it not as reasonable, that, when we trust Men with all we have, as we do our Representatives, we ought to seek and procure all the Security which the Nature of the Thing will admit ? Would it not be direct Madness to trust our All, our whole accumulative Portion in this Life, to those whom no Man would, in a private Way, trust for Five Shillings ? Call to mind, Gentlemen, whether some of you have never formerly made such a rash and dangerous Choice ; and for God's Sake mend it now.

I suppose thus far you will all agree with me ; as I dare say you will, when I tell you that the Gentlemen of the Sword are not proper Representatives of a People, whose Civil Constitution abhors standing Armies, and cannot subsist under them. The Fortunes and Expectations of these Gentlemen, depend upon observing the Word of Command ; and it is but natural they should support Power in which they are Sharers. You must not therefore expect that they will ever concur in a Vote, or an Address, to disband or reduce themselves ;
however

however desirable or necessary the same may be to you. Those of them who deserve well of you, as very many of the present Officers do, are doubtless entitled to Thanks and good Usage from you; but to shew them Respect by giving them Seats in Parliament, is by no means a proper, prudent, or natural Way of doing it. Besides, it will create a great and unjust Partiality to particular Boroughs, and some shall be burdened with Soldiers, when others shall be free from them; just at the Mercy and Expectations of the commanding Officer.

It is indeed a Misfortune to the Army it self, to have any of its Officers Members of the House of Commons, since the greatest Merit in the Field shall not recommend a Man so much to just Preferment, as the want of Merit sometimes shall in that House. A Complaint, however, which I hope there is no Ground for at present.

Chuse not, Gentlemen, any sort of Men, whose Interest may at any Time, and in any Circumstance, consist in Confusion. Neither are Men in Employments the properest Men for your Choice. If ever your Interest comes in Competition with their Places, you may easily guess which must give Way; I think there are but few Instances where they themselves suffer and fall in that Struggle. Under this Head, I would desire you, Gentlemen, to observe the Behaviour of the Officers of the Customs and Excise, upon the ensuing Elections; and remember that they forfeit one hundred Pounds, if they persuade or deal with any
Per-

Person, to vote or to forbear voting, and are made for ever incapable of holding any Employment under the Crown. If you find them busy and intermeddling in this Election, take the Advantage the Law gives you, and see it honestly put in Execution against them: Besides, such Conduct of theirs, and Prosecution of yours, may give Occasion to a new Law, with more terrible Penalties upon that sort of Men, whom our Misfortunes have made numerous.

For a Conclusion. Consider, Gentlemen, Oh! consider what you are about, and whether you will bring Life or Death upon us. Oh! take Care of your selves, and of us All: We are all in your Hands, and so at present are your Representatives; but very quickly the Scene will be shifted, and both you and we will be in theirs. Do not judge of them by their present humble Speeches and condescending Carriage; but think what they are like to be when they are no longer under your Eye, when they are no longer suing to you, nor want you. These humble Creatures, who now bow down before you, will soon look down upon you—Oh! chuse such as are likely to do it with most Pity and Tendernefs, and are most likely to relieve you of those Burdens under which we all sadly groan, and under which we must certainly sink never to rise again, if we are not relieved.

I am, Gentlemen, with exceeding Sincerity, and all good Wishes,

Your most affectionate humble Servant.

S I R,

S I R,

IN the first Rise and Beginning of States, a rough and unhewn Virtue, a rude and savage Fierceness, and an unpolished Passion for Liberty, are the Qualities chiefly in Repute: To these succeed military Accomplishments, domestick Arts and Sciences, and such political Knowledge and Acquirements, as are necessary to make States great and formidable Abroad, and to preserve Equality and domestick Happiness and Security at Home; and lastly, when these are attained, follow Politeness, speculative Knowledge, moral and experimental Philosophy, with other Branches of Learning, and the whole Train of the Muses.

The *Romans* were long Masters of the Arts of War and Policy, before they knew much of the Embellishments of Letters.

*Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina Chartis,
Et, post Punica Bella, quietus querere cepit,
Quid Sophocles & Thespis, & Æschilus utile ferrent.*

These were the Effects of Ease, Leisure, Security, and Plenty, and the Productions of Men retired from the Hurry and Anxieties of War, and sequestered from the Tumults of the World; of Men not ruffled by Disappointment, nor scared with the Noise of foreign Invasions, or disturbed with civil Tumults; and of Men not distressed

distressed by Want, or wholly employed with the Cares of Life, and solicitous for a Support to themselves and Families ;

—*præter laudem nullius avaris.*

The *Romans* had secured their Conquests, and settled their Power, before they grew fond of the Ornaments of Life.

*How should my Memmius have Time to read,
When by his Ancestors fam'd Glory led
To Noble Deeds, he must espouse the Cause
Of his dear Country's Liberties and Laws ?
Amongst rough Wars how can Verse smoothly flow,
Or midst such Storms the learned Laurel grow ?*

L. Memmius was one of the principal Men of Rome, and yet so late as the taking of Corinth, he was so ignorant in the polite Arts, that when he was Shipping off the glorious Spoils of that great City of Rome, he ridiculously threatned the Masters of the Vessels, that if they broke or lost any of the Statues, Paintings, or of the other curious Greek Monuments, they should be obliged to get others made in their Room at their proper Expençe.

But the *Romans* quickly improved in their Taste, and quickly grew fond of Works of Genius of every Kind, having now Leisure to admire them, and Encouragement to imitate them. And the *Greeks*, from whom the *Romans* had them, were first great in Power, and their civil Oeconomy was excellently established, before they grew eminent in Politeness and Learning.

But

But neither will the single Invitations of Leisure and Ease, prove sufficient to engage Men in the Pursuits of Knowledge as far as it may be pursued. Other Motives must be thrown in ; they must find certain Protection and Encouragements in such Pursuits, and proper Rewards at the End of them. The Laurel is often the chief Cause of the Victory. The *Greeks*, who encouraged Learning and the Sciences more, and preserved them longer, than any People ever did, kept stated, publick and general Assemblies, on Purpose for the Trial and Encouragement of Wit and Arts, and for the distinguishing of those who professed them ; and thither resorted all who had any Pretensions that Way, or had engaged in Performances of that Kind ; and all the most illustrious Men in *Greece*, the Nobility, the Magistracy, and the Ambassadors of Princes, and sometimes Princes themselves, were the Auditors and Judges : By these Merit was distinguished, the Contention for Glory decided, and the Victory declared, and by these the Rewards of it were bestowed. Thus glorious was the Price of Excelling, and thus equitable, publick, and loud was the Fame of it. It is therefore no Wonder that it was courted by the *Greeks* with as much Ardour and Application, as the chief Dignities in a State are courted by others. And considering how strong were the Stimulations of the *Greeks* to study, *Horace* might well say,

*Graijs Ingenium, Graijs dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui* —————

Before this august Assembly, *Herodotus* repeated his History with great Applause; which so animated *Thucydides*, then very Young, that in Emulation of *Herodotus*, he writ a better History than that of *Herodotus*. Here *Cleomenes* recommended himself, by only repeating some Verses skilfully collected out of *Empedocles*; and here *Euripides* and *Xenocles* contended for Preference in the *Drama*.

Indeed the Honours attending a Victory upon these Occasions were excessive, and according to *Cicero* did almost equal those of a *Roman* Triumph. The Victors were reckon'd to have arrived to the highest humane Felicity, and to have entailed Glory upon all that belonged to them; upon their Families, Friends, their Native City, and the Place of their Education. Elogiums were made upon them, Statues were erected to them, and ever after they met every where the same Preference which they had met at the *Olympick* Assemblies.—A Preference which so fired the Emperor *Nero*, that when he had ridiculously stood Competitor at a singing Match, and taken a Journey to *Greece* on Purpose, he first declared himself Victor; and then to destroy all Marks and Memory of those who had been so before him, he commanded all their Pictures and Statues to be pulled down, and thrown into the Privies.

The *Romans*, as soon as they had Leisure from their long and many Wars, fell quickly into the same Studies, and into the same Emulation to excel in them. They no sooner had any Acquaintance with *Greece*, but they were possessed with a Fondness for all her Refinements.

Gracia

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agresti Latio—*

The fierce *Romans* subdued *Greece* by their Arms; and *Greece* made rustick *Italy* a Captive to her Arts. All the Youth of *Rome* were charmed with the Beauties of Learning, and eager to possess them; and many of the Senators were caught by the same Passions; and even the elder *Cato*, who was at first against these Improvements, which he fear'd would soften too much the rough *Roman* Genius, yet changed his Opinion so far afterwards, as to learn *Greek* in his old Age.

This prodigious Progress of the *Romans* in Learning, had no other Cause than the Freedom and Equality of their Government. The Spirit of the People, like that of their State, breathed nothing but Liberty, which no Power sought to controul, or could controul: The Improvement of Knowledge, by bringing no Terror to the Magistrates, brought no Danger to the People. Nothing is too hard for Liberty; and that Liberty which made the *Greeks* and *Romans* Masters of the World, made them Masters of all the Learning in it: And when their Liberties perished, so did their Learning. That Eloquence, and those other Abilities and Acquisitions, which raised those who had them to the highest Dignities in a free State, became under Tyranny a certain Train to Ruin, unless they were prostituted to the Service of the Tyrant.

That Knowledge, and those Accomplishments, which create Jealousy instead of Applause, and Danger instead of Reward, will be but rarely and faintly pursued; and for the most part not at all. No Man will take great Pains, spend his Youth and loose his Pleasures, to purchase Infamy or Punishment: And therefore when such Obstacles are thrown in his Way, he will take Counsel of Self-love, and acquiesce in the fashionable Stupidity, and prefer gilded and thriving Folly to dangerous and forbidden Wisdom.

Ignorance accompanies Slavery, and is introduced by it. People who live in Freedom will think with Freedom; but when the Mind is enslaved by Fear, and the Body by Chains, Inquiry and Study will be at an End. Men will not pursue dangerous Knowledge, nor venture their Heads to improve their Understandings. Besides, their Spirits, dejected with Servitude and Poverty, will want Vigour as well as Leisure to cultivate Arts, and propagate Truth, which is ever High-Treason against Tyranny. Neither the Titles nor the Deeds of Tyrants will bear Examination; and their Power is concerned to stupify and destroy the very Faculties of Reason and Thinking: Nor can Reason travel far, when Force and Dread are in the Way; and when Men dare not see, their Eyes will soon grow useless.

In *Turky*, Printing is forbid, lest by its Means common Sense might get the better of Violence, and be too hard for the Imperial Butcher. It is even Capital, and certain Death there, but to reason freely upon their *Alcoran* — A sure Sign
of

of Imposture! But by Imposture, Stupidity, and Janizaries, his Throne is supported; and his vast, but thin Dominions, know no Inhabitants but barbarous, ignorant, and miserable Slaves.

Nor is Printing in other Arbitrary Countries of much use but to rivet their Chains: It is permitted only on one Side, and made the further Means of Servitude. Even in Christian Countries, under Arbitrary Princes, the People are for the most part as ignorant and implacable Bigots as the *Turks* are. And as it is rare to find a Slave who is not a Bigot, no Man can shew me a Bigot who is not an ignorant Slave; for Bigotry is a Slavery of the Soul to certain religious Opinions, Fancies, or Stories, of which the Bigot knows little or nothing, and damns all that do.

The least Cramp or Restraint upon Reasoning and Inquiry of any Kind, will prove soon a mighty Bar in the Way to Learning. It is very true, that all sorts of Knowledge, at least all sorts of sublime and important Knowledge, are so complicated and interwoven together, that it is impossible to search into any Part of it, and to trace the same with Freedom to its first Principles, without borrowing and taking in the Help of most, if not all of the other Parts. Religion and Government, particularly, are at the Beginning and End of every Thing, and are the Sciences in the World the most necessary and important to be known; and as these are more or less known, other Knowledge will be proportionably greater or smaller, or none: But where these cannot be freely examined, and

their Excellencies searched into and understood, all other Wisdom will be maimed and ineffectual, and indeed scarce worth having.

Now, in all Arbitrary Governments, and under all created and imposing Religions, nothing must be found true in Philosophy, which thwarts the received Scheme, and the uppermost Opinions: The most evident mathematical Demonstrations must not disprove orthodox Dogma's and established Ideas; the finest poetical Flights must be restrained and discouraged, when they would fly over the narrow Enclosures and Prison Walls of Bigots: Nor must the best, the strongest, and the most beautiful Reasoning dare to break through popular Prejudices, or attempt to contend with powerful and lucrative Usurpation. A Bishop was burned before the Reformation, for discovering the World to be round; and even in the last Century, the excellent *Galileo* was put into the dismal Prison of the Inquisition, for maintaining the Motion of the Earth round the Sun, as her Center, which stood still. This Proposition of his, which he had demonstrated, he was forced to recant, to save his Life, and satisfy the Church.

Where Religion and Government are most deformed, as Religion ever is where 'tis supported by Craft and Force, and Government ever is when 'tis maintained by Whips and Chains; there all Examination into either, and all Reasoning about them, is most strictly forbid and discouraged: And as one sort of Inquiry and Knowledge begets another; and as,

when

when the Wits of Men are suffered to exert themselves freely, no body knows where their Pursuits may end ; so no Tyranny of any kind is safe where general, impartial, and useful Knowledge is pursued. Inhumane Violence and stupid Ignorance, are the certain and necessary Stay of Tyrants ; and every Thing that is good or valuable in the World is against them.

In the *East* (if we except *China*) there is not a Glimmering of Knowledge, tho' the Eastern People are, from their natural Climate and Genius, vastly capable of all Knowledge. *Tavernier*, mentioning the Cruelty of the Government, and the great Misery of the People there, says, " From the same Cause a gross and profound Ignorance reigns in those States. Nor is it possible there should be Academies and Colleges well founded in them. Where are such Founders to be met with ? And if they were, where are the Scholars to be had ? Where are those who have Means sufficient to maintain their Children in Colleges ? And if there were, who durst appear to be rich ? And if they would, where are those Benefices, Preferments, and Dignities, which require Knowledge and Abilities, and animate young Men to Study ?

I will not deny, but that in Arbitrary Countries there are sometimes found Men of great Parts and Learning. But these are either Ecclesiasticks, who even in the greatest Tyrannies, at least in *Europe*, are blessed with great Liberty, and many Independent Privileges, and are Freemen in the midst of Slaves, and have suit-

able Leisure and Revenues to support them in their Studies ; or they are Men invited and encouraged by the Prince to flatter his Pride, and administer to his Pomp and Pleasures, and to recommend his Person and Power. For these Reasons alone they are careffed, protected, and rewarded. They are endowed with the Advantages of Freemen, merely to be the Instruments of Servitude. They are a sort of *Swiss*, hired to be the Guards of their proud Master's Fame, and to applaud and vindicate all his Wickedness, Wildness, Usurpations, Prodigalities and Follies. This therefore is the worst of all Prostitutions, and the most immoral of all sort of Slavery ; as it is supporting Servitude with the Breath of Liberty, and assaulting and mangling Liberty with her own Weapons. A Creature that lets out his Genius to hire, may sometimes have a very good one ; but he must have a vile and beggarly Soul, and his Performances are at best but the basest Way of petitioning for Alms.

France could boast many Men of Wit and Letters in the late Reign, tho' it was a very severe one, and brought infinite Evils upon all *France* and *Europe*. But these great Wits were many of them the Instruments and Parasites of Power, who bent the whole Force of their Genius to sanctify domestick Oppression and foreign Usurpation : Such were the Characters and Employment of *Pelisson*, *Boileau*, *Racine*, and several others. *France* saw at the same Time several Churchmen of great and exalted Talents, such as the late Archbishop of *Cambray*,

bray, the Cardinal de Retz, Claude Joly, * the present Abbot Vertot, and many more excellent Men, all Lovers of Liberty, which by being Churchmen, they possess'd.

But tho' it be true that the late French King encouraged all sorts of Learning, that contributed to the Grandeur of his Name and Court, and did not contradict his Power, and courted great Writers all over Europe, either to write for him, or not against him; yet the Nature of his Government was so constant a Damp upon general Learning, that it was at last brought to a very low Pass in that Kingdom, even in his Time. Monsieur Des Maizeaux tells us, in his Dedication of St. Evremond's Works to the late Lord Hallifax, That the great Genius's of France were, about the Time I speak of, so constrained, as either to have forbore writing at all, or to have expressed what they thought by halves; That la Bruyere complains, that the French are cramped in Satire; That Regis, the famous Philosopher, solicited Ten Years for a Licence to publish his Course of Philosophy, and at last obtained it only on this Condition, to retrench whatever displeas'd the Censors; That Monsieur de Fontenelle hath been oblig'd to depart from the Freedom which he us'd in the first Works he pub-

* Claude Joly, Canon of Nostre Dame, Paris, hath published a Treatise, intituled, Recueil de Maximes veritables & importantes pour l'Institution du Roy, contre la fausse Politique du Cardinal Mazarin; wherein he shews, that the Power of Kings is limited by that of their Estates and Parliaments; and gives authentick Proofs, that such is the Original Constitution of the Government of France. He died in 1700.

lished; That but few of the present French Authors distinguish themselves either by their Learning or Wit; and that all this is to be attributed to the Nature of the Government; which is unquestionably true.

What Mr. *Des Maizeaux* says upon this Argument, is so judicious and just, that I shall borrow another Paragraph from the same Dedication. “ Liberty, says he, inspires a noble
 “ and elevated Confidence, which naturally
 “ enlarges the Mind, and gives it an Emula-
 “ tion to trace out new Roads towards attain-
 “ ing the Sciences; whereas a servile Depend-
 “ ence terrifies the Soul, and fills the Mind
 “ with a timorous Circumspection, that ren-
 “ ders it mean and groveling, and even de-
 “ bars the Use of its most refined Natural
 “ Talents ——— *Greece* and *Italy* never had il-
 “ lustrious Writers, but whilst they preserved
 “ their Liberty. The Loss of that was fol-
 “ lowed by the Decay of Wit, and the Ruin
 “ of polite Learning. *Greece*, formerly the
 “ Seat of the Muses, is now involved in a
 “ frightful Barbarity, under the Slavery of the
 “ *Ottoman* Empire; and *Italy*, which under the
 “ Influence of a Senate, was so fruitful in
 “ great and learned Men, now subject to the
 “ Tribunal of the *Inquisition*, produces no
 “ considerable Works of Erudition or Polite-
 “ nefs.

All the great Genius's who lived in the Days of *Augustus*, were born and educated in the Days of Liberty; and he borrowed from the Commonwealth all the Ornaments of his Court and Empire. In spite of all his boasted Taste
 of

of Letters, and the Encouragement he gave them, I do not remember one extraordinary Genius bred under his Influence: On the contrary, all that were so, died in his Time, without leaving any Successors. *Quidquid Romanæ facundia habet quod insolenti Græciæ aut opponat aut præferat, circa Ciceronem effloruit. Omnia ingenia quæ lucem studiis nostris attulerunt tunc nata sunt. In deterius deinde quotidie data res est,* says Seneca the Father. "Every Improvement in the Roman Eloquence, which either equals or excels that of Greece, flourished in the Time of Cicero; and all the great Wits, that now animate and direct our Studies, were then born. But ever since then, Wit daily decays, and grows lower and lower.

This Decay began in the Time of Augustus, who began his Reign with butchering Cicero, his Patron, his Father, and his Friend, and the Prodigy of Roman Eloquence and Learning; and that Decay increased so fast, that from the first Roman Emperor to the last, for the Space of about Five Hundred Years, the great City of Rome did not produce five great Genius's; and those that it did produce, were produced near the Times of Liberty, when they were yet warmed with its Memory, and before the Tyrants had yet Time utterly to abolish all that was good, though they made infinite Haste. Tacitus was their last great Historian, and Juvenal their last great Poet, both passionate Adorers of Liberty: It is melancholly what the former says upon this Subject;

Post bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potestatem

tem ad unum conferre pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere. The Romans had no longer any great Genius's than while they were free.

The Greeks preserved Learning some Time after the Romans had lost it; for tho' they were conquered by the Romans, yet many of the Greek Cities were suffered to enjoy their ancient Liberties and Laws, and they paid only an easy Homage, and no Troops were quartered among them, as in the other Provinces. However, as they were at the Mercy of Foreign Masters, the Vigour of their Spirit was gone, and they produced but few good Authors; *Dion* and *Plutarch* are the chief. It is the Observation of the learned, polite, and ingenious Author of the *Reflexions Critiques sur la Poesie & sur la Peinture*, That Greece had more great Men of all Kinds in the Age of *Plato* alone, when its Liberties flourished, than in all the many Ages between *Perseus*, the last King of *Macedon*, and the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, amounting to Seventeen Hundred Years.

The several Attempts made by *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and *Trajan*, to restore Learning, proved almost vain. The Muses, who, frightened by Tyranny, were now fled out of the World, could not be allured back to *Rome*, where Baseness, Terrors, and Servitude had long reigned, and where their Seats were filled by pedantick Praters, and by babbling and hypocritical Philosophers: For, the Itch and Name of Learning still subsisted; and therefore *Seneca* says, *ut omnium rerum, sic literarum quoque intemperantia laboramus.*

The Root of the Evil remained, and the Empire of mere Will had usurped the Throne of the Laws, and the Place of Learning. The Genius, that bold and glorious Genius, inspir'd by Liberty, was gone; and the Tryal to restore Learning without restoring Liberty, only served to shew that they who would do Good to a Community, which is ill constituted or corrupted, must either begin with the Government, and alter or reform that, or despair of Success. All that the best *Roman* Emperors could at last do, was, not to butcher nor oppress their People; which yet they could not restrain their Ministers from doing. *Mucianus* blackened the Reign of *Vespasian* by his Pride, Insolence, and Cruelties; and the Ministers of *Nerva*, under Colour of punishing the Informers, a Crew of Rogues licensed and encouraged by the former Emperors, to ensnare and destroy their dreadful Foes, the Innocent and Virtuous, made Use of that good Prince's Authority and his Hatred of these Vermin, to banish, plunder, kill, and ruin many of the best Men in *Rome*.

The Government, the arbitrary single Government, had long discouraged and banished every Thing that was good, and with the rest, Learning irretrievably.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE Advocates for Absolute Monarchy argue as ignorantly as perversely, and build without a Foundation; since, while they contend for unlimited Submission to the Monarch's Will, they must either suppose, that all Acts of Power proceed from his Will, or else that the Will of his Ministers is also unlimited, and their Orders are irresistible: So that either all his Servants, Instruments, and Executioners, are Absolute Monarchs too; which none but a Madman will say: Or that he himself does immediately direct every thing that is done; which no Man of common Sense will affirm. Indeed such Princes have the least Share of their own Power, and seldom know what is done, or care.

Monfieur *Thevenot* tells us, that the *Grand Seignior* minds nothing but his Pleasures, the Pranks of Mutes and Buffoons, who are his constant Attendants, and always studying new Freaks and Grimaces to divert him; and the Dalliances of Women, sent to him from all Quarters by his *Bashaws*. His Power is absolutely despotick: His Will, that is to say, his Lust, his Maggots, or his Rage, is his only Law, and the only Bounds to the Authority of this Vicegerent of God. By Virtue of this sacred Power, he may rob any Man, or all Men, of their Estates, and no Man has a Right to complain: He may put the best Men to the most ignominious and barbarous Death,
and

and exalt the vilest Criminals to the highest Dignities ; and no Man must ask why. *This unlimited Power of the Sultan, says Monsieur Thevenot, is founded on the Mahometan Religion, which enjoins a blind Submission to all his Commands, on pain of Damnation.*

A blessed and beneficent Religion this, and a single Sovereignty with a Witness ! But this monstrous and formidable Power, which is held by him, is directed by his Ministers without him. They employ both him and themselves ; him far from his Duty in unmanly Pleasures, and themselves in the Mismanagement of his Affairs, and in prostituting his Name and Authority, to serve their own Views. He wears the Crown, and lives in a Brothel ; and they sway the Scepter, suck the Peoples Blood, and fill their own Coffers. The *Grand Visier*, or First Minister, is in Effect King over his Master ; he has the Custody of the Imperial Power, and discharges the Office of the *Grand Seignior* : And as to the *Bashaws*, who are likewise so many Kings in their Provinces, *Thevenot* says, “ They abuse their Authority, and
 “ are more arbitrary than the *Sultan* himself,
 “ their Design and Business being to raise sudden Fortunes by their Spoils and Oppression.
 “ And the *Grand Seignior* is forced to dissembles his Knowledge of this Rapine and Exorbitancy, for want of Power to punish or redress them ; for that these Men have the
 “ Soldiers more at their Devotion than he
 “ has.

As to the *Turkish* Civil Officers and Judges, he says they do what they will, and judge as they

they please; for all their written Laws being contained in the *Alcoran*, which is but a short Book, they are so ambiguously expressed, and so loosely delivered, that the *Cadi*, as well as the *Bashaw*, wrests them as he pleases; and judging without Appeal, both these greedy and rapacious Officers turn Justice into Oppression, and make it a Stale to their Avarice.

Such is the Spirit and Effects of lawless Power, lodg'd in one Man; every Officer and Creature of his will have it; and by setting up one Tyrant, a Thousand are set up. As this Power is never to be got or preserved, but by Violence and Oppression; all Men, who have any Share in executing, and ministering, and defending the same, must be Oppressors too. As no Man is an Oppressor for the meer Pleasure and Security of another, but only for his own Sake and Gratification; so all the Servants of Tyranny do, in their Master's Name, but rob and spoil for themselves; and every Servant is a Master. All over the *Ottoman* Empire, there is a great *Turk* in every Town, and he at *Constantinople* is perhaps the idlest and most harmless of them all; and the Exercise of the *Turkish* Government, is nothing else but a daily and general Plunder, and a Contention between the Governors, who shall spoil best and get most. Nor, let them plunder and butcher as they will, is there any Redress to the oppressed and expiring People; for tho' the Imperial Oppressor often forces his ministerial Oppressors to disgorge, and spoils the Spoiler of his Booty and his Life, where he dares; yet, there being no Restitution made,

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the Condition of the Oppressed is not mended : It is Mock-Justice, and worse than none ; every Act of Power, every Degree of Office there, is Robbery and Violence ; and every Officer, the least and lowest, is an irresistible Tyrant.

Single and absolute Monarchy therefore, or the ruling All by the Will of One, is Nonsense and a Contradiction ; it is rather a Multiplication of Monarchs, and in Fact the worst sort of *Oligarchy*. Now suppose we were to obey blindly the Will of the Prince ; are we also to obey blindly the Will of his Eunuchs, Mistresses, and Janizaries, who oppress without his Knowledge, or against his Will ? Sure the Instruments and Delegates of Tyranny, are not also the Lord's Anointed. How therefore shall we know their Mind from his, which perhaps contradicts theirs ? Or how shall we know whether he wills any Thing at all, and whether they do not will for him ? This is almost always the Case ; and then here is a Monarchy of Ministers ; and Parasites, Pathicks, Buffoons, Women, and Butchers, rule for him, and over him.

Is this Government too by Divine Right ? If it is, let us rail no longer at Anarchy ; which, being the Absence of all Government, though it leaves every Man to do what he lists, yet it likewise leaves every Man a Right to defend himself : Besides, this sort of Anarchy, where every One is absolutely free, will quickly settle into Order, and indeed cannot subsist long. But single Monarchy, which is a long Gradation of Tyrants, where Many on one Side do what they will against the Most on the other Side, and where Cruelty and Lust
revel

revel without Controul; where wanton and inhumane Power has no Limits, and heavy and sorrowful Oppression no Remedy nor End; where the Innocent and Harmless suffer most, and the Worst and Vilest thrive best, and where none are secure; where Wickedness supports Power, and Property is the Spoil of Armies: I say, this Absolute Monarchy is worse than Absolute Anarchy, by not being so general. It is a partial Anarchy, with worse Effects and no Remedy.

All this does still further prove, that Men and Societies have no possible humane Security but certain and express Laws, setting express Bounds to the Power of their Magistrates, ascertaining the Measure of Power as well as Subjection, and restraining alike the Exorbitances of both Prince and People. It is eternally true, that such as is the Nature of the Government, such will be the Nature of the People; and that as they are happy or miserable, so they will be good or bad, as their Government and Governors are good or bad; and that their whole Integrity and Virtue, or all their Corruption and Baseness, does arise from that single Source.

“ Princes, says *Machiavel*, do, but with little
 “ Reason and an ill Grace, complain of the
 “ Transgressions and Faults of their Subjects;
 “ since by the Negligence and debauched Ex-
 “ ample of their Prince alone, the People are
 “ and must be debauched: And if the People
 “ of our Times are infamous for Thefts, and
 “ Robberies, and Plunderings, and preying
 “ upon one another, and the like Enormities;

“ it

“ it is all owing to the Exorbitances and Ra-
 “ paciousness of their Governors. — *Romania*
 “ was a Place full of all Diffoluteness and Ini-
 “ quity, every Day and every trivial Occasion
 “ producing notorious Murders and Rapines :
 “ Which Evils were not derived so much from
 “ any Depravity in the Nature of the People
 “ (as some would falsely suggest) as from the
 “ vile Corruption of their Princes : For being
 “ poor themselves, and yet ambitious to live
 “ in Splendor, Luxury, and Magnificence, (*the*
 “ *true Causes of their Poverty!*) they were forc'd
 “ upon execrable Courses for Money, and in-
 “ deed refused none that could supply them.
 “ To pass by their many other spunging
 “ Projects ; one of their detestable Schemes
 “ was to make Laws against such and such
 “ Things, and after these Laws were publish-
 “ ed, they themselves would be the first to
 “ break them, and to encourage others to do
 “ the same : Nor was any Man ever rebuked
 “ or punished for his Unobservance, till they
 “ saw enough involved in the same Penalty
 “ and Premunire ; and then forsooth, the Laws
 “ were to be executed with all Strictness and
 “ Severity, not out of any Zeal for Justice,
 “ but from a ravenous Appetite to be finger-
 “ ing the Fines. From whence it followed,
 “ that by grievous Mulcts and Expilations,
 “ the People being impoverish'd, were con-
 “ strained to use the same Violences upon those
 “ who were less potent than they themselves
 “ were. By which Means the People were
 “ not corrected for doing Evil, but instructed
 “ how to do it. And all these Mischiefs pro-
 “ ceeded

“ ceded solely from the Baseness and Iniquity
 “ of their Princes.

Thus it is that such Courts, being continually in a Conspiracy against the Property and Felicity of their People, and preying continually upon them by all vile Means and Pretences, teach their People to conspire against Honesty, and to prey upon one another; nay, by robbing them, they make it necessary for them to rob. Thus readily, necessarily, and naturally, is the Spirit of the Governors transfused into the Governed, who are ever taught civil Corruption by their Superiors, before they practise it themselves.

Father *le Compte*, giving an Account of the Government of *China*, and shewing the wise Provision made by the Laws to check the great Power of the Emperor, says, ——— “ Nor is
 “ Interest a less Motive than Reputation to
 “ the Emperor, to be guided by the ancient
 “ Customs, and to adhere to the Laws which
 “ are framed so much for his Advantage, that
 “ he cannot violate them without obvious Pre-
 “ judice to his own Authority, nor alter them
 “ without bringing his Kingdom into Confu-
 “ sion: For such is the Temper of the *Chi-
 “ neses*, that when the Emperor is governed
 “ by Violence and Passion, and grows negli-
 “ gent of his Affairs, the same perverse Spirit
 “ possesses his Subjects: Every *Mandarin* thinks
 “ himself Sovereign of his Province or City:
 “ The Chief Ministers sell Offices and Places
 “ to worthless Wretches: The *Vice-Roys* be-
 “ come so many little Tyrants: The Gover-
 “ nors observe no Rule of Justice; and the
 “ People

“ People thus oppressed, are easily stirred up
 “ to Seditious : Rogues multiply and commit
 “ Villainies in Companies, and court all Occa-
 “ sions to do Mischief, and to break the Peace.
 “ Such Beginnings have occasioned fatal Con-
 “ sequences, and put *China* under the Com-
 “ mand of new Masters ; so that the Empe-
 “ ror's surest Way to preserve his Crown, is
 “ to observe the Laws, and give an entire O-
 “ bedience to them.

Every Absolute Prince and his Deputy-Ty-
 rants are only the Instruments of one another.
 By their Hands he executes his Lust, Avarice,
 and Rage, and by his Authority they execute
 their own. He is their Dupe, and they are his
 Tools ; and however they may differ in particular
 Views, they are always strongly united in Cru-
 elty and Oppression. And therefore, whenever
 there is any Contention amongst them, it is
 only who shall be the uppermost Tyrants ;
 for Tyranny is the Aim, the Darling, and the
 Practice of All : And when the superior and
 subordinate Tyrants butcher one another, as
 they often do ; the People, tho' they see the
 Revenge, yet feel no Relief. Whoever bears
 the Iron Rod, They feel its Sharpness and its
 Weight : For almost every Tyrant grows worse
 and worse ; and yet generally leaves a Succes-
 sor worse than himself. What unutterable and
 encreasing Woe must be the Lot of their poor
 Subjects under continual Harrows of Iron,
 made daily more poignant and heavy ! Nor is
 the killing of a Tyrant any Cure, unless the
 Tyranny be killed with him. The Nature of
 his Power breathes nothing but Destruction,
 private

private Ruin, and publick Desolation ; the common Maxims of Justice and Mercy are not known to him, or known only for High-Treason, and the very contrary are constantly practised ; and his Ministers, to be faithful Servants, must be the worst of Men, and all Tyrants like himself.

These Kings (of the *East*) says Monsieur *Bernier*, see no Men about them, but Men of nothing ; Slaves, Ignorants, Brutes, and such Courtiers as are raised from the Dust to Dignities ; who, for want of good Education, do almost always retain somewhat of their Original, and of the Temper of Beggars enriched. They are proud, insufferable, cowardly, insensible of Honour, perfidious, and void of Affection, and of all regard for their King and Country.

These Kings, says he, must ruin all, to find Means to defray those prodigious Expences, which they cannot avoid for the Support of their great Court, which has no other Source of Subsistence but their Coffers and Treasures ; and for maintaining constantly the vast Number of Forces necessary to keep the People in Subjection, and to prevent their running away, and to force them to work, in order to draw from them the Fruits of their Work. For, the People, being kept continually under the dreadful Yoke of Oppression, and made to labour through Fear, for the Benefit of their Governors only, are perfectly wild and desperate, and ready to do any Act of Despair. Captain *Perry* says the same of the *Muscovites* ; that made desperate by Oppression and Want, they
run.

run eagerly into Tumults, Murders, and Rebel-
 lions: And Dr. *Fletcher* says; they are so enraged
 with Hunger and Cold, that they beg in a wild
 and desperate Tone; *Give me, and cut me: Help
 me, and kill me, &c.*

I would observe here, how much more easy,
 as well as glorious, it is to govern Freemen than
 Slaves. It is true, that Freemen go sometimes
 much further in their Opposition; to unjust
 Power, than Slaves go or can go; because they
 have more Spirit, Sense, Virtue, and Force:
 But that they are with more Difficulty go-
 verned, is absolutely false. It is indeed diffi-
 cult, to oppress them, and their Rebellion is
 generally no more than their distinguishing of
 Government from Oppression; a Distinction
 which their Governors do but too seldom make,
 and which Slaves, born to Oppression, know
 not how to make. In truth, Government is a
 Thing not so much as known in the greatest,
 by far the greatest Part of the Earth. Govern-
 ment supposes, on one Side, a rational Execu-
 tion of rational standing Laws, made by the
 Consent of Society; and on the other Side, a
 rational Subjection to those Laws. But what
 has Arbitrary Will, wanton and outrageous
 Lust, Cruelty and Oppression, to do with Go-
 vernment, but to destroy it?

But to shew yet further the Anarchy of Ab-
 solute Monarchy, I shall insert here what
 Monsieur *Bernier* says of the Education of such
 Sort of Princes. He says, that one of the
 principal Sources of the Misery, of the Mis-
 government, of the Dispeopling, and of the
 Decay of the Eastern Empires, proceeds from
 hence,

hence, that the Children of their Kings are brought up only by Women and Eunuchs, who generally are no other than wretched Slaves from *Russia, Circassia, Gurgistan, Mingrelia, and Ethiopia*; Creatures of mean and insolent, servile and ignorant Souls.

These Princes become Kings, without Instruction worthy of Men, and without knowing what it is to be a King. They are amazed when they come out of the Seraglio, as Persons coming out of another World, or out of some subterraneous Cave, where they had spent their whole Lives. They wonder at every Thing they meet, like so many Ignorants. They either fear all and believe all, like Children; or nothing at all, like Idiots. They are commonly high and proud, and seemingly grave: But this their Loftiness and Gravity is so flat, so distasteful, and so unbecoming them, that it is visibly nothing but Brutality and Barbarousness, and the Effect of some ill-studied Documents. Sometimes they run into some childish Civilities, still more unfavoury; or into such Cruelties as are blind and brutal; or into the vile and mean Vice of Drunkenness, or into a gross and excessive Luxury; and either ruin their Bodies and Understandings with their Concubines, or abandon themselves to the Pleasure of Hunting, like some carnivorous Animals, and prefer a Pack of Dogs before so many poor People, whom they force to follow them in the Pursuit of their Game, and suffer to perish with Hunger, Heat, Cold, and Misery.

In a Word, they always run into one Extreme or another, and are entirely Irrational or
Extra-

Extravagant, according as they are carried away by their Temper, or by the first Impressions made upon them. And thus remaining, almost all, in utter Ignorance of their Duty, and of the State of their Country, and of all publick Concernments, they abandon the Reins of the Government to some *Vizier* (in *English*, a first Minister) who entertains them in their Ignorance, and encourages them in their Passions and Follies; and their Ignorance, Passions, and Follies, are the strongest Supports these *Viziers* can have to maintain their Dominion over their Masters.

These Kings are also frequently given up entirely to these Slaves, their Mothers, and to their own Eunuchs, who often know nothing but to contrive Plots of Cruelty to strangle and banish one another, and sometimes they murder the King himself: Nor is any one else safe in Life or Property. Thus far *Bernier*.

Thus do these Princes live shut up in Brothels, Strangers and Enemies to their People; and when an Appetite for War is added to their Spirit of Cruelty and Oppression, all the Advantage from it to their Subjects is, that in the warlike Havock, a quicker End is put to their Miseries, by ending their Lives with a Gun or a Scimitar instead of Famine.

As to the Redress of their Grievances, and the doing Justice upon the Authors of them, it is absolutely impracticable in any Country which has no States and Representatives; and certain and irretrievable Misery, as absolute as its Government, is entailed upon it to all Generations, till there be an utter End either of the Govern-

Government or of the People. The Governor of *Schiras* pays for his Government to the King of *Persia*, vast Sums of ready Money, with fine Horses, and all the fine Things and Rarities to be found within his Province: And besides these excessive Presents to the King, he is obliged to make the like to all the great Lords and Favourites at Court, who are never to be gained but by continual Bribes; so that to defray this great and endless Expence, the wretched People must suffer great and endless Burdens and Exactions, and the Governor must be a Tyrant to preserve his Government. Nor can they have any possible Relief, tho' they have sometimes attempted to find it: But when two or three Villages at a Time have come to complain to the King, they have, after long waiting, been forced away without any Redress, with empty Purses and hungry Bellies, because they who should have given them Admission, were bribed to debar them: So that they most stupidly submit to the barbarous Extortions of a ravenous *Vizier*. This, says *Bernirr*, is the Policy practised by all the Governors and *Kens* in the *Pe-sin* Dominions: And he tells us, that one Day, when *Shafesi* was hunting, (a Prince, whose Justice and Punishments were only Acts of Cruelty) a poor Man, deputed by a neighbouring Village, to make some Complaint to the King, appeared behind a Rock with a Paper in his Hand: But while the poor Wretch was declaring his Errand, and praying for Justice, his most gracious Majesty, without making any Answer, drew his Bow, and shooting two Arrows into his Body, instantly slew him.

Nor

Nor was this execrable Royal Act of his any more agreeable to the Genius of that Prince than to the Genius of that sort of Government, which is naturally barbarous and savage. An Arbitrary Prince is only the most exalted and successful Beast of Prey in his own Dominions, and all the many Officers under him are but so many subordinate Beasts of Prey, who hunt and rob and devour his People for him and themselves; and he and his Officers do but constitute a long Link of armed Tygers terrible to behold, who leap furiously upon every Man and every Thing that tempts their Eye or their Appetite.

So that under a Tyrant, there is no End of Tyrants: From him that sways the Scepter to him that carries a Musket, all are Tyrants, and every one for himself as far as he dares.

If any Thing concerning these unintermitting Pests of humane Race, could possibly raise in a humane Soul any other Passion but Grief and Horror, it would create Mirth to hear mention made, as sometimes in Books of History and Travels there is mention made, of a Tyrant's sitting in his Seat of Justice, once in so many Days, to hear equally all Causes and Persons. What Mockery! It is really a Farce, but a melancholly one, to hear the Word Justice come out of the Mouth of a Tyrant; who, by being so, is a settled Enemy to the common Laws of Justice and Mercy, and common Sense, and to all that is good or lovely, or desirable amongst Men. As well may he set apart one Day in six to cure all the Diseases of his Subjects, or to make their Cloths, and cook their Victuals, if he leaves them any to make and cook. As

every Subject in his Dominions is oppressed, and he and his Instruments are the Oppressors, I know no Way upon Earth for him to do them any general Justice, but to destroy himself and all his Deputy Tyrants.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Intend to finish in this Paper, what I have so largely handled in so many others, the Subject of Liberty and Tyranny; a noble Subject, superior to all others, and to the greatest Genius, but fit for the Consideration of every Genius, and of every Rank of Men. It concerns the whole Earth, and Children ought to be instructed in it as soon as they are capable of Instruction. Why should not the Knowledge and Love of God be joined to the Knowledge and Love of Liberty, his best Gift, which is the certain Source of all the civil Blessings of this Life; and I have shewn that Religion cannot subsist without it? And why should not the Dread and Hatred of *Satan* be accompanied with the Dread and Hatred of Tyrants, who are his Instruments, and the Instruments of all the civil Miseries in this Life? I have often thought that the *Barbarians*, who worship the Devil, have borrowed their Idea of him from the Character and Behaviour of their own Princes. One might indeed defy any Thing out of Hell, or even in it, and all that are in it,

to do half the Mischief upon this Earth that Tyrants do.

They reduce Mankind to the Condition of Brutes, and make that Reason, which God gave them, useless to them: They deprive them even of the Blessings of Nature, and starve them in the midst of Plenty, and frustrate the natural Bounty of the Earth to Men; and Nature smiles in vain where Tyranny frowns: The very Hands of Men, given them by Nature for their Support, are turned by Tyrants into the Instruments of their Misery, by being employed in vile Drudgeries or destructive Wars, to gratify the Lust and Vanity of their execrable Lords, who suffer neither Religion, nor Virtue, nor Knowledge, nor Plenty, nor any kind of Happiness, to dwell within the Extent of their Power.

Nothing that is good or desirable can subsist under Tyrants, nor within their Reach; and they themselves subsist upon nothing but what is detestable and wicked. They are supported by general Ruin, and live by the Destruction of Mankind; and as Fraud and Villainy, and every Species of Violence and Cruelty, are the Props of their Throne; so they measure their own Happiness and Security, and Strength, by the Misery and Weakness of their People; and continued Oppression and Rapine are their studied and necessary Arts of Reigning, as is every Art by which they can render their People poor, abject and wretched; tho' by such Methods they do in effect render themselves so, and consequently become easy Preys to the next Invader. That Wealth, which dispersed amongst

their Subjects, and circulated in Trade and Commerce, would employ, encrease, and enrich them, and return often again with Interest into their own Coffers, is barbarously robbed from the People, and engrossed by themselves, and generally laid out by them to adorn their Palaces, to cover their Horses or Elephants, or to embellish their own Persons, and those of their Concubines and Attendants, or lock'd up in dark Caverns far from humane Sight and Use.

Whilst it is yet in the Mine, it is within the Reach of Pickaxes and Shovels, and by the Labour and Industry of Men, may be made useful and beneficial to Men: But in the Den of a Tyrant, it is more securely and more irretrievably buried and guarded from the use of Men. Here are literally *Pluto's* Brass Walls and Adamantine Gates; and here are Thousands of real *Cerberus's*, who never sleep; and all to encompass and secure this dead Treasure, and to restrain a general Gift of God from the Use of his Creatures: From thence it is rarely fetched, even upon the greatest Emergences, or for any Purposes but ill ones, till at last it becomes the Prize and Booty of a conquering Enemy. *Alexander* found more Riches in the *Persian* Treasures, than in the Hands of Freemen would have conquered the World; and 'tis thought there are more at this Day in that of the great *Mogul*, than would purchase the greatest and wealthiest Kingdom in *Europe*; and it has been computed that there are thirty Millions Sterling buried in the secret Vaults of the *Turkish* Seraglio, the Plunder of the People, or
of

of those who plundered them; and yet they are still plundered and miserably oppressed, to increase this dead, useless, and pernicious Store.

By these and the like inhumane Means, the Countries of Tyrants are come to be in the Condition which I have elsewhere described, desolate and uncultivated, and proper Receptacles for such savage Monsters and ravening Beasts of Prey, who rather chuse to live in barren Fields, inhospitable Desarts, and in dispeopled and empty Towns, than amongst Freemen in happy Climates, filled with rich and numerous Cities, abounding in Inhabitants, who are possessed of Liberty, and will be bold to defend it.

Now where can all this dismal Ruin, this growing Depopulation end? If a continued Decay in the natural Body certainly ends in the Extinction of Life; in what can a continued and hasty Decay of Mankind end, but in the Extinction of Men? So that if the World lasts many Centuries more in its present wasting and mournful Situation, there must be a Dissolution of humane Race, before the World is dissolved.

Several new Tyrannies have sprung up, like so many new Plagues, within the Memory of Man, and like them have laid waste, but with a more regular and continued Ruin, Countries once strong in Liberty and People: And as Tyranny, like every other full-grown Mischief, becomes more and more insupportable every Day, the Condition of Mankind under it must necessarily, and does actually grow

every Day worse and worse, and they themselves fewer. And even when their Numbers and their Substance are lessened, or rather exhausted, the Demands of the Tyrant upon them are not lessened, nor his Rapine abated, nor his Expences and Exactions restrained.

When a Tyrant has reduced a Million of People to half that Number by his Cruelty and Extortions, he madly expects from the remaining Half the same Revenue and Assistance of Men, which he had from the Whole, and like the rest, they must perish to make good his Expectations; and he often encreases his Troops as fast as his People decreases; so that his Expence is enlarged as there becomes less to support it; but he will be supported, and his poor perishing People must do it, tho' they destroy themselves.

Such is the pestilent, savage, and unsatiabie Nature of this sort of Monster, whose Figure, Throne, and Authority is established upon the Ruins of Reason, Humanity, and Nature: He takes all his Subjects have, and destroys them to get more.

A late great Prince, when he had lost and destroyed Two Millions of his People out of Twelve, and reduced the Whole to a Degree of Poverty and Servitude scarce to be expressed, what Impositions did he recall, what Taxes abolish, what Troops disband for their Relief? Not One. On the contrary, the Swellings of his insolent Heart continued, as did his merciless Extortions upon his People, and his perfidious Designs and Encroachments upon his Neighbours; and he lived and died the Plague
and

and Curse of *Christendom*. Nor can it be shewn, that other Princes who govern by the same Authority, that is, according to their own Whims and Caprice, leave their Subjects more Plenty or Happiness, or cheat or harras their Neighbours less, according to the Measure of their Power. In truth, the whole Tribe are perpetually taking Advantages, and usurping upon one another, and are constant Goads and Thorns in one another's Sides, and in the Sides of their People: Nor can the Subjects of a Prince of this Cast have one tolerable Reason under the Sun to defend him against another, but that he lives amongst them, and spends with them Part of their own Plunder, and probably the other would not: As his whole Reliance must be upon his Soldiers, he must encrease them in Proportion to his Distrust of his People, which is a Confession of a mutual Enmity: Neither is it enough that his Soldiers oppress and famish his People, for his Sake and their own, (for both he and they are supported by the Spoils of the People) but he must keep them as constantly employed as he can; because, if they are not employed in plundering, invading, and shedding of Blood, they will grow unfit for such beneficent and necessary Work, and may probably degenerate into Humanity and Mercy; than which a more terrible Change could not befall their Royal Master; so that in meer Duty they must be constantly practising Mischief and Rapine at Home or Abroad.

Thus do these general Destroyers proceed to lay waste the World: The best and most Countries in it are already, many of them, almost desolate, and some of them altogether, as I have shewn in many Instances; and the Desolation gains Ground daily: Nor, when some Countries are dispeopled, are there sufficient Recruits, or indeed any, to be had from others as formerly. The North, formerly the Hive of Nations, is now as much dispeopled as any of the Southern Countries, which, some Centuries ago, were peopled from it; and both North and South have been dispeopled by Tyranny. *Arabia*, which once over-run the World with Multitudes, is now as desolate as the rest of the World which they over-run. The Country of the *Chozari*, which was a vast Empire, within these Four Hundred Years, is now quite uninhabited, tho' great Part of it is a fertile and beautiful Country; and in its last Struggle with *Tamerlane*, brought Five Hundred Thousand Men into the Field: Such a Force of People were there so lately in a Country where now there are none! I think *Rabriquis* says, he travelled Two Months through it, and in all the Time saw neither Man nor Beast, but many great ruinous Towns and Cities, particularly one which had Eight Hundred Churches in it less than Four Hundred Years ago, but now has not one Inhabitant.

What can be more affecting than this Instance? Not a single Soul to be met with in a vast and noble Country, which a few Centuries ago was a potent Empire, and contained Millions! In all probability, Countries and
Empires,

Empires, which now make a great Noise and Bustle in the World, will be lying, two or three Centuries hence, in the same woful and silent Solitude, if they last so long; for Depopulation makes every where, except in a few remaining free States, a prodigious and flying Progress; even in *Europe*, as I have before proved in many Instances. And in some of those free States, the Seeds of Servitude, the true Cause of Depopulation, and of every Misery, seem to be sown deep. Alas! Power encroaches daily upon Liberty, with a Success too evident; and the Bailance between them is almost lost. Tyranny has engrossed almost the whole Earth, and striking at Mankind Root and Branch, makes the World a Slaughter-house; and will certainly go on to destroy, till it is either destroyed itself, or, which is most likely, has left nothing else to destroy.

The Bulk of the Earth being evidently almost a Desert already, made so by Tyrants; it is Demonstration that the Whole must be so, and must soon be entirely so, if the Growth of Tyranny is not restrained; else if the general and wide Waste goes on, Men will become too few for the Management of Societies, and for Cultivation and Commerce; all which are supported by Numbers; and then degenerating into absolute Savages, they will live stragling and naked in Woods and Wildernesses, like wild Beasts, and be devoured by them; or, like them, devour one another, or perish with Hunger. And thus there will be an End of Men; unless those States that are yet free, preserve, in the midst of this general

Waste, their own Liberties and People, and, like the ancient *Aegyptians* and *Greeks*, fill the World again, in Process of Time, with Colonies of Freemen.

That there is such a terrible Waste of People in the World, cannot be denied; and it is as evident, that Tyrants are the constant, regular, and necessary Cause of it. They are indeed so manifestly the Authors of all that is ruinous and wicked, that if God Almighty had left it to Satan to invent an Engine for the destroying of the World, and for defacing every Thing beautiful, good, or desirable in it, that Minister of Vengeance, and Enemy to God and Man, would doubtless have invented Tyrants, who by their wonderful Success in such Ministrations have ever shewn, and do still shew, their eminent Fitness for it. They shew every where such a constant and strong Antipathy to the Happiness of Mankind, that if there be but one free City within their Ken, they are restless in their Designs and Snares against it, and never defend it but against one another, and practise the vilest and the meanest Rogueries to become Masters of it. There are Instances in this Age of free Cities falling into the Claws of Tyrants, and of the miserable Difference between their former Opulency, and their present Poorness: They have never since put off their Mourning, which grows daily more black and dismal.

The Breath of a Tyrant blasts and poisons every Thing, and changes Blessings and Plenty into Curses and Misery, great Cities into gloomy Solitudes, and their rich Citizens into

Beggars

Beggars and Vagabonds : I could name Cities which, while they governed themselves, could maintain Armies, and now enslaved can scarce maintain the poor proud Rogues who govern them. It is certain, that whatever Country or Place is subdued by a Prince who governs by his Will, is ruined by his Government.

It is confessed, that the Arbitrary Princes in *Europe* have not yet, like those in *Asia*, declar'd themselves Masters of the Soil ; and their People have a sort of Property. How long this will continue, I know not precisely. This is certain, that the Condition of their Subjects, which was always bad, grows hourly worse ; and their Nobility, which were once rich and powerful, are now reduced very low, and greatly impoverished ; and they who were the Supports of Royalty, having created Jealousy as if they had eclipsed it, have felt the terrible Effects of Arbitrary Power as well as others, tho' not so much : Besides, when the common People, already wholly exhausted, and starving under Oppression, can supply the exorbitant Demands of their Prince no longer, the Estates of the Nobility will be the next Resource ; and like the Mastiff Dog at the Bee-hive, when he has suck'd up all the Honey, he will swallow the Comb : And then most of *Europe* will be in the Condition of *Turky*, as many Parts of it are at present not much better ; and like the Great *Turk*, most of its Princes will be sole Proprietors of the Land, as they now make themselves of its Product, which very near answers the same End. When Tenants, exhausted by Taxes, are unable to pay Rent, the
Land

Land yielding no Profit, is as bad as none; and in some Instances worse than none, as we are particularly told by the noble Author of the *Account of Denmark*, where some Landlords have begged the King upon their Knees to ease them of their Land, by taking it from them for good and all; for that it was taxed more than it was worth.

Most of the Princes of *Europe* have been long introducing the *Turkish* Government into *Europe*; and have succeeded so well, that I would rather live under the *Turk* than under many of them. They practise the Cruelties and Oppressions of the *Turks*, and want the tolerating Spirit of the *Turk*; and if some unforeseen Check is not thrown in their Way, the whole Polity of savage *Turky* will be established by them in all its Parts and Barbarity; as if the Depopulation, which is already so quick, and taking such dreadful Strides, were still too slow. It is not enough for Tyrants to have consumed Mankind so fast, that out of Twenty Parts, they have within these Two Thousand Years destroyed perhaps Nineteen, (for so much at least I take to be the Disproportion) but fresh Machines of Cruelty are still sought after, besides never laying aside any of the Old, till the Destruction is fully completed. They seem to think, that they shall have Enemies as long as any Men remain; which indeed is a reasonable Apprehension: But it is astonishing at first View, that Mankind should have so long born these unrelenting Slaughturers of Mankind. — But, alas! who knows not the Force of Corruption, Delusion, and standing Armies! Oh

Oh Liberty, oh Servitude! how amiable, how detestable, are the different Sounds! Liberty is Salvation in Politicks, as Slavery is Reprobation; nor is there any other Distinction but that of Saint and Devil, between the Champions of the one and of the other.

And here I conclude this noble Subject of Liberty, having made some weak Attempts to shew its glorious Advantages, and to set off the opposite Mischiefs of raging, relentless, and consuming Tyranny, — a Task to which no humane Mind is equal. For neither the sublimest Wits of Antiquity, nor the brightest Genius's of late or modern Time, assisted with all the Powers of Rhetorick, and all the Stimulations of poetick Fire, and with the warmest and boldest Figures in Language, ever did, or ever could, or ever can describe and heighten sufficiently the Beauty of the one, or the Deformity of the other; Language fails in it, and Words are too weak.

Those who do not groan under the Yoke of heavy and pointed Vassalage, cannot possibly have Images equal to a Calamity which they do not feel: And those who feel it are stupified by it, and their Minds depressed; nor can they have Conceptions large, bright, and comprehensive enough, to be fully sensible of their own wretched Condition: and much less can they paint it in proper Colours to others. We, who enjoy the precious, lovely, and invaluable Blessing of Liberty, know that nothing can be paid too dear to purchase and preserve it. Without it the World is a Wilderaess, and Life precarious and a Burden: Death is a
Tribute

Tribute which we all owe to Nature, and must pay; and it is infinitely preferable, in any Shape, to an ignominious Life: Nor can we restore our Beings back again into the Hands of our great Creator, with more Glory to him, more Honour to our selves, or more Advantages to Mankind, than in Defence of all that is valuable, religious, and praise-worthy upon Earth, or include all that is so.

How execrable then and infamous are the Wretches, who, for a few precarious, momentary, and perhaps imaginary Advantages, would rob their Country, their happy Country, for ever, of every Thing that can render humane Life desirable; and, for a little Tinsel Pageantry, and false and servile Homage, unworthy of honest Men, and hated by wise Men, would involve Millions of their Fellow-Creatures in lasting Misery, Bondage, and Woe, and charge themselves with their just Hatred and bitter Curses! Such unnatural Parricides, unworthy of the humane Shape and Name, would fill up the Measure of their Barbarity, by entailing Poverty, Chains, and Sorrow upon their own Posterity. And often it happened, that such Men have, unpitied, suffered in their own Persons, the sad Effects of those cruel Counsels and Schemes which they intended for the Ruin of all but themselves, and have justly fallen into that Pit which they had traiterously digged for others.

——— *Nec lex est justior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

I am, &c.

S I R,

Nothing is more provoking than to hear Men talk magisterially, and with an Aire of Teaching, about Things which they do not understand, or which they have an Interest to have understood wrong. We have, all of us, heard much of the Duty of subduing our Appetites, and extinguishing our Passions, from Men, who by these Phrases shewed at once their Ignorance of humane Nature, and yet that they aimed at an Absolute Dominion over it.

Wrong Heads and knavish Designs are frequently found together; and Creatures that you would not trust with laying out Ten Shillings for you in an Instance where you trust to your own Understanding, shall sometimes, by the meer Sound of their Voice, and an unmeaning Distinction, make themselves Masters of your Mind and your Fortune. It is by trusting to these that Men come to know so little of themselves, and to be so much the Prey of others as ignorant and more dishonest. I know no Man so fit as himself to rule himself, in Things which purely concern himself. How happy would this plain Rule make the World, if they could be brought to observe it, and to remember that Brown is as virtuous a Colour as Black; that the Almighty possesses alike every Quarter of the World,

World; and that in his sight Fish and Flesh in point of Merit and Innocence are the same! These Things are self-evident, and yet the Misery of Mankind is in a great Measure owing to their Ignorance of them.

The ancient *Stoicks* had many admirable and virtuous Precepts, but their Philosophy was too rigid to be very popular; they taught Men an absolute Indifference for sensual Pain and Pleasure; but in this, their Doctrine was neither useful nor practicable. Men were not to be thus dealt with; they could not cease to be Men, nor change Nature for Philosophy. Besides, these Teachers being *Pagans*, and arguing only from the Topicks of Wisdom strained too high, had no Equivalent to offer to their Disciples for parting with their Appetites and their Senses. But when some of their Sophists came into Christianity, and brought along with them the severe Notions of their Sect, they spread and recommended the same with more Success, by tacking to these their Opinions the Rewards and Terrors of the World to come, which had nothing to do with them: However, they said it had, and quickly found Credit enough to make it dangerous to contradict them.

These favourite Dreams of theirs, added to some Sayings and Passages of the Gospel, ill understood, were vehemently urged, as if they had been so many certain Passports to Paradise; and soon turned Mens Brains, and made them really fond of Poverty, Hardships, and Misery, and even of Death itself: Enthusiasm conquer'd Reason, and inflamed Nature, and Men to be devout grew distracted.

This

This came of stifling the Passions and subduing Nature, as the Phrase was. But the Folly and Mischief of this Doctrine thus extravagantly pushed, were not greater than its Falshood: For, as there is no such Thing as departing from Nature, without departing from Life, it is certain that they who were remarkable for restraining some of their Appetites, were as remarkable for indulging others; so that their boasted Mortification was no more than the Exchange of one Passion for another, and often of a better for a worse. Thus there are many Saints in the *Romish* Calendar, who practis'd a religious Abstinence from all sorts of Flesh living or dead, and yet made it the Duty of their Profession, and the Business of their Lives, to stir up Dissention and War amongst Men, and to promote Slaughter and Desolation: They abstained from Women, and yet were the Authors of infinite Rapes and Adulteries: Their gentle and sanctified Souls would not allow them to kill, much less to eat any Part of an Animal made to be killed and eaten; but they avowedly and piously preach'd up humane and Christian Butcheries, and have smiled over the Carcasses of a Nation massacred at their Instigation.

It is the Weakness and Misfortune of humane Race, that a Man, by the Means of one Virtue, or the Appearance of it, is often able to do a Thousand Mischiefs; and it is the Quality of humane Nature, that when any one of its Appetites is violently restrained, others break out into proportionable Excesses. Thus Men grow rash and precipitate by trampling
upon

upon Caution and Fear; and thus they become Cowards, by stifling the Love of Glory: Whereas, if the Appetite for Danger were checked by the Appetite of Self-preservation; and the lazy Love of Safety by the Love of Fame, Rashness and Cowardice would be no more.

It is the highest Stupidity to talk of subduing the Passions, in the common Acceptation of that Phrase; and to rail at them in gross, is as foolish. The greatest Evils often proceed from the best Things abused, or ill applied; and this is particularly true of the Passions, which are the constituent Parts of a Man, and are good or ill as they are managed.

The Exercise therefore of Reason is nothing else but the indulging or controuling of the Passions, with an impartial Hand, and giving them all fair Play: It is an equal Administration of the Appetites, by which they are restrained from outrunning one another: Thus for Example, if Mens Fears were always as powerful as their Hopes, they would rarely run into Danger; or, if their Hopes ballanced their Fears, they never would despair.

Every one of the leading Passions is as necessary as another; all the Difficulty is to keep them well marshalled: They are only terrible by breaking out of their Ranks; and when they do, they are all alike terrible, though the World generally thinks otherwise. But it is certain, that those Passions to which the kindest Ideas are annexed, do as much Mischief, when they get out of their Bounds, as do those to which we annex the harshest Ideas; and

Love

Love and Hope, which bear soft and mild Names, are in Excesses as active and as formidable Passions, as are Anger and Revenge; the Names of which are apt to shock us; and Anger and Revenge are, in their proper Limits, more desirable Passions than are Love and Hope out of their proper Limits; that is, they are all equally good, or all equally evil, just as they are let loose or restrained. A Man who cuts another's Throat out of Love to his Wife, commits the same Wickedness as if he did it out of Revenge. Extravagant Joy for the *Restoration* (which was doubtless a great and extraordinary Blessing) had well nigh cost *England* its Religion and Liberty; and afterwards the awakening Fears of Popery saved both. No Nation has been more flesh'd in Blood than the *Turks*; principally, because the false Hopes of *Mahomet's* lascivious Paradise animated them in their Butcheries.

The only Way therefore of dealing with Mankind, is to deal with their Passions; and the Founders of all States, and of all Religions, have ever done so: The first Elements, or Knowledge of Politicks, is the Knowledge of the Passions; and the Art of Governing, is chiefly the Art of applying to the Passions. When the publick Passions (by which I mean every Man's particular Warmth, and Concern about publick Transactions and Events) are well regulated and honestly employed, this is called Government, or the Art of Governing; and when they are knavishly raised and ill employed, it is called Faction, which is the gratifying of private-Passion by publick Means.

And

And because Passion and Opinion are so nearly related, and have such Force upon each other, Arbitrary Courts and Crafty Churchmen have ever endeavoured to force, or frighten, or deceive the People into a Uniformity of Thoughts, especially of Religious Thoughts——— A Thing tyrannical and impossible ! And yet a whole People do often, through Ignorance, or Fear, seem of one Mind; and but seem, for if they came to explain, they would find their Ideas differ widely, tho' their Words agree. Whereas in a well-governed free State, diversity of Speculations is so far from clogging the publick Good, that it evidently promotes the same, all Men being equally engaged in the Defence of that, by which all Men are indifferently protected. So that to attempt to reduce all Men to one Standard of Thinking, is absurd in Philosophy, impious in Religion, and Faction in the State. And tho' the mortifying of the Appetites, is a very plausible Phrase, and, in a restrained Sense, a laudable Thing ; yet he who recommends it to you, does often mean nothing but this, *Make your Passions tame, that I may ride them.*

There is scarce any one of the Passions but what is truly laudable, when it centers in the Publick, and makes that its Object. Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, are all so many Virtues, when they aim at the general Welfare. I know it is exceeding hard and rare, for any Man to separate his Passions from his own Person and Interest ; but it is certain there have been such Men. *Brutus, Cato, Regulus, Timoleon, Dion,* and *Epaminondas,* were such, as were many more

mote ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; and, I hope, *England* has still some such. And tho' in pursuing publick Views, Men regard themselves and their own Advantages; yet if they regard the Publick more, or their own in Subserviency to the Publick, they may justly be esteemed virtuous and good.

— No Man can be too ambitious of the Glory and Security of his Country, nor too angry at its Misfortunes and ill Usage; nor too revengeful against those that abuse and betray it; nor too avaricious to enrich it, provided that in doing it, he violates not the Rights of others.

Tacitus giving the Character of the Emperor *Galba*, who doubtless was an honest Man, and had many Virtues, after saying that he coveted no Man's Money, and was sparing of his own, adds, that he was greedy of publick Money — *Pecunia aliene non appetens, sive parcus, publicæ avarus*; which publick Avarice in him was a publick Vertue, and cost him his Life: He was not suffered to reign, because he would not lavish away the publick Money in Bribes; *Milites a se eligi non emi*. So dangerous and even fatal was personal Virtue in that corrupt State! And so hard and impossible is it in any State, to stay the Progress of Corruption! *Galba* would have reformed the *Roman* State; but the Vices of his Predecessors, and long use, made it impracticable, and he lost his Life in the Attempt. The Passions of Men were detached from the Commonwealth, and placed upon their own personal Security or Gain, and they had no Sense of the Publick, and as little
Know,

Knowledge of its Affairs; for that great People, and almost the whole World, had been long the sole Property of a single Man, who took Counsel only of his Lust.

I am, &c.

S I R,

IT is melancholly to consider how every Thing in the World is abused: The Reason is, that Men having themselves chiefly in view, consider all Things with an Eye to themselves only; and thus it is that general Blessings cease to be so by being converted into private Property, as is always done where 'tis safe or possible to be done.

Inquiring how it comes to pass that the best Things in the World, such as Religion, Property, and Power, are made to do so much hurt; I find it to proceed principally from hence, that Men are never satisfied with their present Condition, which is never perfectly happy; and perfect Happiness being their chief Aim, and always out of their Reach, they are restlessly grasping at what they never can attain

So chimerical is the Nature of Man! his greatest Pleasures are always to come, and therefore never come. His Content cannot possibly be perfect, because its highest Objects are constantly future; and yet it is the more perfect for their being future. Our highest

En-

Enjoyment is of that which is not ; our Pleasure is Deceit, and the only real Happiness we have is derived from Non-Entities. We are never satisfied with being just what we are ; and therefore, tho' you give us all we desire, or can conceive, yet we shall not have done desiring. The present Possessions give but little Joy, let them be ever so great ; even as great as can be grasped : It is the Enjoyment to come that is only or most valued. When we say, that if such a Thing happened, we would be easie ; we can only mean, or ought only to mean, that we would be more easie than we are : And in that too we are often mistaken ; for new Acquisitions bring new Wants, and imaginary Wants are as pungent as real ones. So that there is the same End of Wishing as of Living, and Death only can still the Appetites.

Publick Blessings would really be so to every Man, if every Man would be content with his Share : But every Man would have more ; nor would more satisfy him, whatever he may think ; but his Desires would rise with his Possessions or his Power, and his last Wish would be to have All : Nor would the Possession of All quiet the Mind of Man, which the whole World cannot fill. Indeed, he who has most, wants most ; and Care, anxious Care, as it is the close Companion of Greatness, so it is furthest from him who has least to care for.

I own, that many have seemed to despise Riches and Power, and really decline the Means of acquiring them : But they deceived themselves, if they thought that this Conduct of theirs was owing to a real Contempt for the Things

Things themselves; when in truth, it was only a Dislike of the Terms upon which they were to be had. Disinterestedness is often created by Laziness, Pride, or Fear; and then it is no Virtue. There is not, perhaps, a Man living but would be glad of Wealth and Grandeur, if he could acquire them with Speed, and possess them with Ease; and almost all Men would risk, and do daily risk, Ease, Reputation, Life and all, to come at them. Do we not see that Men venture being Beggars to be rich, lose their Rest for the Sake of Quiet, and acquire Infamy to earn Honour? We live in a Hurry, in order to come at a resting Place, and in Crowds to purchase Solitude. Nor are we the nearer to our End, tho' the Means succeed: Humane Life is a Life of Expectation and Care, and he who rejects the Conditions must quit it.

Every Passion, every View that Men have, is selfish in some Degree; but when it does Good to the Publick in its Operation and Consequence, it may be justly called disinterested in the usual Meaning of that Word: So that when we call any Man disinterested, we should intend no more by it, than that the Turn of his Mind is towards the Publick, and that he has placed his own personal Glory and Pleasure in serving it. To serve his Country is his private Pleasure, the Welfare of Mankind is his Mistress, and he does good to them by gratifying himself.

Disinterestedness in any other Sense than this, there is none. For Men to act independently on their Passions, is a Contradiction; since their
their

their Passions enter into all they do, and are the Source of it : And the best Actions Men perform, do often arise from Fear, Vanity, Shame, and the like Causes. When the Passions of Men do good to others, it is called Virtue and Publick Spirit ; and when they do hurt to others, it is called Selfishness, Dishonesty, Lust, and other Names of Infamy. The Motive of every Man's Conduct is fetched from within, and has a good or an ill Name, according to its Effect upon others ; and sometimes the great Difference between an honest Man and a Knave, is no other than a piece of Humour, or a piece of Chance. As the Passions of Men, which are only the Motions raised within us by the Motion of Things without us, are soothed or animated by external Causes ; it is hard to determine, whether there is a Man in the World who might not be corrupted by some Means and Applications ; the Nicety is, to chuse those that are proper.

All these Discoveries and Complaints of the Crookedness and Corruption of humane Nature, are made with no malignant Intention to break the Bonds of Society ; but they are made to shew, that as Selfishness is the strongest Bias of Men, every Man ought to be upon his Guard against another, that he become not the Prey of another. The too great Confidence which many Men have placed in One, has often ruined Millions. How many sorrowful Experiences have we, that Men will be Rogues where they dare ; and that the greatest Opportunities always make the greatest ! Give them what you can, they will still want more than you give ;

and therefore the highest Trusts are the most apt to be broken.

Those who have talked most of the Dignity of humane Nature, seem to have understood it but little. Men are so far from having any Views purely publick and disinterested, that Government first arose from every Man's taking Care of himself; and Government is never abused and perverted, but from the same Cause. Do we not know that one Man has slaughtered a Million, and overturned Nations, for the gaining of one Point to himself; and that almost all Men would follow Evil, if they found their greatest Advantage or Pleasure in it?

Here therefore lies the Source of all the Evil which Men suffer from Men, that every Man loves himself better than he loves his whole Species, and more or less consults himself in all he does. He naturally pursues what is pleasant or profitable in his own Eyes, tho' in doing it he entails Misery upon Multitudes. So that we have no other Security against the Malice and Rapine of each other, but the Security of Laws, or our own Force. By Laws, Societies subsist within themselves, and by Force they defend themselves against each other. And as in the Business of Faith and Leagues between Nation and Nation, Treaties are made by Consent, but kept by Fear and Power, and observed or violated just as Interest, Advantage, and Opportunities invite, without Regard to Faith and good Conscience, which are only Words of Good-Breeding, with which Courts complement one another and themselves; so
between

between Subject and Subject, and between Magistrates and Subjects, Concord and Security are preserved by the Terror of Laws, and the Ties of mutual Interest; and both Interest and Terror derive their Strength from the Impulses of Self-Love.

Thus one Man is only safe, while 'tis the Interest of another to let him alone; and Men are Knaves or honest Men, according to the Judgment they make of their own Interest and Ease, and of the Terms upon which they chuse to live in the World. Many Men are honest, without any Virtue, or indeed a Thought of Honesty; as many others are Rogues, without any Malice; and both Sorts mean only their own personal Advantage, but take different Roads to arrive at it. This is their great Aim; and that Constitution which trusts more than it needs to any Man, or Body of Men, has a terrible Flaw in it, and is big with the Seeds of its own Destruction. Hence arose Tyrants and Tyranny, and Standing Armies; *Marius* and *Cesar*, and *Oliver Cromwell*. How preposterously do Men act! By too great Confidence in one Man, or a few Men, they become Slaves; and by a general Distrust of each other, they continue so!

It may be objected, that since Men are such a wretched Race, made so by the Apostacy of *Adam*, they are not worth serving; that the most unhappy of them, are but what they themselves would make others, and therefore their Fate is just upon them.

In answer to this, I readily own what I have been proving, that Men are very bad where

they dare, and that all Men would be Tyrants, and do what they please. But still let us preserve Justice and Equality in the World. Why should he, who is bad himself, oppress others who are no worse than him? Besides, the Lot of Humanity being an unhappy one, it is an honest Ambition, that of endeavouring to mend it, and to improve Nature by Virtue, and to mend Mankind by obliging them to observe Rules that are good. We do not expect philosophical Virtue from them, but only that they follow Virtue, as their Interest, and find it penal and dangerous to depart from it. And this is the only Virtue the World wants, and the only Virtue it can trust to.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Send you a Translation of the Speech of the Emperor *Galba* to *Piso*, when he adopted him his Partner and Successor in the Empire; a Speech full of great Sense, great Honesty, and noble Sentiments. Indeed, *Galba* seems to have come to the Government with worthy Intentions to mend it. To restore the ancient Liberty was impossible. Things had run long in another Channel; People were accustomed to the Largesses and false Bounty of their Princes, to the awful and sounding Names of the *Cæsars*, and to the Luxury, Pomp, and Tinsel of a Court. The Soldiers would have an Emperor,
nor

nor could the Senate withstand the Soldiers: The venerable Orders of the Commonwealth had been long abolished, her ancient Virtues extinct, *Nihil usquam prisca & integri moris*; and the Commonwealth itself was forgot: *Quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset!* says Tacitus, speaking of the End of the Reign of Augustus. In short, the Emperor was all in all — *Illuc cuncta vergere*. The State was overturned, mangled, and changed: The old Laws of Equality were utterly lost in the Imperial Power, and that was supported by the Sword. There was no Safety but in Servitude, *Fussa principis aspectare* — All the other Magistrates were but Shadows with fine old Names.

The chief Aim, therefore, of Galba, since he could not restore, was to reform; a worthy Attempt, but he failed in it: So irresistible was the Tide of Corruption! Two Things principally obstructed his Design, and shortened his Life and Reign, the Avarice of the Soldiery, and the vile Conduct of his Servants.

As to the Soldiers, he had honestly, but unfortunately said, that *he would chuse them, but not buy them*; a Saying which they never forgave him. Besides, as he practised himself the rigid old Roman Discipline, he would oblige his Army to practise it; a Thing new to them, and intolerable. They had been long used to Luxury and Sloth, and were grown as fond of the Vileness and Vices of their Princes, as the old Republican Armies had been of the Temperance, Modesty, and other Virtues of their Commanders: They, therefore, could not bear the Severity and Frugality of Galba; nor would

Galba depart from his Temper and his Purposes. Money would have made them his Friends, but he would part with none. The Reflection of the Historian upon this Conduct of his, is fine, but melancholy, — *Nocuit antiquus Rigor, & nimia severitas, cui jam pares non sumus.* “He” was ruined by reviving unreasonably the “severe Virtue of our Ancestors: Alas we are” no longer equal to it.” To conclude this Head, the Soldiers butchered an Emperor that would not bribe them.

As to the part of *Galba's* Servants, in the Tragedy of their Master, it was no small one: They made him odious by their own Crimes; and in his Name committed Cruelties and Rapine, which blackened his Character; and when they had brought him under a general Dislike, none of his own good Qualities could recover him his good Name; *Inviso semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt.* Their Avarice was imputed to him, and called his, — *Jam offerebant venalia cuncta præptentes Liberti.* They were resolved to make the most of his short Reign, and by doing so made it shorter, — *Servorum manus subitis avidæ, & tanquam apud senem festinantes.* He paid dear for their Wickedness, — *Odio flagitiorum oneratum destruebant.* His Character, in relation to his Friends and Servants, was, That he was indulgent to them, if they were good; and blind to their Faults, if they were bad. *Ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens: Si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus.*

The rest of his Character, taken from *Tacitus*, from whom I have taken the Whole, is,
That

That being Seventy Years old, he had lived in Prosperity during five Reigns, more happy in them than in his own: That he was of a Family Ancient, Great, and Noble, and Master of great Wealth: That he had a moderate Capacity, and more Innocence than Abilities: That he neither courted Fame, nor despised it: That he coveted no Man's Money, was sparing of his own, and greedy of publick Money: That a Nobleman of his great Birth and Quality, having lived so securely in such dangerous Times, was a Thing so surprizing and rare, that his good Fortune passed for Wisdom, and his real Indolence for real Art: That in the Vigour of his Years, he acquired great Renown in the *German Wars*: That being Proconsul in *Africa*, he governed that Province, and afterwards *Spain*, with great Equity: That he seemed greater than a Subject while he was but a Subject, and that in the Opinion of all Men, he was equal to the Empire, if he had never been Emperor.

So much for the Character of *Galba*; which I thought necessary to introduce his Speech to *Piso*, who was every Way worthy of the Adoption, and of a better Fortune, which, however was of a piece: He was long an Exile under *Nero*, who had murdered his Brother *Crassus*, as had *Claudius* his Brother *Magnus*: He himself was but Four Days *Cesar*, and then butchered, as was his eldest Brother presently after him: He was of a noble Race, both by Father and Mother, and had an amiable and popular Character for the Severity of his Manners, and his many Virtues; and during the

few Days of his highest Power and Adversity, he behaved himself with great Modesty and Firmness, and seemed to make good every Hope concerning him — But Virtue and Goodness were then pernicious, and we see what he got by having them. The whole Story, and particularly his Fate in it, affects me.

I am, &c.

The Speech of Galba to Piso.

“ WHILE I was yet a private Man, I had a
 “ Right by the Law to adopt you for
 “ my Son, to the Credit and Glory of us both :
 “ My Family would have been enriched with a
 “ Descent of the great *Pompey* and *Marcus*
 “ *Crassus* ; and the Nobility of your House
 “ would have derived new Splendor from the
 “ Fame and Quality of the *Sulpitij* and *Lutatij*.
 “ But being no longer a private Man, these
 “ Considerations are no more. I am now, by
 “ the united Consent of God and Man, called
 “ to the Empire ; a Power for which our An-
 “ cestors contended by Arms, and a Power
 “ which I by Arms have acquired ; I got it by
 “ War.

“ But you receive it not from me upon those
 “ Terms ; you have it without demanding it :
 “ It is the Reward of your Worth ; nor do any
 “ other Regards sway me in this Gift, than the
 “ Love of my Country, and your own great
 “ Qualifications.

“ I have, besides the Example of *Augustus* for
 “ what I do: That great Prince took successively
 “ for his Partners in Power, first, his Sister's
 “ Son

“ Son *Marcellus* ; next his Son-in-Law, *Agrip-
 “ pa* ; afterwards his Grandsons ; and lastly, his
 “ Wife's Son *Tiberius*.

“ But *Augustus*, who would entail the Em-
 “ pire upon his own House, in his own House
 “ sought a Successor. I am guided by another
 “ Spirit : I chuse out of the Commonwealth,
 “ an Heir for the Commonwealth. Nor am I
 “ reduced to this Choice by the want of Re-
 “ lations to my Blood, or of Fellow Com-
 “ manders in War : I have both. But having
 “ arrived to the supreme Power, neither by
 “ Ambition nor Descent, I am bias'd by nei-
 “ ther in conferring it ; and my thus overlook-
 “ ing your Relations as well as my own, is a
 “ Proof of the Sincerity of my Judgment in
 “ preferring you to both. You have a Bro-
 “ ther, your Equal in point of Nobility, and
 “ your Superior in point of Years ; a Man
 “ worthy of this Fortune, had I not in you
 “ found one still more worthy.

“ You are of an Age now past the Giddiness
 “ and Impetuosity of Youth ; and your past
 “ Life is unblameable. But hitherto, you have
 “ had only an adverse Fortune to contend with :
 “ One more dangerous abides you. Grandeur
 “ and Prosperity do much more powerfully try
 “ the Temper of the Soul, and call forth all
 “ its Weaknesses. We can bear the Blows of
 “ Fortune, but her Gifts and Smiles betray us
 “ into Error and Corruption.

“ You propose no doubt to retain, and cul-
 “ tivate with your usual Firmness, that Faith
 “ and Integrity, that Candour and Magnani-
 “ mity, and all other noble Endowments of

“ the humane Soul, for which you are con-
 “ spicuous. But the Flattery of others will,
 “ in spite of your self, be breaking in upon
 “ you, and unsettling your best Resolutions,
 “ and staining your Virtue : Flattery, the most
 “ pernicious Poison to an honest Mind ! Every
 “ Man who has your Confidence will be ma-
 “ king you his Property and Prey.

“ You and I indeed converse together upon
 “ this Occasion, with Sincerity and Upright-
 “ ness : But we must not expect the same ho-
 “ nest Treatment from others. They make
 “ their Addresses to our Fortune and Power,
 “ and not to us : Nor can we expect any other.
 “ To deal freely and openly with Princes, to
 “ shew them their Duty, and press them to
 “ perform it, is a daring, a difficult, and a
 “ dangerous Office ; but to sooth and deceive
 “ any Prince whatsoever, is an easy Task,
 “ and performed without Difficulty, as it is
 “ meant without Regard or Affection.

“ If this mighty Empire could subsist, and
 “ be governed without a single Ruler, as it
 “ once was, I should glory in resigning, and
 “ being the first Emperor that resigned, the
 “ Power of the Republick into her own
 “ Hands. But this is impracticable ; her Af-
 “ fairs are long since come to such a fatal State
 “ of Necessity and Corruption, that all the
 “ Good my old Age renders me capable of do-
 “ ing to the *Roman* People, is to leave them a
 “ good Successor ; nor can you with all your
 “ Youth, do more for them than to afford
 “ them in your self a beneficent Prince.

“ Under *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, we
 “ were all of us no more, and the whole *Roman*
 “ World was no more, than as the Property
 “ and Inheritance of one Family ; and that the
 “ Empire has begun in me to be Elective, is a
 “ Sign of our ancient Liberty, and some Equi-
 “ valent for it ——— it is the only Liberty we
 “ are now capable of enjoying. The *Julian*
 “ and *Claudian* Houses being now extinct, the
 “ best Men have a fair Chance to be the high-
 “ est. To be born of a Royal Race, is a
 “ Thing of Chance, and void of Merit ; but
 “ Adoption is the Work and Effect of Deli-
 “ beration, and in a free Choice general Con-
 “ sent shews the Merit of the Chosen.

“ Remember *Nero*, and the Circumstances of
 “ his Life and Fall ——— *Nero*, who blown up
 “ as he was with a long Genealogy of the *Cæ-*
 “ *sars*, his Ancestors, and secure in the Splen-
 “ dor and Terror of their Names, could never
 “ have been deposed by *Julius Vindex*, the Go-
 “ vernour of a Province, unprovided with
 “ Arms ; nor by me assisted by a single Le-
 “ gion : No, his own Madness, Tyranny, and
 “ Debauchery, flung down the Tyrant from
 “ riding on the Necks of Mankind : Nor was
 “ there till then, any Instance of an Emperor
 “ sentenced and deposed.

“ We who succeed him by a different Title,
 “ the Sword and common Consent, shall reap
 “ Glory in spite of Envy. Nor ought you
 “ to be alarmed, though in this general Up-
 “ roar of the World, a Couple of Legions
 “ continue still turbulent ; it was my own Lot
 “ to be called to an unsettled State ; and as to

“ my old Age, the only Objection to my Go-
 “ vernment, 'tis now no longer one, since I
 “ am, by adopting you, become young in my
 “ Successor.

“ *Nero* will always be lamented by the Bad :
 “ Let it be our Care and Concern that he be
 “ not also lamented by the Good.

“ To say more in this Way of Advice and
 “ Instruction, the present Conjunction suffers
 “ not ; nor is it necessary : If I have chosen
 “ well, I have fulfilled every Purpose, and an-
 “ swered every End. Your best and shortest
 “ Rule will be to behave yourself so towards
 “ your Subjects, as, were you a Subject, you
 “ would wish your Prince to act towards
 “ you ——— Let this be your Standard of
 “ Good and Evil, this your Art of Reigning.
 “ You must particularly remember that it is
 “ not with us as with barbarous and tyranniz'd
 “ Nations, who, hardened by the Yoke of
 “ Servitude, feel not its Weight, but live all
 “ blind Slaves to one Lordly House. ———
 “ You have the *Romans* to govern ; a People,
 “ who having now too little Virtue to bear
 “ Absolute Liberty, have still too much Spirit
 “ to bear Absolute Dominion.

S I R,

THE Mischiefs that are daily done, and
 the Evils that are daily suffered in the
 World, are sad Proofs how much humane Ma-
 lice

lice exceeds humane Wisdom. Law only provides against the Evils which it knows or foresees ; but when Laws fail, we must have Recourse to Reason and Nature, which are the only Guides in the making of Laws. *Stirpem Furis a Naturâ repertam*, says Cicero ; There never would have been any Law against any Crime, if Crimes might have been safely committed, against which there was no Law : For every Law supposes some Evil, and can only punish or restrain the Evils which already exist.

But as positive Laws, let them be ever so full and perspicuous, can never intirely prevent the Arts of crafty Men to evade them, or the Power of great ones to violate them ; hence new Laws are daily making, and new Occasions for more are daily arising : So that the utmost that Wisdom, Virtue, and Law can do, is to lessen or qualify, but never totally abolish Vice and Enormity. Law is therefore a Sign of the Corruption of Man ; and many Laws are Signs of the Corruption of a State.

Positive Laws deriving their Force from the Law of Nature, by which we are directed to make occasional Rules, which we call Laws, according to the Exigences of Times, Places, and Persons, grow obsolete or cease to be, as soon as they cease to be necessary : And it is as much against the Law of Nature to execute Laws, when the first Cause of them ceases, as it is to make Laws, for which there is no Cause, or a bad Cause. This would be to subject Reason to Force, and to apply a Penalty where there is no Crime. Law is right Reason,

Reason, commanding Things that are good, and forbidding Things that are bad; it is a Distinction and Declaration of Things just and unjust, and of the Penalties or Advantages annexed to them.

The Violation therefore of Law does not constitute a Crime where the Law is bad; but the Violation of what ought to be Law, is a Crime even where there is no Law. The Essence of Right and Wrong, does not depend upon Words and Clauses inserted in a Code, or a Statute-Book, much less upon the Conclusions and Explications of Lawyers; but upon Reason and the Nature of Things, antecedent to all Laws. In all Countries, Reason is or ought to be consulted, before Laws are enacted; and they are always worse than none, where it is not consulted. Reason is in some Degree given to all Men; and *Cicero* says, that whoever has Reason, has right Reason; that Virtue is but perfect Reason; and that all Nations having Reason for their Guide, all Nations are capable of arriving at Virtue.

From this Reasoning of his, it would follow, that every People are capable of making Laws, and good Laws; and that Laws, where they are bad, are gained by Corruption, Faction, Fear, or Surprize; and are rather their Misfortune, than the Effects of their Folly. The Acts of *Cæsar* were confirmed by the Senate and the People, but the Senate was aw'd, and the Tribunes and People were bribed: Arms and Money procured him a Law to declare him lawless. But, as the most pompous Power can never unsettle the everlasting Land-marks between

tween Good and Evil, no more than those between Pleasure and Pain; *Cæsar* remained still a Rebel to his Country, and his Acts remained wicked and tyrannical.

Let this stand for an Instance, that Laws are not always the Measure of Right and Wrong. And as positive Laws often speak when the Law of Nature is silent, the Law of Nature sometimes speaks when positive Laws say nothing — *neque Opinione, sed naturâ constitutum esse Jus*. That brave Roman, *Horatius Cocles*, was bound by no written Law to defend the Wooden Bridge, over the *Tiber*, against a whole Army of *Tuscans*; nor was there any Law, that I know of, in *Rome*, against Adultery; when the younger *Tarquin* ravish'd *Lucretia*: And yet the Virtue of *Horatius* was justly rewarded, and the Vileness of *Tarquin* justly punished, by the *Romans*.

It is impossible to devise Laws sufficient to regulate and manage every Occurrence and Circumstance of Life, because they are often produced and diversified by Causes that do not appear; and in every Condition of Life, Men must have, and will have, great Allowances made to their own natural Liberty and Discretion: But every Man who consents to the necessary Terms of Society, will also consent to this Proposition, that every Man should do all the Good, and prevent all the Evil he can. This is the Voice of the Law of Nature, and all Men would be happy by it, if all Men would practise it. This Law leads us to see, that the Establishment of Falshood and Tyranny (by which I mean the Privilege of One or a Few

to mislead and oppress All) cannot be justly called Law, which is the impartial Rule of Good and Evil, and can never be the Sanction of Evil alone.

It has been often said, that Virtue is its own Reward ; and it is very true, not only from the Pleasure that attends the Consciousness of doing well, and the Fame that follows it, but in a more extensive Sense, from the Felicity which would accrue to every Man, if all Men would pursue Virtue : But as this Truth may appear too general to allure and engage particular Men, who will have always their own single selves most at Heart, abstracted from all the rest ; therefore in the making of Laws, the Pleasures and Fears of particular Men, being the great Engines by which they are to be governed, must be consulted : Vice must be rendered detestable and dangerous, and Virtue amiable and advantageous Their Shame and Emulation must be raised, and their private Profit and Glory, Peril and Infamy laid before them. This is the Meaning of Tully, when he says, *Vitiorum emendatricem legem esse oportet, commendatricemque virtutum.*

Rewards and Punishments do therefore constitute the whole Strength of Laws ; and the Promulgation of Laws, without which they are none, is an Appeal to the Sense and Interest of Men, which of the two they will chuse.

The two great Laws of humane Society, from whence all the rest derive their Course and Obligation, are those of Equity and Self-preservation : By the First, all Men are bound alike not to hurt one another ; and by the Se-
cond,

cond, all Men have a Right alike to defend themselves : *Nam jure hoc evenit ut quod quisque ob tutelam corporis sui fecerit, jure fecisse existimetur*, says the Civil Law ; that is, “ it is a Maxim of the Law, that whatever we do in the Way, and for the Ends of Self-defence, we lawfully do ; ” all the Laws of Society are entirely reciprocal, and no Man ought to be exempt from their Force ; and whoever violates this primary Law of Nature, ought by the Law of Nature to be destroyed. He who observes no Law, forfeits all Title to the Protection of Law. It is Wickedness not to destroy a Destroyer ; and all the ill Consequences of Self defence are chargeable upon him who occasioned them.

Many Mischiefs are prevented, by destroying One who shews a certain Disposition to commit many. To allow a Licence to any Man to do Evil with Impunity, is to make Vice triumph over Virtue, and Innocence the Prey of the Guilty. If Men are obliged to bear great and publick Evils, when they can upon better Terms oppose and remove them ; they are obliged by the same Logick, to bear the total Destruction of Mankind. If any Man may destroy whom he pleases without Resistance, he may extinguish humane Race without Resistance. For, if you settle the Bounds of Resistance, you allow it ; and if you do not fix its Bounds, you leave Property at the Mercy of Rapine, and Life in the Hands of Cruelty.

It is said, that the Doctrine of Resistance would destroy the Peace of the World : But it
may

may be more truly said, that the contrary Doctrine would destroy the World it self, as it has already some of the best Countries in it. I must indeed own, that if one Man may destroy all, there would be great and lasting Peace, when No-body was left to break it.

The Law of Nature does not only allow us, but oblige us to defend our selves. It is our Duty, not only to our selves, but to the Society; *Vitam tibi ipsi si negas, multis negas*, says *Seneca*: If we suffer tamely a lawless Attack upon our Property and Fortunes, we encourage it, and involve others in our Doom. And *Cicero* says, "He who does not resist Mischief
" when he may, is guilty of the same Crime
" as if he deserted his Parents, his Friends,
" and his Country.

So that the Conduct of Men, who when they are ill treated, use Words rather than Arms, and practise Submission rather than Resistance, is owing to a prudential Cause, because there is Hazard in Quarrels and War, and their Case may be made worse by an Endeavour to mend it; and not to any Confession of Right in those that do them Wrong. When Men begin to be wicked, we cannot tell where that Wickedness will end; and we have Reason to fear the worst, and provide against it.

Such is the Provision made by Laws: They are Checks upon the unruly and partial Appetites of Men, and intended for Terror and Protection. But as there are already Laws sufficient, every where, to preserve Peace between private Particulars, the great Difficulty has hitherto been to find proper Checks for those
who

who were to check and administer the Laws. To settle therefore a thorough Impartiality in the Laws, both as to their End and Execution, is a Task worthy of humane Wisdom, as it would be the Cause and Standard of Civil Felicity. In the Theory, nothing, is more easy than this Task; and yet who is able perform it, if they who can will not?

No Man in Society ought to have any Privilege above the rest, without giving the Society some Equivalent for such his Privilege. Thus Legislators, who compile good Laws, and good Magistrates who execute them, do, by their honest Attendance upon the Publick, deserve the Privileges and Pay which the Publick allows them; and Place and Power are the Wages paid by the People to their own Deputies and Agents. Hence it has been well said, that a Chief Magistrate is *major singulis, omnibus minor* — “He is above the private
“ Members of the Community, but the Com-
“ munity itself is above him.

Wherever, therefore, the Laws are honestly intended and equally executed, so as to comprehend in their Penalties and Operation the Great as well and as much as the Small, and hold in awe the Magistrate as much as the Subject, that Government is good, and that People are happy.

I am, &c.

S I R,

S I R,

ALL Men have an Ambition to be considerable, and take such Ways as their Judgments suggest to become so. Hence proceeds the Appetite of all Men to rise above their Fellows, and the constant Emulation that always has been, and always will be in the World, amongst all sorts of Men. Nature has made them all equal, and most Men seem well content with the Lot of Parts which Nature has given them; but the Lot of Fortune never thoroughly satisfies those who have the best.

The first Spring therefore of Inequality is in humane Nature, and the next in the Nature of Society. In order that many may live together in perfect Equality, it is necessary that some should be above the many, who otherwise will be using Frauds and Violence to get above one another. Some Inequality there must be; the Danger is, that it be not too great: Where there is absolute Equality, all Reverence and Awe, two Checks indispensable in Society, would be lost; and where Inequality is too great, all Intercourse and Communication is lost.

Thus in *Turky*, where there are no natural Links, nor proper Degrees of Subordination in the Chain of their Government, there is a monstrous Gap between the Subject and the Throne.

Throne. The *Grand Signior* preserves no Understanding with his People: Nothing is to be seen but the Terrors of Absolute Monarchy, and the abject Postures of crouching Slaves. Power does not glide there, as it ought every where, down an even and easy Channel with a gentle and regular Descent, but pours from a Precipice with dreadful Din, Rapidity, and Violence, upon the poor and passive Vallies below, breaking down all before it, and laying waste wherever it comes.

All Men in the World are fond of making a Figure in it. This being the great End of all Men, they take different Roads to come at it, according to their different Capacities, Opinions, Tempers, and Opportunities. No Man would chuse to have any Man his Equal, if he could place himself above all Men. All would be *Pompey's*. But tho' it has fallen to the Share but of few Men to be above all Men; yet as every Man may, or thinks he may, excel some Men, there is a perpetual Spur in every Descendant of *Adam* to be aspiring. Every Man has Self-love, and Self-love is never deserted by Hope.

But this Spirit in every Man of rising above other Men, as it constitutes the Happiness of private Individuals, who take great Complacency in their favourable Opinion of themselves and their own Abilities; so is it the great Cause of publick and private Evils, Wars, Frauds, Cruelty, and Oppretion. The Ambition of excelling in every Station by honest Means, is not only lawful but laudable, and produces great Good to Society: But as nothing produces
Good

Good in this World but what may and generally does produce Evil ; and as Fame, Riches, and Power may be honestly got, but wickedly used, it ought to be the Care of Society to provide that such Emulation amongst its Members be so directed and controul'd, as to be always beneficial, but never dangerous. But this is a Felicity at which few Nations have arrived, and those that had it rarely preserved it long.

It is a nice Point of Wisdom, perhaps too nice for humane Judgment, to fix certain and lasting Bounds to this Spirit of Ambition and Emulation amongst Men. To stop it too soon, frustrates its Use ; and not to stop it at all, invites its Mischief. The *Venetians*, by discouraging it, have never, or very rarely, felt its Advantages ; and the *Athenians* found their *Ostracism*, an Expedient invented for this very Purpose, ineffectual to prevent their great Men, who had done great Good to the State, from growing terrible to the State it self: *Pericles* in particular, by his Arts, Eloquence, and Popularity, made himself Master of it, and did almost what he pleased in it all his Life ; That single Man was so potent in that free City, that he broke the Power of the *Areopagus*, the Senate of *Athens*, a Court of Magistrates that ballanced the Power of the Populace, who being set free from that Restraint, ran into all manner of Licentiousness and Corruption.

The People of *Athens* became the Subjects of *Pericles* : By having done them much good, he found Credit enough to destroy their Government and their Virtue. From the Character of a Benefactor, he stole into that of a Master :

So narrow and invisible are the Bounds between the Benefactor and the Betrayer ! *Valerius Maximus* observes very finely, that the “ only Difference between *Pisistratus* and *Pericles* was, that the latter exercised by Art the same Tyranny that the other had exercised by Arms.”

Good and Evil thus often flowing from the same Root, and Mischief being frequently introduced by Merit, shews great-Discernment and Virtue in a People, and a happy Spirit in their Laws, if they can encourage and employ the Capacity and Genius of their principal Men, so as to reap only the good Fruits of their Services.

This was the Practice and good Fortune of the old *Romans* for several Ages : Virtue was the only Road to Glory ; it was admired, supported, applauded, and recompenced ; but they who had shewn the greatest, found no Sanctuary from it, when they committed Crimes that deserved none. This is particularly verified in the Cases of *Coriolanus* and *Manlius Capitolinus*. They were both brave Men, and had deserved well of their Country ; and were both, in Recompence, distinguished with great Honours ; and yet were both afterwards condemned by their Country, the one for a Conspiracy against it, and the other for despising its Laws. Their Services and Crimes were properly separated and rewarded.

Emulation therefore, or the Passion of one Man to equal or excel another, ought to be encouraged, with these two Restrictions : First, That no Man, let his Merit be what it will, should

should take his own Reward ; Secondly, That he should have no more than comes to his Share. *Scipio*, afterwards called *Africanus*, was chosen as the greatest and best Man in *Rome*, to invade the Territories of *Carthage* ; and he performed it with great Glory to himself and great Emolument to his Country. He defeated *Hannibal*, and conquered *Carthage*. The like Praise is also due to *Metellus*, *Lucullus*, to *T. Flaminius*, *Paulus Emilius*, and, many other *Roman* Commanders, who all conquered for their Country, and were rewarded by their Country with its Laurels, and its Dignities.

But *Julius Cæsar*, being also employed by the Commonwealth to conquer for it, succeeded in his Commission ; but, as a Reward, took the Commonwealth for his Pains : He paid himself with the whole *Roman* World, for having conquered Part of it. *Alexander the Great*, and most other Conquerors, had the same Modesty and the same Wages ; they took All to themselves.

When Men are left to measure their own Merit, and the Reward due to it, they rarely stint themselves ; all they can get is the least they expect : And to descend to lesser Instances, the World has always abounded in Men, who, tho' they deserved Contempt or a Prison, yet could never be satiated with Places and Power. And all Men who have observed the Affairs of the World, will remember and acknowledge, that sometimes one Man has possessed many Posts, to whom the publick Suffrage and Consent never gave one.

In my Reflections upon this Subject, I have often amused, and even diverted my self, with this Imagination; namely, what a wonderful and epidemical Cessation of Power and Place would ensue a sudden and universal Removal from thence of every Man who deserved neither. I fancied I saw the whole Inhabitants of several Countries, towards every Quarter of the Sky, gaping round them for Magistrates, at least for one single Magistrate, and finding none; and yet even in this State of Anarchy, congratulating one another and themselves upon the wonderful Amendment of their Government! I saw all *Asia*, the whole ample Dominions of the *Turk*, and many potent Kingdoms nearer home, all in an absolute State of Nature: In the large Bosom of the *Romish* Church, not a Priest was to be seen; and in some Protestant Countries, the good People were greatly put to it, where to get a Man in a proper Habit to say publick Prayers. Here in *England*, indeed, I found a different Face of Things, and more Comfort: For, tho' at present we have no Parliament sitting, and tho' in other Places I saw dismal Solitude, and numberless Vacancies; yet I perceived many worthy Persons in Church and State, doing their Business, and counting their Gains, with great Attention and Alacrity, but greatly distressed how to find new Persons for old Places.

Imagination apart: I shall conclude in the Words of a great *English* Writer. It is true that "Consideration ought to be had of humane Frailty; and some Indulgence may be extended to those who commit Errors, after

“ having done important Services: But a State
 “ cannot subsist, which, compensating evil
 “ Actions with good, gives Impunity to dan-
 “ gerous Crimes, in remembrance of any Ser-
 “ vices whatever. He that does well, performs
 “ his Duty, and ought always to do so; Ju-
 “ stice and Prudence concur in this; and it is
 “ no less just than profitable, that every Acti-
 “ on be considered by it self, and such a Re-
 “ ward allotted to it, as in Nature and Pro-
 “ portion it best deserves.”

I am, &c.

S I R,

MR. Bayle, in the Article of *Epicurus*, says,
 “ That Multitudes of Christians believe
 “ well, and live ill: But *Epicurus* and his Fel-
 “ lowers had, on the contrary, very ill Opi-
 “ nions, and yet lived well.” The Truth is,
 the worst Opinions that are can do but little
 harm, when they are impracticable, or when
 no Advantages are gained by reducing them
 into Practice; and the best can do but little
 good, when they contradict the darling Plea-
 sures and prevailing Interests of Men.

Dry Reasoning has no Force: If you would
 have your Doctrine successful, you must prove
 it gainful. And as in order to lay down good
 Rules for well governing the Commonwealth,
 you must first know the Commonwealth; so in
 order to perswade and govern Men, you must
 know

know what will please or frighten them. The Good they do to one another, they do not because it is just or commanded; nor do they forbear mutual Evil, because it is unjust or forbid: But these Things they do out of Choice or Fear, and both these center in themselves; for Choice is Pleasure, and Fear is the Apprehension of Pain: So that the best Things Men do, as well as the worst, are selfish; and Self-love is the Parent of Moral Good and Evil.

What Mr. *Selden* says of Humility, may be said of every other Virtue. "Humility, says that wise Man, is a Virtue that all preach, none practise, and yet every Body is content to hear: The Master thinks it good Doctrine for his Servants, the Laity for the Clergy, and the Clergy for the Laity." Thus we deal with all the Virtues we leave and recommend the Practice of them to others, and reserve the Advantage and Praise of them to ourselves.

All this, and the rest of this Letter, is meant to shew that this World is governed by Passion, and not by Principle; and it ever will be so as long as Men are Men.

There are rarely any Men, and never any Body of Men but what profess some sort of Religion; and every Religion professes to promote the Peace of Mankind, and the Happiness of humane Society, and the Security of the World; and for Proof of this, refers to its Principles, Doctrines and Decisions. And it is very true that all Parties in Religion contend for Submission to the State, as long as the State humours them, or submits to them; but their

Obedience and good Humour never hold longer. All their Principles ply in the Day of Tryal, and are either thrown away, or distinguished away; which is the same Thing, tho' not so honest. Nature is then the best Guide, and Passion the most popular Preacher.

Men suit their Tenets to the Circumstances they are in, or would be in; and when they have gained their Point, they forget their Tenets. I could give Instances of this from all Sorts of Men, and even from many whose Names are great and venerable.

Gregory Nazianzen, that eloquent and eminent *Greek* Father, being himself Orthodox, contended for Toleration to the *Arians*, while the *Arians* were uppermost, and had the Emperor on their Side: But as soon as Things took a contrary Turn, and his own Party had the Imperial Power on their Side, he changed his Stile, and then it was unpardonable Boldness and a horrible Attempt, for the *Arians* and *Macedonians* so much as to meet together to worship God their own Way.

St. Austin had the same Spirit and Inconsistency: He was once in the Sentiments of Charity and Toleration towards Hereticks; but his Dispute afterwards with the *Donatists* so inflam'd him, that he changed without any Ceremony from White to Black, and maintained with Violence, that Hereticks ought to be compelled, persecuted and exterminated.

Thus it is that Men bear witness against themselves, and practise the Evils which they condemn. "The *Puritans*, says Mr *Selden*, "who will allow no Free-Will at all, but God does

“ does all, yet will allow the Subject his Liberty to do, or not to do, notwithstanding the King, who is God upon Earth: The *Arminians*, who hold that we have Free-Will, do yet say, when we come to the King, we must be all Obedience; and no Liberty is to be stood for.

“ While *Spain* was the most renowned Power in *Europe*, the *Jesuits*, says Mr. *Bayle*, were all *Spaniards*; as well those born at *Paris* or *Rome*, as those born in *Old Castile*. Ever since the Decay of the House of *Austria*, and the Elevation of *Lewis le Grand*, the *Jesuits* are all *French*, at *Rome*, at *Vienna*, at *Madrid*, as well as in the College of *Clermont*. In those Days the Liberties of the *Gallican Church* appeared to them not well grounded: They never ceased writing for the Rights of the Pope against those of our Kings. One might fill a Library with the Defences composed by the Society, and condemned by the Parliament and the *Sorben*. — At present his Majesty has not trustier Pens than theirs in his Differences with the Pope. It is now the Turn of the Court of *Rome* to censure the Books of the Reverend Fathers. It seems the King's Prosperity and Successes have afforded them new Lights.”

It is with Laymen and Civil Societies as with Religious: They have one Set of Principles when they are in Power; and another, and a contrary, when they are out of it. They that command, and they that obey, have seldom or never the same Motives. Men change with their Condition, and Opinions change with

Men. And thus is verified that Maxim of *Rocheffoucault's*, that the Understanding is the Dupe or Tool of the Heart; that is, our Sentiments follow our Passions.

Nor has Religion been suffered to mend Nature: On the contrary, being instituted as a Restraint, and an Antidote against Sin, it has been and is frequently perverted into a Reason for sinning: Yes, to the Shame and Misfortune of the World, Men often make War upon Truth, Conscience, and Honesty, in behalf of their Religion; and there are others, who, when they have wantonly wounded Virtue, have recourse to Religion for a Balsam.

All Men speak well of Religion, either natural or revealed, and readily practise every Thing in Religion that is easy, indifferent, or advantageous to them: But in almost every Contention between Religion and the Appetites, the Victory remains to Nature; that is, *Men are never dishonest without Temptation, and rarely honest against it.*

Thus their Principle is Interest or Pleasure; and when they say they act from Principle, how can we believe them, unless we see they do it against Interest? A Proof which they rarely give us! Had the several Contracts and Treaties between Nation and Nation been observed, there would never have been War above once between any; or had every free Nation observed its own Laws, every free Nation would have continued free; or had private Men observed the common Laws of Equity, and those of mutual Compact between each other, every private Man would have lived in
Peace

Peace and Security. But Treaties, Compacts, and Laws, are only so far strong as no Body dares break them.

I think it is *Juvenal*, who somewhere brings in a Couple of false Witnesses perjuring themselves for Hire; one is a religious Rogue, and believes in the Gods; the other is an Infidel, who disbelieves or despises them. But tho' they disagree in their Sentiments, they agree in the Thing, with this very small Difference; the Atheist forswears himself boldly without Remorse; the Believer forswears himself too, but does it with a small Qualm, which is presently over.

———*Vendet perjuriam summam
Exiguam, Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.*

Bayle very humorously engages a *Mandarin* of *China*, of the Sect of the *Literati*, in a Dialogue with the *Jesuits*, and with a *Dutch* Embassador: The *Jesuits* tell the *Mandarin*, that the Emperor had no Subjects in his Dominions, whose Obedience was so secure to him, as that of their Converts, the Christians; and none whose Allegiance was so precarious as that of the *Literati*, who were Atheists.

“ Hold, cries the *Mandarin*; let us not assert
“ too much without proving it: What Reason
“ have you to say that the Submission of the
“ Christians to the Orders of the Emperor, is
“ more certain than that of all his other Sub-
“ jects?” *That Book inspired by God*, answers
the *Jesuits*; *That Book which is the Rule of our
Faith*, commands us expressly to submit our selves.

to the higher Powers: *Take the Trouble, my Lord, to read in it such and such Passages: Nothing is more clear, nothing so precisely determined.*

“ But, says the *Mandarin*, turning to the
“ Embassador, are not you in *Europe* divided
“ about the Meaning of these Passages?

“ So divided, replies the *Dutchman*, that one
“ Room would not contain the Volumes writ-
“ ten for and against the Right of Subjects to
“ resist and depose their Prince: And both
“ Sides take particular Care in all their Writ-
“ ings, to examine accurately every Text of
“ Scripture, which the reverend Fathers refer
“ you to. This Discussion of Texts has there-
“ fore begot two Propositions, flatly contradict-
“ ing each other. One Party asserts, that in
“ departing from your Obedience, you depart
“ from the *Bible*: The other says, they resist
“ with the *Bible* on their Side. We have in
“ *Christendom* many Instances of Princes at-
“ tacked by Parties of their Subjects, bereft of
“ their Sovereignty, banished, beheaded, as-
“ sassinated, and generally for the Interest of
“ Religion. Nor is there any End of the Books
“ published on this Occasion; we have every
“ Day printed Accusations, and every Day
“ printed Apologies; and both they who ac-
“ cuse, and they who defend, appeal to God,
“ and refer to his Word. As to the *Jesuits* in
“ particular, it becomes them the least of all
“ Men to talk in this Manner; no Society of
“ Men have ever writ so much in behalf of
“ popular Insurrections; they have openly con-
“ tended for Rebellion, and practised it; they
“ have been the Authors of Royal Assassina-
“ tions,

“ tions, and have been turned out of States for
 “ disturbing them.

“ If these Things are so, concludes the
 “ *Mandarin*, you Gentlemen of the Order of
 “ *Jesus* have no Reason to boast in behalf
 “ of your selves and your Followers, as if
 “ you were better Subjects than other Men.
 “ This your pretended Article of Faith a-
 “ bout the Submission of the Subject, is
 “ couched so obscurely in your Book of sa-
 “ cred Laws, that you will never find it
 “ there, when you have Occasion for a Re-
 “ bellion, or a Revolution: Events, which
 “ I find are frequent enough in your Coun-
 “ try.”

The same *Bayle* observes, That the same
 Party of Christians, namely, the *French Ca-*
tholicks, who had maintained, under *Charles*
the Ninth and *Henry the Third*, That it was
 against all Law, humane and divine, for
 Subjects to take Arms against their Prince;
 did also maintain, even before the Death of
Henry the Third, that it was agreeable to
 Laws, humane and divine, to take up Arms
 against one's Prince. The other Party of
 Christians, namely, the *Protestants*, were not
 more consistent. They maintained, during
 the Reigns of *Charles the Ninth* and *Henry*
the Third, That Laws, humane and divine
 allowed the smaller Part of the Subjects to
 arm themselves against the greater Part, e-
 ven with the King at their Head: But af-
 ter the Death of *Henry the Third*, when
 they had got a King of their own Religi-
 on, they maintained, That both the Law

of God, and the Law of Man, forbid even the greater Part of the Subjects to arm themselves against the smaller Part, with the King at their Head.

It were needless to give more Proofs, and endless to give all that might be given. Almost every Thing that Men do, is an Evidence that their Friendship for themselves does effectually extinguish their Regard for all the rest of their Species; and that they adopt or reject Principles, just as these Principles promote or contradict their Interest and Passions.

Nor are religious or moral Principles the worse for being thus used; but Men shew their own unconquerable Malignity and Selfishness in using them thus.

Upon the whole, I think it is very plain, that if you separate from the Principles of Men, the Penalties and Advantages which are annexed to them by Laws humane and divine, or which every Man has annexed to them in his own Mind, you will hardly leave such a Thing as Principle in the World; the World is not therefore governed by Principle.



S I R,

MEN are naturally equal, and none ever rose above the rest but by Force or Consent: No Man was ever born above all the rest, nor below them all; and therefore there never was any Man in the World so good or so bad, so high or so low, but he had his Fellow. Nature is a kind and benevolent Parent; she constitutes no particular Favourites with Endowments and Privileges above the rest, but for the most part sends all her Offspring into the World furnished with the Elements of Understanding and Strength to provide for themselves: She gives them Heads to consult their own Security, and Hands to execute their own Counsels; and according to the Use that they make of their Faculties, and of the Opportunities that they find, Degrees of Power and Names of Distinction grow amongst them, and their natural Equality is lost.

Thus Nature, who is their Parent, deals with Men: But Fortune, who is their Nurse, is not so benevolent and impartial; she acts wantonly and capriciously, and often cruelly; and counterplotting Justice as well as Nature, she frequently sets the Fool above the wise Man, and the best below the worst.

And from hence it is that the most Part of the World, attending much more to the noisy Conduct and glaring Effects of Fortune, than

to the quiet and regular Proceedings of Nature, are misled in their Judgment upon this Subject: They confound Fortune with Nature, and too often ascribe to Natural Merit and Excellency the Works of Contrivance or Chance. This, however, shews that Reason and Equity run in our Heads, while we endeavour to find a just Cause for Things that are not just; and this is the Source of the Reverence we pay to Men whom Fortune sometimes lifts on high, though Nature had placed them below. The Populace rarely see any Creature rise, but they find a Reason for it in his Parts; when probably the true one will be found in his own Baseness, or another Man's Folly.

From the same Reasoning may be seen why it is, that let who will be at the Head of a Party, he is always extolled by his Party as superior to the rest of Mankind; and let who will be the first Man of his Country, he will never fail being complimented by many as the first of his Species. But the Issue and their own Behaviour do constantly shew that the highest are upon a level with the rest, and often with the lowest. Men that are high are almost ever seen in a false Light; the most Part see them at a great Distance, and through a magnifying Medium; some are dazzled with their Splendor, and many are awed by their Power. Whatever appears shining or terrible appears great, and is magnified by the Eye and the Imagination.

That Nature has made Men equal, we know and feel; and when People come to think otherwise,

wife, there is no Excess of Folly and Superstition which they may not be brought to practise. Thus they have made Gods of dead Men, and paid divine Honours to many while they were yet living : They saw them to be but Men, yet they worshipped them as Gods. And even they who have not gone quite so far, have yet, by their wild Notions of Inequality, done as much Mischief ; they have made Men, and often wicked Men, Vice-Gods ; and then made God's Power (falsly so called) as irresistible in the Hands of Men as in his own, and more frightful.

It is evident to common Sense, that there ought to be no Inequality in Society, but for the Sake of Society ; but these Men have made one Man's Power and Will the Cause of all Mens Misery. They gave him as far as they could the Power of God, without obliging him to practise the Mercy and Goodness of God.

Those that think themselves furthest above the rest, are generally by their Education below them all. They are debased by a Conceit of their Greatness : They trust to their Blood, which speaking naturally gives them no Advantage ; and neglect their Mind, which alone, by proper Improvements, sets one Man above another. It is not Blood or Nature, but Art or Accident, which makes one Man excel others. *Aristotle*, therefore, must either have been in Jest, when he said, that he, who naturally excelled all others, ought to govern all ; or he said it to flatter his Pupil and Prince, *Alexander* the Great. It is certain that such a
Man

Man never yet was found in the World, and never will be found till the End of it. *Alexander* himself, notwithstanding the Greatness of his Spirit, and his Conquests, had in his own Army, and perhaps among the common Soldiers, Men naturally as great and brave as himself, and many more wise.

Whoever pretends to be naturally superior to other Men, claims from Nature what she never gave to any Man. He sets up for being more than a Man; a Character with which Nature has nothing to do. She has thrown her Gifts in common amongst us; and as the highest Offices of Nature fall to the Share of the Mean as well as of the Great, her vilest Offices are performed by the Great as well as by the Mean: Death and Diseases are the Portion of Kings as well as of Clowns; and the Corps of a Monarch is no more exempted from Stench and Putrefaction, than the Corps of a Slave.

Mors a quo pulsat pede.

All the Arts and Endeavours of Men to acquire Preheminence and Advantages over one another, are so many Proofs and Confessions that they have not such Preheminence and Advantages from Nature; and all their Pomp, Titles, and Wealth, are Means and Devices to make the World think that they who possess them are superior in Merit to those that want them. But it is not much to the Glory of the upper Part of Mankind, that their boasted and superior Merit is often the Work of Heralds, Artificers,

Artificers, and Money ; and that many derive their whole Stock of Fame from Ancestors, who lived an Age or many Ages ago.

The first Founders of great Families were not always Men of Virtue or Parts ; and where they were so, those that came after them, did frequently, and almost generally, by trusting to their Blood, disgrace their Name. Such is the Folly of the World, and the Inconvenience to Society, to allow Men to be great by Proxy ! An Evil that can scarce ever be cured. The Race of *French Kings*, called by their Historians in Contempt, *Les Roies faineants*, and the Succession of the *Roman Casars*, (in both which, for one good Prince, they had ten that were intolerable, either for Folly or Cruelty, and often for both) might be mentioned as known Proofs of the above Truth ; and every Reader will find in his own Memory many more.

I have been told of a Prince, who, while yet under Age, being reproved by his Governor for doing Things ill or indecent, used to answer, *Je suis Roy, I am King* ; as if his Quality had altered the Nature of Things, and he himself had been better than other Men, while he acted worse. But he spoke from that Spirit which had been instilled into him from his Cradle. *I am King !* And what then, Sir ? The Office of a King is not to do Evil, but to prevent it. You have Royal Blood in your Veins ; but the Blood of your Page is, without being Royal, as good as yours ; or, if you doubt, try the Difference in a Couple of Porringers, next time you are ill ; and learn from this Consideration
and

and Experiment, that by Nature you are no better than your People, tho' subject from your Fortune to be worse, as many of your Ancestors have been.

If my Father got an Estate and Title by Law or the Sword; I may by Virtue of his Will or his Patent enjoy his Acquisition; but if I understand neither Law nor the Sword, I can derive Honour from neither: My Honour therefore is, in the Reason of Things, purely Nominal; and I am still by Nature a *Plebeian*, as all Men are.

There is nothing moral in Blood, or in Title, or in Place: Actions only, and the Causes that produce them, are moral. He therefore is best that does best. Noble Blood prevents neither Folly, nor Lunacy, nor Crimes; but frequently begets or promotes them: And Noblemen, who act infamously, derive no Honour from virtuous Ancestors, whom they dishonour. A Man who does base Things, is not noble; nor great, if he does little Things: A sober Villager, is a better Man than a debauched Lord; and an honest Mechanick, than a knavish Courtier.

Nobilitas sola est atque unica Virtus.

*Prima tibi debes animi bona; Sanctus haberi
Iustitiaeque tenax factis, dictisque mereris?*

Juvenal, Sat. 8.

We cannot bring more natural Advantages into the World, than other Men do; but we can acquire more Virtue in it than we generally acquire.

acquire. To be great, is not in every Man's Power; but to be good, is in the Power of all: And thus far every Man may be upon a Level with another, the lowest with the highest; and Men might thus come to be morally as well as naturally equal.

I am, &c.

S I R,

MEN are often capable of doing as much, whether it be Good or Evil, by the Appearance of Parts as by possessing them, and become really considerable by being thought so. Some by pretending to great Interest with the Gods, have gained great Interest amongst Men, and plagued the Earth to prove themselves Favourites of Heaven: Others grow great at Court, by being thought great in a Party; and grow at the same Time great in a Party, by being thought great at Court: Twice Liars, they meet with the double Wages of Lying.

Thus is the World deceived; a Thing so easily done, that rarely any Man sets about it but he succeeds in it, let his Parts be ever so scanty or starved. Murderers have passed for Saints, Buffoons for Wits, and solemn Dunces for wise Men.

I have been often provoked to see a whole Assembly, sometimes neither contemptible for Number, nor Figure, nor Sense, give themselves up to the Guidance and Management of
a silly

a silly ignorant Fellow, important only in Grimace and Assurance: Nay, Parties, potent Parties, do generally throw themselves into the Hands and Direction of Men, who, tho' they chop them and sell them, yet want every Talent for this sort of Negotiation, but the Credulity of those that trust them. This is their best Qualification, and 'tis sufficient. These are the *Sidrophils*, the cunning Men in Parties, and as ignorant as those in *Moorfields*; they only know more than those they deceive, by pretending to more.

The Affectation of Wisdom is a prevailing Folly in the World; Men fall naturally into the Practice of it; and it would be pardonable, as 'tis common, if it went no further than the aiming at a little Notice and Reverence, which every Body may be innocently fond of. But when Men seek Credit this Way, in order to betray, and make Use of their Grimaces as a Trap to deceive; when they turn their Admirers into Followers, and their Followers into Money then appearing Wisdom becomes real Villainy, and these Pretenders grow dangerous Impostors.

And this is what Men frequently get by trusting more to the Understanding of others than to their own, though often the better of the two; and therefore we find in many Instances, that Fools mislead and govern Men of Sense. In Things where Men know nothing, they are apt to think that others know more than they, and so blindly trust to bold Pretensions; and here is the great Cause and first Rise of Sharpers and Bubbles of all Denominations,
from

from Demagogues and their Followers down to Mountebanks and their Mobbs.

I think there is not a more foolish Figure in the World than a Man affectedly wise, but it is not every Body that sees it; and such a one is often the Admiration of one sort of People, and the Jest of another, at the same Time. Where we see much of the Outside of Wisdom, it is a shrewd Sign that there is but little within; because they who have the least often make the greatest Show: As the greatest Hypocrites are the greatest, at least the loudest Prayers.

The Inside of such a Man is not worth knowing; and every Man must have observed his Outside: His Words fall from him with an uncommon Weight and Solemnity; his Gait is stately and slow, and his Garb has a Turn in it of Prudence and Gravity, of which he that made it is the Author, and by that Means becomes a considerable Instrument and Artificer of Wisdom.

This will be better illustrated in the Character of Lord *Plausible*, who having long set up for a wise Man, and taking Eloquence to be the most effectual Sign of Wisdom, is an Orator and a wise Man in every Circumstance of his Life, and to every Body; he is eloquent to his Footman, to his Children, and at his Table. Lord *Plausible* does never converse; no, talking carelessly as other People do, would not be wise enough; he therefore does not converse in Company, but make Speeches; he meditates Speeches in his Closet, and pronounces them where he visits. Even while he
drinks.

drinks Tea, or plays at Cards, his Language is lofty and founding ; and in his Gate you see the same Sublime as in his Words. Add to all this, an unrelenting Gravity in his Looks, only now and then softened by a studied Smile. He never laughs without checking his Muscles : Mirth would be a Blot upon his Wisdom ; the good Man only creates Mirth in others.

Thus he grows important, without suffering a Bit in his Character for his natural Shallowness and acquired Folly, unseen by the Bulk of his Party, who being for Understanding and Breeding pretty much in the lower Class, think him an Oracle, and believe him deep in the Counsels and Reverence of Great Men, who use him civilly and laugh at him.

As a Man can hardly be severely just and constant to the Ways which he approves, without some Degree of Austerity, or what the World calls so ; it is no Wonder if this Character, always esteemed and often beloved, becomes mimicked by those who have no Pretence to it. But I am at a Loss whether it is more provoking or merry to see Creatures setting up for Severity of Behaviour, without one Grain of Justice and Honour about them ; pretending to Wisdom with great Conceit and Stupidity ; complaisant to the Height in every Degree of Corruption, and yet preserving a Stiffness in their Behaviour as if they were so many rigid *Stoicks*.

*Quid ? Si vultu torvo & pede nudo,
Exiguaeque togæ simulet textore Catonem ;
Virtutemque representet moresque Catonis.*

There

There are Mimicks of Wisdom and Virtue in all Ages, as well as in that of *Horace*.

A Man may be a Lord, or a Minister, or a considerable Man, without declaring War against Gaiety and Easiness. But grave Fellows, who become grave to gain Importance, are by all Men of Sense disappointed. A wise Man may be a merry Fellow ; and a very silly Fellow may be a very grave Man. The wisest Men of my Acquaintance are the merriest Men I know ; nor could I ever find what Wisdom had to do with an unpleasing and rebuking Stateliness that contradicts it. Mirth, and what these solemn Drones call Folly, is a Piece of Wisdom which they want Sense to know and practise. Besides, there is a wise Way of playing the Fool, which wise Men know how to practise without losing their Character. But your grave Fellows are perhaps afraid of playing the Fool, because they would do it too naturally ; and yet even that would be better than being thus ridiculously wise against Nature.

Some Mens natural Heaviness passes for Wisdom, and they are admired for being Blockheads. Sometimes forced Gravity does the same Thing. Nor is it any Thing new to place Wisdom in Grimace ; many of the old Philosophers did the same, and made their long Beards, in particular, an eminent Type of it.

---*Jussit sapientem pascere barbam.*

Doubtless, like others who have lived since, they often possessed the Sign singly. The School-

Schoolmen were reckoned deep and wise Men, for talking unintelligibly, and their Wisdom was Jargon and Obscurity.

They that are really wise, need not take much Pains to be thought so; and they that do, are not really wise. We cannot live always upon the Stretch either of Silence, or of Eloquence, or of Gaiety; and whoever endeavours it, shews his Folly while he seeks Renown.

A Man of great Quality and Age, and of great Reputation for Wisdom, being once surprized by a foreign Minister, while he was at play with his little Children, was so far from confessing any Shame for being thus caught indulging the Fancy and Fondness of a Father, that he told the Ambassador, who seemed to have found what he did not expect: "Sir, be
" in no Pain for me; he who is accounted a
" wise Man in the Morning, will never be
" reckoned a Fool at Night." This is, no doubt, true of a Man truly wise. But it is as true, that many Men have passed for wise Men in the Morning, who have been found Fools before Noon.

Men affectedly wise, need only be examined to be despised; and we find by Experience, that starched Gravity creates more Jest and Laughter amongst Men of Sense, who are generally frank and pleasant Men, than the most remarkable Levity and Giddiness can do. The Reverence therefore paid to such Men, if it be real, is constantly the Effect of Ignorance; we admire them at a distance, but when we see them a little nearer, we begin to admire at our own Admiration.

But

But such Examination is never like to be very popular, and consequently such Discoveries are not like to be very formidable ; the Multitude will never make them. There will be always a great deal in resolving to be great and wise, and great Success will be ever attending it; *Si populus vult decipi decipiatur*, is at all Times a safe Way of Reasoning. And hence Drones and Coxcombs will, by a false Shew of Wisdom, be always bidding fair for the Reputation of Wisdom, and often for its Rewards. This is more easily shewn than mended.

I am, &c.

S I R,

Humane Judgment is the best and surest Guide we have to follow in Affairs that are humane, and even in Spirituals, where the immediate Word of God interposes not. But it is so liable to be corrupted and weigh'd down by the Biass's that Passion, Delusion, and Interest hang upon it, that we ought never to trust without Caution and Examination, either to our own or that of others.

Men are hardly ever brought to think themselves deceived in contending for Points of Interest or Pleasure. But as it is rare that one Man's Pursuits do not cross and interfere with the Pursuits of others, and as every Man contends for the Reasonableness of his own; tho'
it

it must be in the Nature of Things that they may be both in the Wrong, and only one can be in the Right; hence it proceeds that Men, who are so naturally alike, become morally so unlike, that sometimes there is more Resemblance between a Man and a Wolf, than between one Man and another, and that one and the same Man is not one and the same Man in two different Stations.

The Difference therefore between one Man's Judgment and another's, arises not so much from the natural Difference between them; tho' that too, the Structure of their Organs being different, may beget different Sentiments; as from the Difference of their Education, their Situation and Views, and other external Causes.

Men, who in private Life were Just, Modest and Good, have been observ'd, upon their Elevation into high Places, to have left all their virtuous and beneficent Qualities behind them. and to have acted afterwards upon a new Spirit, of Arrogance, Injustice and Oppression. And yet, perhaps, their latter Actions had as much the Sanction of their own Judgment as their first.

England could not boast of a greater Patriot than the great Earl of *Strafford*, while he was yet a private Commoner. No Man expos'd better, or more zealously, the Encroachments and Oppressions practis'd by the Court upon the Kingdom, or contended more loudly for a Redress of Grievances: But he was no sooner got into the Court, but he began openly to counteract the whole Course of his past Life: He devis'd new Ways of Terror and Oppression,

Oppression, and heighten'd all those Grievances of which he had complain'd; and as the excellent Lord *Falkland* said of him in the House of Commons, The Oppressions he committed were so Various, so Many, and so Mighty, as were never committed by any Governor in any Government since *Verres* left Sicily. But tho' the two great Parts of his Life were thus prodigiously Inconsistent, I do not remember that he ever condemn'd the Worst, tho' he suffer'd for it, or recanted the Best. It is probable his Judgment in both Cases approv'd his Conduct.

Nor is the Judgment of Men varied by great and considerable Causes only; to the Disgrace of our Reason we must own, that little ones do it as effectually. A wise Man ruffled by an Accident, or heated by Liquor, shall talk and act like a Madman or a Fool; as a Madman, with a little Soothing and Management, shall talk like a wise Man: And there are Instances of very able Men, who, having done great Service to their Prince and Country, have undone it all from Motives that are shameful to mention — Perhaps they miss'd a Smile from him when they expected one, or met with a satyrical Jest when they expected none; and thus piqu'd by a little real Mirth or fancy'd Neglect, they have run into all the Excesses of Disloyalty and Rebellion, and either ruin'd their Country, or themselves and their Families, in attempting it: Others, misled by a gracious Nod, or a Squeeze by the Hand, or a few fair Promises no better than either, have, by running all the contrary Lengths of Complaisance and Subserviency, done as much

Mischief to their Country, without intending it any, and perhaps thinking they did it none. There are Examples of the same Men practising both these Extremes.

So mechanical a Thing is humane Judgment ! And so easily is the humane Machine disconcerted and put out of its Tone ! And the Mind subsisting in it, and acting by it, is calm or ruffled as its Vehicle is so. But tho' the various Accidents and Disorders happening to the Body, are the certain Causes of Disorders and irregular Operations in the Mind ; yet Causes that are internal affect it still more ; I mean the Stimulations of Ambition, Revenge, Lust and Avarice. These are the great Causes of the several irregular and vicious Pursuits of Men.

Neither is it to be expected that Men disagreeing in Interest, will ever agree in Judgment. Wrong, with Advantages attending it, will be turned into Right, and Falshood into Truth ; and, *as often as Reason is against a Man, a Man will be against Reason* : And both Truth and Right, when they thwart the Interests and Passions of Men, will be used like Enemies, and call'd Names.

It is remarkable that Men, when they differ in any Thing considerable, or which they think considerable, will be apt to differ in almost every Thing else. Their Differences beget Contradiction, Contradiction begets Heat, and Heat quickly rises into Resentment, Rage and Ill will. Thus they differ in Affections as they differ in Judgment ; and the Contention which began in Pride, ends in Anger.

The acquiescing sincerely in the Judgment of another, without the Concurrence of our own, and without any Advantage real or fancied, moving us to such Acquiescence, is a Compliment which I do not know that one Man ever paid to another: An unanswerable Argument, why no Man should be provok'd at those whom he cannot convince, since they, having Reasons, or thinking they have Reasons, on the contrary side, as strong as his, or stronger, have as much Cause to be provok'd with him for not acquiescing in theirs. And yet there are but few Debates of Consequence in this World, where the Arguments are not seconded by Wrath, and often supplied by it.

But this is not the Way of dealing with Men; nor is there any other Way of perswading them into your Judgment, but by shewing it their Interest. Their Minds are so corrupted by their Appetites, that, generally speaking, their Judgment is nothing but their Interest in Theory; and their Interest is their Judgment reduced into Practice. This will account for the contradictory Parts Men play, and the contrary Parties they occasionally chuse. This serves them with Reasons for the unreasonable Things they do, and turns Roguery into Honesty, and Madness into Merit.

In Truth, when ever Men leave their own Judgment for the Judgment of others, as they sometimes do; they either do it for Gain, or Glory, or Pleasure, or for the avoiding of Shame, or some such Cause; all which Motives are Interest, as is every Thing else that they do for their own sakes. Thus Honesty is often

only the Fear of Infamy, and Honour the Appetite of Applause: Thus Men rush into Danger and Death, to gratify Love or Anger, or to acquire Fame: And thus they are faithful to their Word and Engagement, to avoid the Reproach of Treachery

Men are so apt to link their Approbation to their Profit and Pleasure, that their Interest, tho' ever so vile, absurd, and unjustifiable, becomes really their Judgment. I do not think that humane Art and Imagination could have invented Tenets more false and abominable, more chimerical or mischievous, than are those of the *Infallibility of the Pope*; and the *Irresistibleness of Tyrants*; that is, That one Man, living in the hourly Practice of Error, or Vice, or Folly, and often of them all, shall judge for the whole Earth, and do what God has not done; that is, fashion the Minds of all humane Race like his own, and make them his Sacrifices where he cannot make them his Slaves: And that another Man shall have a divine Right to represent God and govern Man, by acting against God and destroying Man.

These are such monstrous Absurdities, such terrible, ridiculous, and inhumane Inventions, as could arise from nothing but Pride and Avarice on one Side, and Fear and Flattery on the other; and could be defended by nothing but the most brutish Force, or the most abandoned Impudence. And yet we have seen them defended, and God Almighty declared their Defender; even him, who is the God of Mercy and Truth, made, blasphemously, the Author of Cruelty and Lies.

In this Light do these Things appear to one who considers them without embarking in them, and receiving any Advantage from them. But those who gain or subsist by them, see them in a different Light: I doubt not but their Judgment, as they call it, does actually blend with their Interest, or for the most part does; and therefore they are really in earnest in maintaining it. Folly, Falshood, and Villainy, are no longer called by their own Names, nor thought to deserve them, by those that reap Advantages from them. Even those, who have practis'd the greatest of all Evils, even that of destroying God's People, have thought that in doing it they did God good Service. Our Blessed Saviour foretold it, and his Words have been fulfilling ever since, and perhaps will be till he returns.

Oliver Cromwell fought God in all his Oppressions; and tho' I am sure that he was an Usurper, I am not sure that he was a Hypocrite, at least all along; tho' it is most probable he was one at first. But he had so long personated a Saint, that he seems at last to have thought himself one; and when he saw his latter End approaching, he was so far from shewing any Compunction for the Part he had acted, that he, on the contrary, boasted he had been the Cause of much Good to this Nation; and added such Ejaculations and Prayers, as shewed that he possessed his Mind in Peace, and was not without Confidence in God.

The Emperor of *Morocco*, than whom a more inhumane Butcher never lived, makes God the Author of all his Barbarities; and when he murders

a Slave (as he does every Day some) out of Wantonness or Wrath, he lifts up his Eyes and says, 'Tis God that does it : No Man talks more of God and Religion, and he certainly thinks himself a most religious Man.

Let all this serve to shew, how little Mens Judgment is to be trusted when Interest follows it, and is probably both the Cause and the Effect. Let it abate our Confidence in particular Men, who may make our Trust in Them the Means of their misleading Us: Let us learn to believe no Man the more, because he believes himself; since Men are as obstinate in Error, especially in gainful Error, as they are in Truth; and more so, where Truth is not gainful: And, lastly, let us swallow no Man's Judgment, without judging of it and him; and yield up our Reason to no Man's Authority, nor our Interest to any Man's Direction, any farther than Prudence or Necessity obliges us. Let us remember what the World has ever got by implicit Faith of any kind whatsoever.

I am, &c.

S I R,

MEN boast of their Reason, and might justly, if they used it freely and applied it properly; but considering that generally in their moral Conduct, they are guided by such Reasons as are a Shame and a Contradiction

to Reason, it seems to be thrown away upon them: Indeed, so little, or so wrong, is the Use they make of it, that it would be really for their Reputation, if they had none.

But tho' the Many scarce use it at all, and none so much as they ought; yet every Man thinks he does, and never wants something which he calls Reason, for the Justification of his Folly or Wickedness. Prejudice or Passion steps into its Room, takes its Name; and under the Appearance of Reason, does Things which Reason abhors: And thus Reason, as well as Religion, is forced to furnish its Enemies with Arms against it self, and the Abuse of it is worse and more dangerous than the absolute Want of it; as an Idiot is less terrible and less odious than a Knave, and as a harmless *Pagan* is a much more amiable Character than an outrageous persecuting Bigot. So that as no Religion at all is better than a mischievous Religion; that is to say, any Religion that prompts Men to hurt one another; so the Absence or Inactivity of the Faculties, is better than the Quickness of Faculties wickedly applied.

Of all the many false Lights that mislead Men from their Reason, Prejudice is one of the foremost and most successful; and tho' no two Things upon Earth are more opposite in their Natures, or more destructive of each other, than Reason and Prejudice are; yet they are often made to pass for each other: And as some Men will give you very good Reasons for their being in the wrong themselves; there are those too, who will give you as good, why others should not be in the right;

that is, the Prejudices of some would be thought Wisdom, and the Wisdom of others is mis-called Prejudice. The worst Things that Men do, called by a good Name, pass for the best; and the best, blackened by an ill Name, pass for the worst. Such is the Force of Prejudice in the World and so successfully does this Foe to Reason ape Reason!

Prejudice is an obstinate and unreasonable Attachment to an Opinion, supported only by a Wilfulness to maintain it, whether regarding Men or Things; it links the good with the bad, and the bad with the good, and hates or loves by the Lump. Thus if a Man is called a Saint, his worst Actions are fainted with him; and his very Ignorance and Cruelty, and even his Dirtiness and his Dreams, are made sacred and meritorious; as may be seen at large in the *Romish* Legends, where the principal Qualification for Saintship seems to have consisted in stark raving Madness, and in an implacable and bloody Fury towards all Sense and Sobriety. And thus, even with us, if a Man passes for a good Man, his bad Deeds are often thought good ones, by those that think him so, and only because they think him so.

On the other Side, if a Man is called an *Atheist*, the Odium of that Name, where it is believed true, is made a Blot upon his best Actions and greatest Virtue, and to defeat them as well as foil them. That there are such Men as *Atheists*, can only be imagined by those, who doubting of a Deity themselves, may naturally enough suppose that there are others who quite disbelieve One: For my own particular, I cannot

not think there are any such Men ; but if there were, I cannot think that Truth and Sobriety in an *Atheist*, are worse than in another Man. That Black is not White, and that Two and Two make Four, is as true out of the Mouth of an *Atheist*, as out of the Mouth of an Apostle: A Penny given by an *Atheist* to a Beggar, is better Alms than a Halfpenny given by a Believer ; and the good Sense of an *Atheist* is preferable to the Mistakes of a good Christian : In short, whatever reputed *Atheists* do well, or speak truly, is more to be imitated and credited, than what the greatest Believers do wickedly, or say fallily ; and even in the Business of bearing Testimony, or making a Report, in which Cases the Credit and Reputation of the Witness gives some Weight, or none, to what he says ; more Regard is to be had to the Word of an Unbeliever who has no Interest on either Side, than to the Word of a Believer who has.

So that as no Man is to be believed an *Atheist*, unless he be evidently proved one ; which, where he himself denies it, can be done by God only ; so neither are the good or bad Actions of an *Atheist* worse, with respect to the World, at least for his being one ; tho' the Sin of a Saint is more sinful than that of a *Pagan*. As it is therefore the blackest and most barbarous Villainy to charge any Man with *Atheism*, who is no *Atheist* ; it is the greatest Folly to think that any Man's Crimes are the less, for the Name of him that commits them ; or that Truth is less or more Truth, for the ill or good Name of him that speaks it

Prejudice has long taught Men, contrary to all Reason, to think otherwise; and to consider, not what was done or said; but who where the Men that said or did it. — A happy Expedient, I must own, to acquire Dominion, and to exercise it; and to keep, for that End, Mankind ignorant and base, as their Teachers and Governors do generally keep them! And therefore, in most Parts of the World, Truth is a capital Crime; and the *Pope* and *Mahomet*, the *Alcoran* and the *Moss-Book*, and the like Sounds, with a competent Assistance of Fire and Sword, are sufficient to convince and govern all true *Catholicks* and *Musselmens*.

But we live in a Land of Liberty; and have, I hope, well-nigh wiped off the Scandal of being led or animated by Noise and Names, as were many of our Forefathers; whose Reason being in other Mens keeping, was generally turned upon them, and co-operated with other Causes, towards keeping them in Bondage. They were decoy'd or frightened into Folly and Chains; some saw not their Condition, and others wanted Courage or Power to mend it. But with Liberty Light has sprung in, and we have got rid of the Terrors and Delusion occasioned by solemn and ill-sounding Names; a sort of Bugbears that frighten only in the dark: We have learned that we are as fit to use our own Understandings, as they are whose Understandings are no better than ours; and that there is no Merit in Sounds, nor in those Actions which a wicked Man may practise as well as a good Man, without departing from his Character.

True

True Learning and Prejudices cannot subsist together; and therefore, tho' in Societies of Pedants, little else is to be found but Prejudices, Bitterness, Ignorance, and Ill-breeding; I am amazed to hear, that in Societies of Gentlemen, formed for the promoting of Knowledge, and Liberty of Enquiry, a Province utterly inconsistent with the narrow Spirit of Prejudice, there are yet found Instances of the greatest. I hope, however, it is not true, what I am told, That the *Royal Society* refused admitting Mr. *Whiston* and another ingenious Gentleman as Members, because the One was an *Arian*, and the other a *Black*. Who would imagine, that natural Complexion or religious Opinions, could any way affect the Discovery of Fossils and Cockleshells, or the Improvement of Mustard and Pickles? But I dare say, this is only a Story raised, to bring that learned Body into Ridicule and Contempt: If it were true, it would justify the Jest made upon them by a Gentleman, who being asked by some of them, Whether he had a mind to be a Member? told them, *No, Gentlemen, 'tis impossible; you see I have a Mole on my Upper Lip; and I am subject to talking in my Sleep.*

It is scarce credible, but that we see it, how violently and shamefully Prejudice flies in the Face of Reason, and often gets the better of it, in Instances too where Reason seems to be strongest and most obvious. I shall mention a remarkable one.

Alexander and *Cesar* are never mentioned but with Applause, or thought of but as amiable Characters, and the true Patterns of Princes:

and

and Heroes, tho' it is certain there never lived more wicked Men; they turned the World upside down, and usurped its Power; they paved their Way to Dominion with dead Bodies, and were the Oppressors and Butchers of humane Race. Here is Fact, plain undeniable Fact, against Prejudice and Opinion.

Oliver Cromwel, on the contrary, is scarce ever mentioned but with Detestation, or thought of but as a Monster; tho' it is certain that he never did the hundredth Part of the Mischief that was done by either of the other Two. He had at least as good a Right to *Great Britain* as they had to the Globe, and ruled it with more Equity and less Blood. He was, doubtless, an Usurper, but a little one; and tho' wicked enough, really an innocent Man compared to them. Nor was he at all below them in Parts and Courage. What therefore is the Cause of this mighty and unjust Difference, where the lesser Wickedness is most magnified, and least excused, and where the blackest Criminals and the highest Usurpers are admired and extolled?

There is yet one Effect of Prejudice more impious than all the rest; I mean, the daring Presumption of those Men who wantonly apply the Judgments of God to others, and of calling those Things Judgments, which are not so. Probably nothing ever yet happened to one Man, but has happened to another, and a different: The Wicked live in as much Prosperity, and die with as few Agonies as do the Righteous, who, I think, are allowed to be here much the more unhappy of the Two.

Who

Who has told us, what God can only tell, that Misfortunes are Judgments, or that Death is one; That Death which is common to all Men? And as to the different and disastrous Manners of dying; have not Fire and Sword, Famine and Pestilence, Poison and Torture, wild Beasts and Accidents, destroyed as many good Men as evil Men?

How foolish and insolent are we! When we are angry, unreasonably angry with one another, we presumptuously think that God, the good and all wise God, is so too; by which we profanely suggest, that he is a Being as weak, ridiculous, and passionate as our selves. Whereas that often pleases God, which is hated by Man, and that which is really a Blessing is often thought a Curse; and therefore some wickedly think the Judgment of God due to others for Things that entitle them rather to God's Favour. So wickedly do Men differ in their Sentiments and Affections!

They who call the Misfortunes of others Judgments upon them, do plainly enough own, tho' not in Words, that they wish for Judgments upon others, or are glad when they happen. What can we say of such an Antichristian Spirit as this?

When the Heathens were uppermost, they charged the Christians with being the Cause of all the Evils and Misfortunes that beset the *Roman* Empire, such as Inundations, Plagues, Earthquakes, and the like; and one of the Fathers writ a Book to prove, that all those Things had been from the Beginning; and whoever makes the like Charge now against any

any Man, or Body of Men, may be silenced, if he has Modesty, Sense, or Shame in him, by the same Answer.

S I R,

SIR *Paul Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire*, is what I have quoted more than once in these Letters: It is written with Fidelity and Judgment, and gives us a good Idea of that horrible and destroying Government; a Government fierce and inhumane, founded in Blood, and supported by Barbarity; and a Government, that has a declared Enmity to all that is good and lovely in the Eyes of Mankind.

I have therefore transcribed the following from him, to shew my Countrymen the abject, the deplorable Condition of that People, and the brutish and destructive Genius of their Government; and I do it with a benevolent View, to make them more and more in love with their own, and passionate for its Preservation.

No Man's Authority is, or ought to be of any Weight for or against Truth, when every Man sees it, or may see it: But since weak Men, and they that are worse, make a Difficulty of crediting the Reasonings and Relations of any Men about any Thing, unless they know and approve his Opinions in every thing; I think it not amiss to acquaint my Readers that *Sir Paul* was a sincere Monarchy-man, and

an unquestionable Friend to our civil and religious Establishment ; but having long seen the dismal Terrors and Desolations of Absolute Monarchy, he could not help observing the infinite Distance between that and a limited one ; as may be seen in the following Quotation.

For my own particular, I think it contrary to common Sense to concern my self with the Character of a Writer, in those Writings which do not concern his Character : And therefore in Matters of Reason or Fact, *Cicero* is as much regarded by me as *Dr. Tillotson*, and I credit *Livy* as much as I do *Dr. Prideaux*. For this Reason, in reading Authors, Christian or Heathen, Monarchical or Republican, I do not consider their System but their Sense ; which I shall therefore, as often as I see necessary, give in their own Words, where I cannot mend them : And as often as they speak my Thoughts as well, or better than I could speak them my self, I shall not scruple being beholden to them.

I am, &c.

“ HE that is an Eye-witness and strict Ob-
 “ server of the various Changes and
 “ Chances in the Greatness, Honours, and
 “ Riches of the *Turks*, hath a lively Emblem
 “ before him of the Unconstancy and Muta-
 “ bility of humane Affairs. Fortune so strange-
 “ ly sports with this People, that a Comedy
 “ or a Tragedy on the Stage, with all its
 “ Scenes, is scarce sooner opened or ended,
 “ than the Fate of divers great Men, who in
 “ the

“ the Day-time being exhaled into high Sub-
 “ limity by the powerful Rays of the *Sultan's*
 “ Favour, fall or vanish in the Night, like a
 “ Meteor. The Reason hereof, if duly confi-
 “ dered, may be of great Use as Things stand
 “ here ; that is, the Power of the *Grand Seig-*
 “ *nior* ; for in this Constitution the Benefit of
 “ the Emperor is consulted before the Welfare
 “ of the People. * * * * *
 * * * * *

“ And this Course does not only evidence
 “ the Power of the *Grand Seignior*, but like-
 “ wise encreases it ; for none are advanced in
 “ these Times to Office, but pay the *Grand*
 “ *Seignior* vast Sums of Money for it, accord-
 “ ing to the Riches and Expectations of Profit-
 “ from the Charge : Some pay, as the *Beshaws*
 “ of *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*, Three or Four
 “ Hundred Thousand Dollars upon passing the
 “ Commission ; others One, others Two Hun-
 “ dred Thousand ; some Fifty Thousand, as
 “ their Places are more or less considerable ;
 “ and the Money is most commonly taken up-
 “ at Interest at 40 or 50 *per Cent.* for the Year,
 “ and sometimes at double, when they are
 “ constrained to become Debtors to the cove-
 “ tous Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*. So that every
 “ one, at his first Entrance into Office, looks
 “ upon himself (as indeed he is) greatly in-
 “ debted and obliged by Justice or Injustice,
 “ right or wrong, speedily to disburden him-
 “ self of the Debts, and improve his own
 “ Principal in the World ; and this Design
 “ must not be long in Performance, lest the
 “ hasty Edict overtake him before the Work
 “ is

“ is done, and call him to an Account for the
 “ Improvement of his Talent.

“ Taking then all Circumstances together,
 “ the covetous Disposition of a *Turk*, the Cru-
 “ elty and Narrowness of Soul in those Men
 “ commonly that are born and educated in
 “ Want; think what Oppression, what Ra-
 “ pine and Violence must be exercised, to sa-
 “ tisfy the Appetite of these Men, who come
 “ famished with immense Desires and strange
 “ Considerations to satisfy! *Diu sordidus, re-*
 “ *pende dives mutationem fortunæ male regit, ac-*
 “ *censis egestate longa cupidinibus immoderatus.*
 “ *Tacit.* So that Justice in its common Course,
 “ is set to Sale; and it is very rare, when any
 “ Law-Suit is in Hand, but Bargains are made
 “ for the Sentence, and he hath most Right,
 “ who hath most Money to make him *rectus in*
 “ *curia* and advance his Cause; and it is the
 “ common Course for both Parties at Diffe-
 “ rence, before they appear together in Pre-
 “ sence of the Judge, to apply themselves singly
 “ to him, and try whose Donative and Present
 “ hath the most in it of Temptation; and it
 “ is no Wonder if corrupt Men exercise this
 “ kind of Trafficking with Justice, for having
 “ before bought the Office, of Consequence
 “ they must sell the Fruit.

“ Add hereunto a strange kind of Facility
 “ in the *Turks*, for a Trifle or small Hire, to
 “ give false Witness in any Case, especially
 “ (and that with a Word) when the Contro-
 “ versy happens between a Christian and a
 “ *Turk*; and then the Pretence is for the *Mus-*
 “ *selmanleek*, as they call it; the Cause is re-
 “ ligious,

“ligious, and hallows all Falseness and For-
 “gery in the Testimony * * * *
 “* * * * *

“This Consideration and Practice made an
 “*English* Ambassador, upon renewing the Ca-
 “pitulations, to insert an Article of Caution
 “against the Testimony of *Turks*, as never to
 “be admitted or pleaded in any Court of
 “*Turkish* Justice, against the *English* Interest *
 “* * * * *

“In the Times of the best Emperors, when
 “Virtue and Deserts were considered, and the
 “Empire flourished and encreased, Men had
 “Offices conferred upon them for their Merits,
 “and good Services were rewarded freely and
 “with Bounty, without Sums of Money and
 “Payments ——— But now it is quite contra-
 “ry, and all Matters run out of Course; a
 “manifest Token, in my Opinion, of the De-
 “clension and Decay of the Empire! ———
 “However, this serves in part the great End
 “of the Empire; for *Bashaws* and great Men,
 “having a kind of a Necessity upon them to
 “oppress their Subjects, the People thereby
 “lose their Courage; and by continual Taxes
 “and Seizures upon what they gain, Poverty
 “subdues their Spirits, and makes them more
 “patiently suffer all kind of Injustice and Vi-
 “olence that can be offered them, without
 “Thoughts or Motion to Rebellion: And so
 “the Lord *Verulam* says in his Essays, That it
 “is impossible for a People overladen with
 “Taxes, ever to become martial or valiant;
 “for no Nation can be the Lion's Whelp, and
 “the Ass between two Burthens.

“By

“ By this Means the *Turk* preserves so many
 “ different sorts of People, as he hath con-
 “ quered, in due Obedience, using no other
 “ Help than a severe Hand, joined to all kind
 “ of Oppression : But such as are *Turks*, and
 “ bear any Name of Office or Degree in the
 “ Service of the Empire, feel but part of this
 “ Oppression, and live with all Freedom, ha-
 “ ving their Spirits raised by a Licence they
 “ attain to insult over others that dare not
 “ resist them.

“ But the Issue and Conclusion of the Spoils
 “ that these great Men make on Subjects, is
 “ very remarkable ; For as if God were pleased
 “ to evidence his just Punishment more evi-
 “ dently and plainly here than in other Sins,
 “ scarce any of all these *Bashaws* that have
 “ made haste to be rich, have escaped the
 “ *Grand Seignior's* Hands ; but he either wholly
 “ divests them of All, or will share the best
 “ Part of the Prey with them. Amongst whom
 “ I have observed none passes so hardly as the
 “ *Bashaws* of *Grand Cairo*, because it is the
 “ richest and most powerful of all the Go-
 “ vernments of this Empire ; and so, either in
 “ his Journey Home, or after his Return, he
 “ loses his Life by publick Command, or at
 “ least is rifled of his Goods as ill got, which
 “ are condemned to the *Grand Seignior's* Trea-
 “ sury : And it is strange yet to see with what
 “ Heat these Men labour to amass Riches,
 “ which they know by often Experiences have
 “ proved but Collections for their Master ;
 “ and only the Odium and Curses which the
 “ oppressed Wretches have vented against their
 “ Rapine,

“ Rapine, remain to themselves. *Rebus secur-*
 “ *dis avidi, adversis autem incauti.* Tac. * *
 “ * * * * *

“ The *Turk* understands well, how profitable
 “ it is for the Constitution of his Estate, to
 “ use evil Instruments, who may oppress and
 “ poll his People, intending afterwards for
 “ himself the whole Harvest of their La-
 “ bours; they remaining with their Hatred,
 “ while the Prince, under Colour of perform-
 “ ing Justice, procures both Riches and Fame
 “ together.

“ If it be suspected that any Great Man in-
 “ tends to make Combustion or Mutiny in his
 “ Government, or that his Wealth or natural
 “ Abilities render him formidable, without
 “ further Inquisition or Scrutiny, all Discon-
 “ tent of the *Grand Seignior* is diffambled, and
 “ perhaps a Horse, or Sword, or Sable Vest,
 “ is reported to be presented, and all fair
 “ Treatment is counterfeited, till the Execu-
 “ tioner gets the Bow-string about his Neck,
 “ and then they care not how rudely they deal
 “ with him. Just like the Birds in *Plutarch*,
 “ that beat the Cuckow, for fear that in Time
 “ he should become a Hawk.

“ And to make more Room for the Multi-
 “ tude of Officers that crowd for Preferments,
 “ and to act the cruel Edicts of the Empire
 “ with the least Noise; often times when a
 “ great Personage is removed from his Place of
 “ Trust, and sent with a new Commission to
 “ the Charge, perhaps, of a greater Govern-
 “ ment; and though he depart from the Regal
 “ Seat with all fair Demonstrations of Favour,
 “ yet

“ yet before he hath advanced Three Days in
 “ his Journey, triumphing in the Multitude of
 “ his Servants and his late Hopes, the fatal
 “ Command overtakes him, and, without any
 “ Accusation or Cause, other than the Will of
 “ the *Sultan*, he is barbarously put to Death,
 “ and his Body thrown into the Dirt of a foreign
 “ and unknown Country, without Solemnity
 “ of Funeral or Monument; and he is no
 “ sooner in his Grave, than his Memory is for-
 “ gotten.

“ Hence are apparent the Cause of the De-
 “ cay of Arts amongst the *Turks*; and of the
 “ Neglect and Want of Care in manuring and
 “ cultivating their Lands; why their Houses
 “ and private Buildings are made slight, and
 “ not durable for more than Ten or Twenty
 “ Years; why you find there no delightful
 “ Orchards, and pleasant Gardens and Planta-
 “ tions; and why, in those Countries where
 “ Nature hath contributed so much on her
 “ Part, there are no additional Labours of
 “ Art to compleat all, and turn it into a Pa-
 “ radise: For Men, knowing no certain Heir,
 “ nor who shall succeed them in their Labours,
 “ contrive only for a few Years Enjoyment.
 “ And moreover, Men are afraid of shewing
 “ too much Ostentation or Magnificence in
 “ their Palaces, or Ingenuity in the Pleasures
 “ of their Gardens, lest they should bring on
 “ them the same Fate that *Naboth's* Vineyard
 “ occasioned to its Master. And therefore
 “ Men neglect all Applications to the Studies
 “ of Arts and Sciences, but only such as are
 “ necessary to the meer Course of Living;
 “ For

“ For the Fear and Crime of being known to
 “ be rich, makes them appear outwardly poor,
 “ and so become naturally *Stoicks* and Philoso-
 “ phers in all the Points of a reserved and
 “ cautious Life.

“ And here I am at a stand, and cannot con-
 “ clude, without contemplating a while, and
 “ pleasing myself with the Thoughts of the
 “ Blessedness, the Happiness, the Liberty of
 “ my own Country; where Men, under the
 “ Protection and safe Influence of a gracious
 “ and the best Prince in the World (He might
 “ with more Propriety have said, the best Con-
 “ stitution in the World) enjoy and eat of the
 “ Fruit of their own Labour; and purchase to
 “ themselves, with Security, Fields and Ma-
 “ nors, and dare acknowledge and glory in
 “ their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the
 “ Inheritance to their Posterity.

S I R,

POPULARITY is the Fondness and Applause of
 many, following the Person of one, who
 does, in their Opinion, deserve well of them;
 and it must doubtless be a sensible Pleasure to
 him who enjoys it, if he enjoys it upon good
 Terms, and from reputable Causes: But where
 it is only to be acquired by deceiving Men with
 Words, or intoxicating them with Liquors, or
 purchasing their Hearts with Bribes, a virtuous
 Man would rather be without it; and therefore
 virtuous

virtuous Men have been rarely popular, except in the Beginning, or near the first Rise of States, while they yet preserved their Innocence.

Where Parties prevail, a principal Way to gain Popularity, is to act foolishly for one Side, and wickedly against the other: And therefore some publick Talkers have grown popular, by calling those whom they disliked by bitter and ill-bred Names; or by rioting and making a Noise for some Sounds, which they had taken a liking to; or by insulting and abusing those that affronted them, by being more sober and sensible than themselves: And some to be revenged on those that never hurt them, have given themselves up a blind Prey to certain Leaders, who deluded them, and sold them, and yet earned popular Applause of them for so serving them.

So that Popularity is often but the Price which the People pay to their Chiefs, for deceiving and selling them: And this Price is so implicitly paid, that the very Vices and Foolerics of a popular Chief become popular too, and were perhaps amongst the first Causes that made him so. Some Gentlemen of this Cast, owe their Figure to the Weakness of their Heads, or the Strength of their Barrels; and grow considerable by their having small Parts, or by drinking away those that they have.

These are the Instruments that cunning Men work with; and therefore sometimes a Knave, who is not popular, shall get a weak Man, who is so, to do those Things with Applause, for which he himself would be hated and condemned: And the Hand that executes shall be blessed,

bleſſed, when the Head that contrives would be curſed, for one and the ſame Thing.

This ſhews that Names are principal Reaſons to determine the Multitude to popular Love and Hatred; and it proceeds not ſo much from their being untaught as ill taught; when they are inſtructed not to reaſon but to rage, and not to judge but to miſtake, a better Diſcernment and wiſer Behaviour are not to be hoped from them.

Demetrius, and the other Craftſmen, Shrine-makers to *Diana*, were, at *Ephesus*, more popular Men than *St. Paul*, and raiſed a Mob to confute his Arguments for Chriſtianity: For it had not yet entered in the Heads of the People, that Religion and Rage were contradictory Things, and that Antiquity and Reverence could not ſanctify Impiety, Falſhood, and Folly.

In like Manner, *Barabbas*, a Rioter and a Murderer, had more Votes to ſave him, than our Bleſſed Saviour had; who was thought, by that zealous, deluded, and outrageous People, to be the greater Criminal of the Two, for having told them ſober and ſaving Truth; which was new to them, tho' everlaſting in itſelf, and therefore condemned becauſe it was new.

Now, in neither of theſe Inſtances were the People, though they acted thus impiouſly and madly, originally in the Fault; but thoſe who taught them; and who, having for Religion taught them Trifles, Folly, and Fury, were alarmed by the rational and prevailing Doctrines of Mercy, Wiſdom, and Truth. They therefore

therefore blaspheme against the Author of Truth, and yet charge him with Blasphemy. As to the Populace, they did as they were taught, and uttered the Cry which was put into their Mouths.

The People, when they are left to themselves, and their own Understandings and Observation, will judge of Men by their good or bad Actions, and are capable of separating Vice from Virtue, and the Just from the Unjust: And therefore, when their Government is not corrupted, the best and most virtuous Men will always be the most popular; and he who does best will be esteemed best: But when strong Liquor, or Money, or false Terrors intervene; when Government is turned into Faction; the Judgment of the People is vitiated, and worse than none: They then prefer the worst Men to the best, if they have stronger Drink, or more Money, or are covered with any other false Merit, by those whose Word they take, and whose Authority they submit to; and the most popular Man is he who bribes highest, or imposes upon them best.

That these Things are common and almost universal, is not strange: Generally speaking, wherever there is Power, there will be Faction; and wherever there is Money, there will be Corruption; so that the Heads of Faction, and the Promoters of Corruption, have from their very Characters, which ought to render them detestable, the Means of Popularity.

Who was better beloved at *Rome* than *Spurius Melius*, while he was meditating the Slavery of the *Roman* People? Who could ever boast

such potent Parties, such numerous Followers, such high Applause and Regard, such Trophies and Statues, as *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, *Augustus* and *Anthony* could boast; while they were overturning the State, oppressing Mankind, and butchering one Half of the World, and putting Shackles upon the other? And, in fine, who was ever a greater Impostor, and a more admir'd Prophet, than *Mahomet* was? All these Men were Enemies to Liberty, Truth, and Peace, the Plagues and Scourges of the Earth; but they deceived and destroyed their People with their own Consent, and by the highest Wickedness gained the highest Popularity.

The two Dukes of *Guise*, *Francis* and *Henry*, Father and Son, were the two most popular Men that ever *France* saw, and grew so by doing it more Mischief than ever two Men till then had done. They were perpetually, during a Course of many Years, destroying its Peace, violating its Laws, usurping its Authority, pushing at the Crown, raising and carrying on Rebellions, committing Massacres, and filling it with Blood and Desolation: They had no one publick End, and did no one publick Thing but what was pernicious to *France*, and yet *France* adored them.

Whoever is the Author of a Civil War, is Author of all its cruel Consequences, Plunders, Devastations, Burnings, Rapes, Slaughters, Oppression, and Famine ——— a frightful Catalogue of Crimes to lie at one Man's Door! and yet both these Dukes had them all to answer for over and over, and yet were vastly belov'd;
 even

even when they were dead, they continued the Authors of long publick Miseries, by leaving their destructive Schemes and their Party behind them; a fierce, lawless, and powerful Party, that maintained the Civil War long after them, and having destroyed *Henry* the Third, was like to prove too hard even for the great *Henry* the Fourth; nor did he overcome it but by infinite Courage, Industry, and Patience, and the renouncing of his Religion: Nay, at last, his Murder was owing to the Spirit of the League, first concerted, and afterwards constantly headed and animated, by these two Dukes successively.

Had ever any Country two greater Foes, and yet were ever two Men greater Darlings of any Country? For *Henry* Duke of *Guise* particularly, he had so much the Hearts of the People, that their Passion for him ran not only to Dotage, but Idolatry; and they blasphemed God to do the Duke Honour: They worshipped his Image; they invoked him in their Prayers; they touched religiously the Hem of his Garment, and with the same Spirit and Design rubbed their Beads upon his Clothes; and following him in Multitudes as he passed their Streets, saluted him with *Hosannas to the Son of David*.

Thus they treated and adored this Idol; a lewd Man, a publick Incendiary and Destroyer, but represented to them as their Saviour — He had for the Ends of Ambition put himself at the Head of the *Catholick* Cause, the surest Warrant in the World for Mischief and Homage!

Our good Fortune, or our better Constitution, has hitherto restrained us against our Will from running into all these Excesses of Distraction and Folly. But we have had our popular Idols too; wretched Idols, who could not furnish us from their Parts or Reputation with one Reason for our Stupidity in admiring them. Sometimes paltry and turbulent Priests, destitute of all Virtue and Good-breeding, weak and immoral Patricians, or loud and ignorant Plebeians have run away with our Reverence, without being able to merit our Esteem; without Religion they have been popular in the Cause of Religion, and contended popularly for Loyalty by Faction and Rebellion.

To every Reader, Instances of this Nature will occur within his own Memory and Observation. To name them with the other great Names abovementioned, would be an Honour too mighty for them, who were but small wicked Men, tho' greatly popular.

I have often remembered with Compassion, an unfortunate Great Man still living, but utterly ruined by his Popularity and false Friends. His Good-nature has been often mentioned, and is grown almost proverbial: Nor do I deny it; though by it he never served himself, his Family, or the Publick. On the contrary, it has proved his Failing and his Crime. If one was to enquire for the Causes of his Popularity in the Probity of his Life, the Piety of his Mind, his publick Abilities, private Oeconomy, or conjugal and domestick Virtues, they are Topicks upon which his Friends do not extol him: And for his Loyalty, take Loyalty
in

in what Sense you will, he will be found to have given preposterous Proofs of it, and to have been engaged in all the Depths of Rebellion and Perjury, and is still engaged.

From what has been said, it will not seem strange that some of the most popular Men in the World have been most mischievous in their Behaviour and Opinions. What fighting and burning has there been for Transubstantiation? what declaiming, damning, and rebelling for Passive Obedience! what fierce Contention, and how many foolish Arguments for Persecution! All which Opinions are a Contradiction to Religion and Scripture, an Affront to common Sense, and utterly destructive of all civil and religious Liberty, and all humane Happiness: Nor would any of them, or any like them, have ever entred into the Heart of any Man, unless he were first deceived, or found his Account in deceiving. But even Crimes, Contradictions, and Folly will be popular in a State, when they bring Gain or selfish Gratifications to those, who are in Possession of a Power to render Folly, Contradiction, and Crimes, advantageous to the pernicious Pursuits they are engaged in.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have in a former Letter to you, not long since, shewn the Rashness of Men in applying to one another the Judgments of God. I shall in this consider that Subject further, and endeavour to cure that prevailing and uncharitable Spirit.

Almost all sorts of Men pretend, in some Instances, to be in the Secrets of the Almighty, and will be finding out the unsearchable Purposes of his Providence; they will be prying into the hidden Things of God, and assigning such Ends and Motives for his all-wise Dispensations, as are only suitable to their own Weakness, or Prejudices, or Malice: They give him the same Passions that they themselves possess, and then make him love and hate what and whom they themselves love and hate: They are pleased with Flattery and Sounds, and provoked by Trifles and Names, and so they think is he. And as they thus sanctify all their own Doings, Affections, and Fancies with a Fiat and Approbation from Heaven, and belye and provoke God to make him their Friend; so they take it for granted that he is an Enemy to all their Enemies, and that therefore every Evil, or seeming Evil, that befalls their Enemies, or those they dislike, is a manifest Judgment from God, and a Justification of whatever they can do against them: So that God is
often

often made the Author of every Mischief which they themselves commit; but they that feel it, think more rationally that they are animated by a contrary Spirit.

God made Man after his own Likeness, perfect, amiable, merciful, and upright; and Men are bold and foolish enough to make God after theirs; and almost every one has his own, fashioned according to his own Temper, Imaginations and Prejudices. In this Sense they worship as many false Gods, as they have wrong Notions of the true one; and so in some sort *Politheism* does yet remain even in the Christian World. They only agree in calling what they worship by the same Name; but they conceive him in such a different Manner, they differ so widely about his Nature and Will, and either give him such contradictory Attributes, or do so contradict one another in explaining these Attributes, that it is plain they do not mean one and the same Being. Some make God hate what he certainly loves, and others make him love what he certainly hates; and all take it amiss if you think they own and adore any God but the true God. But let them think what they will, many of them still worship the old Gods of the Heathens, Gods that were delighted with Baubles, Shew, and Grimaces, and with Cruelty, Revenge, and humane Sacrifices.

From this mistaken and impious Spirit it proceeds, that when Calamities and Disasters befall others, especially those that differ from us, we call them Judgments, and say that the Hand of God is against them: But when the

same Evils or worse befall our selves, the Stile is changed, and then *whom God loveth he chastneth*; or if we own them to be Judgments, yet still they are Judgments upon us for other Peoples Sins.

Thus all the Misfortunes that happened to *Spain* for many hundred Years, whether they came from the Enemy or the Elements, were divine Judgments upon them for suffering the idolatrous *Moors* to inhabit that good Catholick Country; and therefore, like true Catholics, they brought the greatest Judgment of all upon it, by destroying and banishing that numerous and industrious People: And thus the bigotted *Pagans*, when *Alarick* King of the *Huns* sacked *Rome*, charged the Christians with being the Cause of that and of every other Calamity that befall the Empire: The Christians despised their Gods, and therefore their Gods, out of a particular spite to the Christians, afflicted the whole World with Miseries; and so Plagues, Wars, Hurricanes, and Earthquakes, which were Evils that had been in the World from the Beginning of it, and will be till the End, were, notwithstanding, all so many Judgments, occasioned by the poor Christians — Hence the Beginning of Penalties, Severities, and Persecutions against them; and thus the Christians came in Time to return the Charge upon the Heathens, to use the same Way of Reasoning, and make the like Reprisals, and with as little Equity, Truth, or Clemency: And thus, lastly, all Parties in Religion have ever dealt with one another.

We are commanded *not to judge, lest we be judged*; and we are told that *Vengeance is the Lord's*, and that *Judgments are in his Hand*; all which are to convince us, that we have no certain or probable Rule to apply God's Judgments by; and that the surest Rule is the Rule of Charity, *which wiskeeth all things, bepeeth all things*. The Good and Evil that happen to Men in this World, are no sure Marks of the Approbation and Displeasure of Almighty God, who makes his Sun to shine, and his Rain to fall upon the Just and the Unjust: Good Fortune and Calamities are the Portion of the Good and of the Bad; and if there is any Inequality, the Wicked seem to have the Advantage. The World had more People and Temporal Prosperity in the Times of Heathenism, than since its Abolishment; *Mahometanism* possesseth much more of the Globe than Christianity possesseth: and the Papists are more numerous than the Protestants are, and have greater and better Countries. The Apostles and Saints were the poorest Men in the World, and debauch'd Men are often uppermost, and thrive best; and as the Righteous are at least as subject to Distempers and Affliction while they live as the Wicked are, so the Wicked die with as little Pain and as few Pangs as the Righteous die.

That there is a Providence, and a gracious Providence presiding over the World, is manifest and undeniable; but how it works, and from what particular Motives, in a thousand Instances, none but the Author of it can tell, tho' almost all pretend to tell, and are for ever

diving into the secret Councils of the most High with as much Temerity as ill Success.

To the Discredit of this Practice, it is observable, that none but the fierce and uncharitable, the ignorant and narrow-spirited Bigots and Barbarians come into it or encourage it. Men of charitable and benevolent Minds, enlarged by Reason and Observation, condemn it as irreligious; they know 'tis often malicious and dishonest, and always ridiculous and dangerous; they know the Ways of God are past finding out; they see humane Affairs so perplexed and unaccountable; Men sometimes rising and sometimes falling, both by Virtue and Vice; such Vicissitudes and Revolutions in the Fortunes of Men and of Nations, often without any Change in these Men and Nations from Virtue to Vice, or from Vice to Virtue; People growing greater without becoming better, and poorer without growing worse: They behold Good and Evil so promiscuously dispensed; sometimes Thousands of Men, Women, and Children of different Spirits, Merit, and Morals, suffering equally under the same publick Calamity, or deriving equally the like Advantages from publick Prosperity; they behold the Adversity of some, the visible Cause of the Prosperity of others, who are no better than them; and the Prosperity of some the visible Cause of the Adversity of others, who are no worse than them; and one and the same Thing producing Good and Evil to those who alike deserve or do not deserve Good and Evil: They see so little Equity or Consistency in the Proceedings of Men; sometimes good Men exalted,

exalted, without any Regard had to their Virtue ; sometimes wicked Men cast down, without any Resentment of their Crimes ; sometimes good Men punished for being good, and wicked Men raised and rewarded for being wicked ; and sometimes both Good and Bad suffering or prospering alike ; sometimes good Fortune following the Good, and ill Fortune the Bad, and often taking a contrary Freak : — I say, wise and honest Men, seeing all these Things in this great Confusion and Uncertainty, find sufficient Reason to be afraid of making bold with Heaven, and of christning by the Name of its Judgments any of these Events and Evils that afflict any part of Mankind.

But Bigots, and they, who, to serve ill Ends, interest Heaven in all they do, deal more freely and profanely with their great Maker and Judge, whose Councils and Judgments being incomprehensible, it is Impiety and a Contradiction to go about to explain and apply them. The *Turks* make God the Author of every Thing they do, and of every Evil that others suffer from them. They measure his Will by the Event ; and, with them, whatever is successful, is lawful and just : The Murder of a Prince, or his murdering of others, is never sinful if it succeeds : God, they say, blesses and approves the Event, else he would prevent it. So that, upon this Principle, there can be no such Thing as Wickedness and Villainy amongst them ; for who knows but it may succeed, and then it is good ? or if it does not succeed, Who could foresee but it would ? This impious Tenet of that brutish People, arms them with

Pierce.

Fierceness and Outrage against one another, and all the World; it animates them to commit Rapine and Butcheries, and then fears their Consciences, and prevents all Remorse. Nay, they glory in executing Cruelty, because it is the Judgment of God, and they are his Agents.

I wish I could keep this dreadful Principle out of *Christendom*; but I am sorry to say, it is common amongst us. Whoever applies the Judgment of God to others, has this *Turkish* Spirit in him: And all Men that make such Applications, reason so foolishly, so falsely, and often so maliciously in their Defence, that every Instance that I have ever yet met with in all my Reading and Observation (except the declared Instances in sacred Writ) does expose them.

Upon the Murder of *Henry* the Third of *France*, by *Jacques Clement*, a *Dominican* Friar; the Deputy of the famous *French* League, then at *Rome*, tells the Pope, in an Audience given upon that Occasion, That the Assassin was chosen by God, and divinely inspired to murder his Prince; and calls it a glorious Exploit: And tho' that execrable and bloody Monk used all the Methods of Falshood, Lies, and Forgeries, to get Access to the King, in order to destroy him; yet the Deputy solemnly tells his Holiness, that it was notorious that the Thing came not from Men. The League distressed, resisted, and at last murdered their Prince: And all these their own wicked Doings, were forsooth the Judgments of God upon him, for suffering Heresy in the Land.

The *Hugonots*, on the other hand, made a Judgment of that Murder too ; but a Judgment on their Side, for his frequent Breach of Faith and Edicts with them, and for his Barbarities towards them. They said, it was a remarkable Providence of God, that he was assassinated in the same Chamber, where he had concerted the furious Massacre of *St. Bartholomew* — in the Chamber, nay, on the same Day, the same Hour, and on the same Spot ! Here are Judgments encountring Judgments ! let who will reconcile them. I think both Sides were sufficiently rash and ridiculous in making them, as are all those that do, whatever Side they are of.

The Conquest of the *Greeks* by *Mahomet* the Second, and their slavish Subjection to the *Turks*, is ascribed by the Jesuit *Maimbourg* to the Schism, which he says they were guilty of in withdrawing their Obedience from the See of *Rome*. Here, according to him, was the Judgment and the Cause of the Judgment. *Bayle* observes upon this Occasion, that *Rome* being taken by *Charles* the Fifth, in 1527, was as barbarously pillaged by his Troops, as was *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, when they took it : And he asks, Whether *Maimbourg* would take it well to be told by the *Greeks*, that that Desolation of *Rome* was a Judgment upon her for her Pride and Ambition, in demanding, imperiously, of the *Greek* Church, an absolute Uniformity and Obedience to her Discipline and Dictates ? He says, that *Maimbourg*, since he was dealing in Judgments, might have as well given this another Turn, with which *Chalcondylis* would.

would have furnished him. That Historian relates, that when *Mahomet* invaded and subdued *Greece*, the then Inhabitants of *Rome*, who thought themselves the Descendants of the old *Romans*, who came from *Æneas*, who came from *Troy*, asserted positively, that all the Destruction brought upon the *Greeks* by the *Barbarians*, was but a Judgment upon them for all the Ravages which their *Greek* Ancestors had committed against the Subjects of *Priamus*, and in the Destruction of *Troy* some Thousand Years before.

The Death of *Oliver Cromwell* was, it seems, attended or followed by a very high Wind, which was nothing strange: But as *Oliver* had been a Usurper, and a great Deceiver, and was greatly hated; most of the Vulgar, and many that would be thought much wiser, took it in their Heads, that that same Storm was a loud Judgment and Declaration of the Wrath of Heaven against him, and that *Satan* was fetching away his Soul in a Whirlwind. But his Friends turned it quite another way; and particularly *Mr. Waller*; who made all that Tumult and Bellowing in the Elements, to be partly the Call of Heaven, summoning away so great a Man, and partly the Sighs and Sympathy of Nature for his last Agonies and Departure. The Copy of Verses that *Waller* made on that Occasion, is one of the noblest in our Language; I shall conclude with a few Lines out of it—

*We must resign; Heaven his great Soul does claim,
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame.*

His.

His dying Groans, his last Breath shakes our Isle;
And Trees uncut, fall for his Funeral Pile.
New Rome in such a Tempest lost her King,
And from obeying, fell to worshipping.
Nature herself took Notice of his Death,
And sighing, swell'd the Sea with such a Breath,
That to remotest Shores her Billows roll'd,
Th' approaching Fate of their great Ruler told.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE Talent of writing History is so rare
 on this Side the *Alps*, and more on this
 Side the Channel, that I think most of our
 Southern Neighbours have far exceeded us in
 it; as much, perhaps, as some of the Ancients
 have exceeded them. By far the most part of
 our *English* Histories are pitiful Performances,
 unworthy of a free polite and learned Nation.
 But tho' many of our Neighbours excel us in the
 Histories of their own Countries, we can boast
 of two universal Histories, which do Honour
 to the Authors, and their Country. The first
 is Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, one of the worthiest and
 ablest Men, that this or any other Country ever
 produced. He had a Soul as vast as the Work
 he undertook, and his Work resembles him;
 for tho' it has much in it that is foreign to Histo-
 ry, it is noble, nervous, and instructive; it's
 Spirit, Clearness, and Stile, are admirable; and
 for

for Narration, Penetration, Knowledge, Sentences, and Observation, he has few Competitors in Antiquity.

The other is the very reverend, learned, and aged Dr. *Prideaux*, Dean of *Norwich*, who has given us a Body of universal History, written with such Capacity, Accuracy, Industry, and Honesty, as make it one of the best Books that ever came into the World, and shew him to be one of the greatest Men in it. No Book was ever more universally read and approved. It is indeed a great publick Service done to Mankind, and entitles the Author to the highest publick Gratitude and Honour.

But tho' I never saw any great Work to which I found fewer Objections; yet, as a memorable Proof how inseparably Mistakes and Prejudices cleave to the Mind of Man, the great and candid Dr. *Prideaux* is not without them; I therefore do not upbraid him with them, but rather admire him for having so few. There are however some of his Theological Observations, which seem to me not only ill-grounded, but to have a Tendency to create in his Readers wrong Notions of the Deity, and to encourage them to mistake the common Accidents of Life, and the common Events of Nature, for the Judgments of God; and to apply them superstitiously as such.

Of this Kind, is the Observation he makes upon the Death of *Cambyfes*, the *Persian* Emperor, who had slain the *Egyptian Apis*. For the better Understanding of this, we must know, that the chief God of the *Ægyptians* was *Osiris*; him they worship'd in the Shape of a Bull, and that

not only in Imagery, but also in Reality; for they kept a Bull in the Temple of Osiris, which they worship'd in his Stead. The Doctor adds, That in Imitation of this Idolatry, was it that Aaron made the Golden Calf in the Wilderness, and Jeroboam those in Dan and Bethel, and did set them up there to be worship'd by the Children of Israel, as the Gods that had brought them out of the Land of Ægypt.

When this the God and Bull of the Ægyptians died, they look'd out for another, with such proper Marks and Spots as were certain Indications of his Divinity; and when they found one, they expressed their Joy in great and publick Festivity. In such a Fit of rejoicing, *Cambyfes* found the City of *Memphis*, when he returned to it, from his unprosperous Expedition into *Æthiopia*. The Ægyptians had just then found a new God amongst the Cattle, and had lodged him at his Crib in his Temple with great Solemnity. *Cambyfes* had a Mind to see this Deity of theirs; "And, says *Dr. Prideaux*, "this *Apis* being brought to him, he fell into a "Rage, as well he might, at the Sight of "such a God; and, drawing out his Dagger, "run it into the Thigh of the Beast; and then "reproaching the Priests for their Stupidity "and Wretchedness in worshipping a Brute "for a God, ordered them severely to be "whip'd, and all the Ægyptians in *Memphis* to "be slain, who should be found any more "rejoicing there on this Occasion. The *Apis* "being carried back to the Temple, languished "of his Wound, and died.

As to the Death of *Cambyfes*, and the Manner of it, take it also in the Doctor's Words :
 " As he mounted his Horse, his Sword falling
 " out of the Scabbard, gave him a Wound
 " in the Thigh, of which he died : The *Egyptians*
 " remarking, that it was in the same Part
 " of the Body, where he had afore wounded
 " the *Apis*, reckoned it as an especial Judgment
 " from Heaven upon him for that Fact ;
 " and perchance they were not much out in
 " it : For it seldom happening in an Affront
 " given to any particular Mode of Worship,
 " how erroneous soever it may be, but that
 " Religion in general is wounded hereby ; there
 " are many Instances in History, wherein God
 " hath very signally punished the Profanations
 " of Religion in the worst of Times, and under
 " the worst Modes of Heathen Idolatry.

Without inquiring whether this be any Complement to Truth and Religion ; I freely own, that the distressing or disturbing of any sort of People in any sort of Worship, however false and ridiculous, where the same does not violate Property or humane Society, is an Invasion of the Rights of Nature and Conscience, and no Man can do it with a wise and honest Design : And what Men do of this Kind, out of Bitterness of Spirit or Self-Ends, no one will justify. If People will play the Fool in their Devotion, they only expose themselves, but hurt not others : and whoever does Hurt to them, does but warrant them to return it : And hence is the sure Beginning of Tyranny, and of eternal civil and religious War. Every Man reckons every Religion false or foolish, which he does
 not.

not embrace; and his own the best, tho' it be the worst. And if in this universal Obstinacy of every Man to every religious Opinion which he has imbibed, a Dispute by the Sword, and Arguments of Authority and Force, were encouraged, or but permitted, Confusion and Slaughter would be their chief Employment. Or if one Man's Will were to be a Law to other Men's Thoughts, the Effects would be every where alike; that is, the Stupidity and Slavery of *Turks*, would be the Portion and Character of *Englishmen*.

But I cannot think that the wounding of a Bull, even of a consecrated Bull, and the whipping of his Priests, were such Crimes as, beyond all the other Crimes of *Cambyfes*, called for the avenging Judgments of God upon him. He had others to answer for of a far more black, malignant, and detestable Nature: He put his Brother to Death for his Merit, and for a Dream that he had concerning him. He killed, by a Kick in the Belly, his beloved Wife *Meroe*, who was also his Sister, and then with-child by him, for lamenting the Death of her muder'd Brother. " He caused several
 " of his principal Followers to be buried alive,
 " without any Cause deserving of it, and daily
 " sacrificed some or other of them to his wild
 " Fury. And when *Cræsus* (formerly King of
 " *Lydia*, the old and faithful Friend and Coun-
 " fellow of his Father *Cyrus*) advised him against
 " those Proceedings, and laid before him the
 " ill Consequences which they would lead to,
 " he ordered him to be put to Death; and
 " when those who received his Orders, know-
 " ing

“ ing he would repent of it next Day, did
 “ therefore defer the Execution, he caused them
 “ all to be executed for it, though at the same
 “ Time he expressed great Joy that *Crasus*
 “ was alive: And out of a meer Humour,
 “ only to shew his Skill in Archery, he shot
 “ to Death the Son of *Prexaspes*, who was the
 “ Chief of his Favourites.” He caused the
 Magistrates of *Memphis* to be put to Death,
 for answering truly to a Question he asked
 them. In his mad March over the *Lybian*
 Sands, to invade a People that had done him
 no Harm, he destroyed most of his vast Army,
 Fifty Thousand in one Place, and the rest were
 reduced by Famine to feed on each other.

Which now is most likely, and most becom-
 ing the divine Wisdom and Goodness, that
 the great God of Heaven and Earth should be
 more offended with this black Catalogue of
 Cruelties and Crimes, than with a hasty Blow
 given to a Brute worshipped as God; which
 the Doctor owns had justly provoked the Rage
 of *Cambyses*? And is the Almighty more pro-
 voked at an Affront put upon an Idol, and upon
 the Attendants of an Idol, which falsely and
 impudently is made to represent him, than at a
 terrible and raging Tyranny, that spreads Blood
 and Desolation over the Face of the Earth?

Cambyses, upon his invading *Egypt*, did ano-
 ther Thing as bad as the wounding of *Apis*;
 I shall relate it in the Doctor's own Words:
 “ Finding that the Garrison of *Pelusium*, a
 “ strong Frontier Town, were all *Egyptians*,
 “ in an Assault which he made upon the City,
 “ he placed a great Number of Cats, Dogs,
 “ Sheep,

“ Sheep, and other of those Animals which
 “ the *Egyptians* reckoned sacred, in the Front
 “ of the Army; and therefore the Soldiers not
 “ daring to throw a Dart, or shoot an Arrow
 “ that Way, for fear of killing some of those
 “ Animals, *Cambyfes* made himself Master of
 “ the Place without any Opposition. For
 “ these being the Gods which the *Egyptians*
 “ then adored, it was reckoned the highest
 “ Impiety to kill any of them; and when they
 “ died of themselves, they buried them with
 “ great Solemnity.

The Doctor makes no Reflection upon this, though upon the same Principle, it must have been an Affront to Religion; and if none of these sacred Creatures were killed, it was owing to no Tendernefs in *Cambyfes*, who exposed them to so much Danger: But if true Religion is hurt by putting an Affront upon a false one, how came it to be a Merit in the primitive Christians to pull down the Heathen Temples, and destroy the Idols of the Heathens, as they almost every where did where they had Power, and often in Opposition to Power? And upon what Foot and Motive is it that Penalties and Incapacities are put upon any Sect of Religion in any Country? And how came the *Jews* to exercise such Fury upon the Gods and Worship of the *Gentiles*, as many of the *Jewish* Leaders, and especially the *Maccabees* did, often out of their own Country, and often without Provocation?

The Primitive Fathers are every where full of Sarcasms against the Heathenish Worship, which they treat constantly with Ridicule and Reproach,

Reproach, and Contempt and Bitterness: Did Christianity suffer by this Behaviour of theirs; or did not rather Christianity gain Advantage and new Beauties, by comparing it with the Absurdities, the Fopperies, Nonsense, Corruptions, and Vanities of the *Pagans*? Truth cannot suffer by exposing Falshoods, which can no more bear the Face of Truth, than Darkness can the Face of the Sun. No two Things are more unlike than true and false Religion; and the same Treatment can never affect both in any Respect, as the same Arguments cannot defend Truth and Error. Indeed, true Religion is defended and recommended by the very Means that expose and destroy a false one. I have therefore often wondered at a Saying of Mr. *Collier's*, tho' not that it was said by him; namely, That the Transition is easy from ridiculing a false Religion to the ridiculing a true one; or Words to that Effect. Than which nothing could be more unjustly said: They are as opposite as Law and the Violation of Law; as unlike as Justice and Oppression; and as different as *Christ* and *Belial*: How should the Worship of Dæmons resemble the Worship of the true God? And if they cannot be mistaken for each other, how can they be annoyed by the same Weapons? The Fathers were so far from such an Imagination, that in their Railleries and Reasonings upon the devout Fooleries of the *Gentiles*, they did not treat them with a-bit the more Reverence or Regard for their being established by a Law.

So much may serve to shew, that the true Religion can have no Sympathy with the False,
nor

nor suffer in its Sufferings. As to the Death of *Cambyses*, I do not see any Sign of a Judgment in it, unless every Death occasioned by an Accident or an Instrument, is a Judgment. Indeed every Disaster, before it can be called a Judgment in this Sense of the Word, must be proved a Miracle; and common Effects from visible and common Causes, as they are no Miracles, so neither can they be called Judgments, unless God, the Author of Judgments, declares them so, as he did not in the Case before us. Many a good Man has been killed in a more terrible Manner, as were all the Saints and Martyrs.

Now where is the Miracle of a Sword falling out of the Sheath, when a Man is mounting his Horse? And where was it more likely to fall than on his Leg or his Thigh? If indeed it had got out of the Scabbard of its own accord, and mounted up to his Head and cut it off, it might have looked like a Judgment; but yet I should have looked out rather for any Cause of it, than the killing of a deified Bull.

I am, &c.

The End of the Second Volume.





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