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C I C E R O :

With other

Examples and Reasonings, in Defence of just Measures against Faction and Obloquy, suited to the present Conjunction.

Si non dominaris, injuriam te accipere existimas?
Sueton. in Tiber.



L O N D O N :

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Clodius and Cicero.

IT will ever be the Fate of those who are high, in Station or Fame, to be the Mark of Envy to some that are lower: No matter for their Innocence, or Sufficiency, or Usefulness, or any superior Qualification or Talents; their Exaltation and Importance is Crime enough, where there is no other, and often the truest Reason for depressing them: Opposition to Power, is far from being a sure Proof of the Abuse of Power, as I shall soon shew; and the vilest, the most barbarous Abuses of it, are frequently popular and adored. How dear to the *Turks* is their pestilent Monarchy, and to good *Catholicks*, how sacred is the more pestilent Inquisition!

From these Considerations, I am led to think it no ungenerous Task to defend such as possess Power without abusing it; and to shew the Arts and Iniquity of causeless

Disgust and Opposition. The Examples which, for this purpose, I bring, and the Passages I quote, are related without Straining or Falsification, an Artifice which I scorn ; and did not want : I hope the Reasoning, from the whole, is just, as I am sure 'tis uprightly meant. I desire my Readers will excuse a few *Latin* Quotations, and not ascribe to Pedantry what I produce for Authorities. I will only add, that, in this Argument, I am guided by no personal Enmity ;! by no unkind Wish to any Man living ; and abhor all Methods of Slander : Nor am I conscious that these Papers, or any thing in them, is the Effect of any blameable Passion.

Malecontents, whenever they would declare themselves, must set out like hostile Princes, arm'd with Complaints and Manifestoes. Where violent Disgust and Opposition are shewn, some plausible Reason must be assign'd ; and, however selfish and narrow the true Motives be, Publick Zeal must be display'd on one side, and Publick Measures decried on the other. The Pride and Bitterness of Particulars would be little regarded by the People, and not at all felt. But Mismanagements in high Places, Abuse of Publick Trust, and Waste of Publick Money or Blood, are Evils truly popular and alarming.

Clodius, the disobliged and wrathful *Clodius*, who had sworn the Ruin of *Cicero*, the ablest Statesman and Orator in *Rome*, and her best Patriot, was not so weak as to own in his daily Invectives and Harangues, that so much Antipathy to his old Friend (for such had *Cicero* lately been to *Clodius*) arose from Personal Spite and Disappointment; tho' tis most true, that all his Zeal and Speeches had no honester a Source. *Clodius* had a better Expedient to satiate his Fury, without owning it. He profess'd a singular Attachment to the Honour and Interest of the People: Before Them he charged *Cicero* with exorbitant Measures, and shedding illegally the Blood of *Romans*. It was indeed Fact, that *Cicero* had shed some Blood; but it was to save the best Blood in the State, and the State itself, that he shed it: It was to suppress a Conspiracy the most barbarous and sanguinary that ever threaten'd *Rome*; I mean that of *Catiline*: Nor could it have been at all suppress'd, but by cutting off the chief Conspirators, who had agreed to set fire to the City in an hundred Places; to murder the Senate, and all the *Romans* they met; to raise an Army in *Italy*, and call in Foreigners.

So that the Faithfulness of this great Magistrate to his Trust, his Vigilance in his Post, and Love to his Country, were by this Malignant converted into so many Crimes.

Crimes. What is more surprizing ; this same *Clodius* had been one of *Cicero's* warmest Assistants in defeating that very Conspiracy ; yet blush'd not afterwards to accuse him, for using the only effectual Means he could use, for preserving the Being of the Government. Had this worthy Minister carried his Point any other Way ; had he saved the State by Dint of Money, he had been still obnoxious to the virulent Spirit of this Incendiary : *Clodius* would have found another Theme equally invidious, that of a corrupt Administration, and squandering the Publick Treasure. For *Clodius*, who had help'd *Cicero* to quell a barbarous Conspiracy against *Rome*, was afterwards resolv'd to form one against the Person of *Cicero*.

Methinks 'tis an Act of common Candour and Equity, due from every impartial Man, that, while he is trying Ministers and their Conduct, he do not forget to consider Malecontents and theirs : We should compare Acts of Policy and Power on one side, with those of Discontent and Opposition on the other ; and remember, that it is as natural to defend, as to attack. Why may not Zeal (if the Welfare of the State be the Drift and Spur of that Zeal) be as well placed in supporting an Administration, as in undermining and assaulting it ? Why are not extraordinary Means and Expences justifiable
for

for preserving a Settlement, when extraordinary Methods, and all Methods, are taken to embarrass and blow it up? Is it equitable and righteous to inflame, exasperate, and distress; but arbitrary and violent to appease, soften, and relieve? During the Rage and Tyranny of the famous *French* League, (who were a Cabal of Malecontents with a vengeance) it was but a Piece of natural Justice and Duty, to stand by the Court and support it; as it ever is, in every unjust Attempt to weaken it, and clog its good Counsels: At such a Conjunction, Patriotism is on the Court Side.

But, say some, have not Ministers their Tools to defend them? Yes; but why that ugly Name, when the Cause and the Defence are both good; and I speak of no other? It must be remembred too, that abusive Pens often engage officiously for them, without their Knowledge, and utterly against their Inclinations. But why are Tools restrain'd to Ministers only? Have not their Rivals, have not Malecontents their Tools too, and often railing, malicious Tools. *Clodius* had his, and they made no inconsiderable Part of his Forces, in his Attack upon *Cicero*: "He employ'd (says *Plutarch*) a Gang
" of scurrilous Wretches, on purpose to
" calumniate and revile him."

As Ministers are sometimes in the wrong, and their Opponents in the right; so their Rivals are often factious, unreasonable Men, and their Conduct criminal and barbarous, while the Measures of the others are necessary and upright. Was there any Comparison between *Cicero* and *Catiline*; any between *Cicero* and *Clodius*; or any between the great Cardinal *Richieu* and his vain Competitor *Cinqmars*? I have seen Complaints and Invectives pointed at particular Ministers, which would have served full as well against any Ministry, good or bad, at any Time. There are certain Evils and Inconveniences inseparable from Society, nay blended with the Nature of it, and often arising from the best Regulations which human Wisdom can invent, or human Frailty can bear: To domestick Evils foreign Evils will be often added, occasion'd by Wars and Competition for Dominion: Now 'tis an easy Task to a large Conscience, under any Administration, to amass together a terrible Catalogue of the whole, a Catalogue of heavy Grievances at home, of mortal Calamities abroad; and father all upon the Insufficiency, or Malice, or Ambition of Superiors.

Is a sudden Patriot offended with Men in Power? Instantly he's incens'd at their Measures; and because he is in Wrath, and too important to be angry alone, the
 People

People too must be inflamed. Do they pay large Taxes? It is owing to the Extravagance or Avarice of their Governours. Are they threaten'd with Wars? Their Rulers are faulty; their Rulers have provok'd foreign Powers. Are some of our neighbouring Potentates arming, and engaged in offensive Confederacies; and have we recourse, for Self-Defence, to the only means which can protect us; Arms and Confederacies on our Part too? This is decried and derided. Our Alliances are call'd unnatural Conjunctions, tho' such only as were left us to make, such only as can ballance the Powers combin'd against us: A formidable Detail is made of our Debts, that Detail is invidiously calculated and misrepresented; and, for the Comfort of our Enemies, our Insufficiency to oppose them, is, by these good Patriots, endeavour'd to be shewn. Sometimes, our Danger is represented as chimerical; sometimes, the Nation as utterly unable to encounter it.

Ask our Malecontents, would they not save the State? They will answer, Yes; and at the same time thwart every Step towards that End: They are for the Thing, but against every possible Means of attaining it. Ask them, are they for admitting the *Pretender*? No, they cry; and with the same Breath labour to frustrate all Measures for keeping him out; and even join with those who are for bringing him in. Is there any

new Turn in the Affairs of *Europe*, to make more Men and more Money necessary? They oppose the raising of either, and cry aloud, that we have enough of both already: Which would be very true, if we did not want more.

Such, in truth, is their Gall, that, rather than not discharge it, they contradict themselves and common Sense; risk the Honour, Security, and Being of the Government; sacrifice the Publick, to be reveng'd on its Governours; and act like *Coriolanus*, without his Provocation. A *French* Writer positively ascribes one of the late *French* King's Wars, to the virulent Devices of *Colbert's* particular Enemies at Court; who promoted so much Mischief to *France*, and all *Europe*, on purpose to distress that great Man in the Finances. They cared not what their Country suffer'd, so they could gratify their own Ambition and Vengeance, and ruin the Treasurer. Our angry Men seem instigated by the same Spirit, but descend to Assaults of the lowest Form, to ill-bred and unmanly Language, to combat with gross Abuse and Railing, the Arms of incens'd Monks and vulgar Women, and the sure Indications of a Genius, little, spiteful, and barren.

Are they displeas'd with any Man's Publick Conduct? Let them examine it: If it bears Examination, and appears fair; let them do Honour to Truth, and acknowledge
it :

it : Or, if they be not Masters of so much Generosity, let them, at least, forbear Scurrility and Reviling. Such Forbearance would be but good Policy in themselves : For, if they fall upon the Persons of Particulars, and descend to domestick Reproach ; if they shew Hearts manifestly inflamed, and apparently seek Personal Vengeance ; who will trust their Judgment and Censure of Men, whose Destruction they seem to have sworn ? Who will ever think that profess'd Accusers, or rather profess'd Executioners, are qualify'd for Judges, in a Cause too which they have already prejudg'd ?

This Service, however, they do to the Objects of their Wrath, that by recurring to Personal Invectives, they shew how little they are furnish'd with Matter of Publick Censure. The Maligners of *Cato* the younger, unable to blemish his Behaviour in the State, made Sarcasms upon his Humour and Dress : The Enemies of *Seneca* charg'd him with being very rich, over-assuming, and magnificent : And the Rabble of *Antioch* were taught by their Demagogues to droll upon the Emperor *Julian's* Beard.

Our angry Patriots take another Method too, which favours not much of Patriotism. They are not only tender of blaming the Conduct and imperious Demands of the *Emperor* and *Spain*, but assiduous to defend them, and to plead for them. All the Fault, it seems, is in the Ministry, who

have incens'd these Powers: As if the Ministry had in their keeping the Passions of foreign Princes, and were answerable for their Schemes and Caprices. To *Spain* they would not surrender *Gibraltar*; nor to the *Emperor* sacrifice our Trade: Had they done either, I know what they would have deserv'd, and so do the Malecontents: But because they would do neither, the *Emperor* and *Spain* are combin'd to destroy us, since we would not consent to be destroyed: And for these Resentments and Designs, we have those here who make their Defence, and charge the Ministry. They do, by the Ministry, as the late *French* King did once by the *Dutch*, declare themselves dissatisfied with their Conduct: It was all the Reason he vouchsafed to give for denouncing War against them.

In my Opinion, a greater Encomium cannot be given the present Ministry, than that *Spain* and the *Emperor* are very angry with them; nor a severer Satire be made upon the Enemies of the Ministry, than that every Opposition they give the Ministry, upon this Occasion, is an Encouragement given to the hostile Schemes of these Monarchs; nor, were they retain'd by these Monarchs, to serve them, could they serve them more effectually. He who clogs every Measure taken for our Defence against our Foes, does so far add to the Spirit and Strength of our Foes: A truth which poor King *William*
sadly

sadly proved, almost all his Reign. Could the then *French* King, could the late King *James*, and, after him, his pretended Son, have a greater Incitement to attack us, than that we had amongst us such as were ready to invite an Attack, by perpetual Clamours, and perpetual Contradiction to all Counsels taken for our Security?

In the Discovery of the late Conspiracy, how many plausible and popular Things were aliedg'd against the Bill for punishing the principal Conspirator, especially by the D. of *W—n*? Such, in truth, was the Advantage given to our secret Enemies, by that Opposition, and such was the Use made of it by false Friends, that it was no easy matter to punish him at all. That D— has since amply explain'd to all the World, with what righteous Views he made that Stand. Naturally frail and deceitful is the Spirit of Man; nor can he tell; when he lets loose his Passions, how far they will carry and transport him. The D— was bred in the highest Principles of Liberty and Protestantism; but private Disgust and disappointed Ambition, have precipitated him into the open Profession of Popery, and made him an Advocate for Slavery and the *Pretender*. I could mention a noble Lord of much more natural Virtue, whose Prejudices and Resentments led him away, Step by Step, from his old Friends and Politicks, so far, that, had he lived, no one could tell, nor perhaps could he
himself

himself tell, where his Defection might have ended : I say thus much of him, with the utmost Tendernefs and Reluctance, on account of the excellent Qualities and Endowments that were in him.

It is astonishing what shameless Cavils a selfish Passion is capable of making ! The *Pretender*, in his Manifesto during the late Rebellion, amongst other Reasons, for engaging all Men to desert the present Succession, and join with him, urg'd, that while all *Europe* felt the Blessings and Solacements of Peace, *Great-Britain* alone was suffering all the Rage and Miseries of War. He, and his Creatures, made that War ; yet the Administration was, by him and his Creatures, charg'd with it, and with the Evils and Consequences of it. It was a perverse thing in the Publick, and the Governours of the Publick, not to stand still and be enslaved. I wish this Reasoning were singular ; and am sorry to see it adopted now. Our present Equipment of Fleets and Armies for defeating hostile Machinations, is, with the same Candour, condemn'd and ridiculed by Men, who, by the Diversion and Opposition they make at home, encourage Insults and Hostilities from abroad.

The unnatural Conjunction of *Great-Britain* with *France*, so much at this time urg'd and decried, is a Bait for the Mobb, and a Subject for a Declaimer. *Spain* and the *Emperor* were once our Friends, and we theirs :
Must

Must we still continue Friends to them, when they commence Enemies to us? *France* was once, and often our Enemy: must we therefore refuse the Friendship and Aid of *France*, when common Peril threatens both, and renders the Union of both necessary? Is a War with *Spain* against our Interest? So is every War; where we can preserve our Honour, Independency, and Trade without War: But when we cannot preserve them in Peace, we must fight to preserve them.

Nothing is more usual than this changing of Sides, with the Change of Times, and the Situation of Things; nothing is more political. Queen *Elizabeth* understood the Interest of her State perfectly, and loved her People tenderly: Yet Queen *Elizabeth* engaged them in frequent Wars, and even contrary Wars; with *France* first, all the while that that Crown sought to dethrone her in favour of a Rival, or, if you will, a Popish Pretender*. She afterwards made Peace with *France*, nay, an Alliance with *France*, against the restless Designs and Ambition of *Spain*. This was a long War, and cost her much Blood and Treasure. But after she had sunk the Pride and Strength of *Spain*; after she had seen *Henry* the Fourth of *France* settled in Peace, and absolute Master of that great Kingdom; 'tis plain she began to grow jealous of him, and would not have consented to see *Spain* further reduced.

* *Mary* Queen of *Scots*.

But

But because *Spain* had been long the most formidable Power in *Europe*, under *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second ; many People continued to dread the Name after the Strength was gone. From that time forward, the Power of *France* began to turn the Scale, and *Spain* was become exceeding low ; yet was still uppermost in the Imaginations of Men who had not attended to the Change. *France* grew thenceforth terrible, but has since been reduced ; and *Spain* has revived : yet People are still alarmed with the Sound of *France*, which for a great while was wont to terrify them ; and they think *Spain* and the Emperor still very weak and contemptible, because some Years ago, they were really so.

But let their Condition be what it will, if they are resolved to make War upon us, we must defend ourselves by the Methods of War ; and accept such Assistance as we can find, tho' it were not what we could wish. No two States upon Earth have, either from Situation, natural Necessity, or the Nature of their Governments, more need of one another than *England* and *Holland*, or stronger Ties to mutual Aid ; and it would be Madness in either of them to attack the other : Yet if one of them were so mad as to make such an Attack, the other must be obliged to repel it.

But the Malecontents disbelieve, or seem to disbelieve, that the two Crowns have any such

such hostile Designs and Engagements. To prove this, and disprove the Evidence produced by the Ministry, they have recourse to Mirth, and quote old Songs : By such Reasoning and Authorities they hope to ridicule the Intelligence from abroad, because it comes transmitted through several hands ; tho' it is by such Intelligence only that any State can be first appriz'd of the Designs of any Enemy. How was the Gun-powder Treason discover'd ? Somebody told *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who told *Monsieur de Rbosni*, who told King *James*. Queen *Elizabeth* never saw the great *Spanish* Armada, yet was not mistaken in making powerful Preparations by Sea and Land to defeat it. Nor does any Jest or Ballad prove, that, in case of Apprehensions from abroad, a Prince should take a Voyage to be personally informed of the Movements of a Court which he has cause to suspect. In short, how is any Plot to be unravell'd, how any dark Design to be brought to light, but by Information convey'd from hand to hand ? How did most People know that there was a Rebellion in *Great Britain*, some Years ago ? Had they any other Intelligence than that of the *Gazette*, which came from the Printer's, who had it from the Writer, and he from the Secretary of State, who had never seen the Rebels ? I then met with some indeed, who seem'd not to believe it, and

snear'd at it ; but they were such as wish'd all Success to the Rebellion.

As a farther Proof that traditional Evidence may be valid Evidence, I will refer these free Jesters to a Book not many Years old ; 'tis *The Report of the Secret Committee*, for enquiring into the late Conspiracy. They will there find, that Hearsays, Reports at second and third hand, Circumstances, collateral Evidence, the Evidence of Decyphering, nay, the Evidence of a dumb Beast, pass'd for abundant Proof: They were, in reality, a Combination of Proofs, stronger and more convincing than the oral Testimony of two or three, or ten positive Witnesses. I dare say the *Committee*, who drew up that *Report*, firmly believed the Evidence which they had so well deduced ; and am satisfied that every unbiass'd Man was convinced by it.

When a Country is under the Terrors of an Invasion, will any one, who does not wish it, say that their Governours must stay for ocular Demonstration ? Must they proceed by Juries, and Commissions of Enquiry, to know whether a Tempest threatens the State ? The Commission given, upon Emergencies, to the great Magistrates of *Rome*, was general ; “ to provide that no detriment “ befall the Publick.” With ours 'tis a standing Direction and Duty ; if they omit it or abuse it, they are answerable : They must have their Eyes every where, all over *Europe*
as

as well as at home; they are to watch every Signal of approaching Storms and Commotions, to see Evil at a distance, and keep it there; and never suffer themselves to be surpriz'd. And 'tis an inhuman Hardship upon them, to be abus'd and insulted for their Vigilance; for doing what they dare not omit; to be reproach'd for making any Preparations, and arraign'd for their Lives, if they make none: For this is the Dilemma they are under, in danger from Friends and Enemies.

I know who would have thank'd them, had they taken no Precautions, and who are most enrag'd because they have taken so many. I am convinc'd that the *Spanish* and *Imperial* Courts are notably disgust'd; that so is the *Pretender*; that so are his Adherents: and that all of them think the Fleets and Treasure of *Great Britain* wrongfully and maliciously apply'd. I own too, that were I blinded by Ambition and Revenge, and resolv'd to overthrow the Ministry right or wrong, I should be most embitter'd by their best Actions, and justest Fame, as so many Obstacles to my angry Purposes, and so many Bulwarks to my Rivals. I should be apt to declaim against some Measures, ridicule others, misrepresent and oppose all, and see Malice and Folly in every Step they took.

An ill-natur'd *Athenian* honestly own'd his Malice, when being eager to ballot for the Banishment of *Aristides*, he gave for his only Reason, "That it stung him to the quick, to hear

“*Aristides* every where extoll’d with the Title of *Aristides* the Just,” without once denying him to be so. There are few such fair Adversaries as this spiteful Fellow; an Enemy more artful and less sincere, would have cloak’d his private Virulence with the Title and Pretence of Publick Zeal, nay, perhaps thought it so; for, what is blinder than Passion? Besides, as *Aristides* was Treasurer of the Common-wealth, what was easier than to charge him with abusing his Trust, and with overgrown Greatness, terrible to the State? In short, these were the very Crimes falsely charg’d upon him by his Emulator *Themistocles*, a Man of Parts without Justice.

We have for some time liv’d in a good deal of Calm; a Blessing which ’tis the Interest of every Minister to preserve, as ’tis their Merit to have preserv’d it so long; but ’tis a Blessing which no Nation can always expect, which no Ministry can always ascertain. Let our inward Disposition be ever so harmless, let our publick Conduct be ever so pacifick, we cannot, without the Consent of our Neighbours, secure lasting Tranquillity to ourselves. Our Peace is still the more precarious, if we have in the midst of us a Band of inveterate Foes to our Settlement, ever plotting against it, ever rousing the Ambition of Foreign Powers to destroy it, and strengthen’d by a Junto of Malecontents, who, with different Views, do the same Work, and encourage the same Designs.

Even

Even in the Movements of *Europe*, which are farthest from us, it becomes us not to be idle Spectators: We know not how far the Issue and Progress of them may affect us. The Interests of Christian Princes are strangely blended and intermix'd; and either through mutual Fear, or Trade, or the Necessity of a Balance, it so happens, that the Concerns of no considerable State can be indifferent to another. Hence we see Powers the remotest from each other engag'd in a Course of Commerce or Contention; *Spain* with *Muscovy*, *Great Britain* and *France* with *Poland*, *Denmark* with *Portugal*. A Fire kindled at one end of the City, will, without timely prevention, soon flame to the other: But when the Fire threatens us directly; when our Destruction is manifestly sworn and pursued; when Empires are combin'd against us, and the Train actually laid; after such dreadful Warning as this, to slight or deride any just Precaution, would be to invite the Ruin, and be the Sin of Self-murder.

King *James* the First was in Peace with the Empire, and *Spain*, and all *Europe*, when the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, was by the *Imperialists* despoil'd of his Dominions: Nor were there then any two or three foreign Powers leagued together, as now, against the Crown and State of *Britain*: yet was King *James* reproach'd and despis'd by all the World, as a miserable Politician, and Coward, for not drawing his Sword openly,
and

and repelling the insolent Encroachments of the *Emperor* and *Spain*. These Princes were engag'd in an active Combination to extirpate the Protestant Name and Liberties of *Europe* : They had already made a dreadful Progress, and went on pushing for universal Monarchy, till they were check'd and humbled by the glorious Efforts and Victories of the immortal *Gustavus Adolphus*, supported by the Subsidies and Arms of *France*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was, during the best part of her Reign, employing Fleets and Armies against the Pride and Insolence of *Spain* : and by them she baffled all his Designs upon her Throne and Dominions. That Princess concerned herself in every thing that was doing in *Christendom*, and by Men and Money and Mediation, always supported the weaker Side. But what avails the urging of Examples, when something much stronger than Examples is to be urg'd ; when the Law and Necessity of Self-defence calls upon us ; when the Choice is thus short, *Aut cita mors, aut victoria*, to resist, or be devour'd ?

In the business of an Invasion, or Conspiracy, (for they are generally link'd together, and doubtless were now) Incredulity is Distraction : It is impossible to be too hasty in Believing and Acting ; else a Nation may be enslav'd before they are convinc'd ; and as 'tis the Interest of the Foe to keep us altogether blind, 'tis ours to see rather too much than

than too little. Hence every Appearance ought to go for a Proof, or at least for a Warning; and the most trivial Evidence may prove the beginning of the strongest Evidence; since by a Word, a Look, or common Accident, the deepest Secrets may be traced and detected: As to a full Discovery, such as may satisfy every Man, it cannot be made but by the Event; and after the Event, what avails the Discovery? "It is the hard Fate of Princes, (said *Domitian*) that Designs against their Lives are never believed till they are executed." A great Conspiracy against a *Roman* Emperor was discover'd by the Servant of a Conspirator, from Circumstances only: He saw his Master extremely thoughtful; he saw him make his Will, and received Orders from him to sharpen a Dagger: Such Indications might seem easily ridiculed and refuted; and at first they were so, but by them the Plot was open'd.

I am far from meaning that such Proofs as I here mention, should be valid against the Lives and Properties of other Men; but only, that they are sufficient to arm us in defence of our own.

When in the late Queen's Time, we were threaten'd with a Descent from *Dunkirk*, and *North Britain* prov'd the Place first aim'd at; vehement were the Speeches and Complaints in Parliament and out of Parliament, that that Kingdom was utterly unprovided with Men and Arms, the Fortifications neglected,

lected, and destitute of Soldiers and Stores; as if the Country had been left purposely open to the Invaders. Hence severe Invectives, and terrible Insinuations against the Ministry, who, perhaps, were too secure; (for worse I will not suppose, tho' worse has been supposed) yet had it been mov'd in Parliament some time before, to put that Kingdom in a posture of Defence, for that the Ministry had good Grounds to apprehend an Invasion there: 'tis not unlikely the impending Danger might have been derided, the second-hand Proofs for it (for there could be no other) expos'd in Mirth and Song, and the Motion itself clogg'd with a Clause, *If the same shall appear necessary*. So that the Enemy's Fleet must have first appear'd upon the Coast; nay, to convince the Incredulous that they meant to land, they must have landed. And, when the Foe was in, you must have begun to prepare to keep him out.

I think the Designs and Danger from abroad, are apparent and well prov'd; and they who endeavour to turn publick Peril into Joke and Drollery, do only shew, that it is easier to strain for a Jest, than find an Argument in defence of a bad Cause, or to combat a good one. If Men, who are under the Impulse of Disaffection and Waggery, cannot conquer in a Dispute; yet, if they have Front enough, they can laugh as if they did: and insipid Laughing is the most unanswerable thing in the World; for 'tis too
impo-

impotent to raise an opposite Laugh : So that in this sort of Attack, the dullest Man is always sure to conquer.

When these kind of Wits are foil'd in their Assaults upon Publick Measures, they can still make a fresh one upon the Persons, and Names and Features of Publick Men,——
Que labra, quis illi vultus erat? I have heard of a Bishop, who in a Dispute having a good Cause, reason'd so shrewdly, that all the Arguments used to answer him were unavailing, except one: The Bishop luckily happen'd to be lame ! a tolerable Argument against the Man's Person, had it been first prov'd, that Bishops do any Episcopal Office with their Feet. It was happy for the *Jacobites* that King *William* had a Hawk-Nose, and the Title of *Orange* ; else much good Mirth might have been lost to that jovial Body of Men, for a whole Reign and longer.

If these Proficients in Drollery, would bear Reasoning, I would ask them what relation has the Size, or Figure, or Dress of a Man, to his Employment, unless his Employment be that of a Grenadier ? But a Passion for Jestings and Abuse must be gratified, whatever become of Sense and Reason, of Politeness and Humanity.

This sort of Behaviour, especially in Print, is so brutal and low, that to expose it, does it credit. I pass to other Considerations, the Topicks of popular Complaints and Clamour.

No Civil Institution was ever framed with such exactness and equality, as effectually to preclude all publick Grievances and Corruption. There is no fixing of Power and Property at a certain Stay and Balance ; and from the incurable Fluctuation of those, there will be always arising continual Changes in the Manners of the People, and in the Conduct of their Governours : There are many civil Maladies, which by no Man's Sagacity could be foreseen ; or, if foreseen, could by no Man's Prudence be prevented, and when establish'd, can by no Man's Virtue or Talents be remov'd, but must be left to Time and Accidents ; yet these publick Maladies, however unconquerable, are copious Themes for Malecontents, and rare Fuel for Faction.

Some publick Corruptions there are of that strength and prevalence, that, however shameful and pernicious they may be, they must yet be suffer'd to remain ;, lest by rooting them out, (if that be possible, as it often is not) greater Evils be introduc'd. Such frequently is the Situation of Things, and such the Malignity of Men, that Measures strictly virtuous would bring present Confusion and Ruin ; and where an endeavour to reform would overturn, Reformation is a Calamity. *Desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, Mores sunt ;* says *Seneca*, who was a good Judge.

Nothing was more naturally just, nothing more agreeable to the primitive Constitution
of

of *Rome*, than the Attempts of the *Gracchi* to check the Exorbitancy of the *Grandees*, and restore to force the *Agrarian Law*. But it was too late, it was impracticable, and it ended tragically. The Evil was grown too big for a Remedy ; it serv'd only to rend the City into civil Feuds, taught the Citizens to shed domestick Blood, and left their Minds more embitter'd towards one another. By it too the Nobility learnt only to wax more insolent and imperious.

The like ill Fate attended the worthy Pursuits of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, Kings of *Sparta* ; who undertook successively to remove the Enormities and Corruptions of their State, and reduce it again to the virtuous Equality and Form establish'd by *Lycurgus* : *Sed nocuit antiquus rigor & nimia severitas* ; The People were altogether corrupt ; and, where they are so, 'tis always dangerous, and often fatal, to impugn the Spirit of the People. The licentious Sports and Festivities of the *Roman* Populace, suited not with the Politicks of *Tiberius* ; *Sed populum diu molliter habitum, non audebat ad duriora vertere*, says *Tacitus*. They had been accustomed to such publick Wantonness ; and, as arbitrary as he was, he durst not curb them.

The first *Brutus* exterminated the Tyranny of *Tarquin*, and succeeded in founding a free Establishment ; for the Minds and Manners of the People were then pure and

untainted. Another *Brutus* slew a greater Usurper, but could not restore publick Liberty; because the People were utterly sunk in Degeneracy and Vice: What have avail'd all our sumptuary Laws; what all those against Gaming and Duelling; what those against Bribery? Only to demonstrate how much more Force there is in Luxury, and Vanity, and Avarice, than there is in Laws with all their Penalties, *Quid leges sine moribus vane proficiunt?*

Publick Frugality is an excellent Virtue; yet that Virtue, excellent as 'tis, was the Bane of the Emperor *Galba*, and involv'd the Empire in a terrible Series of Battles and Massacre. It is manifest, that with a moderate Largess he might have contented the Soldiery: This was what they had been long us'd to; and because he with-held it, tho' from the Principle of a virtuous Citizen, they murder'd him. Hence ensued a fresh Civil War, with all the tragical Train of publick and private Calamities that could possibly attend it. How many Lives, how many Millions, would a little Treasure distributed, upon this occasion, have sav'd! The *Romans* were then come to that pass of Sordidness and Venality, that they would not do their Duty; no, not save their Country without Lucre and Wages extraordinary. This was a melancholy Evil, but it was necessary; for without it the State could not subsist.

Galba weigh'd not thoroughly the Difficulties under a new Reign: A Cloud of Deserters, and Sufferers, some real, more pretended, all to be gratified, and many scarce ever to be satisfied, had their several Claims upon him: But he would part with no Money, and so lost his Life; and for a Legacy to his Country, left behind him, as I have said, a bloody War. There is no saving any Government without Expence, and often great Expence. *Res dura & novitas regni metalia cogunt moliri.* And such Expence, however necessary, is often attended with great Discontent and Murmuring: The People bear the Burden, and Demagogues inflame the People, and aggravate those Burdens. Hence the Difficulties of Governing to Princes and Ministers. *Livy* says well, *Fieri non potest ut princeps omnibus placeat, & non, vel justissime imperans, in multorum odia incurrat.* I have often heard them revil'd for their best Actions; and he knows little of Government, who does not know, that they are forced to do many things, which, however proper and righteous, they dare not avow, and however unpopular, they must not omit.

As great Men may be very innocent, consistently with much Clamour and Invektive against them; so their Misfortunes and Fall may be caused by no Vice or Mismanagement of theirs; nay, be caus'd by their Virtue and just Management.

Bitter

Bitter and loud was the Cry against the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*: His Grandeur, his Power, his Opulence, and raising his Family; his great Train and Dependants, and the great House he had built; his wrong Measures in Affairs abroad; his corrupting of Parliaments at home; were copious Topicks of Clamour and Reproach, loudly echo'd, and aggravated by his Enemies and Rivals: And against him a pompous Impeachment was prepared, of many enormous Articles. It appear'd afterwards, and it still appears, that he was a Minister altogether upright, and every one of the Articles altogether false; that he was a faithful Foe to Popery and Arbitrary Power (the Evils then thought to be impending) and a worthy Champion for *English* Liberty; nay, that he sav'd the Constitution from the most mortal Blow that could threaten it, a wicked Project for levying Money by the sole Power of the Prince; a monstrous Iniquity by his Honesty and Management prevented: And after all the invidious Cry and Display of his Wealth, he left not enough to support the Dignity of Peerage in his Family. His fiercest Accusers came afterwards into such Measures of Corruption, Power and Oppression, as Lord *Clarendon* detested, and during his Administration could never be accomplished.

Neither the Wealth nor Indigence of a Minister, is any Indication or Standard of his

his publick Conduct, of his Integrity or the want of it; and, in either Case, Faction and Ill-will can find a Handle to upbraid him. Is he necessitous? He only wants to fill his empty Bags: Has he already fill'd them? He did it corruptly; he did it out of the Blood of the poor People. Lord *Godolphin* was Lord Treasurer of *Great-Britain*, and rais'd no Estate; did this prevent Clamour, or stop the Mouth of Calumny? no; never Man had less Quarter. Lord Chancellor *Bacon* was very poor, notwithstanding his great Post: Did his Poverty secure him from the Stain of Corruption? No; he fell, indeed sunk under the Charge; and the Charge was probably just. Sir *Francis Walsingham* died exceeding indigent; Lord *Burleigh* very rich; yet were both excellent Ministers.

To oppose a Ministry for Oppression or Rapine; for Schemes that are calculated to bring Confusion, and for Designs upon publick Liberty; is virtuous and brave; 'tis Patriotism. But, when Liberty is well protect'd; when the Laws only are the Rule of Right and Wrong; when a Ministry can have no Interest repugnant to the publick Interest; none to embroil it, none to engage it in Wars, or to impoverish it; when no Demands are made upon the Subject but what the Law makes; and when extraordinary Expences are exacted and warrant'd by extraordinary Perils and Emergencies, at such a Conjunction as this, to fall upon the distressed, and

and weaken their Hands, when employ'd in Measures for preserving the State, and for frustrating the apparent Projects of publick and private Enemies— This is ungenerous and cruel; 'tis Faction bare-fac'd. *Quonam meo facto, says the great Roman Statesman, fieri dicam, ut nemo his viginti annis Reipublicæ fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quoq; indixerit?— Nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius : Omnes à me Reipublicæ causa laceßiti.*

F I N I S.





