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C A T O's
LETTERS

V O L. III.



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S I R,



SHALL bestow this Paper in considering what Dr. *Prideaux* says of *Brennus the Gaul*, his Expedition, Death, and Crime. This Man, at the Head of a great Number of his Countrymen, sent Abroad to seek new Habitations, passing through *Hungary*, *Illyrium*, and *Macedonia*, plundering, ravaging, and destroying as they went, at last invaded *Greece*, and "marched" on towards *Delphos*, to plunder the Temple "in that City of the vast Riches which were there

“ there laid up. But he there met a wonder-
 “ ful Defeat: For on his approaching the
 “ Place, there happened a terrible Storm of
 “ Thunder, Lightning, and Hail, which de-
 “ stroyed great Numbers of his Men; and at
 “ the same Time there was as terrible an
 “ Earthquake, which rending the Mountains
 “ in Pieces, threw down whole Rocks upon
 “ them, which overwhelmed them by Hun-
 “ dreds at a Time; by which the whole Army
 “ being much dismayed, they were the follow-
 “ ing Night seized with such a pannick Fear,
 “ that every Man supposing him that was next
 “ to him to be a *Grecian* Enemy, they fell upon
 “ each other, so that before there was DayLight
 “ enough to make them see the Mistake, one
 “ half of the Army had destroyed the other. By
 “ all this the *Greeks*, who were now come to-
 “ gether from all Parts to defend their Temple,
 “ being much animated, fell furiously on them;
 “ and altho’ now *Acichorus* was come up with
 “ *Brennus*, yet both their Forces together could
 “ not stand the Assault; but great Numbers of
 “ them were slain, and great Numbers were
 “ wounded; and amongst these last was *Bren-
 “ nus* himself, who had received several
 “ Wounds; and altho’ none of them were
 “ mortal, yet seeing all now lost, and the
 “ whole Expedition, which he had been the
 “ Author of, thus ended in a dismal Ruin, he
 “ was so confounded at the Miscarriage, that
 “ he resolved not to out-live it: And therefore
 “ calling to him as many of the chief Leaders as
 “ he could get together amidst that calamitous
 “ Hurry, he advised them to slay all the Wound-
 “ ed,

“ ed, and with the Remainder make as good a
 “ Retreat backward as they could; and then
 “ having guzzled down as much Wine as he
 “ could drink, he run himself through and
 “ died — The rest being to march thro’ Ene-
 “ my’s Countries, they were as they passed so
 “ distressed for Want of Provisions, which
 “ they were every where to fight for, so incom-
 “ moded at Night by lodging mostly upon the
 “ Ground in a Winter Season, and in such a
 “ Manner harrassed and fallen upon where-
 “ ever they came by the People of those
 “ Countries through which they passed, that
 “ what with Famine, Cold, and Sicknes, and
 “ what with the Sword of their Enemies, they
 “ were all cut off and destroyed: So that of
 “ the numerous Company which did first set
 “ out on this Expedition, not so much as one
 “ Man escaped the calamitous Fate of miserably
 “ perishing in it.

This is the Story of *Brennus*, which I have
 told in the Doctor’s own Words: Now follows
 his Reflection upon it: “ Thus God was pleased
 “ in a very extraordinary Manner to execute his
 “ Vengeance upon those sacrilegious Wretches,
 “ for the Sake of Religion in general, how
 “ false and idolatrous soever that particular
 “ Religion was, for which that Temple at
 “ *Delphos* was erected. For, to believe a Re-
 “ ligion true, and offer sacrilegious Violences
 “ to the Places consecrated to the Devotions of
 “ that Religion, is absolute Impiety, and a Sin
 “ against all Religion; and there are many
 “ Instances of very signal Judgments with which
 “ God hath punished it even amongst the worst

“ of Heathens and Infidels; and much more may
 “ they expect it, who having the Truth of
 “ God established among them, shall become
 “ guilty hereof.

If this unhappy End of *Brennus* and his Followers was a Judgment, as doubtless this reverend and worthy Author thinks, I cannot see why an Intention to pillage a stupid Idol of his useless Wealth and devout Bawbles, given and used for the Ends of Idolatry and Delusion, should be reckoned the Cause of it. I would be glad to know how any Part of Mankind would have suffered in their Religion or Fortune, tho' the Shrine and Temple of *Apollo* had been stript of all their superstitious and ill-got Finery? or, How God Almighty came to shew himself thus miraculously the Guardian of an Idol, set up to rival him, and to deceive the World by uttering oraculous Lies? or, How the taking away of those Riches that were acquired by belying God and deceiving Man, and employed for the Ornament and Support of a blasphemous Imposture, could be called Sacrilege or robbing of God, who was really robbed by an Idol of that only which he can be robbed of, divine Worship and Homage?

But because People are apt to be misguided and terrified by Words, especially by such as are applied to Devotion and holy Things, I shall here bestow some Reflections upon the awful Word *Sacrilege*, and shew that it is but ill understood.

Sacrilege, we are told by some, signifies the robbing or stealing from God any Thing which is peculiarly his. Now nothing can be stolen
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from God, nor can any Thing be concealed from him. Every Thing being his, it is as much his in the Hands of one Man as in the Hands of another ; for, let who will have the Use of it, the Property cannot be altered : God who has all Things, can never be put out of the Possession of any Thing ; and as nothing can be taken from him, so neither can any Thing be given to him, because all the World and every Thing in it is already his ; and it is absurd to imagine that any Form of Words, or Change of Place or Position, can enlarge or lessen his Property in any Thing. All that we have, we have from him ; and to return him his own Gifts back again, which we want and he does not, is no Compliment, nor any Part of Religion or of Reason : It is shewing our selves wiser than him, in setting apart for his Use those Things which he has graciously created and set apart for ours. Can we feed him ? or can we cloth, adorn or enrich him ? Can we build him a City to dwell in, or furnish him with Guards for the Security of his Person ?

Sacrilege therefore is either the robbing of Men, or no Robbery at all. And this Crime is greater or less, according to the Measure of Mischief done. To rob a poor Man of his Loaf, is a greater Crime, in *foro Conscientiæ*, than to rob a rich Man of an Ox : To rob a Man of a small Part of a Thing that is necessary to him, is a greater Crime, than robbing him of a great Superfluity ; and if I rob a Man of a Thing that will do him Hurt, I hope I do him less an Injury, than if I rob'd him of a Thing which does him Good. But if I take a

Thing which no Man has a Right to, I my self have a Right to it, by possessing it.

To apply all this to the Business of Sacrilege; if a Man takes away any of the Books, Vestments, or Utensils, made use of in Devotion, he only robs the Congregation, who must buy more; and many being more able than one to bear this Loss, the Offence, as to its Effects, is less than if he robbed but one Man. But if he takes away from a Heathen Temple, Plate, or hidden Treasure, laid up there, but not used; he indeed does an Action that he has no Right to do, but an Action that however does good to the World, by running into Use, that which was of none, or of bad Use.

Dead Treasure, first drawn from the People in superstitious Offerings, and then laid up in a Heathen Temple, and kept and used for impious and idolatrous Ends, but never to return again into the World, for the necessary Purposes of Life and Commerce, is the Plunder of Mankind; and the worst of all Plunders, because it never circulates; and People are greatly the worse for it, in Respect both of Soul and Body, but never can be the better. It is first taking from them, and afterwards denying them, the great and chief Means of Life and Convenience. He therefore, whoever he be, that takes it from thence, let him take it in what manner he will, does a better and more publick Thing, than he who keeps it there.

No Man can be robbed of a Thing in which he has no Property. Of this sort was *Apollo's* Wealth; and no body was robbed in taking it away. So that whoever takes away golden Images,

Images, or other dead Wealth, the Means and Objects of false Adoration, is guilty of no other Crime, than that of disturbing erroneous Consciences: Nor need such Consciences be much disturbed, since the Crime being committed without their Consent, they have no share in it. And therefore if such idolatrous Images, and such superstitious, useles, and pernicious Riches, be taken away by a lawful Authority, or in a lawful War, it is no Crime at all. So that in every Sense *Brennus* committed a greater Crime in plundering one Village, than he could have committed had he plundered, as he intended, the Temple of *Delphos*.

If *Brennus* had believed in *Apollo*, he sinned against his Conscience, in designing to rob him. But we do not know that *Brennus*, or those that followed him, believed thus. I do not remember that *Apollo* was the God of the *Gauls*, or that the *Druids* owned him: All Nations agreed not in worshipping the same Gods, but often disputed about the Quality, Birth, and Precedence of their Gods. And if *Brennus* despised or disregarded *Apollo*, he committed no Sacrilege; at least with respect to himself, it was no Sacrilege, but only Rapine; but if, believing in him, tho' an Idol, he would have sinned in pillaging him, as doubtless he would, here is an Argument, that a good Conscience may be an erroneous Conscience; and that if no Man must act against his own Conscience, tho' it be erroneous, as doubtless he must not, then much less has any other Man whatsoever a Right to punish or distress him for it. If God approves, who is it that condemns?

And none but God knows the Heart of another.

If *Brennus* had worshiped *Apollo*, he was guilty of Idolatry, in the Opinion of all Christians: And if he had robbed him, he was guilty of Sacrilege in the Opinion of most. Now we hear of no Judgment falling upon those that worshiped *Apollo*, and supported that Idol with superstitious Donations; all which was Idolatry. And is Idolatry, which God has declared abominable in his Eyes, a less Sin than robbing an idolatrous Temple; which Action God has no where declared a Sin? The good Kings of the *Jews* destroyed all Idols and idolatrous Temples, wherever they had Power; and the Wrath of God was kindled against all that did not. If it was therefore a Sin against the true God, not to destroy them; How came it to be Sin only to rob them?

I think all this is enough to shew, that an Intention to plunder *Apollo* of his idle and unhallowed Wealth, was not the probable Cause of any Judgment upon *Brennus* and his Followers: But if there must be a Judgment in the Case, there were Reasons for it, much more powerful, and much more likely to provoke God to send it. He was a wild and barbarous Robber, at the Head of an Army of Savages, who cruelly ravaged many Nations, made Spoil of all Mens Property, and inhumanely massacred those that defended their own. They were Invaders, Plunderers, and Murderers, who by Numbers, Barbarity, Rapine, and Slaughter, laid waste whole Countries, and destroyed, unprovoked, Men and Property. In
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this general Pillage, they had already pass'd through and desolated *Hungary, Illyrium, Macedonia,* and were now got into *Greece*. Was not here Guilt enough to call down a Thousand Judgments? And after all this bloody and brutish Violence done to the World, and to the Laws of God and Man; Can we imagine that these *Gauls* suffer'd that terrible Doom for barely intending a Thing, in which neither God would have been dishonour'd, nor Man injur'd? At least in any Degree of Comparison, with the least of the other great and terrible Calamities, which they suffer'd from these destroying *Barbarians*?

I shall now add something more particularly concerning the wretched End of these *Gauls*, and enquire how far it can be reckon'd a Judgment. And here I am of Opinion that either every Calamity, Publick or Private, must be accounted a Judgment; which Doctrine, I believe no Man holds; or else we must determine, by what Marks we can know a Judgment from a Calamity: Nor do I know of any sufficient Marks to direct us in this Matter, but an immediate Miracle, and Declaration from Almighty God, that he means it so: And in such a miraculous Declaration, the Crime must be expressly specified, for which such Judgment is inflict'd; because for every Crime Judgments are not inflict'd, nor always for the latest Crimes; but sometimes overtake the Sinner, long after the Sin is committed. All this I take to be self-evident. We must remember that Men, biass'd by Passions and Prejudices, do often confound Good and Evil, and mistake the

the greatest Wickedness for the greatest Merit; and the highest Merit for the highest Wickedness: Publick Massacres have been applauded, publick Incendiaries have been fainted, and publick Tyrants deified. While on the other Side, publick Virtue has passed for a publick Crime, Truth for Blasphemy, and Christianity has been rewarded with Fire and Sword. So that Men thus Blind and Perverse, do frequently entitle Vice to the Blessing and Favour of God, and Virtue and Merit to his severest Judgments.

Wherever therefore, there is a great Complication of Crimes, and sometimes of great Crimes, How can we distinguish for which of them the Judgment is sent, unless he that sends it declares the same? If he sends it for more Crimes than one, How shall we distinguish where he, who only can, does not? And if the Judgment is sent for one Sin only, by what certain Token can we discover it? If one Man hurts or obliges Twenty, in Twenty different Ways; robs one, steals from another, deceives a Third, calumniates a Fourth, wounds a Fifth, bears false Witness against a Sixth, and so on till he has as many Enemies as Crimes, and afterwards dies by a Disaster or the Law; every one of the Twenty will be apt to call it a Judgment, and a particular Judgment, for the particular Offence done to himself. Now where is the Rule, by which certainly to know either that this Man's Death was a Judgment, or to find out the certain Crime that brought it upon him? Or is ever such a Rule like to be found, as long as all Sorts of Evils befall all Sorts of Men?

As to the Thunder, Lightning, Hail, and Earthquakes, that destroyed so many of the *Gauls*; were they not the usual Operations and Effects of Nature? And have they not been from the Beginning? Have not whole Cities and Countries been destroyed by them? And has not their impartial Fury been felt by the Good and the Bad, without Distinction? In destroying Storms by Land and Sea, are the Wicked only overtaken? And do not the Virtuous perish undistinguished with them? And are not just Men, going upon just Expeditions, frequently overwhelmed by them? And do not wicked Men, in wicked Enterprizes, often escape them? When an impetuous Shock of an Earthquake overturns a City, or opens a devouring Chasm to swallow it up; Do the Dwellings of the Righteous remain unmoved, and their Persons unhurt?

Nor is it at all wonderful or uncommon, that this ignorant Multitude, dismayed by so many and so alarming Misfortunes, thus suddenly checked in their Progress, at a great Distance from Home, beset with Enemies in an Enemy's Country, unskilled in the Phœnomena of Nature, suffering many Calamities, and dreading more, fell into a Pannick; and having lost their Senses, attacked one another, by a Mistake, in the Dark. Whole Armies have fallen into the like Terror upon the Sight of an Eclipse: And the same unaccountable Fear, but without the same Effect, seized the victorious *Macedonian* Army of *Alexander the Great*, the very Night before they fought one of the greatest and most successful Battles. And we have still

a much later Instance at Home: At the Battle of *Naisby*, King *Charles* the First, who was in it, being pressed by some of his own People that were behind him, bid them keep back; which Words being repeated by others to those next them, and by these to others, the Word *back* was caught up, and run from Man to Man through all the Ranks, and understood as a Sign to fly; and accordingly the Royal Army fled, and the Field was lost. And thus a Chance-word threw a whole Army into a Panic. None of the Royal Party have yet told us, that this was a Judgment upon that King and his Cause; nor, I dare say, would they have believed the other Party, had the other Party alledged that it was.

Considering all these Calamities and Losses suffered by the *Gauls*, and the Consternation they were in, I suppose there was no great Miracle in their being vanquished by the *Greeks*, who were now come together from all Parts, to fall furiously on a defeated Enemy. And as small is the Wonder of *Brennus's* killing himself: He was a resolute Man, and took that Method to cure himself of that Grief and Disappointment which he could not bear, and to preserve himself from falling alive into the Hands of his Enemies, to whom he had given a Right of using him very ill.

Neither is it any thing surprizing that the rest, being to march through Enemies Countries, were, as they passed, so distressed for want of Provisions, which they were every where to fight for; so incommoded at Night by Lodging mostly on the Ground in a Winter Season, and in such a manner
harrassed.

harrassed and fallen upon whenever they came by the People of those Countries through which they passed, that what with Famine, Cold, and Sickness, and what with the Sword of their Enemies, they were all cut off and destroyed. All this Misfortune is thus fairly accounted for, and the Thing is not uncommon. The whole Nation of the Cimbri were destroyed in much greater Numbers, when they left their old Habitations in quest of new; though it does not appear that they intended to rob Temples. And yet Xerxes destroyed and plundered all the idolatrous Temples in the East, except that of Diana at Ephesus, without thriving the worse for it.

They were all cut off and destroyed! for which plain, natural, and necessary Causes are assigned; and yet it was a Judgment! Surely this is strange and unaccountable. Doubtless there were Degrees and great Difference of Guilt and Innocence amongst Brennus's Followers; and why should they who were not all equally guilty all equally suffer? Why should Subjects and Soldiers be punished for the Sins of a Prince or a General? Soldiers are often press'd into the Service, and rarely or never know the Reasons of the Commander's Orders; and it is Mutiny and Death to disobey him. And Princes often run into wild Wars, without the Consent of their Subjects, and against their Interest; and yet if their Subjects oppose them in it, they are guilty of Resistance, which is reckoned Rebellion, a very terrible and crying Crime, to which the Judgment of God has been pronounced due: And yet the Judgments
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of God, which sometimes fall upon Princes for an unjust War, fall also upon their Subjects, who were utterly guiltless of it. What strange Doctrine is this? that every Man in a Nation shall suffer for the Sins of one Man, whom they could not restrain; or that any Man shall suffer for the Crimes of another? And that the best Men in an Army or a Nation shall bear the Calamities inflicted upon them for the Sins of the worst; as if it were a Crime in a good Man to live where his Lot has cast him, without his own Consent, next Door to a wicked Man, or within Ten Miles of him!

This Paper, which I could make much longer, grows already too long. I shall conclude with observing, that we either apply God's Judgment at random, without his Authority; always in Opposition to his Commands, and, for ought we know, as often contrary to his Ends and Intention; or we do it out of Prejudices to Men and Opinions: And by this we give Advantage to Infidels and Men of no Religion, to reproach us with Presumption upon our own Principles, in meddling with the secret Councils of God, in confounding his Mercy and Justice, and making him act capriciously, and in confounding one Religion with another, the Good with the Bad, as if we thought them all alike. Let us give no more ground for this Reproach; and as a Specimen of our Candour and equitable Judgment, let us own, in the Instance before us, that the Liberty, Prosperity, and Peace of the World, and amongst the rest, the Liberty of Greece, were Things somewhat
more:

more sacred and inviolable than *Apollo's* consecrated Bawbles.

I am, &c.

P. S. The Story about King *Charles*, I relate upon Memory, and may mistake in Names or Circumstances.

S I R,

I Have more than once complained in these Letters, that the best Things being most abused are capable of doing the greatest Harm: Nor is it a new Observation, whatever new Occasion there may be, at all Times to repeat it. Men have been ever deceived by good Names into an Approbation of ill Things, sanctified by these Names. Imposture and Deceit have been called Religion, and thought so; Oppression and Rapine have been called Government, and esteemed Government. Teachers have degenerated into Deceivers, Submission into Slavery, Taxation into Plundering, Protection into Destruction, and Magistrates into Murderers; without changing their Names: Power and Right have been ever confounded; and Success, or the want of Success, has turned Villainy into Virtue, and Virtue into Villainy.

Hence it is that little Crimes and small Criminals have been detested and punished, while great Malefactors have been generally revered and obeyed; and that little Rogues have
been

been called Thieves, and hanged; and great Thieves have been stiled Conquerors and Princes, and sometimes have been deified. Your *Alexanders* and *Cesars* were only Felons above the Gallows, and so have been many others of much less Figure than they. Great Crimes protect themselves, and one another; so that, in effect, Crimes are not always punished because they are Crimes, but because they are not mighty Crimes; nor in the inflicting of Punishments, has the Offence or the Offender been considered, but only the Figure of the Offender; who if he was poor and necessitous, has been put to Death; if great and ambitious, he has been protected or preferred. And thus it is, that Halsters and Garters, Axes and White Staves, Palaces and Dungeons, have been often miserably confounded and misplaced.

Thus are the Boundaries and Distinction between Good and Evil almost lost in the World. To illustrate this in every Instance that deserves Illustration, would be to write a Folio instead of a Letter; at present I shall confine my self to the Consideration of false Honour, which has done much more Mischief to Mankind than ever real Honour did Good, as it is more conducing to the little personal Gratifications and the crooked Self Ends of particular Men.

True Honour is an Attachment to honest and beneficent Principles, and a good Reputation; and prompts a Man to do Good to others, and indeed to all Men, at his own Cost, Pains, or Peril. False Honour is a Pretence to this Character, but does Things that destroy it: And
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the Abuse of Honour is called Honour, by those who from that good Word borrow Credit to act basely, rashly, or foolishly.

A Man cannot act honourably in a bad Cause. That he thinks it a good Cause, is not a good Excuse; for Folly and Mistake is not Honour: Nor is it a better Excuse that he is engaged in it, and has pledged his Faith to support it, and act for it; for this is to engage his Honour against Honour, and to list his Faith in a War against Truth. To say that he is ashamed to desert it, is to say that he is ashamed to do an honest Thing; and that he prefers false Shame to true Honour; which engages the Man that possesses it to hate and break all criminal Engagements. If a Man enters into a Party or Society, because he thinks it an honest Society, is he obliged to continue in it, when he finds it a Society of Knaves? And does his Honour oblige him to be a Knave too, or to desert those that are Knaves? Or, does a Robber who leaves the Gang, violate his Honour, which was only an Obligation to rob?

A good Conscience, an honest Heart, and clean Hands, are inseparable from true Honour; nor does true Honour teach any Man to act against his Judgment. It must be convinced before it acts, and meer Authority has no Weight with it. In humane Matters, it does not consider what is commanded, but what ought to be commanded; and before it executes an Injunction, it enquires whether the same be rational and just. When superior Orders are unjust, the Honour of Obedience is taken a-

way;

way ; for Honour is not the Instrument of Evil ; it is therefore false and pretended Honour to execute and vindicate a bad Action by an unjust Command. Indeed no Command of any Consequence ought to be obeyed, but what is or ought to be Law, and is not forbidden by any Law.

But this is only Reasoning, which has but little Force with Men when it combats their Interest and worst Passions. To them therefore who follow the Guides of Gain and Ambition, what I have here said is not addressed ; but to those who, contrary to their Interest, follow and approve others whose only Principle is Interest.

False Honour has more Power over Men than Laws have ; and those who despise all the Ties of Laws, and of Religion and Humanity, are often very exact in observing all the fantastical and wicked Rules of false Honour. There are no Debts so punctually paid as those contracted at Play ; though there are express Laws against Play, and against paying of Money won at Play ; nay, 'tis penal to pay such Debts. And yet those that are thus exact in paying to their own Ruin, and in Defiance of Law, whatever Debts they contract to avowed Sharpers, who live by cheating and picking Pockets, and are the Destruction of Families, and a publick Nuisance ; I say, those Men thus exact in Unrighteousness and their own Wrong, shall run in Debt to honest Tradesmen, without any Purpose of paying them, and unconcerned see them broke, imprisoned, and undone for want of such Payment. So lawlessly just
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are they to Rogues that ruin them, and so barbarously unjust to industrious and credulous Men, who feed and cloath them.

Is this Honour! What Dupes are we to Words and to our own Vice and Folly! It is but small Comfort to us that this voluntary Madness prevailed of old amongst our barbarous *German* Ancestors, of whose distracted Propensity to Gaming *Tacitus* gives us this astonishing Account: *Aleam sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo Factû, de libertate & de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit, quamvis junior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re pravâ pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant.*

“ Gaming is one of their most serious Em-
 “ ployments, and even sober they are Game-
 “ sters! To this rash Vice they are so violently
 “ addicted, that when they have wantonly lost
 “ all, they have not done, but desperately
 “ stake their Liberty and their Persons upon
 “ the last Throw. The Loser goes calmly in-
 “ to Bondage; and, tho’ the younger and the
 “ stronger, suffers himself tamely to be bound
 “ and sold by him that wins. Such is their
 “ vicious Perseverance in Folly! they them-
 “ selves call it Honour.

Our modern Gamesters do not indeed go quite this Length; they only sell themselves, with their Families and Posterity to Beggary: For as to their Bodies, No-body will stake any thing against them. But in Point of Honour, in Gaming, we still retain the Strictness of these our polite Ancestors at Play, and gene-
 rously

roully pay to the last Morsel of Bread, and venture Famine rather than a Dun from one that has foil'd us at the Art of picking Pockets — As to other Duns, honest and necessitous Duns, we matter them not; and Debts of real Honour and Conscience, do not at all touch our Honour.

Thus is Honour set up against Virtue and Law. Good Laws not executed are worse than none, and only teach Men to despise Law; whereas Reverence and Obedience go together. No Law will or can ever be executed by inferior Magistrates, while the Breach of it is openly encouraged by the Example of superior. Does any Man think that the best Laws, even inspired Laws against Duelling, would have any Effect, if there was at the same Time a Duelling-Office kept open at *St. James's*? The Example of those that should execute Laws, or see them executed, is stronger than the Authority of those that make them. The Example of *Vespasian* did more towards the Restraint of Luxury, than all the sumptuary Laws of *Rome* could do till his Time. *Precipuis adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit. Obsequium inde in Principem, & emulandi amor, validior quam pena ex legibus & metus.* “*Vespasian* was himself a special Instance and Author of Temperance and Frugality. From hence grew in the People a Reverence for the Example of the Prince, and an Emulation to conform their Manners to his — a Tie much stronger than the Dread of Laws and all their Penalties.

It is moreover become a mighty Piece of Honour to repair one Crime by another, and a worse ; and when one has done you an Injury, he must, by the Rules of Honour, fight to defend it. Having affronted or harmed you contrary to Justice and Honour, he makes you Satisfaction by taking away your Life, according to the Impulses of true Honour ; so here is a War of Honour against Honour and Justice, and common Sense.

Another Piece of Honour is an Adherence to Error, after Conviction, and not to change a bad Religion for a better. To have been born in a certain Faith, is just as good Sense as to have been born a Lawyer or Mathematician ; and yet that same is often the best and truest Reason against Change ! And therefore we often adhere against all our Reason, to what others said or did for us without our Consent, and when we had no Reason. Because perhaps some People promised for us when we were a Day old, that we should Forty Years afterwards and all our Life, count Beads, worship unfavoury Bones, be governed by Deceivers, and believe Contradictions : Are we therefore obliged to do all this, though we find 'tis against all Religion ? Must we be Hypocrites, because our Ancestors were Fools ? Are old Falshoods and Fooleries the Standard of our Honour ? Are we never to mend a wretched Condition, and never to make use of our Conscience ? If so, then here is a War of Honour against Conscience, a War of Faith against Belief, and a War of Religion against Perswasion !

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Another Piece of false Honour has sometimes been that of serving a Prince at the Expence of one's Country, though the serving of that Country was the only Duty and only Business of the Prince, and of every Man in Office under him. But this, though a Truth as self-evident as any in the Bible, has been so little understood or practised, that the wicked Execution of impious Engagements made to a Tyrant, against those made to Society, has been called Honour. And it has frequently been the Honour of a Courtier, to execute all the ill Purposes of a Court against his Country. And here was the War of Honour against Duty.

The Honour of a Party is to adhere to one another right or wrong; and though their Chief be a Knave and a Traytor, their Honour is engaged to be honest to him in all his Rogueries and Treason. And this is a War of Honour against Honesty.

The Honour and *Bonâ fide* of some Princes, have been of that odd and unprincely Contexture, that they were never once restrained by the same, from deceiving, plaguing, invading, robbing, and usurping upon their Neighbours; and doing Things which would have entitled a plain Subject to the Gibbet. Their Honour seems to have been deeply concerned to have no Honour: And though their Faith was engaged to protect their Subjects; yet their Honour, on the other side, was engaged to pillage and enslave them. And here grew the Royal War of Honour against Faith and Equity!

How many peaceable Nations have been robbed, how many Millions of Innocents butchered, out of mere Honour, princely Honour! This Honour is indeed so wild, mischievous and extravagant, that Words, the most warm and significant Words, fail in describing it. I shall therefore subjoin a few Instances of its Spirit, and conclude.

His Grace, *Villiers*, first Duke of *Buckingham*, engaged his Country in Two mad Wars at once with the Two greatest Powers in *Europe*, because his Honour had suffered a Rebuff in his Attempts to debauch Two great foreign Ladies. *Europe* was to be embroiled; Lives, Treasure, and the Safety of Kingdoms to be risked and thrown away, to vindicate, forsooth, his Grace's debauched Honour!

Cambyfes, to revenge an Affront put upon his Father many Years before by an *Aegyptian* King, in the Business of sending him a Wife, involved the World in a Flame of War; and at the Expence of perhaps a Million of Lives, and the Destruction of Kingdoms, did at last heroically vindicate his Father's Honour and his own, upon the Bones of a dead King, whom he caused to be dug up, and after many Indignities cast into the Fire.

White Elephants are rare in Nature, and so greatly valued in the *Indies*, that the King of *Pegu* hearing that the King of *Siam* had got Two, sent an Embassy in Form, to desire one of them of his Royal Brother, at any Price: But being refused, he thought his Honour concerned to wage War for so great an Affront. So he enter'd *Siam* with a vast Army, and

with the Loss of Five Hundred Thousand of his own Men, and the Destruction of as many of the *Siameses*, he made himself Master of the Elephant, and retrieved his Honour

Darius (I think it was *Darius* the *Mede*) found his Honour concerned to chastise the *Scythians* for having invaded *Asia*, a Hundred and Thirty Years before; and lost a great Army to vindicate his Honour, which yet was not vindicated; that is, he missed the white Elephant. For,

In short, Honour and Victory are generally no more than white Elephants; and for white Elephants the most destructive Wars have been often made. What Man free, either by Birth or Spirit, could, without Pity and Contempt, behold, as in a late *French* Reign he frequently might behold, a Swarm of slavish *Frenchmen*, in Wooden Shoes, with hungry Bellies, and no Clothes, dancing round a May-pole, because their *Grand Monarque*, at the Expence of a Million of their Money, and Thirty or Forty Thousand Lives, had acquired a white Elephant, or in other Words, gained a Town or Victory?

Instances are endless, or else I could name other People, who have employed themselves several Years in catching white Elephants by Sea and Land; but I am in haste to conclude.

I am, &c.

To CATO.

S I R,

TH^O' Love, abstracted from Marriage, is a Subject too low for a Statesman, a Politician, and I might add a Philosopher; yet as it relates to that Holy State (as our Church is pleased to call it) it is worthy the greatest Notice; for though many take upon them to ridicule all lawful and honourable Love, and Marriage, which crowns and proves it, yet I will venture to affirm there is hardly any Person lives a long Life without at some Part of it desiring to enter into that State: It is like Religion implanted in our Natures, and all Men have a Notion 'tis the Way to Happiness, though all don't practise it: The Reasons of this Want of Practice are many; besides the Degeneracy of humane Nature, the Imperfections of both Sexes make them afraid of so close an Affinity; the Want of Constancy in the Male Sex, and above all, the Love of Money in both, is the greatest Scandal and Hindrance to this most Honourable State in Life.

I cannot excuse either Sex (though by this Time, both from my Subject and handling of it, you will guess me to be of the weakest) from this last Vice, the Love of Money; and I might add to it Ambition; for it seems to me grown the Rule of Marriage, there being

few Alliances contracted of late Years, but where this is the chief Motive on the Man's Side, and almost so on the Woman's: No Wonder the Ladies should have catch'd the Vice; for when a Woman finds herself slighted for no other Want but that of a large Fortune, she must needs think it worth purchasing at any Rate, and neglect all other Merit as useless.

I don't pretend to say that Virtue and Merit, in our Sex, is to be met with in every Corner of the Streets, as I am too sensible the contrary is; but sure I am it is to be found, and Judgment was given to the Men in order to distinguish it: But, say your Sex, is Money then to be despised? Must the contrary be sought? And has a Lady less Merit for having a large Fortune? Not always, but indeed too often; nay, nothing can hinder it but natural good Sense and Temper, joined to great Care taken in the Education; without that a superior Fortune makes a worse Woman, consequently a worse Wife.

I was led into this Thought, and which occasioned this Letter, by a Disappointment a young Lady I had a Friendship for met with lately, with relation to this Subject, which cost her her Life.

She was address'd to by a Gentleman, whose good Sense and Agreeableness would, she thought, atone for some natural Defects and Infirmities, which she had Penetration enough to find out in his Temper and Disposition; among which, his Love of Money was not the least; he was superior to her in Fortune, but she

She was a Gentlewoman born, and bred so, and in every Respect, but Money, his Equal: She resolv'd to suit herself to his Humour, and fancied herself cut out to please and make him happy, not out of Vanity, but Inclination to do so. She had Pride, and did not greatly care to be oblig'd, even by the Man she lov'd; but fancied she could save up a Fortune to him in a few Years, and with the refusing of Presents and resigning of Settlements, atone in great Measure for the want of it. He thought it worth while to deceive her for a considerable Length of Time, for what Reason I cannot guess, she being a Woman of undoubted Character, which he had known for some Years before, and all her Actions answer'd it: But in short he left her, and that in so abrupt and rude a Manner as made her bear it worse, not shewing the least Abatement of his Passion the last Time he saw her, more than at the first. I wish he had trusted her with the Secret of forsaking her, for I dare say she would have taken it handsomely, and (for his Advantage) given him up.

The Disappointment met her under an Indisposition of Body, else I believe she had good Sense, Reason, and Resentment enough to have got the better on it. But she died, and without reproaching of him, or behaving herself unhandsomely, she said she was inclin'd to believe there was a Fate in Things of that Nature, and wish'd him happier than (she doubt-ed) he deserv'd.

He is now upon the Brink of Marriage to a Lady, that I dare say he does not like half

so well as this Lady he left her for; but she has more Money abundantly, which he does not want; and then, though as I said before, Money is no Objection, nor need a Woman be sought out that wants it, yet I would not have a Man venture to leave a Woman for no other Reason, lest he (as too probably he may) chance to repent it.

Sir, if you think this Subject, or our Sex, worthy your Notice, we shall be obliged to you; you are an Author, I might say it to your Face, capable of serving any Cause you undertake, ours is a charitable one; I am out of the Question myself, with relation to making my Fortune, or it might not have been so proper for me to have started this Subject, though obscure; but I have a general Love for Mankind, and particularly for my own Sex, whose Cause I commit to you, as into the Hands of a most powerful Advocate, and (I hope) a willing Patron. My Sincerity on this Subject cannot be doubted, when I most humbly subscribe myself of that Sex, whose Cause I recommend, *viz.*

A WOMAN.



To the Lady who wrote the Foregoing.

Madam,

YOU will easily believe me, when I acquaint you, that I am not a little proud of the Honour you have done me, in thinking me worthy of the Correspondence of a Lady, to whom Nature has shewn herself so indulgent. She seldom leaves her own Work imperfect; and therefore, I doubt not but she has been propitious to you more Ways than one: And I am perswaded, that if you had been the first Object of the inconstant *Strephon's* Adoration, he had never worshipp'd any false Goddess.

I can assure you, Madam, you could never have recommended yourself so much to me, or have oblig'd me more, than in engaging me in this agreeable Manner in the Cause of helpless Innocence, and distressed Virtue; and in giving me an Opportunity to consider the greater and better Half of the World in their nearest and most engaging Relation. I am by Profession, a Knight-Errant: It is my Business to right Wrongs and redress Injuries, and none more than those done to your tender Sex.

It is a Subject which employs my softest and most delicate Thoughts and Inclinations; which I can in nothing gratify so much, as by contributing to the Ease and Happiness of that Sex, to whom we owe most of our own.

*That Cordial Drop Heaven in our Cup has thrown,
To make the nauseous Draught of Life go down :*

And to atone for the Thousands, Ten Thousands of Evils, to which humane Condition is subject.

Hercules himself laid down his Club, and took up a Distaff : And,

———— *furious Mars,
The only Governour and God of Wars,
When tired with Heat and Toil, does oft resort,
To taste the Pleasures of the Paphian Court.*

I do not therefore depart from my Character, or desert my Duty, in considering this Subject, and attending upon the Concerns of the Fair : With their Cause, the Cause of Liberty is blended ; and scarce any Man will be much concerned for publick Happiness, unless he enjoys domestick : Publick Happiness being nothing else but the Magistrate's protecting of private Men in their Property, and their Enjoyments It is certain, that a Man's Interest, in Point of Happiness and Pleasures, is in no Instance so much concerned as in that of Marriage, which being the happiest or unhappiest State in the World, must mostly constitute his Happiness or Misery.

The Beauty, the Vigour, the Wit, and consequently the Preferment of his Posterity, do much depend upon the Choice of his Wife, and possibly upon his Inclinations to her, and hers to him. We are very careful of the Breed of our Horses, our Cocks, and our Dogs, and

as remarkably neglectful of the Education of our Children; and yet we dedicate Two Thirds of our Substance to our Posterity: For so much is the Difference between the Purchase of Estates of Inheritance, and of Estates only for our own Lives.

Our Wealth does also depend in a great Measure upon domestick Sympathy and Concord; and it is a true Proverb, that a Man must ask Leave of his Wife to be rich: So great a Share of his Substance and Prosperity must remain in her Power, and at her Discretion, and under her Management, that if he would thrive and be happy himself, he must make her so.

In order to this, he ought to chuse one whose Temper, good Sense, and Agreeableness, shall make him find his Pleasure in obliging her; and by Constancy and endearing Actions make her wholly his own, and to do all in her Power to oblige him. No Man can live in a constant State of Hypocrisy in his own Family; but if he has Distastes they will certainly break out; or at least be found out by one who is always about him, and whose constant Business it is to observe him, and his Humours and Affections. And therefore, 'tis his best and only Way to find out such a one, as he need not counterfeit a Kindness to.

In all my Observation, a good Husband rarely misses to make a good Wife. The Hearts of Women are naturally so tender; their Passions towards their Husbands so strong, and their Happiness and the Respect they meet with in the World, are so much owing to their

Husbands, that we seldom find a married Woman who will not with a little real, and often with but a seeming Kindness, do whatever a prudent Husband will desire of her; and often to oblige him, more than he desires. And what can be more barbarous than to use one ill, who throws herself into his Power, and depends upon his Protection; who gives up all she has to his Mercy, and receives it afterwards at his Pleasure?

It is miserable Folly, to put yourself in a Circumstance of being uneasy in your own House, which ought to be a Retreat from all the Ruffles and Disappointments you meet with elsewhere: In Consequence of this, you must seek your Pleasures Abroad at great Expence, and the Hazard of your Health, and to the Neglect of your Affairs. Your Wife too, when she finds herself neglected by one in whom she had fixed her whole Happiness, will not bear the Place and Mansion of her Misery, but will fall into a Despondency, and an Indifference to your Interest, and will be apt to look out in her Turn for Pleasures Abroad, when she can have none at Home. Women for the most part place their Felicity in their Husbands, and in their Families, and generally pursue those Views, till the Unkindness, Neglect, and Folly, of their Husbands, render them impracticable.

Whatever Excuse there may be for Men over-run with Debts, or otherwise very necessitous, to aim only at Money in Marriage, and thereby to throw themselves into a miserable and nauseous Imprisonment for Life, to prevent
falling

falling into one but little worse ; I cannot find one tolerable Reason in Nature, why any One in easy Circumstances, and who does not want the common Necessaries of Life, should purchase the Superfluities at so dear a Price. But it is stupendious that Men of Figure and Fortune, who have in their Power the Means of enjoying not only the Conveniencies, but the Luxury and Vices of Life (if such can be called Enjoyments) should yet barter away all their Happiness for a little seeming additional Wealth, which for the most part produces real Poverty.

It is certain, that ten Men of Birth and Estates have been undone by marrying great Fortunes, for one who has been enrich'd by it. Most Men pay Twenty *per Cent.* for such Portions, as long as they have any thing to pay. Ten Thousand Pounds additional Fortune, when laid out in Land, will not produce Three Hundred Pounds a Year clear, which Sum will scarce maintain the Tea-Table, and keep the supernumerary Bawbles in Repair ; and it will cost as much more to shew them. Besides, when the usual Presents are made, and an Expensive Marriage is solemnized, gaudy Clothes and Equipage are bought, and perhaps a *London* House furnished ; a considerable Part of this Portion will be disburs'd, and the forlorn Hero of this shewy, noisy Farce, will discover, too late, how much more eligible it had been to have married a Lady well born, of a discreet, modest, and frugal Education, and an agreeable Person, with less Money, than a haughty Dame with all her Quality Airs about her,

her, or Mr. *Thimbleman's* Daughter, tho' bedecked with as many Trinkets as *Tallboy* or *Ferry Black-acre* upon the Stage.

But before we can compleat this Account, we must ballance what must be given in Lieu of this Lady's Wealth, besides the entire Loss of conjugal and domestick Happiness. It is truly said, that Gold may be bought too dear; and I may safely say, that the dearest Purchase now in *England*, is a Wife with a great Fortune, not excepting that of *South-Sea* Stock last Year.

For every Thousand Pounds the Lady brings, she must have a Hundred Pounds a Year, at least during her own Life, and often a Rent Charge, which alone is worth the Purchase Money which she brings, if she outlives her Husband; and then she brings nothing towards the Issue, which, modestly speaking, are as much hers as her Husband's; and it is certain, that during her living with him, she spends more than the Interest of it: For, (besides her private Expence) the Gay Furniture, the Rich Beds, the *China* Ware, the Tea Table, the Visiting Rooms, Rich Coaches, &c. must be chiefly placed to her Account; and she shares equally in the Table Expence, and in that of the Children and Gardens: And yet over and above all this, a Man must settle the Remainder of his Estate and Substance out of his own Power, and intail it upon whatever Heir Chance and his Wife bring him; perhaps, upon an ungrateful and disobedient One, made so by his Independency upon his Father; often upon a foolish and unimprovable One, and sometimes, perhaps, upon a spurious One.

I do not complain of this usual Method of Settlement, as thinking it reasonable that any Man should give a large Sum of Money in Dowry with his Daughter, without taking proper Precautions to provide for her and his own Posterity. But I censure the present great Abuse of giving and demanding such Fortunes, which have inverted the very Ends of Marriage, and made Wives Independent on their Husbands, and Sons on their Fathers; Fortunes, which make Men Bargain for their Wives, as they would for Cattle; and instead of creating conjugal Friendship and Affection, and all sorts of domestick Happiness, have produced nothing but Strife, Aversion, and Contention, where there ought to be perfect Sympathy and Unanimity, and have brought into the World a Race of Monkeys and Baboons, instead of Creatures with humane Shape and Souls.

Why should Men of Fortune and Understanding bring themselves, without any Motive from Reason or Interest, into these unhappy Circumstances? Why should any Man, without any Consideration, at least any valuable Consideration, divest himself of the greatest Part of the Property of his own Estate? Why make himself only Tenant for Life, when he is in Possession of an Inheritance; and render himself by that Means unable to provide against the many Emergencies of Life? Why subject himself to the Insolence of an ungrateful Heir, or be forced to leave it to an unworthy one? Why be obliged to bear the Caprices and Dishonour of a wanton and peevish Wife, perhaps made so by his Neglect, arising
from

from his Aversion, the ordinary Effect of Marriage against Inclination? when he might have chosen one every Way suited to the same; and, by contenting himself with less Fortune, have kept the greatest part of his Estate in his own Power, and with it the further Means of obliging her, and of making her future Fortune and Expectations to depend upon her own Conduct, Complaisance, and affectionate Behaviour.

You have given me, Madam, a very pregnant and affecting Instance of a Gentleman, who, made false by Avarice, has lost, and wickedly lost, a virtuous, prudent, and fond Wife, while he sought Money more than Merit, and cruelly broke his Faith, and with it a tender Heart, for the infamous Sake of Lucre; which may deservedly prove a Canker in his Soul and his Substance, and bring him a Lady with Qualities proper to revenge the other's just Quarrel and barbarous Wrongs. And I, on my part, can give you an Instance of a Gentleman of great Fortune and Figure, who, by acting according to the former wiser Rules, has made himself happy in an amiable, discreet and observant Lady, and enjoys with her all the Blessings of mutual Confidence and tender Affection. He is complaisant without Art, and she without Fear.

I am with perfect Respect, Madam,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant.

C A T O.

S I R,

S I R,

I Have, in several of my late Letters, observed some Slips that have escaped from the Pen of the great and learned Dr. *Prideaux*; but as I have done this with no Design of blemishing a Character which cannot be blemish'd, I think my self obliged to own once more, his great Merit, the Service done by him to Mankind, the Honour to his Country, and the Pleasure and Information which I in particular have received from his worthy Labours.

It is possible, that out of Detestation to Principles which subvert and tear up by the Roots all Liberty and civil Happiness, I may have used some warm Expressions against those that maintain them. Such Expressions therefore can be applied only to those who have been ever the avowed and active Enemies of every thing lovely, valuable, or praise-worthy amongst Men. But as to Dr. *Prideaux*, however he is fallen into Prejudices, perhaps early imbibed, and not since examined by him with his usual Accuracy; or however he might intend to serve a pious Cause with adventitious Helps and precarious Supports, which it wanted not: Certain it is, from the whole Course of his excellent Performance, that he had sincerely at Heart the Interest of true Religion and Liberty. A Spirit of Virtue, Piety, good Sense and Integrity, and an Aversion to Oppression, Cruelty and Tyranny, shine through his whole History, and animate the same; and neither he nor his History can be too much commended.

But the Doctor is an eminent Instance, how little any Man ought to be guided by the mere
Autho-

Authority of another; since one of the greatest and worthiest Men living, is capable of falling into such obvious Errors. From the Greatness of his Name and Credit alone I was led to these Animadversions, and with Reluctance I made them. Faulcons do not prey upon Flies. Other Writers, whose Characters add no Weight to their Mistakes, are safe from any Censure of mine. For this Reason I shall not trouble myself with the Party-Falshoods and pious Ribaldry, and Blunders of a modern voluminous Writer of *English* History. His Contract and Dialogue between *Oliver Cromwell* and the Devil, is a harmless Piece of History, and as entertaining as the rest.

I am, &c.

S I R,

AS my Design in these Letters is to endeavour to free and manumit Mankind from the many Impositions, Frauds, and Delusions, which interrupt their Happiness; so I shall, in this, and some of the succeeding ones, attempt to remove the popular Impressions and Fears of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches; which more or less afflict and terrify the greatest Part of the World; and consequently it will conduce much to their Ease and Felicity, if I can lay these Phantoms:

There is a strange Propensity in Humane Nature to Prodigy, and whatever else causes Surprize and Astonishment, and to admire what they do not understand; we have immediate Recourse to Miracle, which solves all our Doubts,

Doubts, and gratifies our Pride, by accounting for our Ignorance. We are not affected by Things we frequently see; or if we can trace but one Link of the infinite Chain of Causes, our Admiration ceases; tho' we are then as far from our Journey's End, as when we set out; for all the Works of Providence are miraculous to us, who cannot do them our selves, or know how he, who is the Author of them, does them. And in this Sense, every Thing is a Miracle to us; tho' we ought to be no more surprized at seeing a Blazing Star, which makes its Revolution but once in five hundred Years, than in seeing the Sun every Day.

For many Ages, the Phænomena of Meteors, Eclipses, and Comets, seemed unaccountable; and the Causes of Thunder and Lightning were unknown to the World; as they are to most People in it at this Day. Great Guns were esteemed, by the *Americans*, to be angry Deities; Ships, floating Monsters; the Sun to be God of the World; Watches to be living Animals; Paper and Ink, to be Spirits, which conveyed Mens Thoughts from one to another: And a dancing Mare was lately burned for a Witch in the Inquisition of *Portugal*.

All Nature is in perpetual Rotation; and in the great Variety of Actions which it produces, some must appear very extraordinary and unaccountable to us, by all the Powers of Matter and Motion which fall within our narrow Observations; and yet may, and undoubtedly have as certain and regular Causes and Effects, as the most obvious Mechanick Operations. We see into the Bottom and internal Frame and Constitution
of

of no one Thing in the World, and probably never can do so, whilst we continue in these frail Bodies. We see not into the Principles and Contexture of Animal or Vegetable Beings; and consequently cannot know what Nature can spontaneously produce, or how she works. We see only the Outside and Film of Things; and no more of them than what is necessary to the Preservation or Convenience of our selves, and not the thousandth Part of what is so. Almighty God hath hid all the rest from our Eyes, to baffle our foolish Curiosity, to raise our Admiration of his Power, and to excite our Homage and Adoration to him the great Author of all Things.

Nature (as is said in Print elsewhere) works by infinite Ways; which are impenetrable to our vain and fruitless Inquiries. *The Loadstone draws Iron to it; Gold, Quick silver. The sensitive Plant shrinks from the Touch. Some sorts of Vegetables attract one another, and twine together; others avoid one another, and grow farther apart. The Treading upon the Turpedo, affects, and gives raging Pains to our whole Bodies. The Bite of a mad Dog causes Madness. Turkey-Cocks and Pheasants fly at Red. A Rattle Snake, by a sort of magical Power in his Eyes, will force a Squirrel to run into his Mouth. Musick will cure the Bite of a Tarantula. The Frights and Longings of Women with Child, will stamp Impressions upon the Babes within them. People, in their Sleep, will walk securely over Precipices and Ridges of Huses, where they durst not venture whilst awake. Lightning will melt a Sword without hurting the Scabbard. And there are very many other surprizing Instances of the Powers of Matter and Motion, which we every Day*

see

see and feel; and, without Doubt, there are infinite others which we know nothing of.

If some Men could follow Scents, like Dogs, or see in the dark, like Cats, or have the same Presages and Prognosticks of fair Weather or Tempests, which other Animals seem to have, How many Things would they know and do, unaccountable to the rest of Mankind? If Almighty God had thought fit to have bestowed upon any Man, one or more Senses above the rest of the Species, many of his Actions must have appeared miraculous to them.

But if these minute and petty Works of Nature cause so much our Surprize and Astonishment, How ought we to admire and adore the Author of all Nature, in the greater Works of his Creation? The Earth it self is but as a Mustard-Seed to the visible World; and doubtless that is infinitely less in Comparison of the invisible one. It is very likely, that its many Fellow-Planets, which move about the Sun as we do, are filled with Inhabitants, and some of them probably with more valuable ones than our selves: And 'tis next to certain, that the numerous fixed Stars, nightly seen by us, and the more numerous ones frequently discovered by new and better Glasses, are so many different Suns, and possibly with each a different Chorus or System of Worlds moving about them, and receiving vital Warmth and Nourishment from their Beams; for 'tis impossible to believe, that the All-wise Disposer of all Things should place so many Orbs, many thousand times greater than this Earth, in the vast Abyss of Space, far out of our Sight, and of no Use

to us, unless to serve suitable Purposes of his Providence.

We are not, nor can we be sure, that there are not other Beings who are Inhabitants of the Air or Æther, with Bodies subtle enough to be suited to, and nourished by these thin Elements, and perhaps with Senses and Faculties superior to us; for the Works of Almighty God are as infinite as is his Power to do them; and 'tis paying greater Deference to him, and having higher Conceptions of his Omnipotence, to suppose that he saw all Things which have been, are, or ever shall be, at one View, and formed the whole System of Nature with such exquisite Contrivance and infinite Wisdom, as by its own Energy and Intrinsic Powers, to produce all the Effects and Operations which we daily see, feel, and admire; than to believe him to be often interposing to alter and amend his own Work, which was undoubtedly perfect at first, tho' in the Pursuit of his eternal Decrees, and in the Course, Progress and unbroken Chain of his original System, he seems to us, sometimes to act occasionally; when in Compliance to our weak Comprehensions, and in Condescension to our low Capacities, he speaks and appears to act after the Manner of Men. We have not Faculties to see or know Things as they are in themselves, but only in such Lights as our Creator pleases to represent them in to us: He has given us Talents suited to our Wants, and to understand his Will, and obey it; and here is our *ne plus ultra*. We may be very sure that we are not obliged to know what is beyond our Power to know; but all such Things are as Non-entities to us. When-

Whensoever therefore we hear of, or see any surprizing Appearances or Events in Nature, which we cannot trace and connect to their immediate Causes, we are not to call in supernatural Powers, and interest Heaven or Hell in the Solution, to save our Credit, and cover our own Folly, when there are so very few Things in the World we know any Thing of, and of those few we know but very little. We are not to measure the Works of God by our scanty Capacities; and believe that he miraculously interposes in the Course of humane Affairs, but when he pleases to intimate to us, that he does or intends to do so; much less ought we to introduce Dæmons into his System of the Universe, unless as Objects or Instruments, and Executioners of his Vengeance; but not to intrude into his Government of the World, to trepan and mislead his Creatures, and to thwart and oppose himself; and every now and anon, to cut the Chain, stop the Wheels, and interrupt the Course of his Providence.

We are very sure God can do and empower any other Beings to do every Thing which he would have done; but we are not obliged by any Precept, Moral, or Divine, to believe every Thing which weak, crazed, or designing Men tell us in his Name; and the disbelieving their foolish and fantastical Stories, is not questioning the Power of God, but the Veracity or Judgment of the Persons who tell them; for sure there can be no Occasion of recurring to supernatural Causes, to account for what may be very easily accounted for by our Ignorance of natural Ones, by the Fraud or Folly of
others,

others, or by the Deception of our selves. There can be no Wonder in a Man's telling a Lye, or in his being deceived.

Which of our Senses does not often deceive us? Strangling, or strong Pressure of the Eyes, causes all Things to appear on Fire; of the Ears, makes us hear Noises; straight Things, in the Water, appear crooked: Bodies, by Reflection or Refraction, appear otherwise, and in other Places, than they are in Nature. All Things appear Yellow to Men in the Jaundice; and to those in Calentures, the Sea appears like a green Meadow, and, if not restrained, they will leap into it: Melancholly and enthusiastick Persons fancy themselves to be Glass Bottles, Knives, and Tankards; Madmen often believe themselves Gods or Princes, and almost always see Spirits; and a Reverend Divine, some Time since, thought himself big with Child, and could not be perswaded to the contrary, till a Man Midwife pretended to deliver him of a false Conception.

In Fevers, and malignant Distempers, People see Visions and Apparitions of Angels, Devils, dead Men, or whatever else their Imaginations render most agreeable or terrible to them; and in Dreams, all Men see, or fancy they see, such false Appearances. Their Imaginations, in Sleep, are often so lively and vigorous, that they can scarcely be perswaded of their Mistake when they awake out of it, and would not be so, if they did not find themselves in Bed; and therefore, if a credulous, fearful, and melancholly Man, should carelessly nod himself to Sleep in his Closet or his Garden, and receive

a vigorous Representation of an Angel, Dæmon, or dead Man, speaking to him, or delivering a Message, and after wake on a sudden, without observing his own sleeping (as often happens) I cannot see how he should distinguish this appearing Phantom from a real Vision or Revelation, and I should be glad to have a Rule to do it by.

The Frame and Contexture of our Bodies betrays us to these Delusions. For as all Objects and Images from without, are let in upon the Mind by the Windows or Conduits of the outward Senses, and the Mind afterwards ranges, methodizes, operates, and reasons upon them; so it can only work upon such Materials as it receives, and consequently when the Organs of Sensation are wrong framed in their Original Contexture, or depraved afterwards by Sickness or Accidents, the Mind must be misled too, and often mistake Appearances for real Beings: When the Spies, Scouts, and Outguards, are seized, corrupted, or deceived, the Intelligence will be fallacious, or none at all.

It is evident in a thousand Instances, that the Mind and Body mutually act and operate upon one another; both grow and encrease by Age and Exercise, both are impaired and enervated by Distempers and Accidents, and all the noble Faculties of the former are often destroyed and extinguished by accidental Injuries done to the latter, and by other fortuitous Events and occasional Strokes of Fortune. Common Experience shews us, that if Men are born without one or more of their Senses, so many Conduits of Knowledge are stopt: If a Child comes
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into the World without the Faculties of Seeing or Hearing, he can have no Understanding at all, unless he afterwards acquires them; and if he looses them again, all further Progress is at an End: The Vigour and Capacity of our Minds depend very much, if not altogether, upon the Organization of our Bodies, and are altered, improved, and encreased by proper Diet, Action, or Education; and oppressed, lessened, and sometimes quite lost by Drunkenness, Gluttony, Laziness, or Misfortunes. I have often almost fancied, that Men may be dieted into Opinions, as Experience shews us they may be educated into the most absurd ones by Custom, Conversation, and Habit.

Every Passion or Affection of the Mind produces visibly a suitable and correspondent Disposition of the Muscles and Lineaments of the Face, and consequently must affect and alter the whole Mechanism of the Body; and by like Reason every Thought or Motion of the Mind must do the same in a lesser Degree (tho' not equally subject to common Observation) by forcing or directing the Blood, Juices, or Animal Spirits, into peculiar Tubes, Conduits, or Vessels; and when by frequent Use those Channels and Passages become habitual to them, they will often flow thither of their own accord, or are easily driven thither, and so by working backwards, will cause those Passions and Perceptions, which at first caused them, and in Consequence the same Impressions and Dispositions of the Organs of Sense.

If this Observation is true, it will account for our Delusions in Dreams, when exterior Objects

jects are shut out, which must otherwise controul and over-power the weaker and more faint Operations of the internal Machine; and this too will account for the many pannick and unreasonable Fears and Prejudices we are subject to from Education, Custom, and Constitution, as well as for the Difficulty, if not Impossibility, of our shaking off and conquering any other Habits of Mind or Body acquired by early and continued Practice.

I shall in my next apply these general Principles to the System of Spirits, and shew that Philosophy and Religion both contradict the commonly received Opinions of them.

I am, &c.

S I R,

AS I have shewn at large, in my last Letter, that in very many Instances, our Senses are subject and liable to be deceiv'd in Objects evidently material; so in this I shall endeavour as fully to shew, that we can have no possible Ideas of any other. When we call God a Spirit, we do not pretend to define his Nature, or the Modus of his Existence, but to express the high Conceptions we have of his Omnipotence, by supposing him most unlike to our selves, and infinitely superior to every Thing we see and know, and then we are lost and buried in the Abyss of our own

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Ignorance ; but we can have no other possible Conception of what we mean by the Word *Spirit*, when applied to him.

We cannot have even the most abstracted Images of Things, without the Ideas of Extension and Solidity, which are the Mediums of conceiving all Things that we can conceive at all. As the Organs of our Senses are all material, so they are formed only to receive material Objects ; and but a small Part of those which are so. The Ear cannot hear, the Hands feel, the Palate taste, the Nose smell, or the Eye see Bodies, but of certain Magnitudes, Dimensions and Solidity ; and these vary too in different Men, and in the same Men at different Times, and at different Ages. There are Millions of Insects that cannot be seen without Glasses ; and probably infinite others, which cannot be seen with them. The subtle Effluvia, or other minute Causes of pestilential Distempers, are not within the Reach and Observation of any of our Senses. We cannot see Wind and common Air, much less pure Æther, which are too thin and too subtle Bodies for the Fabrick of the Eye ; and how should we see Spirits, which we are told have no Bodies at all, and in the Dark too, when the Contexture of the Eye will not afford us the Use of that Organ ?

I cannot conceive why the Dreams of the old Heathen Philosophers should be adopted into the Christian System ; or from what Principles of Reason or Religion we should be told that the Soul is *totum in toto*, and *totum in qualibet parte* ; that is, that all of it is diffused through

through the whole Body, and yet all of it is in every part of the Body : That Spirits take up no Place, and that ten Thousand of them may stand upon the Point of a Needle, and yet leave Room for a Million Times as many more ; that they may move from Place to Place, and not pass through the intermediate Space ; and that they are impenetrable themselves, and yet can penetrate every Thing else. Is not this fine Gibberish, and pretty Divinity ? And yet it is esteem'd by some a sort of Atheism, to disbelieve it ; but neither Philosophy nor Scripture tell us any such Matter. It is true indeed, we are told, that Spirits have neither Flesh nor Bones ; no more have Wind, Air, or Æther, and Thousands of other Things, which yet are Bodies ; but we are no where told, as I remember, that Spirits have no Extension or Solidity : And if we were told so, we could understand no more by it than that they were Beings of which we neither had, nor could have any other than negative Ideas.

I think therefore, that I may venture to assert, that either God hath created no Beings independent of Matter, or that they cannot be Objects of our Senses ; but if there are any such, they are of a Nature so different from us, and so incomprehensible by the Faculties he has given us, that we can form no Propositions about them ; and consequently are not oblig'd to believe or disbelieve any Thing concerning them, till he pleases farther to inform us.

But there are an humble Sort of Philosophers, who want the Sagacity to conceive how any Substance can exist without Extension and

Solidity ; and consequently are modest enough to confess that they do not understand the Distinction between material and immaterial Substances ; and that they cannot, with their most refin'd Imaginations, have any Notion of a middle State of Things, between extended Beings and no Beings at all ; between real Essences and Shadows, Phantoms or Images of disordered Brains ; or that any Thing can exist in the Universe, and at the same time in no part of it. And yet these Gentlemen will not give up the general System of Spirits, but suppose them to be Beings of subtle aerial Contexture, that in their own Nature are not Objects of our Senses, but have Powers, by assuming more dense Bodies, to make themselves so, and have Capacities to do many Things unaccountable to us, and beyond the Limits and Reach of our Apprehensions. All which I think no Man will affirm to be impossible ; but I think any Man may safely affirm, that such Agents are not permitted to molest human Affairs, and seduce or mislead Men by doing supernatural Actions, or what must appear to us to be so.

A contrary Supposition must destroy the very Use of Miracles ; for if other Beings, either by the Energy of their own Nature, or the Will and Permission of God, can do Miracles, or those Actions which we cannot distinguish from Miracles ; then nothing can be proved by them, and we shall lose the best Evidence of the Truth of our Holy Religion : For if Signs and Wonders may be promiscuously shewn and perform'd by the best of all Beings
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and by the worst, they may be done and us'd to promote Error, Imposture and Wickedness, as well as Virtue and true Religion; nor can I find out any Criterion, or sufficient Mark, whereby we can distinguish which are done by the Preserver, and which by the profess'd Enemy of Mankind. To say that the Truth of the Miracle shall be tried by the Doctrine it is brought to propagate, or the Precepts it commands, is to invert the very Use and End of Miracles, which is to give Credit and Authority to the Doer, who is always suppos'd to act by God's Power, in order to declare his Will; and consequently, if the Wonders he does are to be tried by the Doctrine he teaches, there would be no Use of any Wonders at all, to prove not only what proves its self, but what is to prove the Truth of the Miracle, which is to prove the Truth of the Doctrine.

We are very sure, that the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, and the sole Author of all our Happiness, does not leave us in these Uncertainties, and to be tossed and tumbled in the thick Mist and dark Chaos of Ignorance and Deceit. How can we know the Truth of any Revelation, without knowing the Revealer himself to be true? We must be first certain, that a good and beneficent Being speaks to us, before we can believe any Thing he tells us. Whenever therefore Almighty God, by Means becoming his infinite Wisdom, and from Causes impenetrable to us, communicates his Intentions by Appearances and Representations to our Senses, or by any other Ways out of the ordinary Course of his Providence, he always

gives us sure Marks whereby we can distinguish his Works from Delusion and Imposture, which often ape Truth it self, and mislead ignorant and unwary Men. We are told in Holy Writ, that *young Men shall see Visions, and old Men dream Dreams*, which frequently happens; and *that false Prophets shall arise and do Wonders, which shall deceive almost the Elect*, but we are bid to disbelieve them; which, if they work'd true Miracles, we could not do, without rejecting all Miracles. For how can we believe any Thing to be miraculous, and at the same time disbelieve another Thing to be so, without being able to shew any Difference between them? And therefore we may acquiesce in an Assurance that such Pretenders must be Cheats, and their Actions Impostures and Deceits upon our Senses.

Whenever God works Wonders, or produces those Events, which shall appear as such to us, he always does them for wise Reasons, either to warn and inform Men, to make them Examples of his Justice, or to communicate his Will, and teach us some Doctrine; and he takes the most proper and effectual Means to attain his Ends, and coerce our Belief, by making such Applications to our outward Senses, and such Impressions upon our Understandings, as we must submit to, and acquiesce in, unless we resolve to give up all Certainty; or else by Predictions which are justified by the Event, which are undoubtedly Miracles. He does them in the most open Manner before Crowds at once; but our modern Miracle-mongers do them all in Secret, in Corners, and
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in the Dark; and their Spirits and Apparitions are seen only by melancholy, enthusiastick and dreaming old Men and Women, or by crazy young ones, whose Heads are intoxicated and prepared for these Stories long before; and they are generally seen but by one at once, who is always in a Fright when he does see them; or else they are the Tricks and Juggles of Heathen and Popish Priests, or pretended Conjurers, to pick Men's Pockets, and promote some knavish and selfish Design. They are never done before a House of Lords or Commons, or in a Prince's Court, or in the Streets before Multitudes of People, or in the Sight of several Men at the same time, of clear and unprejudiced Understandings, or of unquestionable Integrity.

When our Saviour appear'd to all his Disciples together, he' appeal'd to their Senses, bid them not be afraid, but to put their Hands into his Side, and believe themselves: He made his Ascension before five Hundred People at once: His Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes was before five Thousand; His turning Water into Wine was at a Publick Wedding; and the rest were of the same kind: He went through *Judea* from Place to Place publicly doing Miracles, confirming and convincing all who were not wilfully blind, of the Truth of his Mission; and teaching a Doctrine of infinite Advantage to Mankind; whereas our present Workers or Seers of Miracles never tell us any Thing worth knowing; and we have no other Evidence that they are seen or done, but the Veracity of those who tell them, who

may be deceiv'd themselves, or invent Lies to deceive others. The Proof ought always to be equal to the Importance of the Thing to be believ'd; for when it is more likely that a Man should tell a Lye, or be deceiv'd, than that a strange Phænomenon should be true, methinks there should be no Difficulty to determine on which Side of the Question we should give our Assent; tho' in Fact most Men are so prepared by Education to believe these Stories, that they will believe the Relation of them in these Cases, when they will believe them in nothing else.

If one or two Men affirm they saw another leap twenty Yards at one Leap, no one will doubt but they are Lyars; but if they testify that they saw a Goblin with Saucer Eyes and cloven Feet, in a Church yard, leap over the Tower; all the Town is in a Fright, and few of them will venture to walk abroad in a dark Night. Sometimes these Phantoms appear to one who is in Company with others, and no one can see them but himself; and yet all the rest are terrify'd at his Relation, without reasoning that they have the same or better Faculties of seeing than he has; and therefore that his Organs must either be indisposed, or that he designs to impose upon them; but it passes for a Miracle, and then all doubts are solved, and all Enquiries at an End: All Men believe most of those Stories to be false, and yet almost all believe some of them to be true, upon no better Evidence than they reject the rest: The next Story of an old Woman inhabiting a Cat, or flying in the Air upon a Broomstick,

stick, sets them a staring, and puts their Incredulity to a Non-plus. We often hear of a Spirit appearing to discover a Silver Spoon, a Purse of hidden Money, or perhaps a private Murder; but are never told of a Tyrant, who by private Murders has slaughter'd Thousands, and by public Butcheries destroy'd Millions, ever drag'd out of his Court by good or evil Spirits, as a Terror to such Monsters: Such an Instance would convince all Mankind; and if Almighty God thought fit to work by such Engines, and intended that we should believe in them or any of them, it is impossible to believe but he would take the properest Methods to gain our Assent.

From what I have said, and much more which might be said, I think I may with great Assurance conclude, that these capricious and fantastical Beings are not suffered to interfere and mingle with human Affairs, only to mislead Men, and interrupt them in the Pursuit of their Duty; nor can I see any Foundation in Nature, Reason, or Scripture, to believe there are any such as they are usually represented to us, which neither agree and keep up to the Characters, Dignity and Excellence of good Angels, or the Sagacity, Office and Use of bad ones. Where are we commanded to believe, that the Devil plays hide and seek here on Earth; that he is permitted to run up and down and divert himself, by seducing ignorant Men and Women; killing Pigs, or making them miscarry; entering into Cats, and making Noises, and playing Monkey-Tricks in Church-yards and empty Houses, or any where else here on Earth, but in empty Heads?

We know that he was cast headlong from Heaven, is chain'd fast in the Regions of the Damned. and kept by the Power of the Almighty from doing Mischief to his Creatures; and to say the contrary, seems to me the highest Blasphemy against Heaven it self: For when we every Day see and feel the many Delusions to which human Condition is subject, how we are the Properties of Impostors, the Slaves to Tyrants, and perpetual Dupes of one another, and indeed are subject to daily and endless Frauds and Impositions; how shall we be a Match for the most subtle and most sagacious Being out of Heaven? And is it possible to believe, that the good, merciful and providential God should desert, leave and betray us to so unequal a Combat, without giving to us suitable Precautions, Capacities and Powers to defend our selves?

I shall conclude by observing, that the Heathen Poets first invented these Stories, and the Heathen Priests stole them from them; as Badgers dig Holes for themselves, and afterwards are stunk out of them by Foxes.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have endeavour'd, in my last, to shew, that no such Beings as Spirits and Dæmons are permitted by the good God to mingle with, and

and perplex human Affairs; and if my Reasoning is good, the whole System of Conjurers and Witches falls to the Ground: For I think it is agreed by all, if they have any Powers Supernatural, they receive them from Evil Spirits; and if these have no such Powers themselves, they can transmit them to none else.

But, methinks, the Advocates for Satan's Empire here on Earth, are not very consistent with themselves; and in the Works they attribute to him, do not Credit enough to his Abilities and Power.

*They make this Prince a mighty Emperor:
But his Demands do speak him Proud and Poor.*

They give him a Power to do Miracles; make him Prince of the Air, Lord of the hidden Minerals, Wise, Rich and Powerful, as well as False, Treacherous and Wicked; and are foolish and presumptuous enough to bring him upon the Stage as a Rival for Empire with the Almighty, but at the same time put a Fool's Coat and Cap upon him. His Skill has hitherto went no farther then to cram Pins down Children's Throats, and throw them into Fits; to turn Wort, kill Pigs, to fell Winds, (Dog-cheap too) to put out Candles, or to make half blind People see two at once; to help Hares to run away from the Dogs: to make Noises, or to discourage his faithful Votaries at *Newgate*, by interloping upon their Trade of discovering stolen Goods; and such like important Feats of Knight Errantry. And what is yet worse, I cannot find in these last
eighteen

eighteen hundred Years, that with all his Cunning he has invented one new Trick, but goes on in the same dull Road; for there is scarce a Story told of a Spirit, or a Witch who has play'd Pranks in the next Parish, but we have the same Story, or one very like it, in *Cicero's Tract de Divinatione*.

He always plays at small Games, and lives mostly upon Neck-Beef. His Intrigues are all with old Women, whose Teats he sucks; (which by the Way, shews but a scurvy Taste) and when he has gain'd his Ends of them, feeds them only with Bread and Water, and gives them but a Groat in their Pockets to buy Tobacco; which, in my Mind, is very ungalant, not to say niggardly and ungenerous in so great a Potentate, who has all the Riches of the hidden World within his Dominions. I cannot find, in all my Reading, that he has expended as much in five hundred Years last past, as would have carried one Election.

Methinks, he might have learnt a little more Wit from his faithful Emiffaries here on Earth, who throw and scatter about Money, as if there was never to be an End of it; and get him more Votaries in a Week, than he can purchase for himself in a Century, and put him to not a Penny of Charge neither; for they buy People with their own Money: But to keep such a Coil and Clutter about an old Woman, and then leave her to be hang'd, that he may get her into his Clutches a Month sooner, is very ungrateful; and, as I conceive, wholly unsuitable to a Person of his Rank and Figure.

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I should have imagin'd, that it would have been more agreeable to the Wisdom and Cunning always attributed to him, in Imitation of his Betters, to have open'd his Purse-Strings, and have purchas'd People of more Importance, and who could do him more real Service. I fancy that I know some of them, who would be ready to take his Money, if they knew where he was to be spoken with ; and who are Men of nice Honour, and would not betray or break their Word with him, whatever they may do with their Countrymen.

Besides ; I conceive, it is very Impolitick in one of his Sagacity, and in one who has so many able Ministers in his own Dominions, and elsewhere, to act so incautious a Part. It is very well known, a Plot discover'd, or a Rebellion quelled, gives new Credit and Reputation to the Conquerors, who always make use of them to settle their own Empire, effectually to subdue their Enemies, to lessen their Powers, and to force them for the most part to change Sides ; and in Fact, one Witch hang'd or burnt, makes old *Beelzebub* a great many Adversaries, and frightens Thousands from having any more to do with him.

For these Reasons, I doubt, he is shrewdly bely'd by those from whom he might expect better Usage ; and that all the Stories commonly told about, and believ'd concerning him, are invented and credited by such only as have much less Wit, or not much more Honesty, than himself. To enter into a Detail of them, is endless, as well as unnecessary to my Purpose ; it having been unquestionably shewn already

already by the worthy *Dr. Hutchinson*, a Bishop in *Ireland*, from very many Instances, that these Stories are Fictions, Cheats or Delusions, and that the Belief of them is neither consistent with Reason or Religion: But I shall add some more Observations of my own, to what he hath with great Piety and Judgment publish'd upon this Subject, and shall begin with tracing the Genealogy of these Phantoms.

The first Inventors of them, as far as we know any thing of the Matter, were the *Egyptians*, who believ'd, that the Spirits of the Deceas'd always attended their Bodies wherever they were deposited; and therefore embalm'd them with rich Gums and Spices, to preserve their Figure entire, and entomb'd them in stately Mausolœums, with costly Apartments for their Souls to solace in; which Opinion gave Occasion to their building the expensive and useles Pyramids, to receive Souls of a higher Degree. From *Ægypt*, these airy Beings were transported into *Greece*, and thence to *Rome*; and the *Greek* and *Roman* Poets embellish'd their Fictions with them, and their Priests made their Advantages of them; and both Priests and Poets added many more Inventions of their own: They fill'd their Woods, Groves, Rivers, Rocks, Houses, and the Air it self, with Romantick Deities: They had their Demi-gods, Satyrs, Dryads, Hemi-Dryads, Penates, Lares, Fauns, Nymphs, &c. And when the general Belief of the Existence of such Beings was well established, without Doubt they were often seen and talk'd with.

*For Fear does Things so like a Witch,
'Tis hard to find out which is which.*

They animated almost every Thing in Nature; and attributed even the Passions and Qualities of the Mind to peculiar Deities, who presided over them, or directed and caused them: *Mars* inspired Courage and Magnanimity; *Venus*, Love; *Mercury*, Cunning; and *Apollo* and his *Muses*, Wisdom, and poetick Raptures, &c. A Good and Evil Genius attended every Man, and his Virtues and Vices were esteemed to be Spirits: A wicked Man had an evil Spirit; a virtuous Man a good one; a Wrangler had a Spirit of Contradiction; People who could not speak, had a dumb Spirit; a malicious Man, a Spirit of Envy; and one who wanted Veracity, a Spirit of Lying; and so on. Distempers too which were uncommon, and could not easily be accounted for, as Apoplexies, Epilepsies, and other Fits and Trances, were imputed to Spirits and Dæmons; and at last these Delusions, which were only the Sallies of Poets, or the Inventions of Priests, became the real Opinions and Religion of the common People, who are always ready to lick up the Froth of their Betters.

When the Heathens came into Christianity, they brought in these Phantoms with them, and accounted for oracular Predictions, and the other Cheats and Juggles of their former Priests, by the Powers of these Dæmons; and the Popish Priests have since improved upon their Pagan Predecessors, and made their Fictions turn to much better Account than putting them in
Verse.

Verse. The Heathen Dryads and Nymphs; were changed into Fairies, good and evil Genij into Conjurers and black and white Witches, and Saints are made to supply the Offices of Demi-gods; and by this lucky Turn they made a very good Penny of their Charms, Exorcisms, Beads, Relicks, and Holy Water; and were paid for many Masses, to invoke their Saints, in whom it seems they had a very good Interest.

There was scarce a Church-yard, an old or empty House, which was not pestered with these airy Inhabitants, nor a Man who had murdered himself, or who was murdered by another, or had forgot something in his Lifetime, who did not appear to tell his own Story; nor could be perswaded to quit his new Abode till the Holy Man had laid him in the *Red-Sea*, who without doubt was very well paid for his Skill and Pains. We may be sure so gainful a Trade was duly cherished and cultivated by constant Juggles and Impositions, and all Advantages were taken of surprizing and unusual Phænomena's of Nature. By the Help of Glasses, unusual Voices and Noises, Phosphorus, Magick-Lanthorns, Feats of *Legerdemain* and Collusion and Confederacy, these Prejudices were artfully kept up, and weak and enthusiastick People were made to believe, sometimes to see, and afterwards to publish to others their Visions, or whatever else their Deceivers had Occasion for; whose Power at the same time was so great, that the few intelligent Men who saw and detested these Impieties, durst not contend with the Prejudices of the People, abetted by the Rage of the Popish Priests.

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Many of our first Reformers were but weak Men, and I doubt some of them were not very honest ones, and therefore generally fell into these Stories: However, they lost a great deal of Ground in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; but were returned upon us with a full Swing by her Successor, who brought from *Scotland* with him Legions of these subterranean Inhabitants, who methinks should more properly have come from a warmer Climate. That bright sagacious and Royal Author, wrote and published a very learned Book of Dæmonology, which effectually confuted all Disbelievers; for sure no Man, who hoped for any Preferment, Ecclesiastical or Civil, would have the ill Manners to dispute his Majesty's great Judgment and Royal Authority. When *Nero* proclaimed himself the best Poet in his Dominions by Sound of Trumpet, no Man durst contend for the Laurel with one who had Fifty Legions at his Command: So an Act of Parliament was passed for hanging of Witches; and his Majesty himself was graciously pleased to inform his Judges by what Marks they might be known, and many of them were hanged accordingly; but as ill Luck would have it, they multiplied like the Blood of the Martyrs, and the more they hanged, the more were left behind, during his whole Reign.

In *Charles* the First's Time, they began to decrease again, by letting them alone, till at the End of the Civil War, a new Sett of Saints got into the Saddle, and then again a fresh Persecution began against old Women, who were hanged plentifully at every Assizes.

*Some only for not being drown'd,
Others for sitting above Ground
Whole Days and Nights upon their Breeches,
And feeling Pain, were hang'd for Witches.*

There were professed Witch-Finders, who knew them at first Sight; so that there was scarce a poor, withered old Wretch, with a Mole or a Wart in any Part of her Body, but was in Danger of her Life.

When King *Charles* the Second returned, and the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry resumed their proper Seats, old Women began again to live and die in quiet; and during that Prince's long Reign, there were but few Instances of Witches hanged; and considering the Prepossessions of the People, occasioned by so many late Murders, under the Pretences of Zeal, 'tis not to be wondered at if there were a few; but since the *Revolution* there has not, as I remember, been one Witch hanged, nor do I think that one Lawyer in *England* would condemn one, or any special Jury of Gentlemen find her guilty; tho' we are often told, and if we may judge by other Effects, have Reason to believe, that *Satan* is as busy now as he has been in the Memory of Man.

But in a Neighbouring Country, Witches are almost as plentiful as ever; for as soon as the Successors to the afore said holy Men came into play again, and ruled the Earth; they turned as they usually do upon their old Benefactor, and hanged immediately a Dozen or two of his Accomplices; and did the same soon after in *New England*, of which some were poor
Quakers,

Quakers (whom they could not be permitted to hang merely for want of Orthodoxy) and 'tis thought there was not an Old Woman in *Fairyland* (who was unfit for Use) but would have undergone the same Fate if the Government had not interposed.

Notwithstanding this, I do not find that the Devil has in the least changed his Measures, or is more afraid of the Saints than he used to be, but is constantly working under their Noses, and every now and anon kidnapping some of their Flocks, but 'tis always of such as can pay no Tithes; for 'tis agreed by all, that a little Money in their Pockets will keep him out: But what seems very remarkable is, that at the same Time that he makes so bold with these Holy Men, who have the Power to cast him out, he keeps a respectful Distance from Men of carnal Sense, and plain natural Understandings; and most of all, from those incredulous Persons, who cannot be persuaded to believe that the merciful God will permit him to outwit and destroy ignorant and unwary Christians, whom the Saviour of the World died to redeem from his Power.

This is so true, that those Stories are believ'd through the World, in exact Proportion to the Ignorance of the People, and the Integrity of their Clergy, and the Influence they have over their Flocks. In Popish Countries, there is a Spirit or Witch in every Parish, in Defiance of Holy Water, and of constant *Pater Nosters*; and there are more of them in ignorant Popish Countries, than in knowing ones, in poor than in rich ones; and they appear oftner in Arbitrary

trary Governments than in Free States. The King of *Spain's* and Pope's Dominions have more of them than *France* and the *German* Principalities, where Priestcraft does not ride so triumphant; and these have much more than *Venice*, *Genoa*, and the Popish Hans Towns.

The same is equally true of Protestant Countries; *Muscovy*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Lapland*, have more of them than *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and *Scotland* and *Ireland* more than *England*, where no Clergymen of any Credit abet these Frauds; and consequently the Devil's Empire here is almost at an End, how considerable soever it has been formerly; and in *Holland* he has nothing at all to do, though that Country lies so near his other Territories, that I wonder he should not sometimes shorten his Journey, or at least now and then take it in his Way, though only to try what may be done amongst the *Hogan Mogans*.

From all which has been said, I think I may reasonably conclude, that he is kept at Home by the Will of the Almighty, suffering the Punishment due to his Rebellion, and has no Power over others, till for their Disobedience to the Commands of Heaven, they are delivered into his Custody to be tormented, and made just Objects of Divine Vengeance: And I shall take the Liberty further to add, that true Religion is so well supported by Reason and Revelation, that there is no Necessity of telling Lies in its Defence, and putting it upon the same Bottom with the Heathen Superstitions, and the Popish Forgeries and Impostures, which, when discovered, will make

Twenty

Twenty Infidels for One true Believer that is made by such Methods.

I am, &c.

S I R,

AFTER all that has been said of Arbitrary Power, and of its hideous Nature and Effects, it will fall properly in, to say something here of the Restraints which all wise and fortunate Nations ought to put, and have ever put, upon their Magistrates. This is what I promised Nine Months ago to do ; and this is what I propose to do in this Letter and the following.

No wise Nation in the World ever trusted to the sole Management, meer Mercy, and absolute Discretion of its own Magistrates, when it could help doing it ; and no Series of Magistrates ever had absolute Power over any Nation, but they turned the same to its Ruin, and their own wild Gratifications and ill-judg'd Profit. As long as the Passions of Men govern them, they will always govern by their Passions, and their Passions will always increase with their Power. And therefore, whenever a whole People, or any Part of them, cross the Passions of any Man that governs them, he will turn his Passions against a whole People, or any Number of them that offend him, and will destroy a whole People rather than thwart his Passions. This is evident in Ten Thousand

and Instances; and the Publick will ever, and certainly, be sacrificed to private Lust, when private Lust governs the Publick. Nothing but Fear and selfish Considerations can keep Men within any reasonable Bounds; and nothing but the Absence of Fear can set Men at Defiance with Society, and prompt them to oppress it. It was therefore well judged of the *Spartan Ephori*, when they erected an Altar to *Fear*, as the most proper Divinity to restrain the wild Ambition of Men, and to keep their Kings within the Confines of their Duty.

A Nation has but two Sorts of Usurpation to fear, one from their Neighbours, and another from their own Magistrates; nor is a foreign Usurpation more formidable than a domestick, which is the most dangerous of the Two, by being hardest to remove; and generally stealing upon the People by Degrees, is fix'd before it is scarce felt or apprehended: Like wild Beasts in a Wood, beset with Toils as yet unseen by them, they think themselves free; but striving to escape, find themselves caught in the Chains, which had long been preparing for them, and stealing upon them. Besides, for One People undone by Foreign Invaders, Ten have been undone by their own Native Rogues, who were intrusted to defend them; but instead of it, either betrayed them to these Invaders, or seized traiterously for themselves those Rights which they were sworn to preserve for others; and then by Oppression and Cruelty, and the other Consequences of their Treachery, reduced them to an utter Disability

ability of defending themselves against any Invasion whatsoever.

What has made *Italy* and *Asia* Desarts, and their remaining Inhabitants starving and contemptible Cowards? Not the Inundation of barbarous Nations; though that Inundation was owing to the Weakness of the Inhabitants, weakened and undone by their base and tyrannical Governours: But they have been made Desarts by the continued Depredations of their execrable Princes, who have acted as if they had been Scythes in the Hand of *Satan* to mow down the Race of Men. There is a certain old *Italian* Tyrant, now living, who though he has by studied Rapine converted into a Wilderness a Country which Nature has made a Paradise, yet is not weary nor ashamed of his Rapine, but goes on to suck and squeeze the remaining Blood of his Ghostly Subjects; and next to his visiting Seven Altars a-Day, (a Way he has of compounding with God for being a pestilent Tyrant to his Creatures) I say, his only Employment, besides this his devout and impudent Mockery of God, is to sit contriving with his faithful Ministry, which of his Subjects may probably be worth a Hundred Pounds, and how to cheat him or rob him of that Hundred Pounds.

This same grand Prince has now scarce any other Business for his Soldiers, but that of employing them directly against his own People: Nor are they fit for any other Employment, for One *English* Regiment would beat Seven of his. So that his paltry Forces, many of them, are placed upon his Frontiers, not to defend

defend him from an Invasion, a Task they are not equal to, but to keep his wretched Subjects from running away from Famine and his Government ——— a Relief which is however barbarously denied them by this old polite Tyrant ! They must stay and perish under him ; nor will he suffer them to seek elsewhere that Support of Life, of which his diabolical Government deprives them at Home ; as if when he had robbed them of their Labour and their Life, he also wanted their Skins.

There is not upon Earth a Nation, which having had unaccountable Magistrates, has not felt them to have been crying and consuming Mischiefs. In truth, where they are most limited, it has been often as much as a whole People could do to restrain them to their Trust, and to keep them from Violence ; and such frequently has been their Propensity to be lawless, that nothing but Violence, and sometimes nothing but a violent Death, could cure them of their Violence. This Evil has its Root in humane Nature ; Men will never think they have enough, whilst they can take more, nor be content with a Part, when they can seize the Whole. We are, indeed, told of some Absolute Princes, who have been very good Men and no Oppressors. But the Nature of their Power rendered their good Qualities almost useless, and gave to others an Opportunity of doing in their Name, and by their Authority, Mischiefs which perhaps they themselves abhorred. Besides, in any Series of Arbitrary Princes upon Earth, scarce out of Ten can One be named who was tolerable,
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and who either did not himself prove an inhumane Tyrant, or suffered his Ministers to be so : And when an Absolute Prince has had great Parts, they generally went to his Grave with him, and scarce ever proved hereditary. In truth, the Children of great Princes have almost always proved very unlike them.

I own, the first of the Line has sometimes acted plausibly, and gained by doing so dangerous Credit and Popularity. But if he were an Angel he is never to be forgiven, because it is out of his Power what his Successor shall prove. The Crocodile's Egg does no Mischief whilst it continues an Egg ; but out of it is hatched a Crocodile, and by it the cursed Race of Destroyers is continued. D. *Heinsius* says very justly, *Nec unquam servitus, ne speciosa quidem, legit quibus serviat, sed accipit.* "The most plausible Slavery is attended with this eternal Misfortune, that it has no Choice of a Master, but must accept of a Master, such as Chance sends." *Vespasian* left to the Romans for their Prince the beneficent *Titus*, but he also left them the raging and bloody *Domitian*.

If *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus* had been really Gods, as their Flatterers made them, yet their leaving behind them such a Race of Successors, (who proved a Race of Dæmons) entitles them to the Characters of detestable Tyrants to all Eternity. *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, were the precious and bloody Blessings these beneficent Princes left — Names universally abhorred, whilst those of *Caesar* and *Augustus* are generally adored : And yet to *Caesar* and *Augustus* were Mankind indebted for these

Pests of Mankind: Nor were they so great Pests as were *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, who did much more Mischiefe, and destroyed the World more than either *Nero* or *Caligula*, besides leaving them to destroy it still further.

People rarely think of this, but it is literally true. What! will some say, the generous *Cæsar* and the mild *Augustus* do more Mischiefe than the wild *Caligula* and the savage *Nero*! Yes, fifty to one: *Nero* destroyed his Twenties, *Cæsar* and *Augustus* their Twenty Thousands; and for *Nero*, we may thank *Julius* and *Augustus*. *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, took *Rome* chiefly for the Scene of their Cruelty, and destroyed many great and good Men, some out of Wantonness, and more out of Jealousy: But *Cæsar* and *Augustus* made *Rome* and the World their Slaughter-house, and destroyed more great and good Men by far than the other Four, as butchering Monsters as they were: And as to publick Rapine and general Depopulation, they exceeded them still further. Indeed, as to heroick and diffusive Mischiefe and Villainy, the Difference between them was as great as between *Jack Straw* and a late *Grand Monarque*. The Truth is, *Cæsar* and *Augustus* had Art and great Qualities, which are far from excusing the Evils they did; and their Successors having all their Ambition, but wanting their great Qualities and Discretion, took the direct Road to Hatred.

An unrestrained Power of one Man, or a few, over all, is such an extravagant Deviation from Reason and Nature, that neither *Briareus* with his many Hands, nor the *Hydra* with
its

its numerous Heads, nor the *Centaur*s, half Man and half Beast, were Things more unshapen, monstrous, and frightful: Nor would these Fictions appear more fabulous and improbable, than such Power would to a free People, who never had heard of it before. What could seem to common Sense a wilder *Chimera*, than that one Man, not created with Features and Endowments different from other Men, should have a lasting Right from his Blood, or his Pride, or his Madness, to domineer over all Men, and to rule, kill, starve, famish, banish, and imprison, as many as he pleased?

This Power is indeed so monstrous, that it turns Men that have it into Monsters; and therefore the most amiable and unexceptionable Man upon Earth, is not to be trusted with it. Men change with their Stations, and Power of any Sort rarely alters them for the better; but, on the contrary, has often turned a very good Man into a very bad. This shews that Men forbear Evil, chiefly to avoid the ill Consequences of it to themselves, and for want of Opportunity and Protection; and finding both in Power, they prove, by making use of them, that their Virtue was only Self-love, and Fear of Punishment. Thus Men of the best and brightest Characters have often done most Mischief, and by well serving their Country, have been enabled to destroy it: And they were good and evil from one and the same Motive, a Passion for themselves, and their own Security or Glory.

Thus the House of the *Medicis*, by being very good Commonwealths Men, and by serving

ving and obliging almost every Family in *Florence*, gained Credit enough by this their generous Behaviour, to enslave that great and powerful City. *Idque apud imperitos, humanitas vocabatur, quod pars servitutis erat.* *Pericles* administered the Government of *Athens* with great Sufficiency; but he broke down the Fences of its Liberty, and ruled arbitrarily all his Days. *Agathocles* fought successfully for the City of *Syracuse*, and as successfully against it; and having defended the Citizens against their Enemies, he afterwards shewed himself their greatest, by killing in one great Massacre all the chief and best of them, and by crowning himself Tyrant over all the rest. *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, were great and excellent Commanders, and conquered many great Kings and Nations: But they made all the Fruits of their Victories their own; and from being very good Soldiers, made themselves most pernicious and arbitrary Magistrates.

Now all these Great Men derived, from the Good they did, a Capacity to do much more Evil: So that as a Power to do great Good, does naturally include in it an Opportunity of doing much Evil; so those who are in the Possession of Power, as all Magistrates are, ought above all other Men to be narrowly watched, and checked with Restraints stronger than their Temptations to break them; and every Crime of theirs ought to be more penal, as it is evidently more pernicious, than the same Crime in any other sort of Men. For, besides that *quales in Republica Principes essent, tales*

tales reliquos solere esse Cives; that is, that People are generally virtuous or corrupt as their Magistrates are; there is something exceeding solemn and important in the Nature of this great Trust; and accordingly as it is observed or betrayed, a Country is happy or miserable: And when any one Breach of it passes once off with Impunity, another will soon follow it; and in Time it will be considered no longer as a Trust, but an Estate.

So dangerous a Thing is an ill Precedent, which is often an Inlet to an endless Train of Mischiefs; and so depraved is the Nature of Man, that we justify our selves in Wickedness by Examples that cannot be justified. An Action at first reckoned dishonest, by being practised once or twice, becomes unblameable; and that which was at first accounted an Extortion, grows by Use to be thought but a Perquisite. Thus Evil is mitigated, nay, cancelled, by Repetition, which is a real Aggravation of Evil; and there are certain Rogueries in Office, which being long practised, and by many, are at last reckoned as sacred as the Trust against which they are committed;— a sufficient Reason for providing by great and certain Penalties that none be committed.

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HOW cautiously and partially Men in Power are to be trusted, and how much to be restrained, appears from hence, that almost every civil Evil begins from Courts, and the Redress of every civil Evil from an Opposition to the Pretensions and Excesses of Courts. This is so universally true, that no Nation ever continued happy, whose chief Magistrate was its absolute Master; and no Nation miserable, whose supreme Power was properly checked and divided. Nations are then free, when their Magistrates are their Servants; and then Slaves, when their Magistrates are their Masters: The Commonwealth does not belong to them, but they belong to the Commonwealth. *Tacitus* says with great Truth, *Nec unquam satis fida potentia ubi nimis est*: "Power without Controul, is never to be trusted." Every Nation has most to fear from its own Magistrates; because almost all Nations have suffered most from their own Magistrates.

Cicero, mentioning the Condition of *Cilicia*, of which he was Proconsul, in a Letter to *Appius Pulcher*, says, that he "was moved by Pity as well as Justice, to relieve from their Miseries the undone Provincial Cities, undone chiefly by their own Magistrates." It seems *Cicero* was that sort of whimsical Man, that he had really

really at Heart to do Good to the People whom he governed ——— an odd and impracticable Character ; which, had he lived since, would have rendered him utterly unfit for any manner of Preferment. He did not so much as know that he was to make the most of his Place and his Power, let what would become of the People ——— A Lesson which other Governors have amply learned.

Aristotle makes it the great Argument and Proof of Liberty, that they who command do also obey. And indeed all legal and just Power being but a Trust, whoever executes the same, does an Act of Obedience, as well as Command : And every Trust is best executed, where those who have it are answerable for it ; else it never will be executed ; but, where it is great and publick, is much more likely to be abused, violated, and turned to the Destruction of those, who, for their own Preservation, gave it. Nor is a People to be told, that such as want to be trusted with extraordinary Power of any Kind, have always been Enemies to Arbitrary Power ; for so are all Men when they have it not, and expect no Advantage from it. Who was a greater Patriot than *Sir Thomas Wentworth* ? And who was a more arbitrary Minister than *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford* ? All Men are for confining Power when it is over them, and for extending it when they are in it. *Oliver Cromwell* was once heartily in the Principles of Liberty, and afterwards more heartily in those of Tyranny : And I could name two great Parties in *England*, who, when they were out of

Power, seemed to place the Sum of Publick Spirit, in entrenching upon the Royal Authority; and when they were in Power, to know no other Law but the Prerogative Royal. So unlike is the same Man to himself in different Situations, and yet still very consistent with the Genius of humane Nature!

Men sometimes do actually Good in order to do Evil. *Sejanus, incipiente adhuc potestate, bonis conciliis notescere volebat*: "Sejanus, in the Beginning of his Administration, would found the Reputation of a good Minister in laudable Measures." But there never prov'd a worse Minister than *Sejanus*. *Solyman*, the *Turkish* Emperor, used to say, that a Prince, to be well served by any Minister, must never use any Minister above once: And this Saying is thus far true generally, that Men the longer they grow in Power, the worse they grow. I think it is *Tacitus* who says, *Superbire homines etiam annua designatione; quid si honorem per quinquennium agitent?* "If an annual Election to Power, makes Men insolent; what must be their Pitch of Insolence, if they hold it five or seven Years?" *Aristotle* finds great fault with the Senate of *Sparta*, for being perpetual; and I think he says, that an unchang'd or an hereditary Senate falls into Dotage.

Many of the Ecclesiasticks have been for trusting their Favourite Princes (and no other) with unlimited Power over others: But in every Thing that regarded themselves and their Interest, they have never failed to stipulate for the strictest Limitations upon all Princes, even upon those whom over the rest of the World they

they wished Arbitrary, and endeavoured by every Means to make so. Nor did ever any Man give up the Freedom of his Country, but he meant to preserve his own; and hoped to continue a Freeman, as a Reward of his helping to make other People Slaves; and no Man ever set up a Tyrant, but in hopes of going Shares in his Tyranny; and upon these Terms and Expectations alone it is, that any Body of Men, or indeed any Army, is brought to aid and establish any Usurper. Passive Obedience was always intended for other People than those who preached it. Interest cannot lie; tho' he does, who says that he will submit to Servitude when he can avoid it.

Who would establish a Bank in an arbitrary Country, or trust his Money constantly there? In *Denmark*, the Ministers and Minions of the Prince think their Money safest out of his Dominions, and generally transmit the same to *Hamburgh*, and other free Cities, where the Magistrates have no divine Right to lay violent Hands upon what is none of theirs. Even what we gain by Rapine in a Land of Oppression, we are willing to save by the just Laws of Liberty, in a Country of Liberty. In *England* it self, and in our own free Constitution; if the Bank of *England* was put under the absolute Direction and Power of the Court, I doubt Stock would soon grow very cheap, and Sellers multiply very fast. Or if the Government of the Bank, which is purely Republican, were improved into Monarchical; I fancy our highest Monarchy-Men would rail at the Change, and hasten to sell out, notwithstanding their invio-

lable Attachment to the divine Right of Monarchy — Unless perhaps they think that absolute Monarchy does best protect their Power, but a Free State their Money. I am indeed of Opinion, that upon such a Change, the Bank would be broke, and shut up in three Days.

All this shews, that even Men who are against Liberty in General, do contend for it in Particulars, and in all Particulars which affect themselves. Even *Lauderdale*, a *Tyrconnel*, or a *Jefferies*, who were all for making the Crown absolute, as long as they could be, as they were, the absolute Ministers of Oppression under it, would none of them, I dare say, have encouraged the Maxim of the Prince's rewarding his Ministers and faithful Oppressors with the Bow-String, as well as they themselves were entitled to that Reward! and as much as the *Turkish* Genius of Government did in other Instances suit their own!

When we hear any sort of Men complain, as some sort of Men do frequently complain, That the Crown wants Power; we should ask them, Whether they mean over themselves? And if they answer, No; as certainly they will if they speak Truth; we may further ask them, Why should they judge for themselves any more than others, or claim to themselves a Liberty and an Exemption which they will not allow to others? The Truth is, they who complain thus, do only want to encrease the Power of the Crown, because by it their own would be encreased, and other Advantages acquired.

The Fox in the Fable, wanting to rob a Hen-roost, or do some such Prank, humbly besought

sought Admittance and House-Room only for his Head; but when he got in his Head, his whole Body presently followed: And Courts, more crafty as well as more craving, than that designing Animal, have scarce ever got an Inch of Power, but they have stretched it to an Ell; and when they have got in but a Finger, their whole Train has followed. *Pisistratus* having procured from the City of *Athens*, fifty Fellows armed only with Cudgels, for the Security of his Person from false and lying Dangers, improved them into an Army, and by it enslaved that Free State. And I have read somewhere, of the States of a Country, who having wildly granted to their Prince a Power of raising Money by his own Authority, in Cases of great Necessity; every Case, ever afterwards, was a Case of great Necessity; and his Necessities multiplied so fast, that the whole Wealth of the Country was swallowed up to supply them: As it always will be in every Country, where those who ask are suffered to judge what ought to be given.—A Practice contrary to common Sense, and which renders Liberty and Property perfectly precarious; and where it is continued, will end in taking without asking.

I have heard of a Court somewhere Abroad, which having asked upon a particular Occasion four Hundred thousand Pounds of the States, found Ways and Means of stretching that Sum to two Millions. It was observed of the same Court, that it had the Art of raising Mole-hills into Mountains, and of sinking Mountains into Mole-hills; of disbanding Armies without breaking them; of increasing Debts by the
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Means of paying them ; of being engaged in an expensive War during a profound Peace ; of gaining for the Country at a vast Charge, Advantages which the Country never reaped, nor saw ; of employing Money obviously against the Interest of that Nation, and yet getting the Nation to pay it ; of purchasing other Countries at the Expence of their own, and against its Interest ; of procuring from the Country at one Time a great Sum, without telling why it was wanted, but promising to tell, and yet never telling ; and in fine, after many other the like Feats, of obtaining by an Arret of Security, Remission for all their past Faults, without owning any, and yet going on to commit more : For as Tully well observes, *Qui semel verecundiae fines transierit, eum bene & naviter oportet esse impudentem.* Cicer. Epist. ad Luceium Quinti Fil.

But these Things concern not us ; and I only bring them for Examples, like other old Stories of Greece and Rome. I hope we shall never fall into the like Misfortunes and Mismanagements our selves.

I am, &c.

S I R,

Machiavel tells us, that it is rare to find out a Man perfectly Good or perfectly Bad ; Men generally swim between the two Extremes, and scarce any Man is as good as he himself,
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his Friends, or his Party make him; or as bad as he is represented by his personal or party Enemies. Ask a *Whig* the Character of a neighbouring *Tory*, and he represents him as a *Jacobite*, an Enemy to publick Liberty, and a Persecutor; and on the other Side, if you enquire the Other's Character from his *Tory* Godfather out of Baptism, he shall pass for a Commonwealth's-Man, an Enemy to all sorts of Monarchy, and an Encourager of all Kinds of Licentiousness and Faction; whereas an indifferent Man, conversing with each of them, shall find both aim at the same Thing, and their Opposition to proceed only from not conversing together, from an Intention to thwart one another, or from the Intrigues of those who reap Advantage by setting them together by the Ears. 'Tis too great a Compliment to pay to our Adversaries, to suppose them to act upon a mistaken Principle against their real Interest; and 'tis certainly the Interest of every Man to be free from Oppression, and he will joyn in Measures to be so, if he is not terrified by the Fear of greater Oppression: It is undoubtedly true, that there are many *Jacobites* in *England*; but 'tis thinking better of them than they deserve, if we believe they will be so against their own Interests; and therefore, excepting the very Few, who can hope to receive the Advantages of such a Revolution, the rest may be converted by shewing them that they can find better Protection and Security from the present Establishment, than by hazarding their Lives and Estates, and their Country's Happiness, in bringing their Designs to pass. The
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only dangerous *Jacobites* I ever feared, were those who took the same Methods to keep out the Son, as turned out the Father.

Whilst Men enjoy Protection, Plenty, and Happiness, they will always desire to continue them, and never look after Revolutions; but when they lose, or fancy they lose, those Advantages, which they ever will think they have a Right to enjoy, they will endeavour to change their Condition, tho' in the Attempt they often change it for the worse; therefore, whoever would endeavour to preserve a present Establishment, must make the People easy and contented under it, and to find their own Account in the Continuance of it: The Instruments of Tyranny (of which I hope we shall never have any amongst us) are never to be depended upon in any Exigency; they will always be able to shift for themselves, and know how to make an Interest with a new Government, by betraying the old; which was the Case of the late King *James*, and will ever be the Case of others in the like Circumstances.

Every Man therefore, who is sincerely and heartily attached to the Interest of his present Majesty, will endeavour to cherish, cultivate, and make a proper Use of his excellent Dispositions to protect and make his People happy, and to preserve our Constitution in Church and State upon its true and solid Basis. Old Land-Marks are never to be removed, without producing Contests and Law-Suits, which for the most part ruin both Parties. We have an excellent Constitution at present; and if not the best which can be formed in a *Utopian* Commonwealth,

yet I doubt the best we are capable of receiving. The present Distribution of Property renders us incapable of changing it for the better; and probably any Attempt to change it for the better, would conclude in an Absolute Monarchy. There are so many Interests engaged to support it, that whoever gets Power enough to destroy these Interests, will have Power enough to set up himself, as *Oliver Cromwell* did, and every one else will do in the same Circumstances, or at least no wise Man will trust to his Moderation.

No Man of Sense and Fortune will venture the Happiness he is in full Possession of for imaginary Visions, and throw the Dice for his own Estate: Such desperate Gamesters carry their Whole about them, and their future Expectations depend upon Confusion, and the Misery of others; but such as have much to fear, and little to hope for, will acquiesce in their present Condition. This being the true Circumstance of the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, rich Merchants, and the Body of the People, I hope they will concur in such Measures as will most effectually preserve our present Establishment, and support the just Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People, oppose all Usurpations on either Side, and endeavour, in the most exemplary Manner, to punish all who shall dare to interpose between the Throne and the Subject, and spoil the Harmony which alone can make them both happy.

This is the Interest of all Parties, and of every Man in them, (very few excepted in respect of the rest, who make their Market of
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the others Differences) I could never yet see a just Bone of Contention between them. It can be of no Consequence to either Party, if they are governed well, whether a Man of one Denomination or another governs them; and if they are oppressed, it is no Consolation, that it is done by one whom they formerly called a Friend; whereas if they would agree together, no one durst oppress them. Those who are called *Whigs*, have no Intention to injure the Legal Establishment of the Church; and Seven Years Experience, when they have had the whole Power in their Hands, may convince any one they did not intend it; and the *Tories* tell us, they desire no more than that Establishment, and have no Thoughts of breaking in upon the Act of Toleration, which is the Right of all Mankind. The *Whigs* can have no Motive to do the One, nor the *Tories* the Other, when Party Opposition is laid aside; for how is a *Whig* injured by another's receiving Advantages which he has no Right to, and receives no Prejudice by, but may receive Benefit from, by providing for his Children, Relations, or Friends? And how is a *Tory* injured in a quiet Neighbour's worshipping God his own Way, any more than if he did not worship him at all, which is the Case of Thousands who are unmolested? The Distinctions about Government are at an end: Most of the *Tories* are ashamed of their old Arbitrary Principles; and many of the Modern *Whigs* ought to be ashamed of taking them up; and indeed they have no Right to reproach one another with either Practices or Principles, for both have shewn their

their wrong Ends in their Turns ; and they have brought Matters at last to that pass, that whilst they have been throwing the Dice for Victory, Sharpers have been drawing the Stakes.

Indeed, I can't see what we differ about : We fight at Blindman's-Buff, and fall upon our Friends as well as Enemies : All the Grounds of Distinction are now at an end, and the honest and wise Men of all Parties mean the same Thing, and ought to lay aside and forget the old Names, and become one Party for Liberty, before that Name is forgotten too ; it is yet in our Power to save our selves. We are sure we have a Prince, who has every Disposition to help us, if we lend our own Assistance, and shew him the Means of doing it ; and we are answerable to God, our Country, and our selves, if we do not use our own Endeavours. The Means are easy, obvious, and legal ; and the Motives as strong as ever did, or ever can, happen in any Circumstance of humane Affairs. It is no less than the Safety and Preservation of the best King, and the best Constitution upon Earth, and indeed of almost the only People amongst whom there are any Remains of Liberty, Knowledge, or true Religion ; all which depends upon the steady, loyal and uniform Proceedings of the next Parliament.

For my own Part, I have no Quarrel to Names or Persons, and would join in any just Measures, or with any Party, to save the Kingdom ; and will oppose, to the utmost of my Power, all who will not ; and I believe there
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are Thousands of the same Sentiments; and methinks Great Men should accept so favourable a Disposition to forget the Mischiefs which Ambition, Covetousness, or Inadvertency have brought upon us. We will not look with Eagles Eyes into past Faults, provided a proper Atonement is made by future Services; nor envy particular Mens growing rich, if they will let the Publick thrive with them; and 'tis certainly safer, and more creditable, to do so by the Consent of their Countrymen, than by constant Struggles, Broils, and Contention to overcome popular Opposition; which must get the better at last, or their Country, and probably they themselves; must be buried in it.

England is yet in a Condition to make the Fortunes of a few Men, if they are not in too much haste to make them; and will consent, or connive at their doing so, if they deserve well in other Respects. There are many useless, and yet profitable Employments in *England*, and few Men are concerned how they are disposed of; whether to Lords Valets, or whether they are the Perquisites of foreign or domestick Favourites, provided the Offices which regard the Administration of Justice, of the State, Church, or Revenue, are properly bestowed. Those who have the Fortune to get into the highest Stations, will expect to raise suitable Estates, especially when they have in a great measure the Means in their Hands of making them, and the Power of carving for themselves; and all but Rivals will compound for their doing it by such Ways as are consistent with the publick Benefit, or such as the Publick
does

does not suffer much by ; and I doubt the legal Advantages belonging to few Offices in *England*, will answer the Expectations of Men in the first Station.

It is often urged, That Princes must be served upon their own Terms, and their Servants must sometimes comply against their Inclinations, to prevent greater Mischiefs; which I believe is rarely the Case. I confess, Princes ought and must be always treated with Tenderness and Delicacy, and Regard must be had to their Opinions or Prejudices; but it is so much their Interest to be honoured and beloved by their People, (who from a thousand Motives will be always ready to make them personally easy, and to gratify even their wanton Desires, when they are not absolutely destructive to themselves) that there is much less Address and Management necessary to shew them their real Interest, and bring them into it, than to engage them in Designs which will ever produce Disaffection and Danger; and 'tis certainly the Interest of their Ministers and Servants, rather to set themselves at the Head of publick Beneficences, and receive the Thanks and Applause due to such Benefits, than to have them extorted from them always with general Curses and Detestation, and often with personal Hazard.

I am, &c.

S I R,

S I R,

I Have, in my last Letter, said, that no wise Man will remove ancient Land-Marks; and for the imaginary Prospect of enjoying something he does not enjoy, and has a Mind to enjoy, run the Hazard of losing what he is already in Possession of. Those who have nothing to lose, can lose nothing by these Feats of Knight-Erantry; but those that have, are seldom Gainers by them. I considered this Subject in that Paper, as it regarded the State; and I shall do it here with relation to our Church Differences. The Constitution of our Church is excellently well adapted to our Civil Government. The Bishops answer to the Lords, and the inferior Clergy to the Commons in the State, and all are subject to the legislative Power mediately, and immediately to the Crown. The King has the Power of creating the chief Ecclesiastical Officers, as he has of creating the Civil; and they both receive their Beings and Existence from him; and consequently they must ever be in the Interest of Monarchy, and the Monarch must ever be in the Interest of an Establishment, from which he derives so much Power. The Nobility and Gentry too, whose Birth, Character and Fortunes always give them the Means of easy Access to the Throne, must be equally in the same Interest; for as no Man can suffer by another's enjoying Posses-

Possessions which he has no Right or Pretence to, so they will share largely in these Possessions, by having more frequent and better Opportunities than their Fellow-Subjects, of preferring their Children, Relations, Friends, and Dependents; not to mention what Presentations they have in their own Power. Indeed, every Man, of any Condition, has an Interest in them, as he has a Chance of sharing Preferments himself, or getting them for his Family; and therefore it is wild to fear that any Interest in *England* can shake an Establishment which so many Interests must concur to support, unless those who are in Possession of its Advantages should, by endeavouring to take away from others their Rights, force them to make Reprizals, and to do what, I dare say, no Man in *England* now intends, and but few desire.

I have wondered, therefore, to hear some Men of good Understanding and unquestionable Integrity, apprehend any Danger to the legal Constitution of the Church, and cannot guess from what Quarter they can fear it. The *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, and *Quakers*, are no Candidates for Ecclesiastical Power, but are by Principle against all Church Establishments amongst themselves. The *Quakers* have no Clergy at all; and the Two former allow their Ministers no Superiority above the rest of their Congregations; and 'tis certain, all of them have much more favourable Opinions of the National Clergy, than of the *Presbyterians*, (the only Rivals for Church-Power) from whom they apprehend, and have always found, much worse

worse Usage than from the Church. They desire nothing but Liberty of Conscience, and do not envy others Preferments, which they cannot enjoy themselves. 'Tis true, the *Presbyterians* are Candidates for Church-Dominion; and without doubt their Priests have Hawk's Eyes at the Church Preferments, and wish often for them, if Wishes would get them; but what Facility, or, indeed, Possibility have they of obtaining them? They are an inconsiderable Body as to their Number; and as to their Figure, less; and as they grow rich, and leave Estates behind them, their Sons (for the most part) desert their Congregations and Interest: Besides, they are divided now into Two Parties, *viz.* the *Subscribers*, and *Nonsubscribers*; the latter of which, much the most considerable for Fortune and Understanding, are come, for the most part, into the Principles of general Liberty and Independency, nor will ever trust their Clergy with the Power they pretend to, and which they claim from Scripture; and by Degrees, many of these, in all probability, will come into the Church.

No Prince can ever be in the Interest of *Presbytery*; and I believe there never was one in the World, who was a true *Presbyterian*; for as that Government is purely *Democratical*, so it is calculated only for a popular State; and in Fact, subsists no where else in the World, unless in *Scotland*, where there have been frequent Struggles between the Crown and them. King *James* the First was so plagu'd with them, that he was visibly partial to the *Papists* against them: *Charles* the First, by Violence,

olence, destroyed their Establishment; and King *Charles* the Second, though called in by them, and supported by them against his Parliament, yet immediately turned upon them: For though they would have been glad to have had a King modelled to serve their Purposes, yet that King had more Wit than to have them. For the same Reasons, the Nobility and Gentry, of few Countries, who by their Births, Fortunes, and near Access to the Throne, claim and enjoy a Distinction above the inferior Rank of Mankind, can never be heartily in the Interest of that Sort of Government; and 'tis certain, that many of the Nobility and Gentry in *Scotland*, have never been favourable to it. And this is true, and perhaps the chief Reason why so many of them now are *Jacobites*.

The *Presbyterian* Clergy claim a Right from Scripture, to be independent of the Civil Power in all Things which relate to Spirituals, of which they pretend to be Judges; and in Fact, their Synods in *Scotland*, whatever they do now, formerly did not allow the Crown Power to adjourn or dissolve them, though they were forced to submit to it; and I am told, at present, they always adjourn by their own Authority, though they take especial Care it shall be to the same Time the Crown appoints; which still keeps up their Claim against a proper Occasion. I do not avouch the Truth of this, and hope it is not true. Now 'tis certain, the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who have actually the Power of governing their Clergy, will never be governed by them, whatever Vi-
sions

sions weak Men of any Denomination may flatter themselves with, nor will ever submit to the *Presbyterian* Discipline, and to let Monks and Cynicks govern their Families, turn the Heads of their Wives, Children, and Servants, and controul their own Actions. Nor will the other Sectaries, as has been said, who are already possessed of a free Liberty of Conscience, endeavour to put Power in the Hands of those who will be sure to take it away, as they did in *New England*, though they went there to get it for themselves. So that the Danger of settling *Presbytery* in *England*, is a mere Chimera; and when by the Chance of a long Civil War, they were actually got in Possession of a Power, which during the Continuance of it they disclaimed, they could not hold it even for a few Years.

The only Ball of Contention which seems to be now amongst Churchmen, is the Sacramental Test, which excludes Dissenters from Offices; which they think they have a Right to in common with their Fellow-Subjects, having done nothing to forfeit it; but this seems to me to be a Dispute only *de lana Caprina*: For 'tis certain, that not one Dissenter in *England* would be in any Office of Value, if that Law was repealed, more than there are now; for they always qualify themselves, if they can get good Places, and take Advantage of the Law to keep themselves out of chargeable ones; so that the Churchmen alone suffer by that Statute. The King, by Act of Parliament, as well as Interest and Education, will be of the Established Church; and the Nobility

bility are all, or almost all, so too, and no Doubt but they will give the Preference in all Preferments to those of their own Opinions; nor can it ever happen but that Men, who can have Qualifications to fill any considerable Employments, will have Wit enough to find out that there is no religious Difference between the Church and *Presbyterian* Establishments, except in the Interests of their Clergy, which no wise Man will think considerable enough to differ about, and to separate upon that Score from the National Discipline, very few excepted, who will find their Account in settling themselves at the Head of a Faction, and selling it. So that this Question appears to me, only to be a Party Puncto, and scarce worth asking on the one Side, or denying on the other. Those amongst the *Whigs*, who most desire it, would not have the Appearance of Persecution stand in a Law, when in Effect there is no real Persecution; and 'tis certainly the Interest of the Clergy to gratify and oblige their dissenting Brethren in what costs them nothing; for one Act of Kindness will make more Converts in a Year, than they can make by Preaching at them in Twenty; however, till they see the Advantage in doing it themselves, I think no prudent Man will give them any Cause of Jealousy, by doing it against their Consent.

This being, as I conceive, the true State of our Church Differences, I shall conclude this Letter, by Application to our National Clergy. 'Tis not to be wondered at, that so many of their Predecessors regretted the Dimi-

nation which they suffered of their former Revenues and Grandeur at the *Reformation*; and that they often look'd back with wishing Eyes, and could not easily lose Sight of so agreeable a Prospect, without weighing enough the Impossibility of recovering the Power they lost from the Crown, and their Lands from the Nobility and Gentry, who had got Possession of them: Indeed it would have been a Wonder if they had done otherwise. But now almost Two Hundred Years Experience may convince them of the Impossibility of succeeding in such a Design. They have once lost All, by endeavouring to recover a Part; and lately had like to have lost their Possessions and Religion too, by attempting to give the Crown a Power, which they intended should be employed for their own Benefit, but was actually used against them; and I hope they are now pretty generally of Opinion, that 'tis their Interest to stand to their present Establishment, and be contented with the same Security for their own Possessions, as the rest of their Fellow-Subjects have, and to join with them in the Defence of Liberty, and the Laws of the Land.

I see with a great deal of Pleasure, many of them falling into these Opinions, and hope it will soon be the Opinion of the greatest Part of them: and then I dare boldly affirm, that all religious Distinctions will soon be at an End, which are now kept up more by Party Animosities, than any essential Difference of Opinion; for Men will always fly from the Sentiments of those whose Persons they hate,
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and whose Oppression they fear ; and such as are little concerned about Metaphysical, and as they think useleſs Notions in Divinity, will ſupport any Party againſt thoſe who would oppreſs all ; and therefore the moſt laudable, and indeed only Way of the Clergy's being ſafe themſelves, is to make other People ſafe, and then they will have the good Wiſhes, the Reſpect, and Protection of every honeſt Man in *England* ; and Multitudes of the Diſſenters, who will not be frightened or bullied out of their Opinions, will inſenſibly quit them of their own Accord, if it be only to ſave the Charge of paying ſeparate Miniſters, and to be in the Faſhion, when they can once give themſelves Leave to conſider coolly, that they differ about nothing, or nothing that is eſſential to Religion, or their own Interests. The Heat of the Sun made the Traveller immediately quit his Cloak, when the Bluſtering of the North Wind made him wrap it cloſer about him.

I am, &c.

S I R,

IT gives equal Occaſion of Mirth and Concern to wiſe Men, to ſee ſo many of the other ſort, Perſons of ſeeming Reverence, and with grave Faces, exerting themſelves with Warmth and Zeal for Opinions and Parties, with each a ſeparate Train or Chorus of leſſer

and subordinate Planets attending their Motions, and dancing after them. Whoever views these solemn Spectres at a Distance, will see nothing but Conscience, Contempt of worldly Honours and Preferments, and Minds superior to all Temptations; whereas all this Grimace to a nice Observer, will appear only to be a Project for picking Pockets, and getting away other Peoples Money; which, in reality, at present makes, and ever did make, most of the Squabbles which at any Time have disturbed the World. This I may possibly hereafter shew to be true, in most of the conspicuous Instances of publick and private Life; but at present I shall confine myself to those Gentlemen who deal in *Revolutions*.

There are a considerable Number of Politicians in all Governments, who are always Enemies to the present Establishment; not because it is an ill one, or because those who administer it betray their Trust, (which is a just and reasonable Ground of Complaint) but because they themselves are not in it: If they are so, all is well; but if they cannot be accepted upon their own Terms, or are afterwards turn'd out for Misbehaviour, then upon a sudden there is no Faith in Man, Fundamentals are struck at, no honest Man can serve, and keep his Integrity, and there is no Remedy but a total Change; and if that happens, and they can get into Power, nothing is mended but their own Faces and their Fortunes. Without doubt, every Man has a Right to Liberty, and to come at it by all Ways which do not bring a greater Inconvenience with it than the Benefit.

fit proposed does promise Advantage, and all just Attempts of that kind are commendable; but I speak now of a sort of Cattle, who think of nothing but their Fodder, who don't care who feeds them, or who is their Master, provided they have a Belly full, nor whether it is lawful Pasture, or Encroachment upon the neighbouring Soil.

I am so unfortunate as always to think, that a Man who is a Knave in his private Dealings, will never be a Saint in Politicks; and whoever does not do reasonable and just Things in Respect to his Neighbours, Relations, and Acquaintance, which he does know, will have little real Concern for the Titles of Princes, whom he does not know. Indeed it seems to me, that there cannot be a greater Ridicule in Nature, than for any Man to pretend to be concerned for the personal Interest of another, whom he is not acquainted with, has no Means of being acquainted with, and probably would not be acquainted with upon equal Terms, unless he can hope to find a farther Account in it, in going Snacks with him.

It is certain, that every Man's Interest is involved in the Security and Happiness of a good Prince, from whom he receives Protection and Liberty; but for one who has no Concern for publick or private Justice, who does not care what becomes of his Neighbour's Rights and Possessions, would make no Difficulty of cheating any Prince he served, or oppressing those in his Power; I say, for such a one to set up for Loyalty, and the Right Line, and to hazard his Life and Family for Con-

science Sake, is such a Farce, that if Mens Thoughts were not so wholly taken up with their own Cheating, that they minded not other People's, no one could be deceived by such false Appearances.

I must beg Leave, therefore, of these Gentlemen to take it for granted, that all this Zeal is for themselves, and only a Struggle for Money and Employments, and to get that by a Revolution, which they want Merit or Means to get without it; and I will here endeavour to shew them, that they are taking abundance of Pains, and running as much Hazard, to attain what they will never catch. But I would not be understood here to apply myself to those Men who are in desperate Circumstances, and whose Condition may be bettered, and cannot be made worse by Confusion; nor to the poor Visionaries and Enthusiasts, who are the Cats-Foot to the former, and are by Nature prepared to be the Dupes and Tools of Ambition and Design; but to the very few amongst them, who are tolerably easy in their own Affairs, and do not want common Understanding; and to these I may safely say, that their Passions and Prejudices hurry them away from their real Interests, to pursue Shadows and Imaginations, and to make those whose Greatness they envy, yet much greater.

A Prince long kept out of what he calls his Dominions, will, upon a Restoration, always bring back with him a Juncto of upstart Mamamouchi, with a huge Train of half-starv'd Beggars dangling after them, who through

Necessity

Necessity have followed his Fortunes, flattered his Vices, and will expect to have his Ear, and the Disposal of his Favours. This ragged Crew, who have been long the Outcasts of Fortune, know, for the most part, nothing of Government, or the Maxims necessary to preserve it, unless to talk about the Divine Right of their Master, and the Injury done to so good a Prince; but with Arbitrary Principles pick'd up in their Travels, Minds sower'd with Wants and Disappointments, hungry Bellies, and ravenous and polluted Claws, finding themselves at once, metamorphos'd from mock Ministers and Magistrates to real ones, glutted with sudden Plenty, and rioting in Profusion, which they before enjoyed only in Imagination, will become of course proud, insolent, and rapacious, and think of nothing but to redeem the Time they have lost, to raise hasty Fortunes, and will endeavour to get them as they can; and consequently will sell their Matter to those who can or will give most for him, which will be ever those who have got most by keeping him out.

The Court Language will be immediately changed: It will be said, the Prince must submit to the Necessity of his Affairs; that his Enemies must be brought into his Interest, who may be otherwise able to perplex his new Government; and besides, having by long Experience been used to Employments, and the Management of the publick Revenue, must be continued till others are equally qualified to supply their Offices; that his Majesty has a grateful Memory of the faithful Services of his

true Friends; that he will provide for them all by Degrees, as fast as the others can be turned out, but they must have a little Patience, and not be too importunate; and so after two or three Years daily Attendance, with old Coats new furbished, some good Words, now and then a good Dinner, and the Honour of whispering and joking with his Lordship, they will find themselves just where they set out, only with less Money in their Pockets; will see their Enemies in Possession of all the Employments; find out at last, that Courts and Courtiers are alike, become new Malecontents, and form themselves into a Faction against the Government they ventured their Lives to bring about.

This was the Case upon the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, when the *Round-heads* had all the Offices, having got Money enough, whilst they were in Power, to buy them; and the poor starved *Cavaliers*, who had nothing but a good Conscience and past Services to plead, were laugh'd at, and could hardly get Admittance into the Anti-chamber. The Descendants of these are the modern *Whigs*, and of the other, for the most part, the present *Tories*. Nor can it happen otherwise in the Nature of Things; for those who have no Merit to offer but their Money, will always offer enough of it; and those who want it, will always take it. Besides, such as are conscious of their own Demerit to their Prince, will use double Diligence to please him, and to wipe off past Scores; whereas those who pretend they have sacrificed All for him, will esteem

esteem his Favours received only as Payments of just Debts; and their Expectations are seldom to be satisfied, or they to be persuaded that their Services are enough considered. And it must proceed from a consummate Ignorance in humane Nature, not to know, that almost all Men, and especially Princes and Great Men, would rather engage new Debtors to themselves, than pay off old Debts to other People; would sooner create fresh Dependents, by conferring Favours which will be esteemed Obligations, than satisfy the Clamours and Importunities of such pretended Creditors and Duns, who will never be satisfied.

Besides, Princes, for the most Part, think all that can be done for them, is no more than Duty; and will throw off old Servants, who can do them no more good, as easily as old Shoes; grow weary of their long winded Tales about past Services, and will think themselves at Liberty to pursue their present Interests, and employ such who are most capable of serving them for the present, as those undoubtedly are who have established Interests, most Experience in Affairs, and Money always at hand to back their Pretensions.

Besides, when Matters in any Country are prepared for a Revolution, the poor starved Followers, or discontented Well-wishers to an abdicated Prince, will never have the Merit and Honour of making it, and can never, or very rarely, have Power enough to do so; for those who enjoy the Advantages of the Government in Possession, who are deep in its Councils, command its Fleets and Armies, and per-

haps have made it odious by their wicked Councils and Actions, are always the first to veer about, and make their Interest with the new Government, by being instrumental to bring it in: They have it often in their Power to do it, and great Sums of Money always at command to buy their Peace, and very frequently to keep their Employments, and so to go on where they left off; for a poor wandering Prince, eager to get a Crown (which he will conceit to be his own) will fall into any Measures, or join with any Persons, to obtain it; and for the most part be ready to drop his necessitous Followers, as easily as they would drop him, if they found it equally their Interest.

Of this Sort we have pregnant Instances in the Triumviri of *Rome*, of General *Monk*, and others formerly amongst our selves, and of a very great Lord in the latter End of King *James's* Time; but why should I name particular Instances, when every Revolution, which almost ever happened in the World, furnishes us with numerous ones, and will ever do so to the End of the World; unless the Power by which the Revolution is made, is so great, and so much in the Prince's Disposal, that he is under no Necessity of keeping Measures with any Person or Party, but is wholly at Liberty to follow his Inclinations, and gratify his Revenge and Passions; or is so intirely an Instrument of the Power he makes use of, or rather which makes use of him, that he must do whatever they would have him do, as was the Case in a good measure of *Marius* and *Sylla*, but I think cannot be the Circumstance of any Person.

Person now living; and I hope few of those, who wish for a Revolution, would accept it upon those Terms.

The starved Crew, who deal in Revolutions, are seldom Conjurers in Politicks; for no Man of Fortune, or a Grain of Understanding, would venture a single Hair of his Head for the Interest of another, educated in Pride and Ingratitude, and very probably one too of whom he knows nothing, and who knows nothing of him, nor will have the least Regard to his Hazards and Services; and then is not such an one a worthy Hero, and his particular Interest a worthy Cause for a Man of common Sense, and tolerable Fortune, to venture his Life and Estate for, by involving his Country too in a Civil War?

But there is another Reason still behind, which I fear these doughty Politicians never think of; namely, that they are doing the Work they pretend to oppose; which has sometimes inclined me to believe, that they have been employed and hired to act as they do. It is certain, that their ill digested Libels, without the least Notions of the Principles of Government, or shewing the least Disposition to mend it; their stupid Cant of a Right in Princes independent of the Happiness of the Society; their ill-mannered Reflections upon the Person of the Sovereign, whom most of them have sworn to, and their constant Invectives and Reproaches upon all Men, who are honest and wiser than themselves, do more Mischief to this Country, than their united

red Force, Counsels and Understandings could do Good, if they were inclinable to do it.

Weak Men, who know or suspect their Designs, will take no Measures with them for a common Good ; and those who laugh at their Follies, and are not afraid of being over-reached and outwitted by them, are ever reproached with their silly Designs. In fine, they are the only Support of those they pretend most to abhor ; and I believe I may venture to say, are the only Friends in the Kingdom which some Persons of Figure lately had, without intending to be so.

In my next Letter, I will endeavour to shew, that it is impossible to bring their wild Projects to bear, not with any Hopes of making many of them wiser ; but to convince better People, that they ought not to be bullied by the Sound of *Jacobitism*, and so diverted from concurring in the necessary Measures to serve their King, their Country, and themselves, by Bugbears and Phantoms ; for I dare venture to assert, that there is no Possibility of restoring the Pretender to *England*, but by taking such Measures to keep him out, as will be more terrible to the People than letting him in, if such can possibly be ; and I am sure every honest Man ought to do all in his Power, to prevent any Attempts of that Kind, which we are certain will receive no Countenance from his Majesty, and, I hope, from none of his present Ministry.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have promised in my last, to shew, that the Pretender's Game is altogether desperate in *England*, unless those, whose Duty and Interest in the highest manner oblige them to keep him out, pave the Way for his Return: And this I shall do, by shewing, that there is no Interest within the Kingdom, or out of it, capable of bringing about such a Revolution, and willing to do it. Indeed, such a Convulsion would shake the very Foundations of the Earth, and turn all Nature topsy-turvy. God knows, one *Revolution* is enough for one Age. I do not deny, but such an Event might have been brought about, if favoured by the Crown, by the Ministers and Officers in Power under it, and abetted by a great neighbouring Potentate, which many People (I hope falsely) think was our Case in a late Reign; and even then the Success would not have been certain; and if it had succeeded, I dare venture to be positive, that those who had been most forward to have brought him in, would have been amongst the first to have turned him out again.

I think no Man is now to learn, that Conscience, and the Opinion of Right, have little or nothing to do in Revolutions, but the Regretments of Men, and the gratifying the Views and Expectations of private Persons, or aggregate Bodies; and no formidable Sett of Men could

could have found their Account amongst us, in continuing him upon the Throne, upon the Terms he must have sat there. He is certainly a very weak Man, a great Bigot, and of a saturnine and morose Temper; and the near Prospect of the Possession of Three Crowns could not make him temporize with his then Interest, nor disguise his Religion to those who were contented to be deceived, that they might deceive others; and therefore it is impossible to believe, that a Prince so qualified, provoked by his Expulsion, acquainted personally with few or none amongst us, and educated in the Religion and Maxims of *France* and *Rome*, restored by their Means, and supported by them, would act afterwards upon other Maxims than what he had before imbibed, and would be constantly inculcated into him by his foreign Tutors abroad, and his Priests at home.

Such Conduct would quickly have made those, who most espoused his Interest at first, soon turn upon him, as they did before upon his Father; and so many Interests in *Europe* were concerned to separate *England* from a Dependence upon *France*, that they would never have wanted a strenuous Assistance, as his Father found to his Cost, when all the Popish Princes, except *France*, preferred the Interests of their States before the Interests of their Religion, as *France* it self would have done upon the like Motives. I hope I shall be forgiven by the Gentlemen of this Cast of Loyalty, if I say, that they have sufficiently shewn to the World, that they will espouse the Interests of no Prince any longer than he serves theirs; and

I conceive it is impossible to suppose a Circumstance that Prince could be in, to answer both their Views, considering his Prejudices and Dependences.

But whatever might have been practicable then, the Case is far otherwise now: We have a King upon the Throne, who will not be sung out of his Dominions as the late King *James* was: He will have some Troops at home, who will certainly stand by him: He has great Dominions of his own abroad, and is sure of the Support of powerful Neighbours: His Strength, and that of his Allies, at Sea is so great, that no Invasion can be made upon him, but by Stealth; and that must be always a very inconsiderable one, and cannot be supported but by Accidents. Very many, and I hope by far the greatest part of the Nobility, Gentry, and People are devoted to his Person and Title, and would be glad to serve him upon the Bottom of Liberty and his true Interest: The dignified Clergy shew their Loyalty in the manner which is most acceptable to him, and every Month adds to their Number by new Creations; and we may reasonably hope, that the rest will not be long left behind.

All who are concerned in the publick Funds, which contain a fourth or fifth Part of the Wealth of the Kingdom, must support an Establishment which supports them, and which if lost, they are undone and lost with it; and every Man who has Property, or the Means of acquiring Property, and has any common Understanding, and a Love for himself and Liberty, must know that so many Interests, and so

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supported, cannot be shaken but by a long Civil War, and by making *England* the Stage and Field for all the Nations in *Europe* to fight out their Quarrels in; and that such a War must end in making us the Prize of the Victor, and subject us either to a foreign Power or a domestick Tyrant, if we have not the Happiness to be restored to our present Establishment again; and then we shall have had a Civil War for nothing.

If we did not see by daily Experience, that there is not an Opinion in Philosophy, Religion, or Politicks, so absurd, but it finds out Heads wrong enough turn'd to embrace it; I should not think it possible, that any Person, who is not a professed or concealed Papist, could wish for such a Revolution, or any one else fear it, and much less that they should fear it from abroad.

It is certain, the Emperor has so many personal as well as political Ties and Motives to engage him in the King's Interests, arising from Obligations received, from more expected, and as it is said contracted for in regard to his *Italian* Dominions, from their mutual Dependences upon one another in *Germany*, and above all, from the Interests of their several Dominions, that it is politically impossible but that he must do all in his Power to support him in his Throne; for when two Nations are so situated, that they have nothing to fear from one another, and have a common Interest to watch and oppose a third Power formidable to both, they must be natural Allies without the Help of Treaties; and whatever little occasional or personal

personal Differences may happen between the Princes who govern them, yet whilst the Interest of their Dominions are friendly, they will never long continue Enemies, and though they do so, yet will always help one another upon any Emergency.

I think I may safely say, that the King has much to hope, and nothing to fear, from the Lesser Princes of *Germany*, in respect to his *English* Dominions; for many of them can, and will help him, and none of them can do him any harm.

The Safety and Preservation of *Holland* is so entirely dependent, and wrapt up in our present Establishment, that they must venture all to defend it. We are oblig'd by Interest, as well as Treaties, to support them against every Power that is capable much to offend them; and their Interest is to keep us in a Situation and Condition to do so; and tho' without doubt they emulate and fear the great Naval Power of *England*, and our Possession of *Gibraltar*, and would please themselves, and laugh in their Sleeves to see us encrease our Burthens, and enervate our State by airy and romantick Expeditions to do their Business, whilst they lie still, ease their Subjects, and pay off their Debts, yet they will never suffer *England* to fall under the Dependence of *France*, *Spain*, or *Rome*, tho' they very well know how to make mercantile Advantages of the Weakness of those they have to do with.

The Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* can never have a joint Interest to insult us, and at present neither of them have so; for it is said we
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are engaged by Alliances, to support them against one another, and every one else who has Power enough much to annoy them; nor can they be sure that ever *England* again will find its Glory and Advantage in the Heroick Gallantry of engaging in the Squabbles of the North, when *France* and *Holland* (vastly more concern'd in the Event) find theirs in lying still, and letting them agree as they fall out

The *Czar* can have no Motives from the Interests of his Dominions, to quarrel with a People from whom his Subjects enjoy an advantageous Trade, and with a Power too which he can't hurt, and which can hurt him: We are no Rivals for adjacent Territories, and he can't rival us in Maritime Power and Trade; and both of us can find our Account in Friendship, and neither in Enmity. His Encroachments in the *Baltick* have hitherto done us no Mischief, but on the contrary has open'd a new Market for Naval Stores, and render'd our Supplies from *Sweden* and *Denmark* less precarious: Indeed his conquering either of those Crowns would be very mischievous, but much more so to other Nations than to us, who may be easily supply'd with Naval Stores from our own Plantations; and therefore if his neighbouring or distant trading Nations apprehend such an Event, they will certainly join together to oppose it, and implore our Assistance upon our own Terms, tho' undoubtedly they will be much better pleas'd, if we do it for them without asking theirs.

Therefore

Therefore if any Subjects of ours have given him just Cause of Offence, and made him a personal Enemy to our Country, we ought to deliver them up, or punish them at home; and if any Nation in Alliance with us, and in Enmity with him, can find their Interest in quarrelling with him, let them quarrel by themselves, and make up their Squabbles as they can. or get the Assistance of those who have Political Motives to oppose his Progress, and put a stop to his growing Power: I doubt we shall have enough to do to defend ourselves; and therefore I hope we shall not undo our selves yet farther to conquer for others, and in Instances too which in Times to come may prove fatal to our selves.

The States of *Italy* are Interested to preserve the Naval Power and Greatness of *England*, if we pursue the Measures which are most advantageous to our selves, namely, to meddle no farther with their Affairs, than to carry on an advantageous Trade with them, and by friendly Offices, proper Negotiations, and perhaps sometimes by the Shew of Force, to protect them against the greater Powers which threaten them. It is certainly their Interest, that we should keep Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, if we make a right and honest Use of them; for we have nothing to desire from them, but what 'tis their Interest to give, nor they to fear from us, whilst we act as *Englishmen*; but if we should ever sacrifice our own Interests to such as are not our own, we must thank ourselves if we make Enemies of those who would be glad to be our Friends.

It is certainly the Interest of the Kingdom of *France* to have an impotent Administration, and a distracted State of Affairs in *England*, and a Prince at the Head of them, that either from Weakness cannot, or from other Motives and Dependences will not obstruct the Union of the *Spanish* Monarchy to their own, which would soon give them the Possession of it effectually as if they had conquer'd it; but the Interest of the Regent, who governs *France*, is far otherwise: The appearing Prospect, and probable Chance of that Crown's descending to him, or his Posterity, will engage him to support a Power which can alone support him, and which has every Motive to do so: In such a Circumstance of Affairs, no Interest in *France*, except his immediate Dependents, can abet his Personal Pretensions against the Interests of all *France*, and therefore he must depend upon foreign Alliances; and *England* alone can be safely rely'd upon, who have no Claim to any Part of his Dominions, or Interest and Desire to seize them; which cannot be said of the Emperor, or any other Potentate, who has Power and Motives enough to assist him.

I have wonder'd therefore at the Weakness of many among our selves, who can be so often elated or terrified with the Designs of the Regent, who can never conspire against us, without conspiring against himself; and no Provocation even on our Part could make him undermine and betray, in so tender an Instance, his own Interest. I doubt not but he wishes *Gibraltar* out of our Hands; and if Negotiations or big Words can prevail upon us to part with
it,

it, I presume they are easily to be obtain'd, but he will never join with *Spain* to force it : this Danger therefore is a meer Bugbear, made use of to delude the *Jacobites*, and intimidate honest Men, and by making the first plot, or prate and bounce, to govern the others.

So that the Pope excepted, who can do us no harm by his own Force, the King of *Spain* alone is the Power in *Europe* that can be concern'd to favour the Pretender's Interest ; nor could he find his Account in it, unless to open his Way to the Crown of *France*, in Case of the young King's Death.

The Divine Right of Monarchy in the Right Line is so well establish'd in Arbitrary Countries, that I dare say that Prince would be sorry to depend upon a forced Renunciation and the Power of *Spain*, to defend himself against his Nephew, if other Powers were not at hand to assist him ; and no Power in *Europe* can do it effectually but *England* ; and whilst there is a King at the Head of it, who will pursue his own and his Peoples true Interest in protecting him, and preserving the Friendship which for more than an Age has been propitious to both Kingdoms, and has the Means by the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, of resenting any Injury done on his Part ; it is wild to think that at great Hazard and Expence he would attempt to bring about a Revolution which may engage us in a long Civil War, and disenable us to give him the Protection he can receive no where else.

Therefore, if he is favourable to the Pretender's Interest, it must be owing to personal Resentments,

Resentments, or his Views towards the Crown of *France*. I hope we shall give him no more Cause for the first; and as to the latter, he has the Interests of the Regent, of all *Germany*, *Italy*, the States of *Holland*, and indeed of all *Europe* against him, as well as the united Interest of his own Subjects, who will not be contented to be a Province to *France*; and I may venture to assert, that whilst we keep the Possession of *Gibraltar*, and make a proper Use of it, he can neither effect the one nor the other; namely he can never make himself King of *France*, nor the Pretender King of *England*.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE Subjects which Men understand least, are generally what they talk of most, and none so much as of Government, which almost every Man thinks he has Talents to direct, and like *Sancha Pancha*, believes he can make a very good Viceroy: He thinks nothing is necessary, but to get at the Helm, where his Business is to Command, and that of others to Obey; and then, as the aforesaid *Sancha* (Viceroy-like) says, Who but I? But to govern a State well, is the most difficult Science in the World; and few Men, who have ever been in the Possession of Power, have known what to do with it, or ever understood

derstood the Principles upon which all Power is founded; and their Mistakes have made endless Havock amongst Mankind.

Government is Political, as a humane Body is Natural Mechanism; both have proper Springs, Wheels, and a peculiar Organization to qualify them for suitable Motions, and can have no other than that Organization enables them to perform; and when those Springs or Principles are destroyed by Accident or Violence, or are worn out by Time, they must suffer a natural or political Demise, and be buried, or else smell above Ground; and though neither of them ought to be murdered, yet when they are dead, they ought to be interred.

Now it is most certain, that the first Principle of all Power is Property; and every Man will have his Share of it in Proportion as he enjoys Property, and makes use of that Property, where Violence does not interpose. Men will ever govern or influence those whom they employ, feed, and clothe, and who cannot get the same necessary Means of Subsistence upon as advantageous Terms elsewhere. This is natural Power, and will govern and constitute the political, and will certainly draw the latter after it, if Force is absent; and Force cannot subsist long without altering Property; so that both must unite together, first or last, and Property will either get the Power, or Power will seize the Property in its own Defence; for it is foolish to think, that Men of Fortunes will be governed by those who have none, and be plundered to make such whom they despise, and have every Day new Reasons
to

to hate, rich and insolent : And on the other hand, Men will contentedly submit to be governed by those who have large Possessions, and from whom they receive Protection and Support, whilst they will always emulate their Equals. Tho' the People of *Rome* extorted a Law from the Senate, that Commoners might be admitted into the chief Offices of the State jointly with the Nobles ; yet all the Address and Power of the Tribunes could not for a long Time make them chuse one of their own Body into those Offices, till Commoners had got Estates equal to the Nobility ; and then the Ballance of Property turning to the People, they carried all before them.

The only true despotick Governments now in the World, are those where the whole Property is in the Prince ; as in the Eastern Monarchies, that of *Morocco*, &c. where every Man enjoying what he has by the Bounty of his Sovereign, has no Motive or Means to contend with him, but looks upon him as his Benefactor ; and such as have no Property, do not think themselves to be injured : But when Men are in Possession of any Thing which they call their own, and think they have a Right to enjoy it, they will ever contend for it, when they have the Means to do so, and will always take Advantage of every Exigence in their Prince's Affairs to attain that Right. Other Princes, who have a Mind to be as Arbitrary as the former, and wanting either the Capacity or the Power to acquire this natural Dominion, seize by Violence the Productions of their Subjects Estates and Industry, which

is a constant State of Force on one Side, and Oppression on the other; it perpetually provokes the People, and yet leaves them often the Means of revenging the Injustice done them, and must end in the former Government, or in the setting up some new Form by the Extinction of the Tyranny; whereas in the other, tho' the Monarchs are often destroy'd yet the Monarchy is preserved intire, there being no Interest in the State capable of shaking it.

But both these Sovereignties have one Mischief in common, and inseparable from them, *viz.* as they ever subsist by standing Armies, so they must ever be subject to the Caprices and Disgusts of the Military Men, who often depose and murder their Sovereigns; but in the latter much oftner than in the former; for whilst the People have the Name, and as they think a Right to Property, they will always have some Power, and will expect to be consider'd by their Princes, and the Soldiers will expect to have Leave to oppress them, which will make continual Struggles; and the Prince finding himself oblig'd to take Part with one of them, often falls in the Struggle, which was the Case of the *Roman* Emperors, most of whom were slaughter'd either by the People, or their own Soldiers; whereas in a natural absolute Government, there is no Danger, but from the latter alone; and if he can please them, all is well, and he is safe.

But neither of these ought to be called by the Name of Government, but both indeed are only Violence and Rapine, and the Subjection of many Millions of miserable Wretches to the

wide and wanton Will of often the worst Man among them: They deface humane Nature, and render the bountiful Gifts of indulgent Providence useless to the World; and the best which can be said of them is, that they make the grand Tyrant and his inferior Oppressors as miserable and unsafe as the poor Wretches they oppress; nor should I have mention'd them as Governments, but to make what I have farther to say the better understood.

All other Dominions are either limited Monarchies, simple Aristocracies, Democracies, or Mixtures of them; and the Actions and Operations in those Governments, or the Continuance of those Governments, depend upon the Distribution and Alteration of the Ballance of Property; and the not observing the Variation and the frequent Changes of this *Primum Mobile*, causes all the Combustions we see and feel in States: Men who fancy themselves in the same Situation, as to outward Appearance, stare about them, and wonder what is become of the Power their Predecessors enjoyed, without being able to judge how they lost it by the floating of Property, think they have a Right to enjoy the same still, and so in spite of Nature, use Fraud and Violence to attain what they cannot hold, if it was attain'd; however, they will struggle for it, and this Struggle produces Contentions and Civil Wars, which most commonly end in the Destruction of one of the Parties, and sometimes of both.

Now it seems to me that the great Secret in Politicks is nicely to watch and observe this Fluctuation and Change of Natural Power,
and

and to adjust the Political to it by prudent Precautions and timely Remedies, and not put Nature to the Expence of Throws and Convulsions to do her own Work; I do not mean by altering the Form of the Government, which is rarely to be done without Violence and Danger, and therefore ought not to be attempted when any Thing else can be done, but by gentle and insensible Methods. Suppose, for Example, a limited Monarchy which cannot subsist without a Nobility: If the Nobles have not Power enough to ballance the great Weight of the People, and support the Crown and themselves, it is necessary to take some of the richest of the Commoners into that Order; if they have more Power than is consistent with their Dependence upon their Monarch, it is right to create no more, but to let those already created expire and waste by degrees till they become a proper Ballance: If the People by Trade and Industry grow so fast, that neither the Crown nor Nobles, or both together, can keep pace with them, then there is no way left but by using Violence to hazard what the two latter are already in Possession of by an unequal Contest; or by using Moderation and a beneficent Conduct, to let the former enjoy all they can hope to get by a Struggle, and voluntarily to give up all odious Powers of doing Mischief, tho' miscalled Prerogative, which must ever be a Power of doing good, when ordinary Provisions fail, and are insufficient.

Harry the VIIth, dreading the Strength of the Nobles, who had always plagued and sometimes destroy'd his Predecessors, found

Means to make them alienate a great part of their Estates, which threw a proportionable Power into the Commons; and his Son by seizing the Revenues of the Ecclesiasticks, (who usually caball'd with them) and dispersing those Estates amongst the People, made that Ballance much heavier; which Queen *Elizabeth* wisely observing, (tho' she lov'd Power as well as any who went before her) yet caressed them with so much Dexterity, that she preserv'd not only the Crown upon her Head, but wore it in its full Lustre, and by encouraging Trade, and lettng Nature take its Course, still encreas'd the Peoples Wealth and Power, which her Successor early saw and often lamented; but wanting her Moderation, Abilities and Experience, did not know how to temporise with an Evil which he could not help, but took a preposterous Way to cure it, and endeavour'd by the Assistance of the governing Clergy (who hop'd by his Means to recover what they lost at the Reformation) to regain a Power by Pulpit-haranguing and Distinctions which he durst not contend for with the Sword, and so his Reign was a perpetual Struggle between himself and his Parliaments: When they were quiet he bounc'd, and when they had thoroughly provok'd them, he drew back and gave good Words again; but by such Conduct he sowed the Seeds of that fatal and bloody Civil War which sprang up in the Reign of his Son, and ended in the Dissolution of the Monarchy, and soon after of all Liberty; for the General of the conquering Army set up himself, (as all others will ever do in the same Circumstance;) but the

the Property remaining where it was, this new Tyranny was violent and against Nature, and could not hold long, and all Parties united against it, and so the Nation was restor'd to its ancient Form of Government.

King *Charles* the 1st. came in with all the exterior Advantages requisite to enslave a People: The Nation was become weary of the Sound of Liberty, having suffer'd so much in their Struggle for it, and lost all they struggled for: The Clergy were provok'd by the Loss of their Dignities and Revenues; the Nobility and Gentry were universally distast'd and alienated by Sequestrations, and being so long depriv'd of the Offices and Distinctions they claim'd by their Birth; and the Body of the People had been harass'd and exhausted by a long Civil War, and were weary of being toss'd and tumbled once in a Month out of one Government into another; and all were prepared to accept and fall into any Measures which might satiate their Revenge upon those who had oppress'd them, and to root out the very Principles of Liberty, the Abuse of which had brought such Mischiefs upon them.

That Prince got a Parliament to his Mind (as all Princes will do upon a Revolution, when Parties run high, and will do any Thing to mortify their Opponents) and kept it in constant Pension; but Property remaining in the People, it insensibly gain'd Ground, and prevail'd at last: The People grew universally disaffected, and look'd upon the Parliament as a Cabal of perjur'd Hirelings, and no longer their Representatives, and the Nation was

work'd up into such a Ferment, that their Betrayers would not or durst not serve the Court, nor the Court keep them any longer. That Prince had Wit enough to drive Things no farther than they would go, and knew when it was Time to give back; but his Brother, with less Understanding and a much worse Religion than his Predecessor openly profess'd, hop'd to accomplish what he had attempted, or despair'd of bringing about; and how he succeeded we all know. I gladly throw a Veil over what has happen'd since, and hope I shall hereafter have no Reason to repent it.

I shall only observe before I conclude this Letter, that there is no need of the caballing of different Interests, the uniting joint Councils, and concerting regular Measures, to bring about some of the greatest Events in humane Affairs; and consequently in great publick Exigencies, Oppressors will find no Security in the appearing Opposition of Parties, who like a Pair of Sheers will cut only what is between them when they seem most to threaten one another. When Nature has prepared the Way, all Things will tend to their proper Center; and tho' Men for some Time will dally and play with their lesser Interests, yet at last they will mechanically fall into their great ones, and often without intending or knowing it; Men will always feel their Strength when they can't reason upon it, or are afraid to do so. I could name a Party that for above thirty Years together have acted in the Interests of Liberty, and for the greatest Part of the Time could not bear the Sound of Liberty, till at last great Numbers
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of them are caught by the Principles they most detested; which I intend as a reasonable Caution to all those who have the Honour to sit at the Helm of States, or to advise Princes, who may at any Time hereafter want such a *Memento*.

I shall, in my next Letter, endeavour to shew, upon the Principles here laid down, that *England* at present is not capable of any other Form of Government than what it enjoys, and has a Right to enjoy; and that another neighbouring State will with very great Difficulty preserve the Constitution they now are in Possession of.

I am, &c.

S I R,

T *Acitus* observed of the *Romans*, in his Time, *Quod nec totam libertatem nec totam servitutem pati possunt*; That they could neither bear full Liberty, or perfect Slavery. This is certainly the Case of *England* at present, if by Liberty is understood what I presume he meant by it, a Republican Form of Government. But I conceive Liberty may be better preserved by a well poised Monarchy, than by any popular Government I know now in the World, whatever Forms may exist in Imagination; but whether this be true or not, it is certainly true that no Man in his Wits will lose the Benefit of a very good present Establishment, and run infinite Hazards to try to get one a little better.

if he could have any Prospect of attaining it : But I shall endeavour to shew, that the effecting such a Project, is impossible ; and that during the present Distribution of Property, we can preserve Liberty by no other than what we have ; and in the Attempt to alter it, must run great Hazard of losing what we are in Possession of, or perhaps falling into an absolute Monarchy, or at best must return to the same again, as we have done once already by such Feats of Gallantry.

It proceeds from a consummate Ignorance in Politicks, to think that a Number of Men agreeing together, can make and hold a Commonwealth, before Nature has prepared the Way ; for she alone must do it. An Equality of Estate will give an Equality of Power ; and an Equality of Power is a Commonwealth, or Democracy : An *Agrarian Law*, or something equivalent to it, must make or find a suitable Disposition of Property ; and when that comes to be the Case, there is no hindering a popular Form of Government, unless sudden Violence takes away all Liberty, and to preserve it self, alters the Distribution of Property again. I hope no one amongst us has a Head so wrong turned, as to imagine that any Man or Number of Men, in the present Situation of Affairs, can ever get Power enough to turn all the Possessions of *England* topsy-turvy, and throw them in Average, especially any who can have a Will and Interest in doing it ; and without all this it is impossible to settle a Commonwealth here ; and I dare say, few desire it, but such as having no Estates of their own, or Means and Merit

to acquire them, would be glad to share in other People's.

Now 'tis certain, that the Distribution of Property in *England*, is adapted to our present Establishment. The Nobility and Gentry have great Possessions, and the former have great Privileges and Distinctions by the Constitution, and the latter have them in Fact, tho' positive Laws give but few of them, for their Birth and Fortunes procure them easy Admittance into the Legislature; and their near Approach to the Throne gives them Pretences to honourable and profitable Employments, which create a Dependence from the inferior Part of Mankind; and the Nature of many of their Estates, and particularly of their Mannors, add to that Dependence. Now all these must ever be in the Interest of Monarchy, whilst they are in their own; for Monarchy supports and keeps up this Distinction, and subsists by it; for it is senseless to imagine, that Men, who have great Possessions, will ever put themselves upon the level with those who have none, or with such as depend upon them for Subsistence or Protection, whom they will always think they have a Right to govern or influence, and will be ever able to govern whilst they keep their Possessions, and a monarchical Form of Government, and therefore will always endeavour to keep it.

All the Bishops, Dignitaries, or governing Clergy, all who have good Preferments in the Church, or hope to get them, are in the Interests of Monarchy, for the Reasons I gave in a former, and some others which I chuse not

to give now: They know very well too, that a popular Government would take away all Possessions which it should think fit to call superfluous, would level all the rest, and be apt to reason, that Christianity would fare never the worse if its Professors were less Politicians; of which they see before their Eyes a pregnant and very affecting Instance in *Holland*. All great and exclusive Companies are in the Interest of Monarchy, (whatever weak People have alledged to the contrary) for they can much easier preserve their separate and unwarrantable Privileges by Applications to the Vices and Passions of a Court, than by convincing a popular Assembly; and for the same Reason, all Officers who have great Salaries and exorbitant Fees, must ever be sure Friends to Monarchy. Rich Merchants, and indeed all rich Men, will be equally in the same Interest, and be willing to enjoy themselves, and leave to their Posterity all the Advantages and Distinctions which always attend large Fortunes in Monarchies.

After these (many of whom are Men of Virtue and Probity, and desire only to enjoy the Rights they were born to, or have acquired) follow and bring up the Rear all the whole Possessors of Debauchees, and riotous Livers, leud Women, Gamesters, and Sharpers; all who get by Oppression and unequal Laws, or the Non execution of good ones; who are ever for Monarchy and the right Line, as expecting much fairer Quarter from the Corruptions of Courtiers, than they can ever hope to meet with in popular States, who always de-

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stroy and exterminate such Vermin, of which sort (I thank God) we have none amongst us at present; but who knows how soon we may.

Now, without entering into the Question, Which is the best Government in Theory, a limited Monarchy, or a democratical Form of Government? I think I may safely affirm, that it is impossible to contend against all these Interests, and the Crown too, which is almost a Match for them all together; and the Phantom of a Commonwealth must vanish, and never appear again but in disordered Brains. If this is the true Circumstance of *England* at present, as I conceive it indisputably is, we have nothing left to do, or indeed which we can do, but to make the best of our own Constitution, which if duly administered, provides excellently well for general Liberty; and to secure the Possession of Property, and to use our best Endeavours to make it answer the other Purposes of private Virtue, as far as the Nature of it is capable of producing that End.

I have purposely declined the speaking of Aristocracies, because there can be no imaginary Danger of establishing such a Government here; for the Nobility have neither Property nor Credit enough to succeed in an Act of Knight-Errantry, or Will to attempt it; and the Gentry will ever oppose them, unless their Interests are taken into the Project; and both together are not able to contend with the Crown and the Body of the People, the latter of which will ever be in the Interests of Equality.

And

And now having mentioned Aristocracies, I shall make some Observations upon a neighbouring State, which is vulgarly mistaken for a Commonwealth, and is so in Nature according to the Ballance of Property there, but is politically an Union of several little Aristocracies, in many respects like some States of *Italy* in the first Time of the *Romans*, but contrived with much worse Policy: As it was jumbled together in Confusion, so it seems to me to subsist by Chance, or rather by the constant Dread of the two great successive Powers of *Europe*, viz. that of *Spain* formerly, and *France* since; for the Natural Power being in the People, and the Political in the Magistrates, it has all the Causes of Dissolution in its Contexture. Every Town is governed and subject to a little Aristocracy: within it self, who have no Foundation of suitable Property to intitle them to their Dominion; and each of those is independent of its Provincial State, and indeed of the States-General, nor have any Cheque upon their own Actions, but the Tumult and Insurrections of the People, who have the real and natural Power; and indeed, to do the Magistrates Right, they judge so well of their own Weakness and the Power of the People, that they seldom or never give them just Cause of Provocation; but by Frugality, publick Oeconomy, wise and timely Compliances, impartial Justice, and not raising great Estates to themselves at the other's Expence, they make their Subjects easy, and find their own Account in their Submission, whom they want Power to govern by the Force of Authority; and probably

bly will continue to make them so, whilst they keep to the same Maxims and their present Conduct: But this is no steady and durable Dominion; nor unless Mankind are formed there with other Appetites and Passions than in all other Parts of the World, can the same Prudence be always observed, which seems to me to be owing only to their Necessities, and that Virtue, Moderation, and Frugality, which is conspicuous in the first Rise of States, and is not yet quite spent but cannot last much longer; for when they cease to be kept together by the constant Dread of over-grown Neighbours, they will certainly think themselves at Liberty to play their own Games at home: Those who are in Possession of Power will know what it is good for; and those who have great Riches will fall into Luxury, then into Extravagance, and at last into Necessity; and others will vye with them, and follow their Example. When their Magistrates have impaired their Estates, or fancy they want greater, they will plunder the Publick; and others of equal Condition will emulate them, and begin to ask what right they have to the sole Enjoyment of Privileges and Employments, which they think themselves in all respects equally intitled to, and will not be content to be always Subjects to those who are no better than they are; and the People will be impatient in continuing to pay large Taxes to such who pocket them, but will endeavour to right themselves, and have Power enough to do so. These opposite Interests must raise Convulsions in the Body Politick, and produce all the Mischiefs which have happened in other States

States upon the like Occasions. Those who have Power, will endeavour to keep it, and those who suffer under it, will endeavour to take it away, and the Event will be in the Will of Heaven alone; but in all Likelihood will be some other Form of Government.

I take my Account of the Constitution of this State from others, who possibly may not be well informed of it, and I hope they are not so; for I should be very sorry to see the most virtuous and flourishing State which ever yet appeared in the World, perish of an internal Distemper; which ever since its Institution has been the Champion of publick Liberty, and has defended it self, and in a great Measure its Neighbours, from the two greatest Tyrannies which ever threatned *Europe*, and the Christian Religion.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Propose in this Letter to shew, and I hope to do it unanswerably, that nothing can be a greater Disservice to his Majesty's Interest, more fatal to his Ministry, or more destructive to his People, than to engage them in a new War, if there is but a bare Possibility of preventing it, let the Pretences be what they will. A new Fire seems to be now kindling in *Italy*, which in all Likelihood will blaze out far and wide; and without Doubt, many Princes will
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warm their Hands at it, whilst their Subjects will be burnt to Death: But I hope we shall have Wit enough to keep out of its Reach, and not be scorched with its Flames; but like some of our wiser Neighbours, shall lie still, and know how to make our Markets of the Follies and Misfortunes of others. We have been Heroes long enough, and paid the Price of our Gallantry and Credulity. We are got near sixty Millions in Debt, and have nothing for it but *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; and it is said, that some of our Allies have had the Presumption to expect these from us too; and I am sure, if They should be lost, or given away, we have nothing left wherewith to compensate any Power which we shall vanquish hereafter.

I hope no Man will be wild enough to make any Proposition for a new War to us; nor can I guess at any one Argument for it, but what I hope will be called Treason to his Sovereign and his Country. Old threadbare Reasons will hold no longer: People will not always deceive themselves, nor be deceived by others. We shall not hear being told again, *That England need but send a Message, or a Bucket full of Water, and the Fire will be extinguished.* That Argument has already cost us the Terror and Expence of providing against two Invasions, or intended Invasions; has lost or spoiled several great Fleets, destroyed Numbers of our Merchant Ships, encreased our National Debts many Millions, and perhaps brought upon us that noble Project to pay them off, and created the general Want of Trade, and, I doubt, that

that great Disaffection, which is so often complained of; and all the Reward we have met with, has been a Struggle to keep what we were in Possession of before, what was yielded to us by Treaties, and what there was no Pretence for Demanding, if we had thought it our Interest to have lain still.

I hope we shall never engage in a new War, before we have considered all the Consequences which will necessarily or probably happen from such an Engagement, and have thought how we shall get out of it, as well as how to get into it. The first Step draws in all the rest; and when we are in, we must go through. We may begin with Thousands, but must go on with Millions. A Message will produce a Quarrel, but Fleets and Armies must end it.

We well know and have long felt the Moderation of our Allies. We can no sooner engage in their Squabbles, but they become our own; and then we must pay them for doing their own Business, and largely too, or else they threaten to leave the War upon us; and when it is ended through our Means, always divide the Spoil amongst themselves, and endeavour to make us pay likewise for the Peace. I would be glad to know what any of them have ever done for us, or would suffer us to do for our selves, in return for all that we have done for them; or what Courtesy they have ever shewn to us *Englishmen*, as *Englishmen*? I hope therefore, that we too shall at last, in our Turn, consider only our own Interests, and what is best for our selves; and not ruin our selves yet further, and let others have

have the whole Advantage. But if we had no Occasion given us for these Complaints, we have another and a shorter Answer to give to our good Allies; namely, that by helping them so long, we are rendered incapable of helping them any longer; and that all Treaties must cease and become void, when it is impossible to perform them without utter Ruin to one of the Parties, and without destroying all the Ends for which these Treaties were made.

Let us take a short Prospect of the Journey we are to go, and consider what will be the Result of such an Undertaking. All Naval Armaments must be made at our Charge, and employ'd at a great distance from Home, to the Ruin of our Ships and our Seamen, and the Obstruction of our Commerce: Armies must be sent Abroad, or Money in the Name of Subsidies found out to pay those which are there already: More Armies must be kept at Home to oppose Invasions, and keep the People quiet: Great Land-Taxes must be raised, our Publick Funds be every Year increas'd, the People frighten'd with perpetual Alarms, which will sink the Price of the old Stocks, and consequently set an exorbitant Price upon the raising of new ones: We shall lose a beneficial Trade to *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*; and probably *Portugal* will take that Opportunity to execute what they lately attempted. The Czar too may think it a favourable one to acknowledge some past Obligations, and other Nations may judge it a proper Time to bite the Stone that was thrown at them; and then we shall have little or no Trade at all, all our
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Commodities and Manufactures will lie upon our Hands, and the People be starv'd, or subsist by Ways which no honest Man can wish, and all Men ought to dread.

If *France* engages on the different Side we must have her too for our Enemy; if on the same Side, there can be no need of our Assistance. But if she thinks it her Interest to lie still; she, who is the next Neighbour to both the Combatants, and is vastly more concern'd in the Event; what have we to do with them at this Distance, we who are no wise concerned whether the Emperor or *Spain* uses the *Italians* worst, or who has the Provinces contended for? When *Spain* had them, we suffered nothing by it; nor do I hear what we have got by the Emperor's being in Possession of them. I purposely avoid saying any thing of the States-General, because they will certainly have Wit enough to hug themselves in the Folly of others, and profit by it.

And what shall we get by such Feats of Knight-Errantry, but the disinterested Glory of serving others to our own Disadvantage, and the Character of pious Christians, in treating those kindly who despitefully use us? Oh, but some tell us, that we are bound by Treaties to preserve the Neutrality of *Italy*: Whether this is true, or the contrary is true, I know not; but if it is true, I doubt not but we shall be told how *England* came to be a Party to such a Treaty; what were the Motives for making it; what Equivalent we had for it; what Interest of ours was served by it; or what other Country, which we were concerned to preserve, was

to reap the Advantage of it. And we ought to enquire too how Treaties, made for our Benefit, have been kept by our Allies; because we are told (I hope, falsely) that one of them had once in his Custody the Pretender to the King's Throne, with several other Traitors to his Government, and yet instead of delivering them up, set them at Liberty; and lately one of them refused, or declined to deliver up a much greater Traitor, when earnestly requested by the Parliament, and, without doubt, importunately pressed by the King's Ministers.

I do not find that we have any Thing to fear from the King of *Spain*, if we do not give him Provocation; for the Secretary of State assured the Lord Mayor in his Letter since printed, that no foreign Potentate abetted, or gave any Countenance to the last intended Insurrection; and if he would not assist a Conspiracy actually, and, as we are told, deeply laid, there can be no Reason to believe that he will form a new one against a State that intends him no Harm, and can do him a great deal of Good; and surely it is not our Interest at this Time of Day to provoke him to do it in his own Defence. If he and the Emperor have a mind to make a Feast in *Italy*, let them bid whom they please to the Banquet, which without doubt will be a long one, and many neighbouring Princes will be gorged at it; but for us we have no Business there, unless to be Caterers, to supply the greatest Part of the Provision, and to pay the Reckoning for the rest. I once knew a Wager of Forty to One staked down to be spent. But instead of
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engaging our Country in such expensive and wild Whims, I hope we shall catch at so favourable an Opportunity, when those who can most molest us are together by the Ears, to do our own Business, pay off our Debts, settle our Trade, and reform all the Abuses of which we so justly complain.

But if such a War was ever so necessary, how shall it be supported? We find by woful Experience, that Three Shillings in the Pound has not maintained the current Expence of the Government, but we have run still in Debt. The Money given for the Civil List has not defrayed that Charge, but new and large Sums have been given to pay off the Arrears; which, it is said, are not yet paid off. New Salaries and new Pensions have been found necessary, to satisfy the Clamours of those who will never be satisfied; and the greater Occasions the Courtiers have, and the greater Necessities they are in, more will still be found necessary; for it is no News for artful Men to engage their Superiors in Difficulties, and then to be paid largely for helping them out of them again. The Customs and Excise are anticipated and mortgaged almost beyond Redemption: The Salt, Leather, Windows, and almost every Thing else that can be taxed, is already taxed, and some of them so high, as to lessen the Produce, and they are appropriated to pay off Debts due to private Men.

What new Sources will be found out to maintain a foreign War, and a much larger Expence in our own Country, which will be necessary to defend us against Enemies Abroad, whom

whom we shall provoke, and against discontented People at Home, who, it is to be feared, may say that they are oppressed and starved? One additional Shilling in the Pound upon Land, if the Parliament can be persuaded to give, and the People be easy in paying it, will be but as a Drop of Water thrown into the Ocean, whatever may be pretended at first; and then for all the Remainder we must run in Debt, if we can get any one to trust us; and, where shall we raise new Funds? Here I doubt our Publicans, and Inventors of new Grievances, will be at their Wit's End: It is certain that the greater the Difficulty is in raising them, the greater must be the Price for raising them; and the present Stocks will be less valuable in Proportion, as new Demands make more necessary.

But suppose, to the infinite Dissatisfaction of the People, and the utter Ruin and Destruction of all Trade, the little which is not already taxed, could be taxed, and turned into Funds to create new Markets for Stock-Jobbers, and enough could be raised to maintain a War for two or three Years; what shall we do next? It is most sure that the Difficulty of obtaining a Peace, will grow in exact Proportion, as we become less capable to carry on the War; and what Assistance, think ye, my Countrymen, shall we have from our good Allies to obtain a Peace? Without doubt, we shall pay the Piper at last, and they will parcel out the contended Dominions amongst themselves, and attempt to make us give up *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to bind the Bargain; and to pay besides a large
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Sum of Money for the Ships we shall have destroyed, and the other Mischiefs which we shall have done, and which we need not do. I hope it will never be our Lot to assist some of our Neighbours at a vast Expence, and then reward them at a further Expence for accepting our Assistance ; and to beat others of our Neighbours, to our own Loss as well as theirs, and pay them afterwards for having beat them : What would the World think of us in this Case, but that as *France* had got the Plague, *England* had got the Phrenzy ; and that we were weakening ourselves as fast with our own Hands, as the Divine Hand had weakened them ?

But if after all, we cannot get a Peace, or shall think fit not to submit to the honourable Conditions which our honest and faithful Confederates shall judge good enough for Hereticks, what shall we do then ? They will have no Motives to serve us when they have done their own Business, or rather when we have done it for them ; and they have sufficiently shewn already what Inclination they have to serve us ; and if ever they have done it, they have been well paid for their Pains : What Condition shall we then be in to oppose one or more powerful Neighbours, and perhaps victorious ones too, when we are enervated and exhausted, when our People are discontented at Home, and we have no regular Means to maintain Fleets and Armies, who must be forced to maintain themselves if we cannot maintain them ? These Mischiefs (and terrible ones they are) may be easily foreseen, and ought to be prevented, if

we would prevent absolute and conclusive Ruin? What, think you, must in such a Circumstance of Affairs, become of the Funds? If we lie still, they are lost of Course; and if we apply them to our necessary Defence, Thousands and Thousands of innocent People must be undone and become desperate, and infinitely inflame the popular Discontents, and still make more Taxes, more, more Oppressions necessary: And yet who will be found so hard-hearted, as not to sacrifice the Interests of Thousands to the Safety of Millions, when no other Resource is left?

Beware, my Friends, of the first Step, and know your whole Journey, before you move one Foot; when you are up to the Ears in Mire, it will be too late to look back. At first we may be told by our Confederates and their Creatures, that we need only bounce a little, and make a Shew of Force, and every Thing will go to our Mind; but a burnt Child will dread the Fire: When we are engaged, we cannot retreat; one Step will draw another; it will not depend upon our selves, whether we shall go on or not; the Game will be then in other Hands, who will play it to their own Advantage, without regarding ours; and what we begin in Wantonness, will probably end in our Confusion.

What then must we think of any Men amongst us, who would draw all these Mischiefs, these inevitable Mischiefs, upon their Country? They must certainly be egregiously foolish or consummately wicked. I hope, and believe, there are no such; but if there are, without
doubt

doubt they have taken their Measures, and have thought how to save themselves, whatever becomes of their Country; but in that too they may chance to be mistaken.

If it is necessary to the publick Safety to keep eight or ten Camps in Readiness for Action in Times of full Peace, and when there is no outward Appearance of publick Disturbances, and no foreign Power promotes or abets any such; How many Camps will be necessary when we have Enemies assaulting us from Abroad, and combining and intriguing with our own Native Traytors at Home, especially if the People should be made still more uneasy by laying Burdens upon them which they cannot bear nor stand under? For my own Part, I can see no steady Source or continuing Cause for the Disaffection so much complained of, but the great and heavy Variety of Taxes, of which our Ancestors knew nothing, and which it is a Sort of a Science now to know; and I doubt that Disaffection will not be cured by adding to the Number.

We can never, therefore, behave ourselves with more true Duty to his Majesty, give better Advice and Assistance to his Ministry, or acquit ourselves with more Fidelity to our Country, than by opposing, in the most vigorous Manner, such Measures as threaten them all with Ruin; and by shewing the utmost Resentment against any ill-designing Persons, who would wickedly and traiterously sacrifice a great, free, and opulent Kingdom, to mad Whimfies, or the pitiful mean Interests of little States.

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S I R,

BOCCALINI tells us, that *Archimedes* was beat by the Bravoes in *Parnassus*, for finding out a Mathematical Demonstration, by which it was plainly proved, that all the Designs of great, as well as private Men, was dexterously to get Money out of other People's Pockets, and put it in their own. And 'tis certain this is the grand Design and Business of all Mankind, the chief if not the only Spring of all their Actions, and animates and inspires their best as well as worst Performances. And how commendable soever this may be in private Men, who already enjoy all the Conveniencies of Life, it is certainly the Interest and Duty of States, by all prudent and just Methods, to encrease their Wealth and Power, and in Consequence their Security and Protection. As Government is only the Union of many Individuals for their common Defence; so they cannot attain that desirable End, unless by Accident of Situation, superior Policy, or by sufficient Number, they can render themselves strong enough to repel the Injuries, and oppose the Insults, of ambitious and unruly Neighbours; otherwise they must submit to be undone, or throw themselves under the Protection of some greater Potentate, and accept such Conditions as he pleases to give, and for no longer Duration than he pleases.

As this is the greatest Mischief which humane Nature can suffer, so every honest and wise Man will endeavour to free himself, his Family, and his Country, from this abject, lamentable and forlorn Condition; and contribute all in their Power to make the State they live under, great, rich, and formidable. I have already at large shewn, that no State in a small Tract of Ground can be so, but by Liberty, which always produces Riches, and every Quality which can grace and adorn the Mind, and render Mankind preferable to the Brute Creation.

Now nothing can be called Riches, but as it is applicable, or rather as it is applied to the Use of Men. The vast Tracts of *North-America* feed only a few scattered and half-starved Inhabitants, whilst the barren Rocks of *Switzerland* maintain in Plenty great Numbers of wealthy and happy People. All *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Epirus*, together, have not so much Power now, as single Cities in them had formerly: Countries without Inhabitants will not defend themselves, nor are worth defending; nor will they maintain Inhabitants without their own Industry and Application. Every Nation is rich and powerful, in exact Proportion to the Numbers, the Employment, or the Idleness of its People, and the Power of the State is the accumulative Wealth of the Whole; that is, what every Man can spare for the common Defence, over and above what is necessary for his own Subsistence; so that to make a State great, the People must be made rich and happy: Their private Happiness will
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make them willing to defend their Country, and their Wealth will enable them to do it.

The Riches of private Men are such Things as are necessary or conducive to their personal Support, Convenience, or Pleasure ; but many other Things are necessary for the Defence and Augmentation of States. There must be Fortresses, Artillery, armed Ships, and Magazines of War, and proper Encouragements given to skilful Persons to make use of them. There must be often great Armies at Land, and Fleets at Sea, maintained and paid at the publick Expence, for the publick Security ; all which must be maintained out of the Superfluities of those who stay at Home ; and if they have not all those Materials necessary to their Preservation, or conducive to their private Happiness in their own Country, (as few Countries have) they must purchase them Abroad with the Produce of their own Country, or by Silver and Gold, which purchases all Commodities. Indeed, by the universal Consent of Mankind, Silver and Gold is become the Medium of all Commerce ; and every State, as well as private Man, is rich and powerful in Proportion, as he possesses or can command more or less of this universal Commodity, which procures all the rest ; all other Things are Riches only *hic & nunc*, but these will command every Thing, and almost every Person in the World.

Gold and Silver are the Natives but of few Countries, and the Propriety of but few Persons in those Countries, and can be obtained by others only by their Consent, or by Force and Rapine ; and consequently, no State can

grow more considerable than their native Soil will make them, but by robbing their Neighbours of what they themselves want or desire, or by perswading them to part with it willingly, that is, either by Arms or Trade; and which of these two will conduce most to the Happiness, Security and Augmentation of Empires, shall be the Subject of this Letter.

If we consider this Question under the Head of Justice and Humanity, what can be more detestable, than to murder and destroy Mankind, in order to rob and pillage them? War is comprehensive of most, if not all the Mischiefs which do or ever can afflict Men: It depopulates Nations, lays waste the finest Countries, destroys Arts, Sciences, and Learning, butchers Innocents, ruins the best Men, and advances the worst; effaces every Trace of Virtue, Piety and Compassion, and introduces Confusion, Anarchy, and all Kinds of Corruption in publick Affairs; and indeed is pregnant with so many Evils, that it ought ever to be avoided, when it can be avoided; and it may be avoided when a State can be safe without it, and much more so when all the Advantages proposed by it can be procured by prudent and just Methods.

All the Advantages procured by Conquest, are Security of what we possess our selves, or to gain the Possessions of others, that is, the Produce of their Country, and the Acquisitions of their Labour and Industry; and if these can be obtained by fair Means, and by their own Consent, sure it must be more eligible than to extort them by Force.

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This is certainly more easily and effectually done by a well regulated Commerce, than by Arms: The Ballance of Trade will return more clear Money from neighbouring Countries, than can be forced from them by Fleets or Armies, and more advantageously than under the odious Name of Tribute: It enervates rival States by their own Consent, and obliges them, whilst it impoverishes and ruins them: It keeps our own People at Home employed in Arts, Manufactures, and Husbandry, instead of murdering them in wild, expensive, and hazardous Expeditions, to the weakening their own Country, and the pillaging and destroying their Neighbours, and only for the fruitless and imaginary Glory of Conquest: It saves the Trouble, Expence, and Hazard of supporting numerous Standing Armies Abroad to keep the conquer'd People in Subjection; Armies, who for the most part too, if not always, enslave their own Country, and ever swallow up all the Advantages of the Conquests. I have often wondered at the Folly and Weakness of those Princes, who will sacrifice Hundreds of Thousands of their own faithful Subjects to gain a precarious and slavish Submission from bordering Provinces, who will seek all Opportunities to revolt; which cannot be prevented but by keeping them poor, wretched, and miserable, and consequently unable to pay the Charges of their own Vassalage; when if the same Number of Men and the same Sums of Money were usefully employed at Home, which are necessary to make and support the

Conquest, they would add vastly more to their Power and Empire.

It is not the Extent of Territory and vast Tracts of barren and uncultivated Land, which make States great and powerful, but Numbers of industrious People under a proper Oeconomy, and advantageously and usefully employed; and the same Number will be always more powerful in a small Tract of Ground than a great one: They here are always at hand to assist one another, to carry on Manufactures, and to promote and execute any great Designs: All the Materials of Trade and Industry are in place, and by that Means the Charges of Carriage prevented, which swallows the Advantages of Commerce, and renders it unprofitable. The impossibility of subsisting by Idleness, renders them industrious, Emulation rouses their Ambition, and the Examples of others animate them to desire to live in Splendor and Plenty; and all these Passions concur to set their Hands and Wits to work, and to promote Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures, to strike out new Trades, form new Projects, and venture upon Designs Abroad to enrich their own Country at Home.

Great Numbers of People crowded together, are forced by their Necessities to turn every Stone, and try every Method to support themselves and Families, and by doing so will trace and discover by Degrees all the Sources of Wealth. All Ways will be found out to make Trade commodious and profitable, numerous Contrivances be thought on to come at the Materials of Manufactures easily and at cheap Rates,

Rates, and to work them again at the lowest Prices. Rivers will be made navigable, Engines invented, which with the Assistance of few Hands, shall supply the Labour of Multitudes; Store-houses will be built to deposit Goods in, whilst they wait for Markets; Fisheries will be erected, Colonies planted to furnish new Commodities and new Materials of Commerce, and will vent too and carry off those turbulent and unruly Spirits, who are unfit to live in a peaceable State, and must rob, hang, or starve there. By all these laudable Methods, and many more, Riches will be amassed, Money become cheap, and the Interest of it lessened; and the lowering the Interest of Money will open new Trades, and still bring in more Money, as well as improve the Native Territory, encrease vastly the Purchase of Land, and encourage the building of Cities and Towns: for the less Men expect for the Interest or Profit of their Principal, the more they can afford to lay out in Trade, Building, or Husbandry, to return but the same Income, and consequently can grow rich by the Commerce and the same Improvements, which would undo Nations where the Interest of the Money is higher.

There are few Countries in the World. but by a due Culture would maintain many Times the Inhabitants which possess it, better than they are at present maintained. Our indulgent Mother will readily yield up her hidden Stores to such of her Children, as make a proper Courtship and Application to her: The Treasures of the Earth and Seas are inexhaustible;

one Acre of Ground well manured, cultivated, and sowed with Corn, will produce Ten-times as much for the Sustainance of Man, as ten Acres not cultivated, or ill cultivated: And one Acre in Gardens will produce Ten times as much as in Corn; and it is much easier, cheaper, and profitable, to improve our own Country, and so encrease its Productions, than to fetch the like Productions by Force from others. It is more safe, as well as virtuous, to accept the willing and chaste Embraces of conjugal Affection, than by Violence to extort forbidden and dangerous Pleasures, and which for the most part, if not always, fail our Expectations.

But supposing the Soil belonging to any Nation should not be sufficient to support all its Inhabitants, which I believe is the Case of *Holland*, yet it is certain they may purchase from their Neighbours what they want for very much less than they can earn at Home in Arts and Manufactures. Labour in Husbandry is the least profitable Employment in the World, and ten Men so employed will not earn the Wages of one good Artist, and the meanest Mechanicks and Artificers earn more than Husbandmen, and consequently have a Surplus from their own Labour after they have bought the Production of the other's Industry. This is the Circumstance of Cities and trading Towns, who have no Growth of their own, and yet grow rich by retailing and manufacturing the Growth of the neighbouring Countries, over and above what they consume for their own Subsistence and Use; and the same is true of trading

trading States. As *Tyre*, and other free States did formerly, so *Holland* at present grows vastly Rich and Formidable, by keeping its Neighbours employed in the poor and menial Trade of Husbandry, whilst they employ their own People in Arts and Manufactures; a small Part of which supplies them with the Productions of the other's Labour, and with the rest they purchase a great Part of the Riches of the World; and by those Means they have made themselves more considerable in that little Spot of Land, than great Empires have done by Conquest, which always corrupts and often enslaves the Conquerours as well as the Conquered.

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S I R,

HAVING in my last Letter considered Silver and Gold as the only certain, durable and universal Riches, and that the attaining them is the chief View and Design of all Mankind; I shall in this consider a Question which puzzles the greatest Part of the World, and which, as I think, they for the most Part determine wrongly; namely, when a Nation is once possessed of them, whether it is their Interest to let them be exported again? In this I have the Opinion of most States against me, who prohibit the carrying them out under the severest Penalties, sometimes before, and sometimes

after they are converted into their current Coin ; and to me nothing seems more injurious, impertinent, and impotent, than to make such Laws.

No Soil or Climate produces all Commodities, and no Nation works all Sorts of Manufactures which are of common and necessary Use ; nor can any Man, by his own Skill and Labour, make or acquire any considerable Part of such Things as he wants or desires ; and consequently he can have no Means of attaining them, but by exchanging what he does not want, for what he does. But since it does and will most commonly happen, that the Person who is possessed of the Commodity which one Man desires, does not want what he has to give in Lieu of it, or not enough of it to answer the Value of what he parts with ; therefore something else must be found out to make the Account even.

From hence Mankind have found themselves under a Necessity to agree upon some universal Commodity, which shall measure the Value of all the rest, and ballance all Accounts at last. Hitherto nothing has been discovered, which will answer that Purpose so effectually as Silver and Gold: Their Contexture hinders them from being perishable, their Divisibility qualifies them to answer all Occasions, their Scarcity enhances their Price, so as to make a great Value lie in a narrow Compass, and easily portable ; and the more regular and equal Supplies of them than of other Commodities, render them proper Standards for the Valuation of other Things. These therefore being by general
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and almost universal Agreement, the Mediums of Commerce, the Ballance of all Traffick, and the ultimate View and chief Advantage proposed by it, we are to consider how far those Ends and Advantages can be answered by exporting them again.

Now it is certain, that many Commodities of absolute and indispenfible Use, are in the Possession of Nations who do not want those which we have to give in Exchange for them; or knowing our Necessities, will not part with them but for Silver and Gold; and therefore we must have them upon their Terms, or not have them at all. Some of them are the Materials of our Manufactures, which will return to us again many times the Money we advance in procuring them; and very often they are necessary to carry on Trade in general, as enabling the Merchants to make Assortments of Goods proper for particular Markets, or are the Materials of Navigation, or Magazines for War and common Defence.

No Country wants always the same Supplies, or has the same Growth and Quantity of Manufactures to purchase them; nor can any Merchant have a clear View of the whole Commerce of the Country he deals with; nor do the Commodities always bear the same Price; so that the Ballance will often vary, and must be paid at last in those universal Commodities. No Nation, or private Man will deal with another, who will not pay his Debts; and if he has not other Commodities to pay them with, or if those he has are not wanted, or will not be accepted in Payment, he must pay them

in such as will ; and whatever it costs him, must deliver them into the Custody, or to the Order and Satisfaction of his Creditor.

It is foolish to imagine, that any Precautions, or the greatest Penalties, will keep Money in any Country where 'tis the Interest of Numbers to carry it out: The Experience of every Nation may convince us of this Truth ; Gold and Silver lie in so little Compass, are so easily concealed, and there are so many Conveniences and Opportunities to carry them off, that small Encouragements will always find Adventurers, and those Adventurers will almost always succeed. There is no Way in Nature to hinder Money from being exported, but by hindering the Occasions of it, that is, by hindering the Use and Consumption of those Things which it is sent out to buy ; for when they are bought, they must be paid for, or all Traffick is at an End.

These Propositions being, as I conceive, self-evident ; it is next to be discussed, whether it is the Interest of a State to permit their Money to go out freely, or by annexing Penalties to the exporting it, enhance the Difficulty, and raise the Price of carrying it out, by obliging the Exporter to pay himself largely for his own Hazard, as well as the Hazard of the Seas ; and I think nothing is more demonstrable, than that the greater Obstacle is laid in his Way, and the greater Hazard he runs, the more he will be obliged to export ; for whatever he has agreed to pay beyond Sea, must be discharged, whatever it costs him to get it thither, and he
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is to be paid besides all the Charges of getting it thither.

Bills of Exchange only serve the Purpose, and save the Expence of Paying the Carrier; for if one Man has Money due to him Abroad, and the other wants the same Sum here, they will both save the Charges of Carriage, by one's paying it where he does not want it, and the other's receiving it where he does; but if there be more Demands by the Merchants of one Country upon their Correspondents in another, than the others can pay by the Produce of their Effects, or from Debts due to them elsewhere, (which will be accepted as Payment) the Surplus must be returned in Silver and Gold, and they must pay too the Persons who carry it; and other Merchants seeing their Necessity, will take Advantage of it, and receive Premiums for as much as they can return in Bills, in Proportion to the Charge it will cost to send it in Specie, and the Haste their Creditors are in to receive it: But herein they will not have Regard only to the Commerce between those particular Nations, but to the Course and Ballance of general Trade; for Bills often travel from Country to Country, and take a large Circuit before they center, and the Account is finally made up at home. And this I take to be the whole Mystery of Exchange, which is either Paying, or saving the Charge of Paying the Carrier; and if you don't do it your self, others, who do it for you, will reap Advantage from it.

Since then Money or Bullion must be exported, when Debts are contracted abroad, I think

think it is eligible to send out the first rather than the latter, or at least to leave People at Liberty to export which they please. Indeed, they are the same Thing; for all Money is Bullion, and all Bullion is easily convertible into Money, and all which is not otherwise manufactured, would be converted into it, if there was no Disadvantage in doing so. The Advantages are obvious, and the Charge to the Proprietors nothing; for the Stamp of Authority ascertains the Weight and the Fineness; and the dividing it into small Parcels, makes it more useful for Commerce, which renders it more valuable Abroad as well as at Home, and consequently Foreigners will be contented to pay Part, if not the Whole of the Charge of Coining it. It could in no Circumstance be of less Value, if it was not denied a Privilege and Advantage it had before it was coined, which is the Liberty of Exportation, and being used in foreign as well as domestick Trade; for whilst free Liberty of Exportation is allowed to one, and denied to the other, and yet there are frequent and necessary Occasions of exporting one or the other, it must happen that either Money will be melted into Bullion, and so the Manufacture be lost, or Bullion must be bought by Money at a Price answerable to the Necessity or the Hazard of carrying it in Specie abroad, or of melting it down at home, and the Expence of Conscience afterwards in swearing it to be foreign Bullion; which sometimes has raised the Price 8 or 10 *per Cent*.

Now it must be obvious to any one, who the least considers this Question, how much such
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Prohibition must affect our general Trade, they being equivalent to the putting an equal Duty upon the Exportation of our own Commodities, which all wise Nations encourage by all Ways they can, and often by giving Premiums to the Exporter. They give to other Nations the Means and Opportunity to trade so much *per Cent.* cheaper than we can, which must certainly carry away from us many valuable Trades: They enhance the Value of all foreign Materials which we use in our Manufactures, that are bought with Bullion or Money as many of them are, which must in Consequence raise the Price of these Manufactures, and hinder their Sale; and above all, make the Materials of Navigation dear to us, upon which all Trade in a great Measure depends, and the Carriage-Trade wholly.

But not only those Trades, which are altogether or partly carried on by Bullion or Money, will be affected by them, but all Trade whatsoever; for as I have before shewn that Bullion, being the Medium of the Value of all Commodities between Nation and Nation, as Money is between People of the same Nation, if the latter being of equal Weight and Fineness with the former, and yet less valuable; then of necessary Consequence home Commodities must be sold cheaper in foreign Countries, and theirs must sell dearer here, which must alter the Ballance proportionably to our Disadvantage; for we sell at home for our own Money, and buy abroad with Bullion, which are equally valuable in themselves, the Coinage excepted,
and

and will be equally bought in foreign Markets for the same Quantity of Commodities.

Suppose, for Example, Corn bore the same Price in respect of Silver and Gold here, as in *Holland*, and yet we must give more for it when that Silver and Gold is converted into Money than they do, who get the Difference by importing their Silver; then it is evident that they can afford to buy it of us, and sell it again to foreign Markets cheaper than we can, and sometimes to our selves, and consequently must carry away that Trade from us. These Events are inevitable, unless we let our Money be exported, or turn all our Coin into Bullion, and make that the Medium of domestick as well as foreign Commerce, which must soon be our Case, and every Day grows more and more so; for who will give himself the Trouble of carrying his Bullion to the Mint to have it made less valuable than before; whereas if Money had the same Liberty of Exportation as Bullion has, all the Silver not otherwise manufactured, would immediately be carried thither and coined, and less of it be carry'd out afterwards for the Reasons before given.

But whilst it remains upon the present Foot, whatever Contracts are made for *English* Goods in *English* Money, will be paid for with less Bullion, than will coin into the same Quantity of Money; and whatever are bought abroad will cost us more Money than the same is worth in Bullion; so that Foreigners will chuse to carry off our Money, rather than our Bullion or Goods, and will afterwards melt it down, and find their Account in returning it
upon

upon us again for more Money; and so on till they have got all we have, which can be prevented alone by putting coined and uncoined Silver upon the same Foot, and giving them equal Advantages, the Coinage excepted.

Till this is done, we must suffer in our Exchange with most, if not all the Countries in the World; for whilst our Coin in Quantity is less valuable than Bullion, and theirs equal or more valuable, every Thing we buy or sell must be affected by it; and we must pay our Debts with more Silver, and receive them in less than they do, which must make a vast Difference in the Return of our whole Trade.

This is so much the Interest of every Party, and almost every Man in every Party, that I have often wonder'd how so many able Patriots that have sat at the Helm should never once think of doing their Country this great Service. I cannot doubt but Men of their great Abilities must understand this plain Proposition; and methinks they should sometimes find it their Interest and Duty to save a little Money for their Countrymen, and not always to be taking from them, especially when they lose themselves nothing by doing so much good to others; and tho' some People who do not understand the Benefit of such a Law, may be at first distast'd by it, yet I could wish to see that those who have had no Regard to their Opinions when they were doing Mischief to them, would not be so over-scrupulous of offending them in once doing them and their Country this great and general Benefit.

I am, &c.

S I R,

MOST Men see the Advantages of Trade to a Country, and to every Man in it; but very few know how to improve those Advantages, and much fewer endeavour to do so. As soon as any Law is enacted, or propos'd for Publick Benefit, particular Men set their Wits to work how to draw separate Advantages from those Provisions, whatever becomes of the Publick; and indeed it is not to be hoped, much less expected, they should ever do otherwise. But what is most to be lamented is, that the Publick very often suffers by their not consulting their real Interests, and in pursuing little Views, whilst they lose great and substantial Advantages. A very small Part of Mankind have Capacities large enough to judge of the Whole of Things, but catch at every Appearance which promises present Benefit, without considering how it will affect their general Interest; and so bring Misfortunes and lasting Misery upon themselves, to gratify a present Appetite, Passion or Desire.

This is certainly true in almost every Circumstance of Publick and Private Life: The latter falls within all Mens Observation, and the other happens as often, tho' not as often taken Notice of. How many are there, who do not prefer a servile Office or Pension before the general Interest of their Country, in which
their

their own is involv'd, and so sacrifice their Liberty and the Protection they receive from equal Laws, for momentary and precarious Advantages; and by such Means lose or hazard a large Inheritance, or make it much less valuable, for trifling Benefits, which will not pay half the Difference?

Nothing is so much the Interest of private Men as to see the Publick flourish; for without mentioning the Pleasure and internal Satisfaction which a generous Mind must receive, in seeing all People about him contented and happy, instead of meagre and starv'd Looks, Nakedness and Rags, and dejected and melancholly Faces; to see all Objects gay and pleasing; to see fruitful and well manur'd Fields; rich, splendid and populous Cities, instead of barren Rocks, uncultivated Desarts, and dispeopled and empty Towns: I say, besides avoiding all this Horrour, every Man's private Advantage is so much wrapt up in the publick Felicity, that every Sep he takes to depreciate his Country's Happiness, he thereby undermines and destroys his own: When the Publick is secure, and Trade and Commerce flourish, every Man who has Property, or the Means of acquiring Property, will find and feel the blessed Effects of such a Circumstance of Affairs; all the Commodities he has to dispose of will find a ready Vent, and at a good Price; his Inheritance will encrease every Day in value; he is encouraged, and finds it his Interest to build, and improve his Lands, cultivate new Trades, and promote new Manufactures; and by these Means the People will be employed, and enabled

abled to live in Plenty, to marry, encrease, and pay for the Productions of the Land, which otherwise will have little or no Production: Foreigners will be invited to partake of our Happiness, and add to the Publick Stock, and even the Poor and Helpless will have their Share in the general Felicity, arising from the Superfluities and Charity of the Rich; but the Reverse of this glorious and happy Scene shews itself in enslaved and corrupted Nations.

But as this is abundantly the Interest of private Men, 'tis much more so of Princes: The Riches of a Prince are the Riches of his People, and his Security and chief Happiness are their Affections: They do not consist in pompous Guards, splendid Courts, heaped up and extorted Wealth, servile and flattering Parasites, numerous, expensive, and glittering Attendants, Profusion and Extravagance, but in the steady and faithful Duty and Devotions of a grateful and contented People, who derive and own their Happiness to flow from his Care and Beneficence. Flatterers and Parasites often will find it their Interest to betray him, (and what else can be expected from those who betrayed their Country first?) His Guards often revolt from him, and sometimes murder him, and neither can be depended upon in any Exigency of his Affairs; his amassed Wealth shall be often their Plunder, and his Destruction the Price of their new Engagements. But a whole People can never have an Interest separate from the Interests of a good Prince: Their diffusive Wealth will be always at his Call, because it is to be expended for their own Benefit: Their
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Persons will ever be at his Command, to defend themselves and him; This is a Source of Wealth and Power, which can scarce ever be exhausted. When Men fight for themselves and their All, they are not to be conquered till they are extinguished; and there are few Instances where they have been ever conquered, at least till they were not worth conquering.

Besides, the Superfluities and wanton Gifts of a free and happy People, will bring more Money into his Coffers, than Racks and Armies can extort from enslaved Countries: The States of *Brabant* alone gave more Money formerly to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Charles* the Fifth, than in all Probability the whole Seventeen Provinces would have yielded to *Spain* since, if they had been all subdued; and I dare say, if *England* ever loses its Liberties, its Princes, in a little Time, would not be able, with Whips and Chains, to force as much Money out of it in seven Years as we have seen it pay in one: They might fetch Blood and Tears from their Subjects, but little else. It is undeniably therefore true, that the Publick Interest is the Interest of both Prince and People, which almost every one owns in Words; and yet how few do so in their Actions?

Every Man sees the Advantage of being formidable Abroad, and safe at Home, and knows we cannot attain either but by being at the Charge of it; and that the more equally and impartially Taxes are laid, the Fewer will be necessary, and more Money raised; and yet how few Men will come into equal and impartial Taxes? And what have any got by contrary

trary Methods? 'Tis certain less Taxes than are now paid to one another, if fairly levied at first, would have ended all our Wars, and not left us one Penny in Debt; whereas every Landed Man in *England* now owes the fourth or fifth Part of his Estate to the Publick Engagements, by declining the Payment of perhaps the Tenth Part of it when it was due, or ought to have been due; and besides, has rendered all the rest insecure, by disenabling the Publick to defend it.

Who, interested in the National Funds, does not see, that if some Method is not soon taken to pay them off, they can never be paid at all; that no Nation will deliver themselves up to a foreign Enemy, or be contented to languish, expire, and perish at home, to make good juggling and extorting Bargains, cooked up between Courtiers and Brokers; that publick Necessities will happen in the Course of humane Affairs, and those Necessities will justify or colour uncommon Measures; and that corrupt Ministers, in Times to come, may advise their Masters to extraordinary Courses, and desperate Acts of Power? And yet, how many are there amongst these Gentlemen (the greatest Part of whose Fortunes depend upon these Events) who will fall into any effectual Measures to make the Payment of these Debts due to themselves practicable, or that are not ready to catch at and promote the raising a new Fund; tho' they must see that every Step they take towards it, renders the Payment of the old Ones desperate?

How many Courtiers have we seen in our Days, that have not done every Thing they condemned in their Predecessors; tho' by doing so they undermine the Ground upon which they stood, and play'd the Game into their Enemies Hands again, who did the same before into theirs? How often have we seen them decline any Means of raising Money, tho' ever so fatal to Trade or their Country? Or when have we seen them expend it afterwards with Frugality and Prudence, to prevent the Necessity of raising it over again? And yet by acting thus, they lessened their own Interest with the People, and in consequence too with their Prince, who generally will find it necessary to discard them when they become odious or contemptible; and sometimes will think it prudent to recommend himself to his People, by delivering them up as Sacrifices to publick Vengeance; whereas if they acted a faithful and just Part, they might grow old in Power, and be double Blessings to their Prince and to their Fellow Subjects.

Who does not see the Benefit of Navigable Rivers, which makes the carrying out our own Commodities, and the bringing to us what we want cheap and easy; and consequently encreases the Price of the former, and lessens the Price of the latter? And yet a Project of that kind always meets Opposition from many People upon trifling Motives, without ever considering the Advantages on the other Side, which most commonly must over-ballance their imaginary Losses, by computing their whole Income and Expence.

All private Men see the Benefit that would accrue to *England*, and to almost every Man in it, by bringing all the Materials of Navigation, and particularly Iron, from our own Plantations, which are for the most part bought for Money from rival States, who may be, and are often our Enemies. Tho' this would settle our Naval Power upon a fixed and solid Foundation, and no longer let it depend upon accidental and precarious Supplies, liable to the Impositions and Caprices of those Nations, and subject to be intercepted by others who may be in War with us; yet we have seen oftner than once, that Gentlemen of great Estates have denied their Country this general Good, and preferred the little Advantage of Selling a particular Wood at an advanced Price, or the Encouragement of a private Iron-work, to so great a Benefit to themselves and their Country; without ever giving themselves leave to ballance the much greater Augmentation of Wealth and Security which would accrue personally to them, by keeping so much Money in their Country; and bringing in a great deal more from foreign States, by making Navigation easy and cheap, by supplying themselves and their Tenants with the Instruments and Utensils of Husbandry, Building, and House-keeping at lower Rates, and so enabling themselves to make greater Profit of their Lands, and their Tenants to pay them greater Rents; and above all, the publick Safety and Power, of which every Member will soon find the sensible Effects in his own private Affairs.

I confess it is generally true, that the Interest of any Country is to make all Sorts of Manufactures themselves, rather than fetch them from neighbouring Countries, or even from their own Plantations; but it is always an Exception to that Truth, when those Manufactures are necessary to carry on other Trades which will return much greater Benefit; and more so when they are necessary to carry on all Trade in general, as Iron and Shipping undoubtedly are, upon the Cheapness of which all the Trade in the World in a great Measure depends.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have in my last Letter given some Instances of Men, who, to separate themselves from the Publick, act against their own Interest, by being too partial to it; but I confess it sometimes happens that private Persons may receive personal Advantages from publick Losses; and then considering the Depravity of humane Nature, we are not to hope, and less to presume upon their acting against themselves for others Advantage. The chief Inducement which Men have to act for the Interest of one State before another is, because they are Members of it, and that their own Interest is involved in the general Interest; and the same Motives, which for the most part

engage them to promote the Advantages of that peculiar Society, of which they are a Part, before all others, will also engage them to prefer themselves and their own Family before the Interests of every Member, or all the Members together of the same Society, whatever becomes of Conscience, Honour, and Generosity. Men will be Men, in spite of all the Lectures of Philosophy, Virtue, and Religion.

This will be often the Interest of particular Men, but can never be the Interest of the whole Society, or the major Part of them, whose Interest must ever be the general Interest, that is, the diffusive Advantage of the Whole, which must suffer in proportion to what any Man gets irregularly; and therefore it is their common Duty to prevent the unfair Gains and Depredations of one another; which indeed is the Business of Government, *viz.* to secure to every Man his own, and to prevent the Crafty, Strong, and Rapacious, from pressing upon or circumventing the Weak, Industrious, and Unwary.

I have often wondered how whole Societies (of which every one intends most religiously himself and his own Benefit) yet can altogether so easily be made the Dupes of one another, or of lesser Societies amongst themselves, not only in such Matters as do not fall within vulgar Observation, but in Instances which are obvious to the meanest Capacities. All the Gentlemen through *England* have their Estates ransacked, and are deprived of whatever makes their Tables elegant and curious, to put Fishmongers and Poulterers Wives, at *London*, in
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Laces and Jewels, without adding to the Plenty there, much of it being destroyed or suffered to rot or stink by those Miscreants, to keep up the Price: Their Cattle sell for little in the Country, and will not pay the Grazier who must pay them their Rents; and yet by the Juglings and Combination of Butchers and Salesmen, the Markets are not cheaper supplied; but those Insects swallow up the Rents of the Landlord, and the Labour of the Husbandman, as some of the Factors do of the Manufacturer: The old useful Laws against Regrators, Forestallers, &c. all lie fast asleep, and no new ones are thought on to enforce them; and yet the Nobility and Gentry of *England* spend many Months every Year in Parliament, see all this, buy their own Productions at many times the Price they sell them; but are so wholly taken up with other much less Views, that they suffer this great Mischief to go on, and every Day to encrease, upon no other Pretence than the Privileges of particular Societies of Tradesmen, who pretend a Right to Oppression; as if any Man could have a Right or Privilege inconsistent with the publick Good, and was not ever to be subservient to it. It is true, that no Government ought to take away Mens natural Rights, the Business and Design of Government itself being to defend them; but sure such partial and adventitious Advantages as they receive to the Detriment of others by ill Laws, may be taken away by good ones: But no sooner any Attempt is made to remedy these universal Grievances, but the Clamour and Sollicitation of

these humble and inferior Oppressors puts an End to the Remedy.

I do not wonder that those who subsist by Oppression themselves, should countenance all other Sorts of it; 'tis their common Interest to protect one another; but that the Country Gentlemen, who suffer by all Kinds of it, and who have the Means in their Hands to prevent them, should suffer themselves to be plundered and impoverished, to enrich Harpies and Pickpockets, and enable them to live in Pride and Luxury, is so stupendious, that it could not be believed, if we did not constantly see it.

But these are petty Abuses, when compared to the much greater Grievances of uniting great Numbers of artful and wealthy Merchants into Conspiracies and Combinations against general Trade, and by that Means giving or selling the Industry and Acquirements of a whole Nation to satiate and glut a few over grown Plunderers, and in the End to destroy the Trade itself; which must ever be the Case, when committed to the Management of exclusive Companies. The Success and Improvements of Trade depend wholly upon supplying the Commodities cheap at Market; and whoever can afford those of equal Goodness at but half *per Cent.* cheaper than his Neighbours, will command the Sale. Now 'tis impossible any Company can do this upon equal Terms with a private Merchant, nor would they if they could: Private Men will think of every Way to come at their Goods cheap, will make it their whole Business to work

work up the Manufacturies themselves, or buy them at the best Hand, will search narrowly into their Excellencies or Defects, will procure Carriage at the lowest Prices, see them shipped themselves, and sometimes sell them in Person, and as they find proper and advantageous Opportunities; and the mutual Emulation and Contention with one another for the Preference of Markets, obliges them to sell often for little Profit, and sometimes to Loss, in Expectation of better Fortune at other Times; but nothing of this is ever done by Companies.

Those who have the Direction of their Affairs, have often but small Part of their Fortunes embarked in their Stock, and always have an Interest separate from that of the Company, and commonly, if not always, raise vast Estates at their Expence; the Materials of their Ships, and the Commodities they carry, are generally sold by themselves, or bought of their Friends and Relations by Confederacy, at exorbitant Prices; Favourite Shipwrights are employed for Presents; their Relations or Creatures are made Captains or Masters of their Vessels, to carry on private Commerce, to the Detriment of the Company; Governours of Forts, Factors, and Agents, are sent Abroad to get great Estates upon the Publick, and perhaps share them with their Patrons at Home; their Goods shall be set in such Lots, and sold at such Times as shall be most for the private Interest of the governing Directors, who will have them often bought up in Trust for themselves or Friends; and by these Means

as the Company oppresses the rest of the Nation, the Governours and Directors cheat the Company : But if these Trustees are ever so honest, they will not take the same Pains for others as for themselves ; nor can it be expected that Men of their Fortunes will employ their whole Time for such Allowances as are or can be afforded by the Society who employs them.

Besides, it is the Interest of the Nation to sell their Commodities at as good a Price as the Markets Abroad can afford to buy them, and to bring in foreign Commodities as cheap as they can afford to sell them, especially such as do not interfere with our own, (which ought to be prohibited, when it can be done without a greater Inconvenience ;) and the Interest of Companies is directly contrary to all this ; for other People being prohibited to deal in the same Commodities, they can put what Price they please upon both, and ever will put what is most for their Advantage, and so starve the Manufacturer at Home, at the same Time as their Agents charge great Prices to the Company, and sell the Commodities they bring in Return of them at extravagant Advantages, often to the Discouragement of our own Manufactures, which depend upon their Cheapness ; their Business being always to encrease the Price of Stock, without encreasing Trade.

Besides all this, they keep Forts Abroad at a great Expence, to colour the Necessity of such Monopolies, and to oppress and rob the Natives there with Security ; for 'tis a Jest to imagine they can any ways conduce to fair Trade :

Trade : Every Nation in the World that has any Thing to buy or sell, will see their Account in doing so, and will find it their Interest to encourage a fair Commerce, which will be ever for their own Advantage ; and if they do not, there is no trading with them against their own Consents, though their Country is encompassed with Forts, which will only provoke and make them Enemies ; and in Fact, the private Traders to *Africk* pay the Company Ten *per Cent.* towards their Forts, and seldom or never come near them, or receive any Benefit by them, and yet have broke the Company whilst they thrive themselves : The same was true of the Interlopers to *India* formerly, who neither desired nor were suffered to take any Advantage of the Company's Forts, and always were oppressed by their Governours, or Agents, and Captains of Ships, and yet would soon have undone them if they had been suffered to go on.

The *Dutch* make other Advantages of their Forts and Garrisons, which is to keep great conquered Realms and powerful Kings in Subjection, and secure to themselves the whole Commerce of their Countries, by which Means they have almost the Monopoly of the Spices in the World ; of which it is said, they every Year burn Mountains to keep up the Price, as all exclusive Companies will ever do ; but we have scarce any Trade to some of those Places, where we are at the Charge of keeping Forts, which stand there no Mortal can tell why. But supposing Forts were necessary to carry on any particular Trade, what Colour is there to

deny that they ought to be kept at the publick Expence, or by the Contributions of all the Merchants, who are to receive Advantage from them, in Proportion to the Trade they carry on; or what Pretence is there to confine an advantageous Trade to one Town alone, and to but few Men in that Town.

So that upon the Whole, if we consider these Companies only as they regard Trade, which is the only Pretence for establishing them, they are the Bane of all fair Commerce, the Discouragement of our Manufactures, the Ruin of private and industrious Traders, and must end in the Ruin of themselves, and all Trade whatever; and no one receives Advantage from them, but their Governours, Directors, Commanders, or Agents at Home and Abroad, who have ever raised immense Estates, whilst the Kingdom has been impoverished, and the Company undone: But there are other Mischiefs still behind, which strike yet much deeper, namely, the Influence and Violence they bring upon our Constitution; which shall be the Subject of my next Letter.

I am, &c.



SIR,

IN my last Letter I have considered exclusive Companies, as they affect the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom; and in this I shall view them in relation to our Constitution, and shew that they alter the Ballance of our Government, too much influence our Legislature, and are ever the Confederates or Tools of ambitious and designing Statesmen.

Very great Riches in private Men are always dangerous to States, because they create a greater Dependence than can be consistent with the Security of any sort of Government whatsoever; they place Subjects upon too near a Level with their Sovereigns; make the Nobility stand upon too great an Inequality in respect of one another; destroy amongst the Commons, that Ballance of Property and Power, which is necessary to a Democracy, or the democratical Part of any Government, overthrow the Poise of it, and indeed alter its Nature, tho' not its Name: For this Reason, States who have not an *Agrarian* Law, have used other Means of Violence or Policy to answer the same Ends: Princes often, either by extraordinary Acts of Power, by feigned Plots and Conspiracies, and sometimes by the Help of real ones, have cut off these excrecent Members and Rivals of their Authority, or must have run the Hazard of being cut off by them.

them. Aristocracies put them upon expensive Embassies, or load them with honorary and chargeable Employments at home, to drain and exhaust their superfluous and dangerous Wealth; and Democracies provide against this Evil, by making their Estates divide after their Deaths, amongst their Children or Relations in equal Degree.

We have Instances of the first in all Arbitrary Monarchies, as well as in all the *Gothick* Governments formerly, and in *Poland* at present, which are constant States of War or Conspiracy between their Kings and Nobles; and which Side soever gets the better, the others are for the most part undone: By doing the second, the Nobles of *Venice* keep up their Equality; and *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and the free States of *Germany* make the Provision last named, which, as I have said, answers in some Measure the Purposes of an *Agrarian* Law; but by waiting for the Division of the Substance, other States have been undone, and particularly *Florence* was enslaved by the overgrown Power of the House of *Medici*.

And as great Riches in private Men is dangerous to all States, so great and sudden Poverty produces equal Mischiefs in free Governments, because it makes those who by their Birth and Station must be concerned in the Administration necessitous and desperate; which will leave them the Means, and give them the Will to destroy their Country; for the Political Power will remain some Time in their Hands after their Natural Power and Riches are gone, and they will ever make use of it to acquire

acquire that Wealth by Violence and Fraud, which they have lost by Folly and Extravagance; and as both of these Extremes are certainly true of single Men, so these are more dangerous in Numbers of Men joined together in a Political Union; who, as they have more Wealth than any particular Man ever had or can have, so they will have the separate Interest of every Individual to assist them, arising from the Dependence of Friendship, Relation, Acquaintance, or Creatures, without that Emulation and Envy which will always be raised by the sudden and exorbitant Riches of private Men. 'Tis certain, that they both make too violent an Alteration in Property, and almost always produce violent Convulsions in Government.

Now Companies bring all these Mischiefs upon us; they give great and sudden Estates to the Managers and Directors, upon the Ruin of Trade in general, and for the most part if not always upon Thousands of Families, who are embarked in the Society itself: Those who are in the Direction and the Secret of the Management, besides all their other Advantages, draw out and divide all their Principal, and what they can borrow upon their Credit; persuade innocent and unwary People to believe they divide only the Profits of their Trade, and by a thousand other Artifices heightning their Advantages, draw them in to share in them; and when they have wound up the Cheat to the highest Pitch it can go, then like Rats leave a falling House, and Multitudes of People to be crushed by it. This was the Case of the

East-

East-India and *African* Companies formerly, whose Stock sold for three hundred *per Cent.* when it was not worth a Groat; and how far it is the Case of the present *East-India* Company, their Members are concerned to enquire.

What Ruin, Devastation and Slaughter of Estates! What Publick Misery, and Destruction of Thousands, I may say Millions! have we seen by the Establishment and wicked Intrigues of the present *South-Sea* Company, only to make a few unshapely and monstrous Members in the Body Politick? What has that Company done for the Benefit of Trade, which they were established, forsooth, to promote? They have suffered Numbers of our Manufactures to rot in their Ships, hindered private Traders from carrying on an advantageous Commerce to the lower Parts of *America* and the *South-Sea*, and, like the Dog in the Manger, will neither eat themselves, nor let any one else eat; and, 'tis said, by their wise Conduct have lost a Million or Two of the Company's Principal.

The Benefits arising by these Companies, generally, and almost always, fall to the Share of the Stock Jobbers, Brokers, and those who cabal with them, or else are the Rewards of Clerks, Thimble-men, and Men of nothing; who neglect their honest Industry to embark in those Cheats, and so either undo themselves and Families, or acquire sudden and great Riches; then turn awkward Statesmen, corrupt Boroughs, where they have not, nor can have, any natural Interests; bring themselves into the Legislature

gislature with their pedling and jobbing Talents about them, and so become Brokers in Policks as well as Stock, they wanting every Qualification which ought to give them a Place there.

It is a strange and unnatural Transition from a Fishmonger or Pedlar to a Legislator : However, as such doughty Statesmen, by their single Abilities, can do no Good, so they can do but little Harm ; but when united in a Body under the Direction of artful Managers combining with great Men, they can turn all Things into Confusion, and generally do so. When Men have great Sums of Money to give, and will give it, they will ever find People to take ; and there can be no standing against them in a Body, how contemptible soever they are in Particulars. How often have the Cries of the whole Kingdom of *England* been able to prevail against the Interest of the *East-India* Company ? What by proper Applications in former Reigns made to our Courts, to Ministers and Favourites, and to the Members of each House of Parliament, they have been able to contend and get the better of the Tears and Complaints of the whole Kingdom besides, and to lay asleep the true and real Interest of those who assisted them ; and if ever hereafter our Three great Companies should unite together (as 'tis to be feared they will always do when their Interests do not clash) what Power is there in Being to oppose them, that will be able and willing to do it ? In *Holland*, which is a more jealous Government than ours, the *East-India* Company governs the State, and is in Effect
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the State it self; and I pray God we may never see the like elsewhere!

What have we been able to do to redress the Ravages brought upon us by the *South-Sea* Project? Which yet must have produced much greater, if we had not suffered these. When it was in its Meridian, I have heard some Persons argue the Reasonableness of their having a Monopoly of the Trade of *England*, since they were possessed of most of the Property of *England*; and I do not see by what Means it could have been prevented. They would have filled the Legislature with their own Members, all our great Men must have been their Pensioners, and the Crown it self been obliged to have kept Measures with them; they would have been the only Shop to have went to for Money, and would not have parted with it but upon their own Terms, and would have been ever lying upon the Catch to purchase more Privileges and Advantages; so that the Nobility and Gentry of *England* must either have embarked their Fortunes and Expectations in this Monopoly, or have been humbly contented to have been governed by a Faction, composed for the most part of Pedlars, Grocers, and Brokers, or such as lately were so; and the Constitution itself had been gone, and changed into a Stock-jobbing Cabal.

We have seen but few Instances where the private Traders of *England*, and the Interests of General Trade, have been able to dispute with the Interests of little Companies or particular Societies of Tradefmen, or the peculiar Privileges of Corporations, tho' they are Burthens

thens, and a dead Weight on the Estates of every Person in Both Houses, lessen their Income, and increase their Expences; such is the Fascination and Witchcraft of political Confederacy! What will be the Event of these Combinations, no Man can foresee, and every wise Man must dread. Indeed, I don't see how we can prevent their dismal Consequences, but by paying off our Debts; and, by dissipating those factious Combinations, dissolve the Enchantment.

After all I have said, I must confess, that the *East-India* Company is liable to less Objections than any other trading Monopoly, but not for the Reasons they give, but for a Reason which is worth an hundred of theirs; for as all beneficial Trades are most successfully carried on by free and open Commerce, so all losing ones do less Mischief when monopolized; and as the first ought to receive all possible Encouragement, so the other ought to be put under suitable Discouragements; and since we can have no Prospect at present of that Trade's being put upon an advantageous Foot, the next best Thing we can desire, is to let it go on upon the present Establishment, which in all Probability will soon destroy it, and perhaps put it upon a good one, if that can be; for 'tis certain, if it could be carried on with its full Swing, it would ease us of every Penny of our Money, and destroy every Manufacture in the Kingdom, as well as every Man in it, which in a proper Time may possibly be shown at large.

In fine, Monopolies are equally dangerous in Trade, in Politicks, and Religion: A free Trade, a free Government, and a free Liberty of Conscience, are the Rights and the Blessings of Mankind.

I am, &c.

S I R,

IT has been justly observed of Corporations, or Political Combinations of Men, that they have Bodies but no Souls, nor consequently Consciences. What calls this Observation to my Mind is an *Address to his Majesty from the South-Sea Company*, which I have lately seen in Print, most modestly requesting, that in this great Profusion of Money, general Affluence and Overflowing of Trade, the Nation will give them two Millions; and the Reasons they give for it are, 1st, That they want the Money; the next, that they have agreed with the *Bank*; and 3^{dly}, That they will do what without doubt is the Interest of all their Members, except Directors and Brokers to do; that is, they will consent that a considerable Part of their Stock shall be turned into Annuities, (and they had been the wiser if they had said all, for then no more of it could have been lost by Management :) and to wind up their whole Oratory, they add a fourth Reason, which is, the Benefit the Publick has received already by their Interest being reduceable in a few Years to four *per Cent.* which Reduction was Part of their

their original Bargain that was purchased for the Seven Millions, of which five has been remitted already, and now it is to be a Consideration for remitting the other two.

I can never give my self Leave to believe (whatever may be surmised by others) that any Person (employ'd by his Majesty) in the present great Exigencies of the Kingdom, the almost universal Poverty in the Country, the want of Trading, Stocks and Credit in Cities, and in great as well as little Towns, the prodigious Load of Debt under which the Nation groans, and the general Uneasiness conspicuous in the Faces, and too observable in the Discourses of People of all Sects and Denominations; I say, I cannot think that under such Circumstances of Publick Affairs, any Minister can countenance so wild a Proposition, as wantonly to desire us to give away two Millions of the Nations Money, only to bind a Bargain between two Stock-Jobbing Societies; which could not be obtain'd from a late Assembly, whom I presume will not be disoblig'd if I say no more of them.

I must therefore believe, if any Person in Power has been concern'd in this Negotiation, that he has effectually taken Care of the Publick, and has comprehended its Interest in the Agreement; and I am the rather induced to believe this, because of an Expression in the Address it self, to wit, *that the Company will be ready to do any Thing for the Publick Service, &c.* with a Caution notwithstanding, *that it be consistent with the Security of their present Fund:* I hope this Sentence has an Allusion to some Project

ject intended to be propos'd to buy off the two Millions, and that they design to offer to sink One hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* of their Annuities, which is the Interest of two Millions and this will answer all honest Purposes, will indemnify the Publick, ease them of the Difficulty of raising so great a Sum, and lessen the Income of particular Members not above six or seven Shillings *per Cent.* yearly.

It is impossible to suspect that those Gentlemen, who for some Years together oppos'd wild Schemes and wilder Expences in carrying them on, and who (if they are to be believ'd themselves) rather chose to throw up their then Advantages and Expectations, than comply with such Gallantries, should at last lose the Merit of so much Virtue, by wantonly and unnecessarily discharging one Company from their Contract, only to prevent another from performing theirs, and this at two Millions Loss to their Country: Sure *England* is not in a Condition to discharge all Reckonings at home and amongst foreign States too; if so, every Man ought to bring in his Bill, and then we shall all be upon the Square.

On the contrary, I perswade my self that the Gentlemen, whose Deserts have now set them at the Helm, have during their Retirement from Business observ'd the Miscarriages of their Predecessors, design to avoid the Rocks upon which the others have split, and consequently have put on steady Resolutions to extricate the Kingdom out of its present Calamities; and possess'd with this Opinion, I am determin'd (as I believe many others are) to give them my
 hearty

heartly Assistance to attain those good Ends, and to forget past Errors, if new ones do not rub up our Memories: I neither envy their Preferments, nor I believe shall court them; but shall ever esteem my Services to be overpaid, if I can contribute to save my Country.

We all know what a noble Project has been lately authoriz'd, what Ends were design'd to be, and have been serv'd by it; how many Thousands were directly ruin'd by it, and vastly how many more by the fatal Consequences which have ensued; but all the Arts of the Projectors could never have succeeded, if many well meaning People had not been drawn in to consent to this Iniquity by the Prospect of seeing the Publick Debts put in a Method of being paid off, which they thought would atone for many Evils that were foreseen by wise Men, who yet did not foresee the hundredth Part of the Mischief which has since happen'd; and after we had suffer'd more than Words can express, the greatest Part of the Consideration which drew us into these Sufferings has been remitted, I will not say by any of those, but, to those, who brought all our Misfortunes upon us; and now the poor Remainder is modestly call'd for, and if obtain'd, the wretched People, and amongst the rest all who vigorously oppos'd this vile Project, must bear the Loss, and the Contrivers of the Wickedness must carry off the Plunder.

Sure such a Proceeding sounds very odd, and ought to be supported by obvious Reasons! 'Tis a very singular sort of Generosity, to punish the Innocent, in order to reward the Guilty;

to fine or tax those who did their utmost to oppose the Progress of Publick Mischief, to repair the Losses of those, who, thro' Guilt, Covetousness or Folly, contributed to it. In great Publick Calamities there must be many Sufferers, and some who do not deserve to be so, yet I never heard that they call'd for Reprisals upon their Countrymen. Provinces are laid waste, Cities and Towns burnt in War, and Ships taken by Pyrates, and yet no Bills brought in or Demands made upon the Publick: In Pestilential Distempers, Families are shut up in their Houses, and whole Cities within their Walls, where Thousands die for want of Food or proper Necessaries, and those who are left alive are mostly undone; and yet no Nations think themselves oblig'd to make good their Losses; in such Cases every one must bear his own Misfortunes, even when they come from the Hand of God, and he himself does not contribute to them; and all that wise States can do, is to take Care of the Whole, relieve Particulars as far as is consistent with the Publick Safety, and leave the rest to Providence.

But besides the shrewd Reasons which are in Print, and are above repeated; let us hear what others are offer'd to load the Publick with this Loss. First, we are told that the Peoples Representatives have drawn the Subscribers into it, and therefore the People are bound in Conscience to repair them: A very notable Way of arguing indeed! and which, if carried to its Extent, would provide admirably well for the Security of Nations. Suppose the States of any Country should make a foolish Law, or engage it

it in a foolish War, by which a third Part of the People are undone, must the rest make them amends, who perhaps are half undone themselves? The Pensioner-Parliament in King Charles the Second's Time, were chosen by the People to act for the common Benefit of the Kingdom, and they betrayed their Principals, and took Money from the Court to act against it; and was that a good Reason for the next Parliament to give a Sanction to all the Mischief their Predecessors did, or to pay for it? Sure the last Parliament were as much the Representatives of the *South-Sea* Company as of the rest of the Kingdom, and acted as agreeably to their Inclinations and their Desires, or else their Acknowledgments were much misplaced.

They tell us, that the Publick is better able to bear the Loss than private Men; which certainly is not true at present; for the Publick is much poorer than most private Men in *England*, if Regard is had to their Occasions and their Debts: But if it was so, are they therefore to take the ill Bargains of all private Men to themselves, and protect them in their good ones? Must every Man who has suffered by playing the Fool, or playing the Knave, call upon the Nation for Reprisals? But supposing only innocent and unwary People (as all the Members of the present *South-Sea* Company undoubtedly are) ought to be Objects of publick Compassion; who shall make Recompense to the Millions of others who have suffered in their Estates, by the universal Confusion occasioned by this worthy Project? Who shall re-
pair

pair the many Bankrupts, the many Creditors who have lost their Debts, the many young Ladies who have lost their Fortunes, the Mechanicks and Shop-keepers who have lost Business, spent their Stocks, and yet have run in Debt to subsist their Families; and the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Farmers, who can get little for their Commodities and Products of their Estates, Farms, and Trades? And must all these contribute at last out of what remains, to repair the Misfortunes of those who brought all these Evils upon them?

But because I would avoid giving Offence to tender Ears, by seeming to take too much Part with the inconsiderable Interests of Men who are vulgarly called the Mob, I shall represent the Case of Persons who much better deserve some People's Consideration; I mean Brokers, Stock-Jobbers, Dealers in Funds, and such who, for many Years together, have supported the Government, by making twice or thrice the Advantage of their Money that they could do any where else: Who shall repair the Losses of the Contractors for Stock or Subscriptions, or of those who lent them Money at Five, Ten, and Twenty *per Cent. per Mensum*, and cannot be paid again? The many Sums lost in the Hands of Goldsmiths, and by their pretended Subscriptions of Effects without the Owner's Consent? Who the Losses of those who bought in the *East-India* Company and the *Bank* at Two or Three Hundred *per Cent.* all occasioned by this worthy Project, or of those who bought in this Company at Eight or Nine Hundred, and sold at One or Two?

Two? Who those who bought, or were hindered from selling out of the Stocks of all Companies, by that honest and serviceable Bargain to the Publick made between the *Bank* and the *South-Sea*? Who shall pay the Losses in the Bubbles, some of which were established or countenanced by Parliament, and others by Patents, all which have equal Right to put in their Claims? And lastly, who shall make Satisfaction to the whole Kingdom, who must be reduced by such Means to an Incapacity of paying its Debts, and consequently of defending itself? I have heard of no Project yet for lessening the publick Expences, or of the Courtiers lessening their own stated Incomes, or occasional Gains.

And what, after all, are the particular Merits of these Gentlemen to whom so much Favour is to be shewn; and who will receive the Benefit of it? Those who remain of the Original Company have no Pretence to it; and at present their Capital, with the Addition they have received by the Division of the fictitious Stock, is more valuable than at first; and I believe much more so: Those who have bought in since the Fall, have as little Pretence to be considered, because they knew the Terms upon which they bought: Such as have raised Fortunes by dabbling in the Publick, ought not to complain if they have lost by one Project what they got by another; and those who have great or plentiful Fortunes in other Respects, must be very immodest if they expect to repair their Follies out of the Estates of those who are more necessitous than themselves.

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So that the few that can hope for Relief, are the Poor and Helpless, who were trapan'd by the rest to buy in at a great Price, and could not sell out again before the Fall; and I dare appeal to all Mankind, whether such could get Relief, if their Interests were separated from their Oppressors: If it is so, we have Reason to sing *Te Deum*, for the World is finely mended; but till I can find some other Instances of this tender Regard to Mercy and Innocence, I must beg leave to suppose that there is already, or is to be, some other Consideration for the remitting these Two Millions, if ever they are remitted.

There is another Reason left behind, and a shrewd one it is; namely, that we must support publick Credit, by enabling the *Bank* to support the *South-Sea*, and in Consequence enabling them both to sell their Stocks for twice as much as they are worth, (and so leave a new Loss upon other People, who with equal Reason must be again repaired;) for it is certain, that all or most of the Company-Stocks sell at present above their real Value. Now with all due Submission to the Gentlemen of the *Alley*, it seems to me to be a very odd Way of supporting Credit, to render the Publick incapable of paying its Debts: But it is no new Thing amongst some Sorts of People, to endeavour to support Credit by the Means which destroy all Credit. My Head has been ever so ill turned, as to think that Nations must preserve the Opinion of their Integrity, by the same Rules and Maxims as private Men find necessary; that is, always by selling good Merchandises,

chandises, and not stuffing their Bales and Casks with counterfeit Wares, and covering them at Top with those which look well: But we have heard of those Times when Moonshine and Shadows have sold for Silver and Gold, for Lands and Tenements; and the Wisdom of States has been employed to keep up the imaginary, fraudulent Value of this Sort of airy Merchandise; and when Thousands and Thousands of unwary People have been undone by such Purchases, new Projects have been formed and countenanced by Authority to undo as many more: I mean, this has been lately done in *France*, whose Example should not be followed by any who design not to introduce the Government of *France*.

All wise and honest Governments ought to protect their innocent, industrious, and unguarded Subjects, against the Snares of Cheats, and Frauds of Pickpockets, and not combine with such Wretches, and be perpetually forming Schemes to ruin Multitudes for the enriching a few, and to prostitute their Power, and the publick Honour, to patronize and establish Combinations of Oppression; and when one Sort of it can be supported no longer, to set their Wits to work to find out another. It puts me in mind of a Story told of Dr. *Barebone*, who had once drawn an eminent Merchant into a Building Project at *Mile-End*, whereby he lost many Thousand Pounds; and when he complained of it, the Doctor promised to make him Reparation by letting him share in another which he had just begun at the farther End of *Westminster*, whereby he lost

as much more; and when his Bubble, justly provoked, drew his Sword upon the Doctor, and bid him draw too, he, like a true Stoick, with great Calmness, and wholly unconcerned, asked, *Whither he would be drawn, for that he had drawn him from one End of the Town to the other already?* Whatever has been done in neighbouring Countries, I am perswaded we are in no Danger of any such Attempts here.

And now having, as I conceive, fully answered the Pretences of the *South-Sea* Company to get the Two Millions remitted to them, which they are pleased to call Reasons; I shall offer to them one of my own why they should not desire it, and that they will be Losers upon the Whole by it. As I remember, the Price of their Stock rather decreased than increased upon the remitting the Five Millions, and it has fallen now upon the Expectation of having the rest remitted; and the Reason is obvious, for nothing can keep up the Credit of publick or private Men, but an Opinion that they are able to pay their Debts, and are willing to do so; and no Man in his Wits will believe either, if he does not see them endeavour to pay off their old Debts, and avoid all Occasions of contracting new ones. When a Man owes more than he can pay, he must compound with his Creditors, lie in Goal, or run away, unless he has Privilege; and then they have nothing left to do for the most part, but to shake their Ears, rail, and run away too: People must be very weak not to know, if ever a Question should arise, whether a Nation will be undone, or undo a small Part of it,
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which it will chuse; and therefore every wise Man, whose Fortune lies in publick Securities, will think himself concern'd to make the Payment of them practicable, and therefore will consider whether it is not his Interest to lose a small Part of his Income, to secure the Whole; and every Man would consider this over and over, if he did not design at all Adventures to save one, and leave the Storm to fall upon others: And how well all hitherto have succeeded in this honest Intention, we have had as many Instances as we have had publick Calamities, and lately a very pregnant one, when every Man designed to sell, and no one could do so but Managers and Brokers.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Design this Letter for a Dissertation upon Heroes, who were at first a sort of brave disinterested Men, that having more Courage and Prowess than others, went about doing Good to others, and to all, at their own Expence and Danger. They established and reformed Communities, and taught them Laws, and punished those who violated Justice and Law: They destroyed publick Robbers and Monsters, and the greatest of all publick Robbers and Monsters, Tyrants; and lived the Patterns of Virtue and useful Valour. Hence they were called Heroes, a sort of middle Be-

ings, superior to other Men, and a-kin to the Gods.

But so wild is the Nature of Man, and so impudent the Nature of Ambition, that whereas the primitive Heroes were the Bulwarks of Society, and the Preservers of Men, those who pretended to succeed them, were the Disturbers of Society, and the Destroyers of Men; and such Tyrants and Monsters as the old Heroes had destroyed, did themselves (impudently) set up for Heroes. With the same Modesty, Superstition, which destroys Religion, has, in the greatest Part of the World, usurped the Place of Religion; Tyranny, which is the Extirpation of Government, calls itself Government: And thus arose persecuting Priests and lawless Kings. But so are Words and the World abused; and with so much Safety and even Applause, is Mischief committed, when it has got but a good Name.

Alexander deified himself, and *Cæsar* was deified by others, for being universal Murderers; and *Coke of Bury* was hanged for attempting one Murder. Had he been at the Head of a Hundred Thousand Cut-throats, and murdered a Million, he might have been recorded for a Heroe, and his Name been handed down to After-Ages with Elogiums, and publick Declamations made in the Schools upon his Conduct and Virtues.

Child, the Highwayman, robbed the Mail, and was put to Death; but instead of the Mail, had he robbed a Nation (I mean any Nation but this) he might probably have governed it; and instead of hanging in Chains, led a whole

whole

whole People in Chains, and been dubb'd an able Statesman and a faithful Minister.

Mischief is inseparable from the Profession of a present Hero, whose Business and Ambition is to multiply Conquests, and consequently Miseries, upon those whom they conquer. What a wild and inhumane Spirit ! to plague the World, to make a Figure in it ; to commit great Villainies, for a good Name ; to destroy the Peace and Prosperity of Mankind, to gain their Esteem ; and to shed their Blood, to shew themselves fit to govern them ! For none gain by such Accomplishments of theirs, but their Soldiers, whose Lives too they throw away as wantonly as these take away the Lives of others. The chief Gainers therefore are only a few Officers, Servants, and Strumpets, who are about their Persons, and execute their Lust and Rage for their own Ends : And so to glut a restless Tyrant and his Instruments, Men and Nations must be slaughtered or enslaved. This is the Heroism, and the Glory of Conquering !

Such is the Difference between the old Original Heroes and these their Apes, who by Fraud, Violence, Perjury, and restless Cruelty, make War upon their Subjects and Neighbours ; and by sacrificing the Virtuous and the Brave, or making them their Instruments to sacrifice others, and by distressing, exhausting, plundering, and chaining All, push humane Misery as far as it can go. These are the Wolves and Tygers of humane Race ; Imperial Beasts of Prey, who, if the World would preserve itself, ought to be driven out

of the World, or hung up in it *in Terrorem*; or, like these their more innocent Brethren, who only kill for Food, be locked up in Dens, and shewn, as they are, for Monsters: Or perhaps it would be still a more equitable Punishment, if they could be caught, to shut up a Number of them in a Madhouse with their beloved Arms about them, there to fight and tear one another's Flesh, and spill their own detestable Blood, till they had no more to spill; and this would be giving a sort of Satisfaction to Mankind for so much human Blood outrageously and wantonly spilt.

But this is not the only Mock-Heroism in the World; there is yet another sort as mischievous but still more ridiculous; and that is, a violent Appetite for War, and Victory, and Conquest, without engaging personally in the Danger, or coming near it; but being very valorous by Proxy, and fond of Fighting without drawing a Sword. This was the prudent Bravery of a late great Conqueror, who was never tired of War, and yet never tired himself in it: In the Heat of a Battle fought for his Glory, he run no Risque, but sat securely at a great Distance with the wise old Woman, his Mistress, waiting for Laurels of other People's winning. When his Agents had bought a Town for him treacherously, or his Generals stolen a Province as treacherously, still it was Victory, still fair Conquest; and the Glory was his at three hundred Leagues distance; for every Thing he did was glorious, the meanest and the basest Things; and by these Means he

be.

became *Immortal*, immortal in Conquest without a Scar.

The primitive Heroes ventured their Lives for the Good of others; but these Mock-Heroes expose others to Danger and Death for the Good of themselves, and their own personal Renown; and all the Time stay at home, and wait for Fame in a whole Skin. They slaughter Thousands who obey them, and undo Millions who ought not to obey them; and all to enslave others, who neither wish nor do them any Harm, and with whom they have nothing at all to do. Even most of the Instruments they make use of, are made as miserable as they make those whom they oppress; and few or none share the Benefit of the Plunder, but such as wanting Merit of their own to gain an honest Subsistence, prey upon the Industry of those that do. So strongly does Misery thrive under their Influence, and nothing else!

They keep themselves poor, suspicious, and in a State of War with their own Subjects, whom they justly suspect for their worst Enemies, because they supply them with constant Reasons to be so; and therefore they live in a perpetual State of Rapine and Enmity towards them, and in a continued Dread of Violence and Revolts from them; instead of giving them fatherly Protection on one Side, and receiving from them dutiful and sincere Allegiance on the other; and all for the fruitless and imaginary Glory of Conquest, and of Dominion over their Fellow-Creatures against their Will; or, in other Words, of being skilful Pillagers and Oppressors, and successful Murderers.

It is, however, not to be wondered at, that whilst so many Princes are beset with Sycophants always ready to applaud at a Venture their wildest Sallies and Designs; or with Traitors, who finding their own vile Advantages in them, are ever determined to abet and execute them: I say, it is not strange that Princes in these Circumstances should run frequently into wild Freaks and pernicious Enterprises, to the Ruin of themselves and their Subjects. But it is stupendious, that these their baneful Instruments and worst Foes should be able in any Instance to persuade Nations to dance after their destructive Maggots, and be contented to be undone, to make some of the worst Men amongst themselves Rich and Saucy.

What have the People in any Monarchical Government ever gained by the Conquests made by their Prince, but to be made Slaves; or if they were Slaves before, worse Slaves, and to have their Chains rivetted yet faster? For, besides that these Conquests give him a Pretence and an Ability to keep more Troops, and consequently encrease his Power over them; the conquered Nation will find a sort of a Revenge in joining to reduce their new Masters to the same wretched Condition with themselves, and perhaps find an Opportunity of conquering the Conquerors. One Nation will be plaid upon another, and neither will be trusted to the Guard of their own Countrymen; but the Soldiers of one Country will be quartered upon the other, and kept at a great Distance from home, left by constant Conversation with their Relations,

Relations, Friends and Neighbours, they should, contrary to their Duty, warp towards the Love and Interest of their Country; and indeed in most Countries where Troops are kept, they are always removed from Place to Place, to prevent their Friendship and Correspondence with the Natives.

What did *England* gain formerly by their Conquests upon the Continent, but Wars, Slaughter, and Poverty to themselves, and to their Princes precarious foreign Provinces at an *English* Expence; and had standing Armies been then the Fashion of the World, *England* would doubtless have conquered it self into Slavery. The *Romans*, when they had extended their Conquests so far and wide, that they were forced to keep Provincial Armies to awe and preserve the conquered Countries, became a Prey to those Armies; and their Emperors afterwards durst no longer trust to *Roman* Troops, but encreased their Slavery by the Help of those Nations whom they had conquered, and who became, in their Turns, Masters of those who had master'd them.

When *Alexander* had ventured his own Army of *Macedonians*, and the best Men in *Greece*, to ruin *Persia*, and a great Part of the World, which had given him no Provocation; what Advantages did *Greece* and *Macedon* reap from his mighty Victories and Conquests, but to become a little Province of a great barbarous Empire, which by their Arms and Prowess he conquered, and exhausted them of all their bravest Men to preserve? Their Condition would still have been worse, if he had left a

Successor behind him to have preserved his whole Empire entire, who would have made *Persia*, or some other Province the Seat of it, and governed *Greece* at a distance by *Bashaws*; and as it was, he left it in a State of constant War and Depredation, and they were tost and tumbled from one Oppression to another, till they found a sort of Relief in being conquered by the *Romans*.

What did the *French* gain by the long Wars and many Conquests of their late Great Monarch, but extreme Poverty, streighter Servitude, great Depopulation, and general Bankruptcy? So much did they suffer by his Acquisitions, and so dear did they pay for his pernicious Glory!

What did the *Swedes* gain by the Conquests of the late King, but to lose them again, as they got them, at a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure; and to be reduced to such Weakness, as to want the Assistance of their Neighbours to preserve them from falling under the Power of a Prince, whom, by conquering him, they taught to conquer them?

And if the conquering Countries are such miserable Losers by Conquest, what must be the doleful Condition of the Conquered, which are considered only as the Sources of Plunder, and the professed Objects of Oppression? Almost all *Europe* are Witnesses of the brutish Havock the Conquerors make, and of the dismal Scenes of Ruin they leave behind them. If the late *French* King could have conquered, or bought, or surprized the *United Provinces*, (which by all these generous Means he endeavoured,

voured) from the richest and most populous Republick upon Earth, they would have been now a Nest of beggarly Fishermen, and in a lower Condition, if possible, than any of the fine *French* Provinces, which had the Honour of being governed by that paternal Prince. Never was such Mockery as for a Prince to publish Reasons to a People, with whom he had nothing to do, why they should be conquered by him; when, let their Condition be as ill at it will, it is an Hundred to One, nay 'tis almost certain, that he will make it ten times worse.

Alas for that Nation whose Prince is a Heroe! says an excellent and an amiable *French* Writer, who saw with Sorrow, the woeful Condition of his own Nation, from the merciless and unnatural Affectation of Heroism in the then King.

The same admirable Author, in another place gives us a lively Image of Heroes and Conquests in these Words which he makes *Telemachus* speak, as he views the Field of Battle filled with Carcasses and drenched in Blood: "Such are the heavy Evils that follow Wars! What blind Fury urges unhappy Mortals! So few are the Days they have to live upon this Earth, and so miserable do they make these few Days! Why will they run thus headlong into the Jaws of Death, which is of it self making hasty Approaches to devour them? Why add so many frightful Desolations to a short and bitter Life, made so by Heaven already? Men are all Brethren, and they tear and butcher one another."

“ another, more unnaturally fierce and cruel
 “ than the wild Beasts of the Desert ! Ly-
 “ ons make not War upon Lyons, nor Ty-
 “ gers upon Tygers : They attack only Ani-
 “ mals of a different Species : Man ! Man
 “ alone, in spite of his Reason, does Things
 “ that Creatures without Reason would never
 “ do.

“ But why these consuming Wars ? Is there
 “ not Land enough in the Universe to satisfy
 “ all Men with more than they can cultivate ?
 “ Are there not vast Tracts of desert Lands,
 “ so vast that Mankind is not sufficient to fill
 “ them ? How then ! a false Glory, a vain
 “ Title of *Conqueror*, which a Prince is fond
 “ of, kindles a War far and wide ; and one
 “ single Man, thrown by Heaven into the
 “ World, in Wrath, sacrifices brutally so many
 “ others to his Vanity ! His Glory requires it,
 “ and all must perish before him : Countries
 “ swim in Blood, Towns and Cities suffer de-
 “ vouring Flames, and what escapes from the
 “ Sword and the Fire, Famine, more cruel
 “ than both, must consume ; and all that this
 “ Man, who thus sports himself with throwing
 “ all humane Nature into Pangs, may find in
 “ this general Destruction his Pleasure and his
 “ Glory. What monstrous Glory ! Can we
 “ too much despise, too much abhor these
 “ monstrous Men, who have thus forgot Hu-
 “ manity ; without being Men, they set up
 “ for Demigods, and earn the Curses, instead
 “ of what they aim at, the Admiration of
 “ Ages to come.

“ Oh !

“ Oh ! with what Tenderneſs ſhould Princes
 “ undertake Wars ! That they ought to be
 “ ſtrictly Juſt, is not enough ; they muſt be
 “ ſtrictly neceſſary, neceſſary for the Publick
 “ Good. The Blood of the People ought
 “ never to be ſhed but to ſave the People, and
 “ the Occaſion ought to be extream. But flat-
 “ tering Counſels, falſe Ideas of Glory, vain
 “ Jealouſies, boundleſs Rapaciouſneſs under
 “ ſpecious Diſguiſes, and raſh Engagements,
 “ draw almoſt all Princes precipitately or in-
 “ ſenſibly into Wars which prove fatal to them.
 “ In them they hazard all without Neceſſity,
 “ and do as much Miſchief to their Subjects as
 “ to their Enemies.”

Thus the divine late Archbiſhop of *Cambrai*,
 from whom I have tranſlated this affecting Paſ-
 ſage. It is a Book that has Ten Thouſand
 Excellencies, and ought to be read by all
 Mankind.

I will conclude with wiſhing, that all Na-
 tions would learn the Wiſdom of the prudent
Sancho, who, when the Hero his Maſter mad-
 ly attacked the Wind-Mills and the Lyons,
 ſtood at a ſafe Diſtance and in a whole Skin.
 If their governing *Don Quixots* will fight right
 or wrong, let them fight by themſelves, and
 not ſit at Home and wantonly ſacrifice their
 People againſt Wind-Mills and Fulling-Mills.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE *English* Climate, famous for variable Weather, is not less famous for variable Parties, which fall insensibly into an Exchange of Principles, and yet go on to hate and curse one another for these Principles. A *Tory* under Oppression, or out of a Place, is a *Whig*; and a *Whig* with Power to oppress, is a *Tory*. The *Tory* damns the *Whig* for maintaining a Resistance, which he himself never fails to practise; and the *Whig* reproaches the *Tory* with slavish Principles, and yet calls him Rebel if he does not practise them. The Truth is, all Men dread the Power of Oppression out of their own Hands, and almost all Men wish it irresistible when it is there.

We change Sides every Day, and yet keep the same Names for ever. I have known a Man a staunch *Whig* for a Year together, and yet thought and called a *Tory* by all the *Whigs*, and by the *Tories* themselves. I have known him afterwards fall in with the *Whigs*, and act another Year like a *Tory*, that is, do blindly what he was bid, and serve the Interest of Power, right or wrong: And then all the *Tories* have agreed to call him a *Whig*; whereas all the while he was called a *Tory*, he was a *Whig*; and afterwards by joining with the *Whigs*, he became an Apostate from *Whiggism*, and turned *Tory*.

So wildly do Men run on to confound Names and Things: We call Men opprobriously *Tories*, for practising the best Part of *Whiggism*; and honourably christen our selves *Whigs*, when we are openly acting the vilest Parts of *Toryism*, such Parts as the *Tories* never attempted to act.

To know fully the Signification of Words, we must go to their Source. The Original Principle of a *Tory*, was to let the Crown do what it pleased; and yet no People opposed and restrained the Crown more, when they themselves did not serve and direct the Crown. The Original Principle of a *Whig*, was to be no further for the Interest of the Crown, than the Crown was for the Interest of the People. — A Principle founded upon everlasting Reason, and which the *Tories* have come into as often as Temptations were taken out of their Way; and a Principle which the *Whigs*, whenever they have had Temptations, have as vilely renounced in Practice. No Men upon Earth have been more servile, crouching, and abandoned Creatures of Power, than the *Whigs* sometimes have been; I mean some former *Whigs*.

The *Tories* therefore are often *Whigs* without knowing it; and the *Whigs* are *Tories* without owning it. To prove this, it is enough to reflect upon Times and Instances, when the asserting of Liberty, the legal and undoubted Liberties of *England*, has been called *Libelling* by those professed Patrons of Liberty the *Whigs*; and they have taken extravagant, arbitrary, and violent Methods, to suppress the very Sound of it; whilst the *Tories* have maintained and defended it, and put Checks upon those

those, who, tho' they had risen by its Name, were eager to suppress its Spirit, and had appointed for that worthy End an Inquisition, new to the Constitution, and threatening its Overthrow: An Inquisition, where Men were used as Criminals without a Crime, and charged with Crimes without a Name, and treated in some Respects, as if they had been guilty of the highest.

Parties like and dislike our Constitution, just as they are out of Power, or in it: Those who are out of Power like it, because it gives them the best Protection against those who are in Power; and those who have been in Power, have blamed it, for not giving them Power enough to oppress all whom they would oppress. No Power cares to be restrained, or to have its Hands tied up, tho' it would tie up all Hands but its own. — Like Sects in Religion, who all abhor Persecution, and disclaim its Spirit while it's over them, but fall almost all into it when they are uppermost. The Papists among us make a great Outcry against Persecution and Oppression; because, tho' they are protected in their Lives and Estates, their Mass-Houses are taken from them, and they are taxed double, tho' they do not pay double: And yet it is most certain, that their Religion makes it a Sin to tolerate any other Religion, and obliges its Votaries, on Pain of Damnation, to burn and destroy all who will not blindly, and against Conscience, submit to its absurd and contradictory Opinions, and to its impious and inhumane Spirit.

The Golden Rule prevails little in the World; and no Man scarce will bear, if he
can

can avoid it, what almost all Men will make others bear, if they can. Men who have the Government on their Side, or are in the Government, will never see its Excesses while they do not feel them; nay, they will be very apt to complain, that the Government wants more Power; and some, in those Circumstances, have said, and called in God Almighty for a Witness and a Voucher, that it ought to be irresistible: But when they dislike the Government, and the Government is jealous of them, their Tone is quickly and entirely changed, and they are loud with the first against the long Hands of Power, and its Encroachments and Oppressions, and often make Faults as well as find them.

In King *Charles* the Second's Reign, at the Tryal of *Mead* and *Penn*, for preaching, (a great Crime in those Days out of a Church!) one of the King's Council declared, That he now saw the Wisdom, Necessity, and Equitableness of the *Spanish* Inquisition, and thought that it would never be well with the Church and Monarchy, till one was established here; or Words to that Effect. Now, can any one think that this wicked and impudent Man, with all this Malice against his Country, would not have hated and dreaded the Inquisition as much as any other Man, but that he was determined to be of the same Side.

I never yet met with one honest and reasonable Man out of Power, who was not heartily against all Standing Armies, as threatening and pernicious, and the ready Instruments of certain Ruin: And I scarce ever met with a Man
in

in Power, or even the meanest Creature of Power, who was not for defending and keeping them up: So much are the Opinions of Men guided by their Circumstances! Men, when they are angry with one another, will come into any Measures for Revenge, without considering that the same Power which destroys an Enemy, may destroy themselves; and he to whom I lend my Sword to kill my Foe, may with it kill me.

Men are caught, and ruled, and ruined, by a present Appetite; and for present Gratification, give up even Self-Preservation. So weak is Reason when Passion is strong! Most of the Instruments of Arbitrary Power have been sacrificed to it as wantonly as they had sacrificed others; and were justly crushed under a barbarous *Babel* of their own raising. But that has been no Lesson to others, who have been for complimenting their Prince with a Power which made all Men, and themselves amongst the rest, depend for their Life and Property upon his Breath; for no other Reason, than that it made many others depend at the same Time upon theirs.

Nothing is more wild, fickle, and giddy, than the Nature of Man; not the Clouds, nor the Winds: We swallow greedily to Day what we loathed Yesterday, and will loath again to Morrow; and would hang at Night those whom we hugged in the Morning. We love Men for being of our Opinion, when we are in the wrong; and hate them afterwards, if they are in the Right. We are enraged at those who will not renounce their Sense, to
follow.

follow us in our Anger ; and are angry at them for being angry, when we have made them so. We boast of being guided by our own Sentiments ; but will allow no body to be directed by theirs, if theirs thwart ours. We are governed by our own Interest, and rail at those that are. We oppose those who will not purchase our Friendship ; and when they do, we oppose all that oppose them. Those who are for us, with Reason on their Side, provoke us, if they are not so without Reason. We commend human Reason, and mean only our own Folly. And our Religion, however ridiculous, is always the best for all Men, who are in a dangerous Way, if they are not in our absurd one. If we adhere to our Opinions, and will not alter our Conduct, we cannot forget those who will not join with us ; and if they do, we do not forgive them when we change, if they do not change too.

Thus inconsistent, foolish, and shameless, is the Nature of Men, selfish and prone to Error. Methinks those who were once in our Circumstances and Sentiments, might, at least, forgive us, if when they leave us and their own Principles for a very bad Reason, we still adhere to ours for a very good one : But this Piece of plain Equity is not to be expected. Men are so partial to themselves, that almost every Man, if he could, would set up the Arbitrary Standard of his own Will, and oblige all Men blindly to follow it. The Story of *Procrustes* is full of excellent Instruction, and a lively Emblem of human Nature : That Tyrant had an Iron Bed, which he seemed to intend for the
Standard

Standard of humane Stature ; those who were too long for it, had their Legs chopped off ; and those who were too short, had their Bodies extended by a Rack ; and both the Long and the Short were made to fit the Tyrant's Bed. What is the Inquisition, what is Tyranny, and what is any extravagant Power, but *Procrustes's* Bed ? And who would not be a *Procrustes*, if he had his Will, in some Respect or other ?

The very Name of *France*, used to be an Abomination to the *Whigs* : They hated the Country for the Sake of it's Government ; and were eternally upbraiding the *Tories*, with a Fondness for that Government. Who would have expected, after all this, that ever the *Whigs*, or any of them, could have spoken with Patience, much less with Approbation, of the *French* Government ? Any the least Hint of this kind was shameful and unpardonable in a *Whig*. But there are *Whigs*, who, not content to shew their Dislike and Resentment of every thing said or done in Behalf of Liberty, and the *English* Constitution, have boldly told People how such Things would be rewarded in *France* : That is to say, The Government of *France* is defended by Galleys, Wheels, Racks, and Dragoons, and we want the same Methods here ; for, if they dislike such Methods, how come they to mention them ? If Men commit Crimes against the *English* Government, there are *English* Laws to punish them ; but if they are guilty of no Crime against the Laws of *England*, why are they thought worthy of the Arbitrary Punishments of *France*, unless those, who think they are,

thirst

thirst after the Arbitrary Power of *France*? Or if they mean not thus, why do they talk thus, and shewing Rage without Provocation, scatter Words without a Meaning? I know no Sort of *Englishmen* worthy of *French* Chains, and *French* Cruelty, but such apostate *Englishmen* as wish for the Power and Opportunity of inflicting them upon their Countrymen, and of governing those by Terrors and Tortures, who despise weak Capacities, and detest vile Measures.

And have *Whigs* at last the Face to tell us how they rule in *France*? Here is an Instance of *Toryism*, which every modern *Tory*, of any Sense, disclaims and abhors, and which some modern *Whigs* have modestly avowed, and are therefore become old *Tories*. Thus do Parties chop and change. One Party, by railing with great Justice at another, gets into its Place; and loses it as justly, by doing the very Things against which it railed.

By these Means, and by thus acting every one of them contrary to their Professions, all Parties play the Game into one another's Hands, though far from intending it; and no Party has ever yet found their Account in it, whatever their Leaders may have done: For the most part, a Revolution of five or six Years subjects them to Oppressions of their own inventing. Others get into their Seat, and turn their own hard Measures upon them; nor can they complain, with a good Grace, that they suffer those Evils which they had made others to suffer; and their own Conduct having been as bad as that of which they complain, they
have

have not sufficient Reputation to oppose the Progress of publick Mischief and Miscarriages, which perhaps they began.

It is therefore high Time for all Parties to consider what is best for the Whole; and to establish such Rules of commutative Justice and Indulgence, as may prevent Oppression from any Party. And this can only be done by restraining the Hands of Power, and fixing it within certain Bounds as to its Limits and Expence. Under every Power that is exorbitant, Millions must suffer to aggrandize a few, and Men must be strangely partial to themselves and their own Expectations, if, in the almost eternal Changes and Revolutions of Ministries, they can hope to continue long to be any Part of those Few.

I am, &c.

S I R,

NO Man, or small Number of Men, can support themselves in Power upon their own proper Strength, without taking in the Assistance of a great many others, and they can never have that Assistance, unless they take in their Interests too, and the latter can find their own Account in giving it; for Men will laugh at bare Arguments brought to prove that they must labour, be robbed of that Labour, and want, that others may be idle, riot, and plunder them. Those Governments therefore,
which

which are founded upon Oppression, always find it necessary to engage Interests enough in their Tyranny to overcome all Opposition from those who are tyrannized over, by giving separate and unequal Privileges to the Instruments and Accomplices of their Oppression, by letting them share the Advantages of it, by putting Arms in their Hands, and by taking away all the Means of Self-Defence from those who have more Right to use them.

But when a Government is founded upon Liberty, and equal Laws, it is ridiculous for those in the Administration to have any Hopes of preserving themselves long there, but by just Actions, or the Appearance of just Actions; and by letting the People find, or fancy they find their own Happiness in their Submission. It is certain, People have so just a Dread of publick Disturbances, that they will bear a great deal, before they will involve themselves in Tumults and Wars; and Mankind are so prone to Emulation and Ambition, and to pursue their separate Interests, that 'tis easy to form them into Parties, and to play those Parties in their Turns upon one another; but all Parties will at last confer Notes, and find out, that they are made Use of only as Cudgels in the Hands of wicked Men, to assault each other by Turns, till they are both undone. It is downright Madness, to hope long to govern All against the Interests of All; and such Knight-Errants have Qualifications only to be sent to *Bedlam*, or to be shut up in some other Madhouse.

People will for some Time be dallied with, and amused with false Reasonings, Misrepresentations, and Promises, wild Expectations, vain Terrors, and imaginary Fears; but all these Hopes and Apprehensions will vanish by Degrees, and will produce a quite contrary Effect, and no wise Man will think it prudent to provoke a whole People. What could the late King *James* do against his whole People? His Ministers betrayed him, his Family deserted him, and his Soldiers revolted from him: And 'twas foolish to expect any thing else; for how could he hope that those who could have no Motive to stand by him, besides their own personal Interest, and every Motive to oppose him arising from Conscience and Honour, would not leave him when that Interest changed, and they could serve themselves better by serving their Country.

I laugh at the stupid Notions of those who think that more is due from them to their Patrons, who are trusted to dispose of Employments for the publick Benefit, than to their Country, for whose Sake, and by whose Direction, those Employments were first instituted, out of whose Pockets the Profits of them arise, and from whose Confidence or Credulity their pretended Benefactors derive all their Power to give them. Those who receive them, accept the Gift upon the Terms of the Constitution; that is, to execute them faithfully for the publick Good, and not to take the People's Money to destroy the People.

What did the whole Power of *Spain* do against a few revolted Provinces, when all the
 People

People were enraged by Oppression? How many Armies were lost? How many Millions foolishly squandered, to recover by Force, what a few just Concessions would have done at once? Her Generals no sooner took one Town, but two revolted; and they sometimes lost ten, without striking a Stroke, for one they gained by the Sword: What by the Mutinies of her own Soldiers, and other common Events, which usually happen in such Cases, they twice lost all together, and were forced to begin their Game a-new; and so destroyed a mighty Empire, to oppress a little Part of it, whose Affections might have been regained by doing them but common Justice.

'Tis senseless, to hope to overcome some Sorts of convulsive Distempers, by holding the Patient's Hands, and tying him with Ropes, which will only encrease the Malady; whereas the softest Remedies ought to be used: Violent Methods may stop the Distemper for a little Time, but the Cause of the Grief remains behind, and will break out again the more furiously. What did King *James* get by all his bloody Executions in the *West*, and his manacling us with Chains, and keeping up a Military Force to lock them on, but to frighten his Friends, still more provoke his Enemies, and at last unite them all against himself? And yet, I believe, I may venture to assert, that if, instead of throwing his Broad-Seal into the *Thames*, and deserting his People, he had suffered his Parliament to sit, had given up some of the Instruments of his Tyranny, and had permitted them to have taken a few proper

Precautions to have hindered it for the future, he need not have been a Fugitive through the World.

It is certain, that if King *Charles* had made at first, and with a good Grace, but half of those Concessions which were extorted from him afterwards, that bloody War, so fatal to himself and his Family, had been prevented, and the Ambition or Malice of his personal Enemies had been suppressed, or turned to their own Confusion, and he himself might have reigned a happy Prince, with as much Power as he had Right to by the Constitution: Whereas, if my Lord *Clarendon* isto be believed, the whole Kingdom, (very few excepted) took part against the Court at first, and continued to do so, till some leading Men in the House of Commons discovered Intentions to overturn the Monarchy itself. And I will add farther, that if some Men, I could name, had set themselves at the Head of the Prosecutions against the *South-Sea* Directors, and their Directors, Agents, and Accomplices, and had proposed, or shewn an Inclination to have come into effectual Methods to have paid off the publick Debts, and to have lessened the publick Expences, the Name of a *Jacobite* had been as contemptible as it is now dreadful; and a few Constables might possibly have saved the Charge of a great many Camps.

It is foolish therefore to be frightened with Apprehensions which may be removed at pleasure: The Way to cure People of their Fears, is not to frighten them farther, but to remove the Causes of their Fears. If the Kingdom is disaffected,

disaffected, (as its Enemies of all Sorts would make us believe) let enquiry be made into the Motives of that Disaffection: It cannot be personally to his Majesty, who is a most excellent Prince; and his greatest Opponents neither do nor can object to him those Vices, which too often accompany and are allied to Crowns: Nor is there the least Pretence to accuse him of any Designs of enlarging his Prerogative beyond its due Bounds; but on the contrary it is said, that he was content by the Peerage-Bill to have parted with a considerable Branch of it in Favour of his People, whatever Use others intended to make of that Concession: It is certain, that when he came to the Crown, he had a large Share in the Affections of his People, and he himself has done nothing to make it less.

It cannot be to his Title, which is the best upon Earth, *viz.* The positive Consent of a Great and Free Nation, and not the presumptive Consent of Succession: Besides, all his Subjects of any Degree have sworn and subscribed to his Title, and the Ink is yet wet upon their Fingers; nor can any formidable Number of them (whilst they are governed justly and prudently) have any Motives to call in a *Papish* Pretender, educated in Principles diametrically opposite to their civil and religious Interests.

Whence therefore should such Disaffection arise, if there is any such, as I hope there is not? And it appears plainly, that there is not, or that it is not general, by the dutiful Reception his Majesty met with in all Places through-

out his late Progress in the *West*. And the same loyal Disposition would appear more and more every Day, if those who have the Honour to be admitted to his more immediate Confidence, would represent honestly to him, how acceptable his Presence would always be to his People.

'Tis childish to say, that a few Flies and Insects can raise a great Dust; or that as many disappointed and unprefer'd Men can shake a great Kingdom, with a wise Prince at the Head of it, supported with such Power and Dependencies. A great Fire cannot be raised without Fewel, and the Materials which make it must have been combustible before. And if this is our Case, we ought to ask, How they came to be so? And, Who made them inflammable? Who laid the Gunpowder? as well as, Who fired, or intended to fire it? When we have done this, we ought to remove the Causes of the Distemper, allay the Heat of the Fever by gentle Lenitives, throw in no more fiery Spirits to enflame the Constitution, but do all we can to soften and cool it.

Every Country in the World will have many Malecontents; some through Want and Necessity; others through Ambition and Restlessness of Temper; many from Disappointments and personal Resentment; and more from the Fear of just Punishment for Crimes: But all these together can never be dangerous to any State, who knows how to separate the People's Resentments from theirs. Make the former easy, and the others are disarmed at once. When the Causes of general Discontent

are removed, particular Discontents will signify nothing.

The first Care which wise Governours will always take is to prevent their Subjects from wanting, and to secure to them the Possession of their Property, upon which every thing else depends. They will raise no Taxes but what the People shall see a Necessity for raising; and no longer than that Necessity continues: And such Taxes ought to be levied cautiously, and laid out frugally. No Projects ought to be formed to enrich a few, and to ruin Thousands; for when Men of Fortunes come to lose those Fortunes, they will try by all Means to get new ones; and when they cannot do it fairly, they will do it as they are able; and if they cannot do it at all, will throw all Things into Confusion, to make others as miserable as themselves. If People are poor, they will be desperate, and catch at every Occasion, and join with every Faction, to make publick Disturbances, to shuffle the Cards a-new, and to make their own Condition better, when they find it cannot be worse.

Wise Statesmen will see all this at a Distance; will use the best Precautions, and most prudent Measures, to procure general Plenty, encrease Trade and Manufactures, and keep the People usefully employed at Home, instead of starving, and prating Sedition in the Streets. They will not be perpetually provoking them with constant Injuries, giving them eternal Occasions and Reasons for Dissatisfaction, and then quarrel with them for shewing it, and be still encreasing their Discontents, by prepotterously

endeavouring to put a Stop to them by new Shackles, armed Bands, Bribery, and Corruption, and by laying on them fresh Burthens and Impositions to maintain such Oppressions; and so when they have raised Resentment to the highest Pitch, vainly hope to stop the Tide with their Thumbs. This is what the King of *Spain* did formerly in his *Austrian* Provinces, and King *James II.* lately in *England*; but what I hope will never be seen here again.

But it will be said, that People will be sometimes dissatisfied without any just Provocations given to them by their Governours: The Necessities of all States will sometimes subject them to greater Taxes, and other seeming Oppressions, than they can well bear; and then, like sick Men, they will quarrel with their Physicians, their best Friends, and their Remedies, and reproach all who have the Direction of their Affairs, as a Countryman once cursed Cardinal *Mazarine*, when his Ass stumbled, and perhaps justly, for the Oppressions of that Minister might have rendered him unable to feed his Ass, and to keep him in good Heart.

When this happens to be the Case, there ought to be double Diligence used to prevent any ill Consequences from such Disaffection: No War ought to be continued longer than is absolutely necessary to the publick Security, nor any new one to be entered into out of Wantonness, Ambition, or, indeed, any other Motive than Self Defence: No more Money ought to be raised than is strictly necessary for the People's Protection; and they are to be shewn that Necessity, and are to see, from
Time

Time to Time, the Accounts of what they give, that it is disbursed frugally and honestly, and not engrossed by private Men, lavished upon Minions, or squandered away in useless Pensions to Undeservers; and that the Product of the whole People's Labour and Substance, is not suffered to be devoured by a few of the worst of the People. For, as it is said elsewhere,

*What can be more invidious, than for a Nation, staggering under the Weight and Oppression of its Debts, eaten up with Usury, and exhausted with Payments, to have the additional Mortification, to see private and worthless Men riot in their Calamities, and grow rich whilst they grew poor; to see the Town every Day glittering with new and pompous Equipages, whilst they are mortgaging and selling their Estates, without having spent them; to see blazing Meteors suddenly exhaled out of their Fakes, and their Mud, as in Egypt, warmed into Monsters? **

I am, &c.

* *Considerations upon the State of the Nation, and of the Civil List.*



S I R,

I Have hitherto directed my Letters to your self; but I desire you will direct the inclos'd to the illustrious Deputies of the whole People of *England*. Not that I presume to think my self capable to inform them of their Duty, or that they want such Information, or would accept it from me; but I intend to shew my good Wishes to my Countrymen, and to prepare them to expect the blessed Effects of their discreet Choice; not in the least doubting but their worthy Representatives will speak aloud the almost unanimous Sentiments of the whole Nation, and by so doing, preserve the Dignity of the Crown, and the Liberty of the People they represent.

To the Honourable the Members of the present House of Commons.

Gentlemen,

YOU have now the Political Power of all the Commons of *Great-Britain* delegated to you; and as I doubt not but you will make an honest Use of it, so will you have their Natural Power too, at your Command; that is, you will have their Thanks, their Wishes, their Prayers, and their Persons as well as their Pur-ses, to serve your King and Country. This is the greatest Trust that can be committed by
Men

Men to one another; and contains in it all that is valuable here on Earth, the Lives, the Properties, the Liberties of your Countrymen, and in a great Measure of all *Europe*, and your own present and eternal Happiness too. This great Trust, Gentlemen, is not committed to you for your own sakes, but for the Protection, Security, and Happiness of those you represent. And you are accountable to your own Consciences, and to the high Tribunal of Heaven, for the just Execution of this great Authority; Not to mention the Applauses and Blessings of Millions of People, which will attend the faithful Discharge of your Duty; and the Detestation, Reproaches and Curses, with their other worse Consequences, which ought to pursue Corruption and Bribery, and which I am sure you will never deserve.

You have, Gentlemen, the purest Religion in the World, to cherish and support; the Interests, Reputation, and Security of the best of Princes, to guard and defend: You have a great and populous Nation, abounding with Men of Understanding, Integrity and Courage, imploring your Assistance; whom you are oblig'd by all the Ties of Gratitude, Justice and Generosity, by all the Laws of God and Man, to protect and preserve: A People loaded with Debts, enervated by War, and in former Reigns plunder'd by Miscreants, and just ready to sink under those Burthens, unless they can receive sudden Help from your healing Hands. Here is a Scene of Glory, an Opportunity put by gracious Heaven into your Hands, to exercise your Virtues, and to obtain a Reputation far above

the tinsel Triumphs of fabulous and imaginary Heroes. Virtuous Men could not ask more of Providence; nor could Providence bestow more upon mortal Men, than to set them at the Head of a corrupted and almost undone People, and to give them the Honour of restoring their Power, and reforming their Manners. I cannot doubt but these strong and forcible Motives, will call up all your Virtue, Generosity and Publick Spirit; and inspire you with Resolutions to assist our gracious Sovereign in redressing all our Grievances, and making us once more a great and happy People. 'Tis in your Power to do so, and from your Endeavours we hope and expect it.

Every Man you represent, has a Right to apply to, and petition you for Protection and Redress, and with Modesty and Humility to complain of his own or his Country's Sufferings; and by virtue of this undoubted Right, I address to you in my own Behalf, and in the Behalf of Millions of my Fellow Subjects, who, next to God and our gracious Sovereign, are to receive their Preservation and whole Happiness from your Breath. Your own personal Security too, is nearly link'd and blended with theirs; for you can make no Laws, countenance no Corruptions, or bring or suffer any Mischiefs upon your Country, but what must fall upon yourselves and your Posterity; and for these Reasons, as well as from your known Principles of Honour and Virtue, I assure myself you will act for your own and the publick Interest.

The most notorious Conspiritors, and chief Instruments of Power, who headed that detestable

stable Parliament that gave up the Liberties of a neighbouring Nation, involv'd themselves in the general Ruin, and were amongst the first who lost their Estates. Even the Pensionary Parliament, in King *Charles* the II'd's Time, stopp'd short, and turn'd upon that corrupt Ministry, when the last Stroke was levell'd against our Liberties: They well saw, that when they should become no longer necessary, they would be no more regarded, but be treated as Traytors always are, by those who take Advantage of their Treason; for 'tis a steady Maxim always with Oppressors, to court and gratify the People they enslave, by sacrificing the Instruments they make use of when they can be no longer serviceable; a Maxim which discharges all Obligations to them, and gives some Recompence to their unhappy and undone Subjects, by shewing them the grateful Sight of their worst and most implacable Enemies caught in their own Snare.

View, Gentlemen, the dismal and melancholly Scene before your Eyes: Behold, not above Thirty Years since, a powerful Nation engag'd in an expensive but successful War, for Defence of their own Liberties, and of all *Europe*; which might have been equally carried on with less Money than is now paid for Interest, without leaving us one Penny in Debt; but a Nation in late Reigns almost undone by the vile and despicable Arts of Stockjobbers, combining with others, from whom we expected Preservation, and now loaded with numerous Taxes: Their Finances discompos'd; their Trade loaded with various and burthensome Duties,

or manacled with exclusive Companies ; and in Debt almost sixty Millions, and by that means (as we have lately experienc'd) unable to contend with small Powers, without every Year encreasing our Debts and Burthens, and no effectual Method ever yet taken to pay them off, or lessen them ; but always new Methods found out to enhance the Account.

Sure, Gentlemen, none of you can hope that neighbouring Nations will sit still, and not take Advantage of our Weakness, and even those Nations for whose Sakes we are brought into this forlorn Condition. The Vicissitude of humane Affairs must bring new Wars upon us, tho' none among ourselves could find their Account in courting them ; and how think you, in such a Circumstance, we shall defend our Country ? For my own part, I can see but one Remedy at hand, and that is a dreadful one, unless we take speedy and effectual Methods to lessen the Publick Expences, to cut off all exorbitant Fees, Pensions and unnecessary Salaries, encourage Trade, regulate our Finances, and all Defects in the Administration ; and by such Means save all which can be saved, and apply it to the Discharge of the publick Burdens.

I wish our Dabblers in Corruption would count their Gains, and ballance their Losses with their wicked Advantages. Let them set down in one Column their mercenary Gifts, and precarious Dependencies ; sometimes half purchas'd with Money, sometimes by dividing the Profits with Parasites, and always with the Loss of their Integrity and Reputation ; and on the other Side, let them write down expensive
Contentions

Contentions, and constant Attendance in Town to the neglect of their Families and Affairs, and a Manner of Living often unsuitable to their Fortunes, and destructive to their Health, and at least one fourth Part of their Estates mortgaged, and liable to the discharge of the publick Debts ; and above all the rest, the Insecurity of what remains, which must be involv'd in every Species of publick Misery : And then let them cast up the Account, and see where the Ballance lies. This is not a fictitious and imaginary Computation, like *South-Sea* Stock, but a real and true State of the unhappy Case of twenty Dealers in Corruption, for one who has been a Gainer by it ; without mentioning the just Losses which many of them have suffer'd by the last detestable Project.

Consider too, what a Figure they make in their several Countries amongst their Neighbours, their Acquaintance, their former Friends, and often, even amongst their own Relations. See how they have been hunted and pursued from Place to Place, with Reproaches and Curses from every honest Man in *England* ; how they have been rejected in Counties, and populous and rich Boroughs, and indeed, only hoped for Success any where by the meer Force of Exorbitant Corruption, which has swallow'd up a great Part of their unjust Extortions. Then let them set against all these Evils a good Conscience, a clear Reputation, a disengag'd Estate, and being the happy Members of a free, powerful, and safe Kingdom ; all which was once their Case, and might have continu'd so, if they had acted with Integrity. Sure it is

is worth no Man's Time to exchange an Estate of Inheritance, secur'd to him by steady and impartial Laws, for a precarious Title to the greatest Advantages at the Will of any Man whatsoever.

But even these corrupt Advantages are no longer to be had upon the same Terms: The Bow is stretch'd so far, that it must break if it goes farther: Corruption, like all other Things has its Bounds; and must at last destroy it self, or destroy every Thing else. We are already almost mortgaged from Head to Foot: There is scarce any Thing which can be tax'd, that is not tax'd: Our Veins have been open'd and drain'd so long, that there is nothing left but our Heart's Blood; and yet every Day new Occasions arise upon us, which must be supply'd out of exhausted Channels, or cannot be supply'd at all. How think you, Gentlemen, this can be done? What has been rais'd within the Year has not been found sufficient to defray the Expences of the Year: And will any one amongst you, in Times of full Peace, consent to new mortgage the Kingdom to supply the current Service? And if you could be prevail'd upon to consent to it, how long do you believe it can last, or that you can find Creditors? And what can be the Consequence of such Credit? Sure it must make the Payment desperate; and if ever that grows to be the Case, what think you will be the Event? Who do you imagine will have the sweeping of the Stakes? Do you believe those who brought your Misfortunes upon you, will pay the Reckoning at last, or save themselves by endeavouring to compleat
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their Wickedness? There is no Way, Gentlemen, to prevent all these Evils which lour over and threaten you and us, but by preventing or removing the Causes of them; and I hope you will think it worthy your best Considerations, and most vigorous Endeavours to do so, rather than to suffer under, and be undone by them.

By doing this great Service to your Country, you will not only consult your Reputation, your own Interests, and the Interests of those you represent; but in the most effectual Manner will serve your Prince, by making him a glorious King over an happy, satisfy'd, dutiful and grateful People. A great and rich People can alone make a great King; their diffusive and accumulative Wealth, is his Wealth, and always at his Command, when employ'd for his true Glory, which is ever their Happiness and Security; and the Figure he does or can make among foreign States, bears exact Proportion to the Affections he has amongst his own People: If his People are disaffected, his Neighbours and his Enemies will despise him; and the latter will insult him, if they think his Subjects will not defend him; and therefore, since nothing is wanting on his Majesty's Part to make him belov'd, honour'd, I had almost said, ador'd by his People; it lies upon you, Gentlemen, to remove all those Causes, which at any Time hereafter, by the Fault of others, may sully and blemish his high Character. It is your Duty and your Interest too, to acquaint him with all Miscarriages in the inferiour Administration, which you have frequent Opportunities of knowing, and which 'tis next to impossible

impossible he should otherwise know. Princes are seated aloft in the upper Regions, and can only view the Whole of Things, but must leave the Detail and Execution of them to inferior Agents.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Know not a more laudable Ambition in any Man, than that of procuring by his Credit with the People, a Place in the Legislature; and when it is procur'd this Way, it is a Testimony given by his Country to his Uprightness, and to his Capacity to serve it. This is as high an Honour as an *Engliskman* can arrive at, and few but *Engliskmen* can arrive at it; and the Trust is still as high as the Honour, and increases it. The Liberty, the Property, nay the Virtue, Credit, and Religion of his Country, are in his Hands. Can Heaven or Earth afford stronger Motives for Diligence, Probity, and Attendance? When the Happiness or Misery, the Security or Bankruptcy, the Freedom or Servitude of a Nation, and all the Good or Evil which this Life affords, depends upon his Behaviour, he will find sufficient Cause from Virtue, Tenderness, and Duty, to call up all his Care, Industry, and Zeal.

But so it has often happened in the World, that all the Activity and Attendance, or most of it, have been on the wrong Side; and as
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the Evil that is in the World, does infinitely over-balance the Good, they who pull down, are vastly more numerous, as well as more busy, than they who build up. Vice reigns amongst Men, while Virtue scarce subsists; and in many Countries the Publick has been as vigorously assaulted, as it has been slowly and faintly defended. Thus it is, that Liberty is almost every where lost: Her Foes are artful, united, and diligent: Her Defenders are few, disunited, and unactive. And therefore we have seen great Nations, free, happy, and in love with their own Condition, first made Slaves by a handful of Traytors, and then kept so by a handful of Soldiers: I mean a handful in Comparison of the People, but still enough to keep them in Chains.

So that in most Nations, for want of this particular Zeal in every Man for his Country, in which all Men are comprized, the Publick, which is every Man's Business, becomes almost any Man's Prey. It was thus under the first Triumvirate, when *Pompey*, *Crassus*, and *Cesar*, three Citizens of *Rome*, were, by the Assistance of *Roman* Armies, sharing out the *Roman* World among themselves: Nay, they procured the Authority of the Senate and the Sanction of the People, for this monstrous Three-headed Tyranny over Senate and People; and procured it by Means that will always procure it: Some they bought, others they terrified, and all they deceived, corrupted, and oppressed. The Tribunes of the People, who were the People's Representatives, and should have been their Protectors, they bribed; and

and the People were betray'd and sold by their Tribunes.

Such is the Misfortune of Mankind, and so uncertain is the Condition of humane Affairs, that the very Power given for Protection, contains in it a sufficient Power to destroy, and so readily does Government slide, and often start into Oppression! And only by watching and restraining Power, is this monstrous and dreadful Transition prevented. For this good Purpose, we have Parliaments, to whom our Ministers are accountable, and by whom the Administration is supported, and its Limits and Power fixed. And to our having Parliaments, it is owing that we are not groaning under the same vile Vassalage with the Nations round about us: They had once their Parliaments as well as we, but in the Room of Parliaments, their Governours have substituted Armies, and consequently formed a Military Government, without calling it so; but whatever it is called, that Government is certainly and necessarily a Military Government, where the Army is the strongest Power in the Country: And it is eternally true, that a Free Parliament and a Standing Army, are absolutely incompatible, and can never subsist together.

By Parliaments therefore Liberty is preserved, and whoever has the Honour to sit in those Assemblies, accepts of a most sacred and important Trust; to the Discharge of which, all his Vigilance, all his Application, all his Virtue, and all his Faculties, are necessary; and he is bound by all the Considerations that can affect a worthy Mind, and by all the Ties that
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can bind a humane Soul, to attend faithfully and carefully upon this great and comprehensive Duty: A Duty, which, as it is honestly or faithlessly executed, determines the Fate of Millions, and brings Prosperity or Misery upon Nations.

Whatever has happened in former Reigns, we have Reason to hope, that no Men come now into Parliament with an execrable Intention to carry to Market a Country which has trusted them with its All; and it would be ridiculous to throw away Reason upon such Banditti, and publick Enemies to humane Society. Such Men would be worse than *Cannibals*, who only eat their Enemies to satisfy their Hunger, and do not sell and betray into Servitude their own Countrymen, who trust them with the Protection of their Property and Persons: But as I have heard that some Men formerly, to whom this important Trust has been committed, have been treacherous enough, through Negligence, to sacrifice their Duty to Laziness or Pleasure, I shall endeavour to shew the Deformity of such Conduct.

The Name of a Member of Parliament, has a great and respectful Sound, and his Situation is attended with many Privileges, and an eminent Figure! All which make Men ambitious of acquiring a Seat there, tho' I am told, some of them have scarce ever appear'd there. The Glory and Terror of the Name was enough for them; which Glory they tarnished, and converted into their Crime and their Shame, by neglecting the Duty which

was

was annexed to it, and alone produced it. Small and ridiculous must be the Glory of that General, who never attends the Duties of War, and is always absent upon the Day of Battle; or of a Minister, who, while he should be making Dispatches, or concerting Schemes for the Publick, is wasting his Time at Ombre, at Chess, or with a Mistress.

It would scarce be believed, if it had not been felt, that the Insensibility of Men as to all that is Good and Honourable, should go so far as to carry the Directors and Guardians of the Publick to a Cock Match, a Race, or a drunken Bout, when a Question has been upon the Stage, which has concerned the very Being of the Publick. This Passion for Pleasure, is strangely preposterous upon such Occasions, and to follow it is cruel; cruel and disloyal to our Country, and even to our selves: All our Happiness, and consequently all our reasonable Pleasures, are contained in the General Happiness; and when that is gone, or lessened through our Neglect, we need not be surprized, but may thank our selves, if in the publick Misfortunes and Curse we find our own.

When a pernicious Question has been carried, it is a poor Apology, to alledge, and had better be left unalleged, that *I was not there*. Why were you not there? Was it not your Duty to be there? And were you not bound by the solemn and awful Trust you undertook, to have been there? Had you been there, perhaps it would not have been carried, perhaps not attempted; or if both, you would have acquitted your own Soul, and had the honourable

nourable Testimony of your Country, and of a good Conscience.

Every Body knows, that in the Pensionary Parliaments, in *Charles* the Second's Time, the Session was almost always drawn out into a tedious Length, on purpose to tire the Members, and drive them all out of Town, except the trusty Creatures of the Court, who were in Parliament with no other View than to make a Penny of their betrayed Principles, and to pick the Publick Purse, for the Promise of going Shares with those who set them on. Were not the absent Members answerable, in a great Degree, for the Treachery of these staunch and patient Parricides, by leaving them an Opportunity to commit it, when they knew they would commit it? When a Man leaves his Wife with a known Ravisher, and his Money in the Hands of a noted Thief, he may blame himself if he suffers Loss and Dishonour.

Members of Parliament are set in a high Place, as Publick Stewards and Guards (the best and only sure Guards that a free Country can have) to watch for the Publick Welfare, to settle the Publick Expences, and to defend Publick and Private Property from the unclean and ravenous Hands of Harpies; and they are obliged by every Motive that can oblige, to adhere to their Station and Trust: When the major Part neglect or desert it, who knows but in Times to come, there may be always enough remaining to give it up, and be remaining for that very End? He who does not prevent Evil when he may, does in effect commit it, by leaving others to do so, who he cannot be sure will not do it. I

I have heard that some of these Truants from Parliament have boasted that they never voted wrong: But how often have they been out of the way, when they should have voted right, and opposed voting wrong? And is not this Omission of voting well, the next Crime to voting ill? And where it is habitual, is it not worse than even now and then voting ill? He who commits but two Murders, is less guilty, as to the Community, than he who permits twenty which he might have hinder'd; and he who robs ten thousand Pounds from the Publick, is a more innocent Man, than he who suffers it to be robbed of an hundred thousand: Or if he who does not prevent a great Evil, is less guilty in his own Eyes than he who actually commits a less; the Publick, which feels the Difference between Ten and Twenty, must judge far otherwise, and consider him as the more pernicious Criminal of the two, as they who are Traytors within the Law are the most dangerous Traytors of all.

How ridiculous is it to take a great deal of Pains, and to spend a great deal of Money to come into Parliament, and afterwards come seldom or never there, but keep others out, who would perhaps give constant Attendance? It is foolish to alledge, that the Adversary is so strong, that your Attendance will be useless; for it has rarely happened, that any dreadful Mischief has been carried in a full House, or indeed attempted; but Opportunities have always been taken from the Absence of the Country-Members: Besides, how often has it happened, that one extravagant Attempt has
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given a steady Majority to the other Side? The Pensionary-Parliament it self, in *Charles* the Second's Time, turned upon that corrupt Court: King *James's* first Loyal and Passive Obedience Parliament did the same, when he declared for Governing by Armies; and in King *William's* Time, the Anti-Court Party, who for many Years together could scarce ever divide above Eighty or Ninety, yet grew so very considerable, upon the Attempt for a Standing Army, that the Court, for several Years after, could not boast of a much greater Number of Followers; and tho' I confess this produced many real Mischiefs to the Publick, yet the Courtiers had no one to blame but themselves for it. How absurd is it for Men to bring themselves into such a Dilemma, as either to submit to certain Ruin, or, in some Instances, to hazard their Lives and Estates to get rid of it, by an unequal Struggle; when both may be easily prevented, by doing what they have promised to do, and what is their Duty, and ought to be their Pleasure to do, and what may be done without further Expence, than making an honest Use of two Monosyllables?

The Notions of Honour generally entertained, are strangely wild, unjust, and absurd. A Man that would die rather than pick a private Pocket, will, without blushing, pick the Pockets of a Million: And he who would venture his Life to defend a Friend, or the Reputation of an Harlot who has none, will not lose a Dinner, or a merry Meeting, to maintain the Wealth and Honour of his Country!

Country. There have been Gentlemen of this Sort of Honour, who really wished well to the Publick; but yet, rather than attend to a Debate of the utmost Consequence to the Publick, would with infinite Punctualness meet a Company of Sharpers, to throw away their Estates at Seven or Eleven. So much stronger is pernicious Custom than publick Virtue and eternal Reason, which alone ought to create and govern Custom; and so much to the publick Shame and Misfortune are such wicked Customs, from the Influence of which, even wise Men are not entirely exempted! So weak and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man!

It is observ'd of *Cato* the younger, that *he always came first to the Senate, and left it last.* *Pompey* and his Faction, finding that he would never be perswaded, nor frighten'd into their execrable Designs against their Country, contriv'd a thousand treacherous Devices to keep him out of the Way: But he saw their ill Arts, and disappointed them. He said he enter'd upon the Business of the State, as the Business of every honest Man, that he consider'd the Publick as the proper Object of his Care, Zeal and Attendance, and not as a Bank for his own private Wealth, or a Source of personal Honours; that it was a hideous Reproach for Men who are guided by Reason, and by it superior to all other Creatures, to take less Care of the Society to which they belong, than such Insects as Bees and Ants take of their Hives and common Stores; that he would never prefer private Interest or Pleasure to that of the publick, and that none of those Considerations should ever
with-hold

with-hold him from attending faithfully the Senate.

Here is a virtuous and illustrious Example, which I would leave upon the Minds of my Readers, and particularly recommend to those who may most want it. When *Cæsar* had by all manner of wicked Ways, by Violence, by Fraud, and by Bribery, procur'd the Government of *Gaul* and *Illyricum* for five Years, with an Army of four Legions, with which he afterwards enslav'd *Rome* itself; *Cato* could not reproach his own Heart, that he had been absent when that fatal Law pass'd: He oppos'd it with all his Zeal and Eloquence, and with the Hazard of his Life, and told those who made it, what they afterwards sadly felt, that *They were placing an arm'd Tyrant in their Citadel.*

Consider for God's Sake, Gentlemen, the Extent and Sacredness of your Trust: Your Country and Constitution are in your Hands: One unjust, one rash Law, may overturn both at once, and you with them, and cancel all Law and all Property for ever; and one good and wise Law may secure them to your late Posterity. Can it be indifferent to you, whether the one or the other of these Laws passes? And if it is not indifferent, will you avoid attending? Be but as assiduous against Evil as others have often been for it, and you have a fair Chance to prevent it for Ages. Why should not Honour, Virtue and good Conscience, be as active and zealous as Falshood, Corruption and guilty Minds? Consider the Injustice, the Barbarity, the Treachery, and the terrible Consequences of Sloath and Absence. Liberty, when once

lost, is scarce ever recover'd, almost as rarely as humane Life, when it is once extinguish'd.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Intend in this, and my next Letter, to write a Dissertation upon Libels, which are Liberties assumed by private Men, to judge of and censure the Actions of their Superiors, or such as have Possession of Power and Dignities. When Persons, formerly of no Superior Merit to the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, came to be possess'd of Advantages, by Means which, for the most part, they condemn'd in another Situation of Fortune, they often have grown, upon a sudden, to think themselves a different Species of Mankind; they took it into their Heads to call themselves the Government, and thought others had nothing to do but to sit still, act as they bid them, and follow their Motions; were unwilling to be interrupted in the Progress of their Ambition, and of making their private Fortunes by such Ways as they could best and soonest make them; and consequently have call'd every Opposition to their wild and ravenous Schemes, and every Attempt to preserve the People's Right, by the odious Names of Sedition and Faction, and charged them with Principles and Practices inconsistent with the Safety of all Government.

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This Liberty has been approved or condemn'd by all Men, and all Parties, in proportion as they were advantaged, or annoy'd by it: When they were in Power, they were unwilling to have their Actions scann'd and censur'd, and cry'd out, that such Licence ought not to be borne and tolerat'd in any well-constituted Commonwealth; and when they suffer'd under the Weight of Power, they thought it very hard not to have been allowed the Liberty to utter their Groans, and to alleviate their Pain, by venting some part of it in Complaints; and it is certain, there are Benefits and Mischiefs on both Sides the Question.

What are usually call'd Libels, undoubtedly keep great Men in Awe, and are some Check upon their Behaviour, by shewing them the Deformity of their Actions, as well as warning other People to be upon their Guard against Oppression; and if there was no further Harm in them, than in personally attacking those who too often deserve it, I think the Advantages such Persons receive, will fully atone for the Mischiefs they suffer. But I confess, that Libels may sometimes, though very rarely foment popular and perhaps causeless Discontents, blast and obstruct the best Measures, and now and then promote Insurrections and Rebellions; but these latter Mischiefs are much seldomer produced than the former Benefits; for Power has so many Advantages, so many Gifts and Allurements to bribe those who bow to it, and so many Terrors to frighten those who oppose it; besides the constant Reverence and Superstition ever paid to Greatness, Splen-

dor, Equipage, and the Shew of Wisdom, as well as the natural Desire all or most Men have to live in Quiet, and the Dread they have of publick Disturbances, that I think I may safely affirm, much more is to be fear'd from flattering Great Men, than detracted from them.

However, 'tis to be wished, that both could be prevented ; but since that is not in the Nature of Things, whilst Men have Desires or Resentments, we are next to consider how to prevent the great Abuse of it, and, as far as humane Prudence can direct, preserve the Advantages of Liberty of Speech, and Liberty of Writing, (which secures all other Liberties,) without giving more Indulgence to Detraction than is necessary to secure the other ; for 'tis certainly of much less Consequence to Mankind, that an Innocent Man should be now and then aspersed than that all Men should be enslaved.

Many Methods have been tried to remedy this Evil : In *Turky*, and the Eastern Monarchies, all Printing is forbid ; which does it with a Witness ; for if there can be no Printing at all, there can be no Libels printed ; and by the same Reason there ought to be no Talking, lest People should talk Treason, Blasphemy or Nonsense ; and for a stronger Reason yet, no Preaching ought to be allow'd, because the O-rator has an Opportunity of haranguing often to a larger Auditory than he can persuade to read his Lucubrations ; but I desire it may be remembred, that there is neither Liberty, Property, true Religion, Arts, Sciences, Learning or Knowledge in these Countries.

But another Method has been thought on, in these Western Parts of the World, much less effectual, and yet more mischievous than the former, namely, to put the Press under the Direction of the prevailing Party, and authorize Libels on one Side only, and deny the other Side the Opportunity of defending themselves. Whilst all Opinions are equally indulged, and all Parties equally allow'd to speak their Minds, the Truth will come out; and even, if they are all restrain'd, common Sense will often get the better; but to give one Side Liberty to say what they will, and not suffer the other to say any Thing, even in their own Defence, is comprehensive of all the Evils that any Nation can groan under; and must soon extinguish every Seed of Religion, Liberty, Vertue or Knowledge.

It is ridiculous to argue from the Abuse of a Thing, to the Destruction of it. Great Mischiefs have happen'd to Nations from their Kings, and their Magistrates; ought therefore all Kings and Magistrates to be extinguish'd? A thousand Enthusiastick Sects have pretended to deduce themselves from the Scripture; ought therefore the Holy Writings to be destroy'd? Are Men's Hands to be cut off, because they may and sometimes do, steal and Murder with them? Or their Tongues to be pull'd out, because they may tell Lyes, Swear, or talk Sedition?

There is scarce a Virtue but borders upon a Vice, and, carried beyond a certain Degree, becomes one. Corruption is the next State to Perfection: Courage soon grows into Rashness; Generosity into Extravagancy; Frugality into

Avarice ; Justice into Severity ; Religion into Superstition ; Zeal into Bigottry and Censoriousness ; and the Desire of Esteem ; into Vain-glory. Nor is there a Convenience or Advantage to be propos'd in humane Affairs, but has some Inconvenience attending it. The most flaming State of Health is nearest to a Plethory : There can be no Protection, without hazarding Oppression ; no going to Sea, without some Danger of being drown'd ; no engaging in the most necessary Battle, without venturing the Loss of it, or being killed ; nor purchasing an Estate, going to Law, or taking Physick, without hazarding ill Titles, spending your Money, and perhaps losing your Suit, or being poison'd. Since therefore every Good is, for the most part, if not always accompany'd by some Evil, and cannot be separated from it, we are to consider which does predominate, and accordingly determine our Choice by taking both or leaving both.

To apply this to Libels: If Men are suffer'd to preach or reason publicly and freely upon certain Subjects, as for Instance, upon Philosophy, Religion or Government, they may reason wrongly, irreligiously, or seditiously, and sometimes will do so ; and by such Means may possibly now and then pervert and Mislead an ignorant and unwary Person ; and if they are suffer'd to write their Thoughts, the Mischief may be still more diffusive ; but if they are not permitted by any, or all these Ways, to communicate their Opinions and Improvements to one another, the World must soon be overrun with Barbarism, Superstition, Injustice, Tyranny,

Tyranny, and the most stupid Ignorance. They will know nothing of the Nature of Government beyond a servile Submission to Power, nor of Religion, more than a blind Adherence to unintelligible Speculations, and a furious and implacable Animosity to all whose Mouths are not form'd to the same Sounds; nor will they have the Liberty or Means to search Nature, and investigate her Works; which Employment may break in upon receiv'd and gainful Opinions, and discover hidden and darling Secrets. Particular Societies shall be establish'd and endow'd to teach them backwards, and to share in their Plunder: which Societies by Degrees, from the want of Opposition, shall grow as ignorant as themselves: Armed Bands shall rivet their Chains, and their haughty Governors assume to be Gods, and be treated as such in Proportion, as they cease to have humane Compassion, Knowledge and Virtue. In short, their Capacities will not be beyond the Beasts of the Field, and their Condition worse; which is universally true in those Governments where they lie under those Restraints.

On the other Side, what Mischief is done by Libels to ballance all these Evils? They seldom or never annoy an innocent Man, or promote any considerable Error. Wise and honest Men laugh at them, and despise them, and such Arrows always fly over their Heads, or fall at their Feet. If King *James* had acted according to his Coronation Oath, and kept to the Law, *Lilly-Burlero* might have been tun'd long enough before he had been sung out of

his Kingdoms. And if there had been no *South-Sea* Scheme, or if it had been justly executed, there had been no Libels upon that Head, or very harmless ones. Most of the World take Part with a virtuous Man, and punish Calumny by their Detestation of it. The best Way to prevent Libels, is not to deserve them, and to despise them, and then they always lose their Force; for certain Experience shews us that the more Notice is taken of them, the more they are publish'd. Guilty Men alone fear them, or are hurt by them, whose Actions will not bear Examination, and therefore must not be examin'd. 'Tis Fact alone which annoys them; for if you will tell no Truth, I dare say you may have their Leave to tell as many Lyes as you please.

The same is true in Speculative Opinions. You may write Nonsense and Folly as long as you think fit, and no one complains of it but the Bookseller: But if a bold, honest, and wise Book fallies forth, and attacks those who think themselves secure in their Trenches, then their Camp is in Danger, and they call out all Hands to Arms, and their Enemy is to be destroy'd by Fire, Sword, or Fraud. But 'tis senseless to think that any Truth can suffer by being thoroughly search'd, or examin'd into; or that the Discovery of it can prejudice right Religion, equal Government, or the Happiness of Society in any Respect: She has so many Advantages above Error, that she wants only to be shewn to gain Admiration and Esteem; and we see every Day that she breaks the Bonds of Tyranny and Fraud, and shines through the Mists of Superstition

Superstition and Ignorance: and what then would we do, if these Barriers were remov'd, and her Fetters taken off?

Notwithstanding, I would not be understood by what I have said, to argue that Men should have an uncontroll'd Liberty to calumniate their Superiors, or one another; Decency, good Manners, and the Peace of Society, forbid it: But I would not destroy this Liberty by Methods which will inevitably destroy all Liberty. We have very good Laws to punish any Abuses of this Kind already, and I will approve them, whilst they are prudently and honestly executed, which I really believe they have for the most part been since the Revolution: But as it cannot be deny'd, that they have been formerly made the Stales of Ambition and Tyranny, to oppress any Man who durst assert the Laws of his Country, or the true Christian Religion; so I hope the Gentlemen skill'd in the Profession of the Law will forgive me, if I entrench a little upon their Province, and endeavour to fix stated Bounds for the Interpretation and Execution of them; which shall be the Subject of my next Letter.

I am, &c.



S I R,

I Have been told, That in some former Reigns, when the Attorney-General took it in his Head to make innocent or doubtful Expressions criminal by the Help of forced Innuendo's, the Method of proceeding was as follows: If the Counsel of the Prisoner insisted, that the Words carried no seditious Meaning, but might and ought to be understood in reasonable Sense; he was answered, That his Exception would be saved to him upon Arrest of Judgment; in the mean time, the Information was try'd, and the malign Intention of the Words was aggravated and left to a willing Jury; and then, upon a Motion in Behalf of the Prisoner to arrest Judgment, because the Words were not criminal in Law, he was told, the Jury were Judges of the Intention; and having found it an ill one, it was too late to take the Exception. Whether this was ever the Truth, I have not lived long enough to affirm from my own Knowledge; or whether this Method of proceeding is Law now, I have not Skill enough in that Science to determine: But I think I may justly say, if it is Law, it is worth the Consideration of our Legislature whether it ought to continue so.

It is certain that there is no Middle in Nature, between judging by fixed and steady Rules, and judging according to Discretion, which is another

another Word for Fancy, Avarice, Resentment, or Ambition, when supported by Power, or freed from Fear. And I have said in my former Letter, that as there can be no Convenience but has an Inconvenience attending it, so both these Methods of judging are liable to Objections. There is a constant War between the Legislature and the Pleader, and no Law was ever enacted with so much Circumspection, but Flaws were found out afterwards in it, and it did not answer all the Purposes intended by the Law-makers; nor can any positive Law be framed with so much Contrivance, but artful Men will slip out of it, and particularly in relation to Libels. There are so many Equivoques in Language, so many Sneers in Expression, which naturally carry one Meaning and yet may intend another, that it is impossible by any fixed and stated Rules, to determine the Intention, and punish all who deserve to be punished. But to get rid of this Inconvenience at the Expence of giving any Man or Number of Men a discretionary Power to judge another's Intentions to be criminal, when his Words do not plainly denote them to be so, is subverting all Liberty, and subjecting every Man to the Caprices and arbitrary and wild Will of those in Power. A Text in Scripture cannot be quoted without being said to reflect upon those who break it; nor the Ten Commandments read, without abusing all Princes and Great Men, who often act against them all.

Therefore I must beg Leave to think, that it is a strange Assertion, which, as I have heard,

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has been advanced by Lawyers in *Westminster-Hall*, (*viz*) That it is an Absurdity to affirm, that a Judge and Jury are the only Persons in *England* who are not to understand an Author's Meaning; which, I think, may be true in many Instances when they act judicially, and the Words he uses, candidly construed, do not import that Meaning. *Tiberius* put many Senators to Death for looking melancholly and dissatisfied, or enviously at his Power; and *Nero* many others, for not laughing at his Play, or laughing in the wrong Place, or sneering instead of laughing, and very probably both judged rightly of their Intentions; but sure No body will think amongst us, that such Examples ought to be copied. A Man by not pulling off his Hat, or not low enough; by a Turn upon his Heel; by a frowning Countenance, or an over-pleasant one, may induce his Spectators to believe that he intends a Disrespect to one to whom it is criminal to own it; and yet it would be a strange Act of Power to punish him for this Unobservance. So Words may be certainly chosen with such Art, or Want of it, that they may naturally carry a Compliment, and perhaps may mean it; and yet other People, by knowing that the Person intended does not deserve one, may think him abused. And if this Way of judging may be indulged in *Westminster-Hall*, the Lord have Mercy upon Poets, and the Writers of Dedications, and of the Epitaphs too upon Great Men. Surely it is of less Consequence to Mankind, that a witty Author should now and then escape unpunished, than that all Men should

should hold their Tongues, or not learn to write, or cease writing.

I do agree, when the natural and genuine Meaning and Purport of Words and Expressions in libellous Writings do carry a criminal Intention, that the Writer ought not to escape Punishment by a Subterfuge and Evasion, or by a sly Interpretation hid in a Corner, and intended only for a Court of Justice, nor by annexing new Names to known Things, or by using Circumlocutions instead of single Sounds or Expressions; for Words are only arbitrary Signs of Ideas; and if any Man will coin new Words to old Ideas, or annex new Ideas to old Words, and let his Meaning be fully understood, without doubt he is answerable for it. But when Words used in their true and proper Sense, and understood in their literal and natural Meaning, import nothing that is criminal; then to strain their genuine Signification to make them intend Sedition, (which possibly the Author might intend too) is such a Stretch of Discretionary Power, as must subvert all the Principles of free Government, and overturn every Species of Liberty. I do own, that without such a Power some Men may escape Censure who deserve Censure, but with it no Man can be safe, and it is certain, few Men or States will be aggrieved by this Indulgence, but such as deserve much worse Usage.

It is a Maxim of Politicks in despotick Governments, That Twenty innocent Men ought to be punished, rather than One guilty Man escape; but the Reverse of this is true in free States, in the ordinary Course of Justice: For
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since no Law can be invented which can give Power enough to their Magistrates to reach every Criminal, without giving them, by the Abuse of the same Law, a Power to punish Innocence and Virtue, the greater Evil ought to be avoided: And therefore, when an innocent or criminal Sense can be put upon Words or Actions, the Meaning of which is not fully determined by other Words or Actions, the most beneficent Construction ought to be made in Favour of the Person accused; and the Cause of Liberty, and the Good of the Whole, ought to prevail, and to get the better of the just Resentment otherwise due to the Impertinence of a factious Scribbler, or the impotent Malice of a turbulent Babbler.

This Truth every Man acknowledges when it becomes his own Case, or the Case of his Friends or Party; and almost every Man complains of it when he suffers by it: So great is the Difference of Mens having Power in their Hands or upon their Shoulders. But at present, I think, no Party amongst us can find their Account either in suppressing, or in the Restraint of the Press, or in being very severe in their Animadversion upon the Liberties taken by it. The Independent *Whigs* think all Liberty depends upon Freedom of Speech, and Freedom of Writing, within the Bounds of Manners and Discretion, as conceiving that there is often no other Way left to be heard by their Superiors, nor to apprise their Countrymen of Designs and Conspiracies against their Safety; which they think ought to be done boldly, though in respect to Authority, as modestly

deftly as can be confiftent with the making themfelves underftood; and fuch amongst them as have lately quitted their Independence, think themfelves obliged to handle a Subject tenderly, upon which they have exerted themfelves very ftrenuoufly in another Circumftance of Fortune.

Very many of the *Tories*, who may be at prefent ranked amongst the former fort of Men, and who every Day fee more and more the Advantages of Liberty, and forget their former Prejudices, will not be contented hereafter to receive their Religion and Politicks from an ignorant Licenfer, under the Direction of thofe who have often neither Religion nor Politicks: And even the *Jacobites* themfelves are fo charm'd with their own doughty Performances, that they would not lofe the Pleafure of fcoling at, or abufing thofe whom they cannot hurt. Many of our fpiritual Guides will not be deprived of doing Honour to themfelves, and Advantage to their Flocks, from informing the World what they ought to believe by their particular Systems; and the Diffenting Preachers are willing to keep their own Flocks, and would not have the Reasonablenefs of their Separation judged of alone by thofe who differ from them, and have an Intereft in fuppreffing them. And I believe all our World would be willing to have fome other News befides what they find in the *Gazette*; and I hope that I may venture to fay, that there is no Number of Men amongst us fo very popular, as by their fingle Credit and Authority to get the better of all thefe Interefts.

But

But besides the Reasons I have already given, there is another left behind, which is worth them all, *viz.* That all the Methods hitherto taken to prevent real Libels have proved ineffectual; and probably any Method which can be taken, will only prevent the World from being informed of what they ought to know, and will increase the others. The subjecting the Press to the Regulation and Inspection of any Men whatsoever, can only hinder the Publication of such Books as Authors are willing to own, and are ready to defend; but can never restrain such as they apprehend to be criminal, which always come out by stealth. There is no hindring Printers from having Presses, unless all Printing is forbid, and scarce then: And dangerous and forbidden Libels are more effectually dispersed, enquired after, and do more Mischief, than Libels openly published; which generally raise Indignation against the Author and his Party. 'Tis certain, that there were more published in King *Charles II.* and King *James's* Times, when they were severely punished, and the Press was restrained, than have ever been since. The Beginning of *Augustus's* Reign swarmed with Libels, and continued to do so, whilst Informers were encouraged; but when that Prince despised them, they lost their Force, and soon after died. And I dare say, when the Governours of any Country give no Occasion to just Reflections upon their ill Conduct, they have nothing to fear from Calumny and Falshood.

Whilst *Tiberius*, in the Beginning of his Reign, would preserve the Appearance of governing

verning the *Romans* worthily, he answered a Parasite, who informed him in the Senate of Libels published against his Person and Authority, in these Words, *Si quidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum meorum dictorumque reddam, si perseveraverit, invicem eum odero*: "If any Man reflects upon my Words or Actions, I will let him know my Motives and Reasons for them; but if he still goes on to asperse and hate me, I will hate him again." But afterwards, when that Emperor became a bloody Tyrant, Words, Silence, and even Looks were capital.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE first reasonable Desire which Men have, is to be in easy Circumstances, and as free from Pain and Dangers as humane Condition will permit; and then all their Views and Actions are directed to acquire Homage and Respect from others; and, indeed, in a larger Sense, the latter are included in the former. Different Ways are taken to attain this End; Arts, Arms, Learning, Power, but most of all, Riches are sought after; and when just and proper Means are used to acquire them, the Pursuit is reasonable, and always to be commended. But when they are gained by Injustice, the End is frustrated for which alone they are valuable; that is, the Respect
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is lost which they are intended to procure? For who does not value an honest Man in moderate Circumstances, before another grown rich by Oppression? Who does not esteem a steady Patriot, who despises Threats, Bribes, and Dignities, when they stand between him and his Duty to his Country, before an overgrown Plunderer, who has sacrificed a Nation to his Ambition? Men will indeed bow down in the House of *Rimmon*, but they detest the Idol in their Heart. It is all false Homage. Such Men are adored publickly, and cursed privately; and most of those who seem to adore them, would with much more Pleasure follow them to the Scaffold.

How many have we seen in our Days, who are thought to have died Martyrs to their Pride and Covetousness, hooted with the Reproaches and Detestation of every honest Man in *England*, and, I doubt not, with the private Curses of many of their own Followers? And how many are there in all Countries, who are never seen or spoken of but with Contempt and Indignation, even in the midst of Greatness.

What is there in this World worth being a Knave for, especially a Man's being so, who already enjoys all the Conveniences of Life? Who would lose the just Applause of honest Men, wise Men, and free Men, for the servile Incense of Flatterers? How much more preferable is it, to make Millions of People happy, and receive the grateful Acknowledgments of a thankful Nation, than to purchase their Hatred and Resentments, by making them ab-

ject,

ject, poor, and miserable, and themselves and their Families so too in consequence? And what is all this for? To create false Dependents, who flatter them, in order to cheat them, or otherwise make their Advantages of them, instead of steady and true Friends: For a certain Degree of Familiarity is necessary to Friendship, or free Conversation; without which no Conversation is agreeable, or worth having. Few Men take Pleasure in the Company of those who are much their Superiors, who always strike them with Awe, and most commonly with Emulation; and what is got amongst them is generally spent amongst Equals.

I have seen many supple and bowing Guests at the Table of a Great Man, whom, for his Vanity, he treated magnificently, and at a great Expence; none of which he would have kept Company with in any other Place, nor perhaps they with him. Men of Virtue and Understanding are conscious of their own Worth: They will be sought after, and can be brought rarely to contribute to the Pride, Grandeur, and Ostentation of those they privately hate, fear, or contemn: And therefore, the latter, in their own Defence, are obliged to associate with the most worthless Part of Mankind, with Flatterers and Parasites, Hunters of good Tables, Sharpers, and Pickpockets; which are the usual Attendants and Ornaments of their Greatness. Their domestick Followers are generally made up of insolent and debauched Beggars, who fancy themselves to be Gentlemen; and as they cheat their Masters to
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be so, so depending upon their Protection, they insult his Neighbours, ride over the Country People, and are perpetually annoying the peaceable and industrious Farmers and Labourers, and giving Examples of Prodigality and Lewdness; insomuch that an Estate is some Years Purchase less valuable that lies within the Influence of such malignant Constellations.

Their Sons are educated in Idleness, Debauchery, and Ignorance; taught to believe, that Greatness consists in Pride, Insolence, and Extravagance; and so, for the most part, want every Qualification proper to adorn their Characters, serve their Prince or Country, or to direct their own Conduct, govern their Families, or manage their own Estates; which generally become the Property of their Stewards, Bailiffs, or debauched Followers, whilst they themselves often pay large Interest to them for their own Money, run in Debt to Tradesmen and Mechanicks for the common Conveniences of Life, whom they either pay not at all, or pay treble Values to; till at last their Necessities make them submit to a paltry Pension; and, instead of being the generous Assertors of publick Liberty, they become the mean and humble Instruments of Power.

Their Daughters partake of this happy Education; they are bred up to be above looking to their own Families, or to know any Thing of their own Affairs; and, indeed, it is become a Qualification now, to be good for no one Thing in the World, but to dance, dress, play upon the Guitar, to prate in a Visiting-Room,

Room, or to play amongst Sharpers at Cards and Dice : And when they can't be exercising these laudable Accomplishments, they are always in Vapours and the Spleen : And so they can get no Husbands, or ruin those who are indiscreet enough to marry them. The Necessities of their Parents arising from their Profusion in all other Respects, will not afford Fortunes great enough to marry them to their own Quality, who run into the City for Grocers and Mercers Daughters, to repair their shatter'd Affairs, and generally use them as such. For all private Gentlemen (whose Alliance is worth courting) are ever afraid of her Ladyship, and think themselves not worthy of so much Honour, very few Instances excepted of vain and inconsiderate young Gallants, who are caught with outside Shew and Pageantry, and drawn in to make great Settlements, and repent it all their Lives after.

I do not say this is always the Case : For Virtue and good Sense is not confined to any Order of Men or Women ; and without doubt there are excellent Men and Ladies amongst the Quality. But I appeal to general Experience, whether what I have said is not most commonly the real Truth. And who dares to be so sanguine, as to hope it will not be the Case of his own Posterity, if something is not done to mend the present Education of Youth ; which never can be done, without mending that which must mend every thing else. For those who have an Interest in keeping the Nobility and Gentry ignorant, debauched, and extravagant, and consequently necessitous and

depen-

dependent, will never voluntarily endeavour to lessen their own Power and Influence.

This is indeed a melancholy, but true Scene of modern Greatness. And is this a Condition to be envy'd or courted by any who have plentiful (tho' not great and exorbitant) Fortunes? who have all the Means of enjoying private Happiness, and of educating their Children in Virtue, Knowledge, and publick Principles, and can make a modest Provision for them after their Deaths, and, by leaving them Examples of Frugality, and prudent Oeconomy, enable them to abound in the true Necessaries and Conveniences of Life; which the others (like *Tantalus*) want in the midst of Profusion?

Nature is easily contented, and with few Things. The most luxurious Palate may be gratified by what a moderate Circumstance can afford. Those who have the most magnificent Palaces, chuse to live in the least and meanest Apartments of them; and such as have the richest and most expensive Cloaths, and other personal Ornaments, wear the worst when by themselves; so that all the rest are only Pride and Ostentation, and often procure Emulation and Ill-will from Neighbours and Acquaintance, but seldom true and real Respect. However, since the Mind of Man, like every thing else in Nature, is in constant Progression, and in perpetual Pursuit of one Thing or other, I do not condemn the moderate Pursuit of Wealth, if we do not buy it too dear, and at the Price of our Health or Integrity; for Riches in a wise Man's Hands are certainly conducive to
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Happiness, tho' they are more often the Causes of Misery to others.

Men, for the most part, are not so solicitous to acquire them for the real Pleasure they give, and to satiate personal Appetites, as in Compliance with the Custom of the World. We seldom examine our selves, but enquire of others, whether we are happy or not; and provided we can make those whom we don't value, and who do not value us, envy and admire our Felicity, are contented to know we have none. Such is the Force of Prejudice, flowing from foolish Vanity, Pride, or Custom. True Happiness resides alone in the Mind, and whoever hunts after it elsewhere will never find it. All the Hurry and Tumults of Faction, most of the eager Pursuits after Vice under the Name of Pleasure, and the vain and noisy Chases of Ambition, are but so many Disguises to cover internal Uneasiness, and Stratagems to fly from our selves; but *hæret lateri lethalis Arundo*: The Deer is struck, and wherever he flies, he must carry his Grievs about him.

Nothing can fill the Mind of a truly Great Man, but the Love of God, of Virtue, and of his Country. All other Pleasures ought to be but Amusements, and subservient to these, and very often turn to Misfortunes; but here is an inexhaustible Source of inward Satisfaction, which is the only true Happiness, and which wicked Men never feel; and consequently they are the most unhappy of all Men.

S I R,

IN Free States, where publick Affairs are transacted in popular Assemblies, Eloquence is always of great Use and Esteem ; and, next to Money and an armed Force, is the only Way of being considerable in these Assemblies. This Talent therefore has been ever cultivated and admired in Commonwealths, where Men were dealt with by Reason and Persuasion, and at Liberty to ratify or reject Propositions offered, and Measures taken by their Magistrates, and to examine their Conduct, and to reward them with Honours or Punishments, as they deserved. But in single Monarchies, where Reason is turned into Command, and Remonstrances and Debating, into servile Submission, Eloquence is either lost, or perverted to sanctify publick Violence, and to deify the Authors of it.

In the free States of *Greece* and *Rome*, this popular Eloquence was of such Force and Consequence, that the best Speakers generally governed them ; and their greatest Orators were often not only their chief Magistrates, but their principal Commanders. Rhetorick was the first and great Study, because the first and great Offices of the State were the sure Price of Rhetorick. By it *Cicero* came to be the first Man in *Rome*, and *Pericles* the first Man in *Athens*. *Themistocles*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*,

phon, and *Alcibiades*, could speak as well as they could fight; and so could *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *M. Anthony*, and many more, who were not only great Orators, as well as great Soldiers, but for the most part, owed their Military Power to their powerful Speaking: Not that Eloquence is necessary to a Soldier, no more than Skill in War to a civil Officer: But both were necessary Parts, and indeed the principal Parts of the *Roman* Education; and the Candidates for Preferments were either good Speakers, or supported by such. *Pompey*, tho' he principally derived his Fame and Credit from Military Glory, had been far from neglecting the other Accomplishments of the Gown and the Bar. We have the Testimony of *Cicero*, that he was a graceful and engaging Speaker: His great Employments, and many Wars, had withheld him long from the Exercise of Declaiming, and his eminent Authority in the State had made it for some Time unnecessary: But he resumed it with great Application in the latter Years of his Life; when *Curio*, a young Tribune of vast Spirit and Eloquence, being gained by an immense Sum of Money to the Interest of *Cæsar*, was by publick and perpetual Haranges misleading the People into his Party. *Cicero* continued this Exercise till near his Death, and *Marc Anthony* and *Augustus* in the midst of their Wars.

The chief Power of that State being in the People, and all the great Offices in their Gift, made Eloquence a necessary Qualification in every one who courted their Favour, and

sought their Suffrages. And a Candidate thus qualify'd, rarely missed gaining them, till Money, more prevailing than Eloquence, and every other Accomplishment, corrupted their Hearts, abolished their Integrity, and, finding their Souls and their Voices saleable, made them first the Market, and then the Slaves of Ambition. But in the Times of their Purity, and before their Virtue was vanquished by irresistible Gold, which has been ever an Overmatch for the Probity of the Sons of Men, it must be owned to their Honour, that in almost all the Questions and Debates in the *Roman* State, the justest Side was the strongest; and he who spoke best, that is, with most Reason and Truth, had the most Voices. Such was the Equity and good Sense of the *Roman* People! Even in the Days of their Degeneracy, they gave many Proofs, that it was with Shame and Pain they had departed from their ancient Integrity and publick Spirit: They continued to prefer many worthy Citizens merely for their Worth: They carried *Cicero* particularly thro' all the considerable Offices of the State, only because he deserved them. *Cato* they created their Tribune, in spite of Violence and Opposition, and would have chosen him *Prætor*, when he first stood for it, notwithstanding the Influence and Bribery of the Faction of the first *Triumvirate*, had they not been cheated and terrified by a religious Lye of *Pompey's*, who by it broke up the Assembly. *Cato* was however chosen next Year; and by the usual Power of his Eloquence and Credit with the People, frustrated many of the pernicious Designs of the *Trium-*

Triumvirate against his Country, and consequently prevented, for a Time, many publick Mischiefs, as he foretold them all.

The Credit of Eloquence amongst the *Greeks* was at least equally high, and its Force as visible. However, in *Greece* it self it was differently esteemed and practised according to the Difference of the Forms of Government in the several *Greek* Cities. In *Sparta*, where little Riches were to be acquired, and the acting Power of the State was chiefly in the Senate, the Faculty of Haranguing was less studied, in proportion to the smaller Power of the People; who had only a negative Vote, and the bare Right of confirming or refuting the Laws proposed to them, and none to debate about them, nor to explain them, much less to offer new Laws. Their Laws therefore, and their publick Deliberations, being carried, as far as regarded the People, without popular Speeches and Cabals, that City was no proper Scene for popular Speakers; and, doubtless, it was the most perfect and best established State then in the World; but not being formed for Conquest, nor indeed for Trade, or Increase of People, it was undone by an Endeavour to enlarge it.

At *Athens* it was far otherwise: The Multitude, the unrepresented Multitude, being the Legislature, governed all Things, and were themselves governed by their Orators; who therefore swarmed in that City, and filled all the great Offices in it, as they always will do in such a State. They would never suffer any Thing to remain fixed and quiet; but, to make themselves considerable, were for ever starting

new Projects, new Treaties, and new Wars; which, at last, ruined the State, as I shall shew in another Letter. *Aristotle* finds just Fault with their Demagogues, who were making them continually drunk with Torrents of Inflammatory Eloquence. There wanted a proper Power to check and ballance that of the People; the Court of *Areopagus* being only a Court of Justice, and its Credit and Authority broken by *Ephialtis* and *Pericles*, two of the chief Orators, who hated to see any Authority in *Athens* but their own.

As Eloquence it self is necessary, or checked, or quite discouraged in different Forms of Government; so the Manner of Eloquence must vary, even where it is useful, according to the various Classes of Men to whom it is addressed. There is a considerable Difference between the Speeches spoken by *Cicero* in the Senate, and those which he spoke to the People. In an Assembly of Gentlemen, he who speaks with Brevity and Clearness, and strong Sense, speaks best. The chief Court is to be paid to the Understanding; and Silence is better than a Rote of good Words, that carry with them no Conviction. I do not deny, but in the most polite Assembly, the Manner of Speaking, the Voice, and the Choice of Words, will considerably recommend the Speech and the Speaker: But it is equally true, that a Theatrical Action, and an Ostentation of Language, prejudice both, as they break in upon Propriety; and, instead of adorning good Sense, disguise it with Shew and Sound.

But in Speeches to Assemblies of the People, much greater Latitude is allowed; and Vehemence of Tone and Action, a Hurry and Pomp of Words, strong Figures, Tours of Fancy, ardent Expression, and throwing Fire into their Imaginations, have always been reckoned proper Ways to gain their Assent and Affections. I think *Valerius Maximus* says of *Pericles*, that whenever he spoke to the People, he always left a Sting in their Souls: And hence, *sine armis Tyrannidem gessit*, he was a Tyrant without an Army. *Demosthenes* gave many Proofs of the same dictatorial Force of Speaking, not only at *Athens*, but all over *Greece*; which, in spite of all King *Philip's* Arts, and Power, and Ambassadors, and Bribes, he worked up into a general Insurrection and Confederacy against him. The *Thebans*, particularly, tho' terrified by *Philip's* Name and Conquests, and dreading to risque again the Calamities of War which they had lately felt, no sooner heard *Demosthenes*, but they were subdued by the Dint of his Words; and losing all Terror of the *Macedonians*, run headlong into the War. "He inflamed their Minds, says the Historian, with a Passion for Glory and Liberty, and covered all their wary Considerations in the magical Mist of his Eloquence; so that inspired by it, like Men possessed, they took sudden, bold, and honourable Resolutions."

The Substance and reasoning Part of this potent Speech might have been comprized in a few plain and short Propositions, more proper than a copious Harangue for a cool Council of

wise Men, taught by Experience to weigh every Step they took, and to examine the Soundness of the Sense divested of deceitful Words: But such a summary dry Representation of the Orator's Meaning, would probably not have moved a fifth Part of his Auditory; or had the Oration it self been read by a Clerk, or uttered by one of our Pleaders in *Westminster-Hall*, in an unassuming Tone, and with an unanimated Gesture, I doubt, it would have had the same or no effect. But it was an Oration, and an Oration pronounced by an Orator, with all the Lightning of Figures, and Thunder of Expression: He poured forth Persuasion like a Torrent; and in his Voice, when he cried to War, they heard the Sound of a Trumpet.

By what I have said of our own Pleaders, I mean no sort of Reflection upon the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, or upon their Manner of Speaking, which I think is the only proper Manner for our Bar; where the Rules of proceeding being strict, and ascertained, there is no room for haranguing. The Judge is tied to the rigid Letter of the Law, and not to be moved from it by Pity or Resentment; and therefore an Address to his Passions would be ridiculous and offensive. In a Speech to an Assembly that acts by Discretion, or to an absolute Prince who has Life and Death in his Hands, it is the Business of the Speaker, by flattering Insinuations, to steal into the Affections of his Judges, and by a Hurricane of Tropes and impetuous Words, to animate their Passions in his Behalf: But a Speech of this sort would be waste Language in *Westminster-Hall*,
and

and the Author of it would be thought fit for *Moorfields*, where the Imagination has more Scope. At our Bar many excellent Pleaders have been very bad Orators; and some good Speakers, very bad Pleaders. To know Law, and to speak to the Point, is the only Rhetoric approved, or indeed allowed there; and therefore the Jokes which witty Men have made upon the cold and plain Manner of Speaking there, return upon the Makers.

In the Pulpit there is much more Latitude for Oratory, and the Preacher has the Affections and Imaginations of his Hearers much more in his Power; and by distracting them with Terrors, or elevating them with Joys, may awaken and enkindle their Passions almost as much as he will. He has a vast Field, and full Scope for Decorations, fine Phrases, lively Descriptions, and all the pompous Array of Language; and if he has a fine tuneable Voice, and his Audience a good Ear, I know no Wonders which he may not work. But as the plainest Sermons have generally the best Sense and most Piety in them, I am almost amazed that the very fine figurative ones do no more harm.

If we enquire into the Use and Purposes of Eloquence, and into the Good and Evil which it has done, we must distinguish between Eloquence and Eloquence: That which consists of good Sense, put into good Words, is every where useful and commendable: But as to that which consists of fine Figures and beautiful Sounds, artfully and warmly applied to the Passions, and may disguise and banish Sense, embellish Falshood as well as Truth, and re-

commend Vice as well as Virtue ; it has done some Good, and infinite Mischief. It is the Art of flattering and deceiving, as one of the Ancients calls it : ¶ It fills the Mind with false Ideas ; and by raising a Tempest in the Heart, misleads the Judgment : It confounds Good and Evil, by throwing false Colours over them, and deceives Men with their own Approbation : And it has in many Instances unsettled all good Order, and thrown flourishing States into Pangs and Desolation.

But tho' Rhetorick, in this Sense, be but a bad Art, yet I do not think it possible to destroy it, without destroying with it most other good Arts ; for it almost always flourishes and decays with them : And wherever Politeness, Liberty, and Learning subsist, Rhetorick will be cultivated as part of them. It is an Evil growing out of much Good ; and nothing but the abolishing of all Liberty and Learning can absolutely cure it. In this Cure the *Turks* have succeeded best ; and they who would be like them in this, must be like them in all Things. Besides, as the several States of *Europe* are now constituted, they do not seem to have much, or any thing, to apprehend from the Power of Rhetorick, except that which comes from the Popish Ecclesiasticks, who in the midst of Monarchies form a Democracy every where ; and every Village has one or many popular Orators, who have but too successful a Talent at turning the Heads of the Multitude, and inflaming their Hearts ; a Misfortune, which has cost many Countries very dear : Insomuch that Preaching Monks have been reckoned Publick Plagues ;

Plagues ; as it would be, no doubt, a sort of a publick Blessing, if they were all alike idle and dumb. Even the *Lutheran* Monks at *Hamburgh* are every Day preaching that free City into Strife and Confusion ; and will at last, if they are not better controuled, preach it out of its Liberty, as more than once they have already well-nigh done.

I am, &c.

S I R,

IF we now enquire how Eloquence operates upon the Minds of Men, we must consider Three Things or Causes : The Sense, the Sound, and the Action. The first is address'd to the Understanding ; and the other two to the Passions, and have consequently the greatest Force.

Nothing is too hard for Sound, which subdues every thing, and raises the highest and most opposite Perturbations. One Sound lulls Men to sleep ; another rouzes them from it : One Sort sets them a Fighting, another to Embracing ; and a third sets them a Weeping : It makes them groan or rage ; it melts them into Compassion, or animates them to Resentment. And as to Action, in which I also comprehend the Motions of the Countenance, and of the Eyes, it is of such Force, that *Demosthenes* being asked, which was the first Excellency of an Orator ? answered, *Action* ; that

the second was *Action*; and the third was *Action*. Here is the Testimony of a great and experienced Judge.

Now the Power of Action seems to arise chiefly from hence: As it is a Sign that the Speaker is in earnest, and vehemently means what he speaks, it begets an Opinion, that what he says is just, and reasonable, and important: And so his Hearers adopt his Passions and Opinions, and are equally animated with him who animates them, and often more. Hence it is possible for a Man, who thus carries his Spirit in his Gestures, and his Meaning in his Face, to look another into his Sentiments and out of his Senses, only by shewing, in the Energy of his Countenance, that he himself is strongly affected with that Passion which he would convey to another, and that his external Motions are but the Result of his internal. Men have been converted into *Quakerism* at the Silent-Meetings of *Quakers*; and solemn Looks, dumb Shew, and ghostly Groans, have had all the most prevailing Effects of Eloquence.

Nothing is so catching and communicative as the Passions. The Cast of an angry or a pleasant Eye, will beget Anger, or Pleasure: One Man's Anger, or Sorrow, or Joy, can make a whole Assembly outrageous, or dejected, or merry; and the same Men are provoked or pleased by the same Words spoken in different Tones; because they who hear them, take them just as he who speaks them seems to mean them. I have seen a Preacher of mean Sense and Language sit a whole Congregation a howling,
merely

merely because he himself howled. By repeating the Words *Heaven* and *Hell*, with Distortion and Clamour, he possessed their Imaginations with all the Joys of the Blessed, and all the Torments and Terrors of the Damned; and by making them feel both by Turns, raised their Passions higher than the reading of our Blessed Saviour's Crucifixion, or his Sermon upon the Mount, could have raised them.

The Fancy, when once it is heated, quickly improves the first Spark into a Flame; which being an Assemblage of strong and glowing Images, is, while it lasts, the strongest Motion, and consequently the greatest Power in a Man; for all animal Power is Motion. And when a Man has thus got a Fire in his Head, his Reason, which is the gradual and deliberate weighing of Things, and the cool comparing of one inward Impulse with another, must shift its Quarters till his Brains grow cool again. I dare say, that many Men, and still more Women, who have without Emotion heard the great *Dr. Tillotson* talk excellent Sense and Morality for half an Hour, would have been powerfully edified, that is, violently transported, with the tuneful and humble Reveries of *John Bunyan*, of *Bishop Beveridge*, or *Daniel Burges's*

This Aptness to be moved by Sounds is natural, but improveable by Education and the Use of Words. There are in the Brain certain Fibres, or Strings, which naturally stretch and exert themselves as soon as certain Sounds strike upon them, but without being able to annex to them any determinate Idea, only in general, that

that they feel Pleasure or Pain. It is like rubbing the Hand of a Man born deaf and blind with a File, or a Flesh-Brush: He feels the Skin irritated, or soothed, but knows not with what. When these Fibres are touched, they disperse the Motion to the whole animal Spirits, and create in them Motions and Agitations agreeable to the Force and Quality of that Sound, which was the first Mover. Hence People are cured of the Bite of the *Tarantula* by Musick; which, by quickning the Motion of the animal Spirits, raises in the Blood such a Ferment, as drives out the Poison.

But when Description is added to those Sounds, and they convey particular and distinct Images; and when Scenes of Horror or of Joy are presented in Sounds proper to convey them; then the Sense and the Sound heightening vastly each other, their united Power over the Soul is infinite, and uncontroulable. The Word *Hell*, for Example, is without doubt capable of being pronounced in such a hideous Tone and Action, as to affect and affright even a *Hottentot*, who knows nothing of *Hell*: But if with the Sound of *Hell*, the Description of *Hell* is likewise conveyed; that it is a dark, immense, and baleful Dungeon, guarded by frightful and implacable Furies, armed with Whips and Torches; that it is filled with suffocating and burning Sulphur, and unintermitting Fire; that it is inhabited by the Damned, whose incessant Shrieks, hideous Roarings, and dismal Yells, are the chief Entertainments there; and by Devils, who by their endless Insults add, if possible,

possible, to their intense Tortures and horrible Burning, which are never, never to end —

——— *Sights of Woe,*

*Regions of Sorrow, doleful Shades, where Peace
And Rest can never dwell, Hope never comes,
That comes to all ; but Torture without End
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever burning Sulphur unconsum'd —*

I say, this Idea of *Hell*, added to the Sound of *Hell*, would dreadfully aggravate the Horror even in a *Hottentot*. He might likewise be charmed with a soft and melodious Sound of *Heaven* well pronounced, without having any Conception of *Heaven* ; but still much more charmed, if the Idea of it accompanied the Sound, and all the celestial Scenery of Delight, a blessed Immortality, God, and Glory, were set, as it were, before his Eyes.

Such Force has Sound over the humane Soul, to animate and calm its Passions ; and when proper Action is added to proper Sound, which two Parts constitute the mechanical Power of Eloquence, the Effects of it are as certain as the Effects of Wine, and its Strength as irresistible. In this Respect Men resemble musical Instruments, and may be wound up, or let down to any Pitch, by touching skilfully the Stops and Cords of the animal Spirits. An expert Hand can make a Violin rage as violently, weep as bitterly, beg as heartily, and complain as mournfully, as Words can express those several Passions ; and more than Words, without proper Modulation, can express them. *Timo-*
theus

theus the Musician played before *Alexander* the Great an Aire so martial and animating, that he started from the Table in a warlike Fury, and called for his Horse and his Arms; and by another soft Aire so quelled the hostile Tumult in his Mind, that he sat down quietly to Meat again. Thus was the Conqueror of the World himself conquered by Sound. Drums and Trumpets make Men bold: And the *Marquis de Biron*, one of the bravest Men that ever lived, died like a Coward for want of them.

In a Day of Battle, when the Onset is animated by all the awakening military Sounds of a Camp, the eager Neighing of the Horses, and even the busy and hollow Treading of their Feet; a general and warlike Murmur of every Man preparing to fight; the Clattering of Arms, calling into the Imagination the sudden Use that is to be made of them; the hasty Thunder and vehement Rattling of Drums, inspiring an Impatience for Battle; the dead and sullen Dubbing of the Kettle-Drums, creating a steady and obstinate Bravery; and, above all, the loud and shrill Clangour of the Trumpet, rousing a chearful and lively Boldness: All these hostile Sounds, each of them destructive of Coldness and Fear, must occupy and incense every Spirit that a Man has in him, set his Soul in a Flame, and make even Cowards resolute and brave.

I have seen a Beggar gain an Alms by a heavy and affecting Groan, when a Speech of *Cicero's* composing, spoken without *Cicero's* Art, would not have gained it. That Groan struck
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the animal Spirits sympathetically ; and being continued to the Imagination, raised up there a Thousand sudden Conjectures and Preoccupations in his Favour, and a Thousand Circumstances of Distress, which he who uttered it perhaps never felt, nor thought of. Looks and Appearances have the like Efficacy : Another Beggar, shivering and naked in a cold wet Day, with humble, pale, and hungry Looks, or despairing ones, shall be as eloquent, without uttering a Word, as the other by uttering a Groan. The humane Sympathy in our Souls raises a Party for him within us, and our Fancy immediately represents us to our selves in the same doleful Circumstances ; and, for that Time, we feel all that the Beggar feels, and probably much more ; for he is used to it, and can bear it better. If to the above melancholy Sound and miserable Sight, we add the grievous Symptoms of Pain, Sickness, and Anguish, (as one often meets with Objects under all these terrible Classes of Misery,) there is no Pitch of humane Pity and Horror, that such a *Groupe* of humane Woes cannot raise.

Now, if single Sound is thus bewitching, and Gesture alone is thus perswasive, and still greatly more when united ; how vastly prevailing must be their Force, when it comes arrayed and heightened by a swelling and irresistible Tide of Words, enlivened by the most forcible and rapid Ideas, and bears down all before it ? When the Orator attracts your Eyes, charms your Ears, and forces your Attention ; brings Heaven and Earth into his Cause, and seems but to represent them, to speak their
Sense,

Sense, and to contend for their Interest? When he carries your Passions in his Hands, and suspends or controuls all your Faculties, and yet perswades you that your own Faculties guide you? When he lessens great Things, magnifies little Things, and disguises all; his every Gesture is animated, and every Muscle perswades; his Words lighten, and his Breath is on fire; every Word glows, and every Image flames; he fills, delights, kindles, and astonishes your Imagination; raises a Storm in your Heart, and governs you in that Storm; rouzes all that is humane in you, and makes your own Heart conspire against you! — In this magical and outrageous Tempest, you are at the entire Mercy of him who raised it.

Cæsar was resolved to punish *Q. Ligarius*; but *Cicero* had a Mind to save him, and undertook his Defence. *Cæsar* admitted him to speak, only out of the Gaiety of his Heart, and for the mere Pleasure of hearing him; for he was determined not to be shaken from his Purpose. But he was deceived: *Cicero* in the very Beginning of his Speech wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in it with such a Variety of *Pathos*, and such an amazing Grace, that *Cæsar* often changed Countenance; and it was plain that his Soul was in a Hurricane, and that all his Passions were agitated. But the Orator touching artfully upon the Battle of *Pharsalia*, so transported him, that he trembled all over, and the Papers which he held dropp'd out of his Hands; and being quite overcome, he acquitted *Ligarius*.

What an amazing Instance of the Power of Speaking! Behold the great and conquering *Cæsar*, the absolute Master of *Rome*, and of all the *Roman* World, provoked at a Man who had born Arms against him, fixed upon his Doom, and Life and Death in his Hands! Behold this great and arbitrary Man, this angry, awful, and prepossessed Judge, overpowered by the Force of Eloquence, disarmed of his Wrath, his Designs wrested from him, his Inclinations, when he thought himself best fortified in them, entirely changed, and himself, from being terrible, brought to tremble! *Cæsar* too was a great Orator, and had often tried upon others, with Success, the Power of his own Rhetorick; but was not then aware how much it could do upon himself. It was *Cicero*, it was the Orator, and not the Cause, that triumphed here. The bare Sense of that fine Speech, would not have suspended *Cæsar's* Displeasure for a Moment: But the Speaker was not to be resisted: All Opposition fled, and every Spark of Resentment vanished before him. The Emperor was enchanted by the Orator; and *Cæsar* was, as it were, possessed with *Cicero*.

I am, &c.

P. S. I have in these two Letters comprized all that I proposed to say upon Eloquence: In my last I have considered it politically, and in this philosophically; and in both I have shewn its Force. I have likewise examined the several Kinds of it, as far as concerns my present Purpose, and shewn how it affects Government

vernment and humane Nature, and from what Sources in both it proceeds. Those who would study it as an Art, and know the many Accomplishments necessary to excel in it, must read *Cicero de Oratore*, and *Quintillian*.

S I R,

I Intend, in this and some future Letters, to give my Opinion about Plantations; which seems to me to be a Subject understood but by few, and that there is but little Use made of that Understanding. It is most certain, that the Riches of a Nation consist in the Number of its Inhabitants, when those Inhabitants are usefully employed, and no more of them live upon the Industry of others (like Drones in a Hive) than are necessary to preserve the Oeconomy of the Whole: For the rest, such as Gamesters, Cheats, Thieves, Sharpers, and Abby-Lubbers, and some of their Betters, waste and destroy the publick Wealth, without adding any thing to it. Therefore, if any Nation drives or distresses any of its Subjects out of their Country, or sends any of them out in foolish Wars, or useless Expeditions, or for any other Causes, which do not return more Advantage than bring Loss, they so far enervate their State, and let out Part of their best Hearts Blood.

Now, in many Instances, Men add more to the publick Stock by being out of their Country

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try than in it; as Ambassadors, Publick Ministers, and their Retinues, who transact the Affairs of a Nation; Merchants and Tradesmen, who carry on its Traffick; Soldiers in necessary Wars; and sometimes Travellers, who teach us the Customs, Manners, and Policies of distant Countries, whereby we may regulate and improve our own: And all, or most of these, return to us again with Advantage. But, in other Instances, a Man leaves his Country, never, or very rarely, to return again; and then the State will suffer Loss, if the Person so leaving it is not employed Abroad in such Industry, in raising such Commodities, or in performing such Services, as will return more Benefit to his native Country, than they suffer Prejudice by losing an useful Member.

This is often done by planting Colonies, which are of two Sorts: One to keep conquered Countries in Subjection, and to prevent the Necessity of constant Standing-Armies; a Policy which the *Romans* practised, till their Conquests grew too numerous, the conquered Countries too distant, and their Empire too unweildy to be managed by their native Force; and then they became the Slaves of those they conquered. This Policy, for many Ages, we our selves used in *Ireland*, till the Fashion of our Neighbours, and the Wisdom of modern Ages, have taught us the Use of Armies: And I wish those who come after us may never learn all their Uses. I must confess, that I am not wise enough to enter into all the Policy made use of formerly in governing that Country, and shall in proper Time communicate
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my Doubts, in hopes to receive better Information. In the mean Time, I cannot but persuade myself, that when our Superiors are at leisure from greater Affairs, it may be possible to offer them a Proposition more honourable to the Crown, more advantageous to each Kingdom, and to the particular Members of them, and vastly more conducive to the Power of the whole Empire, than the doubtful State they are now in. But as this is not the Purpose of my present Letter, I shall proceed to consider the Nature of the other Sort of Colonies.

The other Sort of Colonies are for Trade, and intended to increase the Wealth and Power of the native Kingdom; which they will abundantly do, if managed prudently, and put and kept under a proper Regulation. No Nation has, or ever had, all the Materials of Commerce within itself: No Climate produces all Commodities; and yet it is the Interest, Pleasure, or Convenience of every People, to use or trade in most or all of them; and rather to raise them themselves, than to purchase them from others, unless in some Instances, when they change their own Commodities for them, and employ as many or more People at Home in that Exchange, as lose their Employment, by purchasing them from Abroad. Now Colonies planted in proper Climates, and kept to their proper Business, undoubtedly do this; and particularly many of our own Colonies in the *West-Indies* employ ten Times their own Number in *Old England*, by sending them from hence Provisions, Manufactures, Utensils for themselves and their Slaves, by Navigation,
working

working up the Commodities they send us, and retaining and exporting them afterwards, and in returning again to us Silver and Gold, and Materials for new Manufactures; and our Northern Colonies do, or may if encouraged, supply us with Timber, Hemp, Iron and other Metals, and indeed may supply us with most or all the Materials of Navigation, and our Neighbours too, through our Hands; and by that Means settle a solid Naval Power in *Great Britain*, not precarious and subject to Disappointments, and the Caprices of our Neighbours; which Management would make us soon Masters of most of the Trade of the World.

I would not suggest so distant a Thought, as that any of our Colonies, when they grow stronger, should ever attempt to wean themselves from us; however, I think too much Care cannot be taken to prevent it, and to preserve their Dependencies upon their Mother-Country. It is not to be hoped in the corrupt State of humane Nature, that any Nation will be subject to another any longer than it finds its own Account in it, and cannot help itself. Every Man's first Thought will be for himself and his own Interest, and he will not be long to seek for Arguments to justify his being so, when he knows how to attain what he proposes. Men will think it hard to work, toil, and run Hazards, for the Advantage of others any longer than they find their own Interest in it, and especially for those who use them ill: All Nature points out that Course: No Creature sucks the Teats of their Dams longer than they

they can draw Milk from thence, or can provide themselves with better Food: Nor will any Country continue their Subjection to another, only because their Great-Grandmothers were acquainted.

This is the Course of Humane Affairs; and all wise States will always have it before their Eyes; and will well consider therefore how to preserve the Advantages arising from Colonies, and avoid the Evils. And I conceive there can be but two Ways in Nature to hinder them from throwing off their Dependence: The one to keep it out of their Power, and the other out of their Will. The first must be by Force; and the latter by using them well, and keeping them employ'd in such Productions, and making such Manufactures, as will support themselves and Families comfortably, and get Wealth too, or at least not prejudice their Mother-Country.

Force can never be used effectually to answer this End, without destroying the Colonies themselves. Liberty and Encouragement are necessary to carry People thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and Violence will hinder both. Any Body of Troops considerable enough to awe them, and keep them in Subjection, and under the Direction too of a needy Governor, often sent thither to make his Fortune, and at such a Distance from any Application for Redress, will soon put an End to all Planting, and leave the Country to the Soldiers alone; and if it did not, would eat up all the Profit of the Colony. For this Reason, Arbitrary Countries have not been equally

qually successful in planting Colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by Force, at a vast Expence, or by departing from the Nature of their Government, and giving Privileges to Planters which were denied to their other Subjects. And I dare say, that a few prudent Laws, and a little prudent Conduct, would soon give us far the greatest Share of the Riches of all *America*, and perhaps drive many of other Nations out of it, or into our Colonies for Shelter.

If Violence, or Methods tending to Violence, are not used to prevent it, our Northern Colonies must constantly increase in People, Wealth, and Power. Men living in healthy Climates, paying easy or no Taxes, not molested with Wars, must vastly increase by natural Generation, besides vast Numbers every Day flow thither from our own Dominions, and from other Parts of *Europe*, because they have there ready Employment, and Lands given to them for Tilling; insomuch, that I am told they have doubled their Inhabitants since the Revolution, and in less than a Century must become powerful States; and the more powerful they grow, still the more People will flock thither: And there are so many Exigencies in all States, so many foreign Wars and domestick Disturbances, that they can never want Opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they shall find their Interest to do; and therefore we ought to take all the Precautions in our Power, that it shall never be their Interest to act against that of their native Coun-

Country; and that can only be done by keeping them fully employ'd in such Trades as will increase their own, as well as our Wealth; for 'tis much to be feared, if we do not find Employment for them, they may find it for us.

No two Nations, no two Bodies of Men, or scarce two Men, can long continue in Friendship, without having some Cement of their Unions; and where Relation, Acquaintance, or mutual Pleasures, are wanting, mutual Interests alone can bind it: But when those Interests separate, each Side must assuredly pursue their own. The Interest of Colonies is often to wean themselves; and is always so when they no longer want Protection, and when they can employ themselves more advantageously, than in supplying Materials of Traffick to others: And the Interest of the Mother-Country is always to keep them dependent, and so employed; and it requires all their Address to do it; and 'tis certainly more easily and effectually done by gentle and insensible Methods, than by Power alone.

Men will always think they have a Right to Air, Earth, and Water, to employ themselves for their own Support, to live by their own Labours, and to apply the Gifts of God to their own Benefit; and in order to it, to make the best of their Soil, and to work up their own Product; and when this cannot be done without Detriment to their Mother-Country, there can be but one fair, honest, and indeed effectual Way to prevent it, which is, to divert them upon other Employments as advantageous

tageous to themselves, and more so to their Employers; that is, in raising such Growth, and making such Manufactures as will not prejudice their own, or at least in no Degree equal to the Advantage they bring; and when such Commodities are raised or made, they ought to be taken off their Hands, and they ought not to be forced to find out other Markets by stealth, or upon throwing themselves upon new Protections: Whilst People have a full Employment, and can maintain themselves comfortably in a Way they have been used to, they never will seek after a new one, especially when they meet Encouragement in one, and are discountenanced in the other.

As without this Conduct, Colonies must be mischievous to their Mother-Country for the Reasons before given, so with it the greatest Part of the Wealth they acquire centers there; for all their Productions are so many Augmentations of our Power and Riches, as they are Returns of the People's Labour, the Rewards of Merchants, or Increase of Navigation; without which, all who are sent Abroad are a dead Loss to their Country, and as useless as if dead; and more so, if they become Enemies; for we can send no Commodities to them, unless they have others to exchange for them, and such as we find our Interest in taking.

As to our Southern Plantations, we are in this respect upon a tolerable Foot already; for the Productions there, are of so different a Nature from our own, that they can never interfere with us, and the Climates are so unhealthy,

that no more People will go or continue there, than are necessary to raise the Commodities we want, and consequently they can never be dangerous to us; but our Northern Colonies are healthy Climates, and can raise all or most of the Commodities which our own Country produces. They constantly increase in People, and will constantly increase: And without the former Precautions, must, by the natural Course of humane Affairs, interfere with most Branches of our Trade, work up our best Manufactures, and at last grow too powerful and unruly to be governed for our Interest only: And therefore, since the Way lies open to us, to prevent so much Mischief, to do much Good, and add so much Wealth and Power to *Great Britain*, by making those Countries the Magazines of our Naval Stores, I hope we shall not lose all these Advantages, in Compliment to the Interests of a few private Gentlemen, or even to a few Counties.

We have had a Specimen of this wise Conduct in prohibiting the *Irish* Cattle, which were formerly brought to *England* lean, in Exchange for our Commodities, and fatted here, but are now killed and sent Abroad directly from *Ireland*: And so we lose the whole Carriage and Merchants Advantage, and the Vent of the Commodities sent to purchase them. And lately we have made such another prudent Law, to prevent the importing their Woollen Manufacture, which has put them upon wearing none of ours, making all or most of their own Cloth themselves; exporting great Quantities of all sorts by Stealth, and the greater

Part of their Wooll to rival Nations; and by such Means it is that we are beholden to the Plague in *France*, to their *Mississipi* Company, and their total Loss of Credit, that we have not lost a great Part of that Manufacture. It is true, we have made some notable Provision to hedge in the Cuckoo, and to make all the People of that Kingdom execute a Law, which it is every Man's Interest there not to execute; and it is executed accordingly.

I shall some time hereafter consider that Kingdom in relation to the Interest of *Great Britain*; and shall say at present only, that it is too powerful to be treated only as a Colony; and that if we design to continue them Friends, the best Way to do it, is to imitate the Example of Merchants and Shopkeepers; that is, when their Apprentices are acquainted with their Trade and their Customers, are out of their Time, to take them into Partnership, rather than to set them up for themselves in their Neighbourhood.

I am, &c.

S I R,

I Have in a former Letter observed, That Men ever have been, and, I doubt, ever will be cheated by Sounds, without having any just Ideas annexed to them. When Words have obtained an Esteem and sort of Veneration, their Meanings will be varied as often as

those in Possession of Reverence and popular Applause have Occasion to make different Uses of them. It seems to me, that no Word has suffered more from this Abuse than the Word *Credit*; nor in any Instance has the Publick suffered more Mischief than by the Abuse of it.

A Merchant, or Tradesman, is said to be in good Credit, when his visible Gains appear to be greater than his Expences; when he is industrious, and takes care of his Affairs; when he makes punctual Payments, and the Wares he sells may be depended upon as to their Goodness and Value; and when those who deal with him can have a reasonable Assurance that he will make a Profit by his Care from the Commodities they entrust him with; and if it should happen otherwise, that he has a remaining Substance sufficient at last to answer all Demands. A private Gentleman is said to have great Credit, who lives within his Income, has Regard to his Character and his Honour, is just to his Word and Promises, and is known to have an unincumbered Estate, or one superior to all his supposed Engagements; from whence his Creditors form a reasonable Expectation that they shall be paid again without a Law-Suit, and a Certainty that they can be paid with one: And therefore all these will be trusted for as much as they are worth, and sometimes more, at the lowest Price for the Goods they buy, and at the lowest Interest for the Money they borrow.

But if a Merchant is observed to live in Riot and Profusion, to leave his Estate to the Direction

rection of Servants, who cheat him, or neglect his Business; if he turns Projector, does not pay his Bills, and shuffles in his Bargains, and sells faulty Goods which are bought upon his Word: Or, if a Gentleman is known to spend more than his Income, to mortgage his Lands, to take no Care of his Estate, or how his Stewards or Bailiffs manage it; if he runs in Debt to Tradesmen and Mechanicks, and is perpetually borrowing Money, without any Thoughts how to pay it; I say, under such Management, no fair Dealer will have any Thing to do with them; and of course they fall into the Hands of Scriveners, knavish Attornys, and griping Usurers; will be fed from Hand to Mouth, pay double and treble Interest for what they receive, till their Creditors watch their Opportunity, and sweep all.

Credit is said to run high in a Nation, when there are great Numbers of wealthy Subjects in the former Circumstances, which will always be produced by an affluent Trade; and when the Commodities of a Country, and the Production of the People's Labour, find a ready Vent, and at a good Price; for then they will see their Account in Punctuality of Payment and fair Dealing, and will not run the Hazard of losing a regular Sustenance for their Families, or a constant Profit arising from an open Trade, for the present and occasional Advantage which they may hope to receive from a knavish Bargain, or a fraudulent Circumvention: And those who do otherwise are generally undone, and sell a constant and a yearly Income to themselves, and possibly to their Families after

for an Year or two's Purchase, and often for much less.

But if any of these are above, or without the Reach of the Laws, or, by reason of their Situation and Figure, it is difficult to get the Benefit of the Laws, their Credit will proportionably abate, because a great Part of the Security they can give fails, and they must consequently pay greater Interest and Procuration for the Money they borrow, and a greater Price for the Goods they buy; for those who deal with them will always propose to be Gainers by the Whole, upon computing their Delays and Hazards.

The Credit of a State, or what we call Publick Credit, must be preserved by the same Means as private Men preserve theirs, namely, by doing strict Justice to Particulars, by being exact in their Payments, not chicaning in their Bargains, nor frightening and tricking People into them, or out of them; by letting them know what they buy, and not altering the Nature or Property of it, to serve After-purposes, and without the free Consent of the Persons interested: And they are always to take especial Care to sell nothing but what is valuable; to coin Silver and Gold, and not put the Stamp of Publick Authority upon base and counterfeit Metals.

Indeed, States are much more concerned to keep up the Opinion of their Integrity than private Men; because those that trust them, have, in effect, only their Honour and their Interests to depend upon for Payment, and therefore will well consider whether it is their
Interest

Interest to maintain their Honour. I doubt private Men would have little Credit, and upon very ill Terms too, if they could not be sued, or could vacate their own Securities; for when it becomes more a Man's Interest not to pay, than to pay his Debts, and he can chuse which he pleases, no one would care to have any Part of his Fortune depend upon those Resolutions. 'Tis certainly the Interest of all Men to keep up the Reputation of their Honesty as long as it can be kept, in order to be trusted for the future; but when they can be trusted no longer, nor are able to pay what they are already trusted with, and can decline paying it when they see apparent Ruin in being honest, it is easy to guess what Course will be taken.

What Nation besides our own, has explained publick Honour by any other Maxims than publick Interest? Or have kept their Treaties or Agreements with Foreign States, or one another, any longer than it was their Interest upon the Whole to keep them? And indeed very few have kept them so long. I am sure no wise State will depend upon the Observance of Leagues and National Contracts, any longer. What Country has not made frequent Acts of Resumption, when the Folly and Knavery of their Predecessors has embezzled the publick Revenues, and rendered the State unable to defend itself? Whereby private Men have been deprived of Estates to which they had undoubted Titles by the Laws of their Country, which perhaps had passed many Descents and many Purchases; and yet the Losers sometimes

have no other Reason to complain, than that they want the Consolation of seeing their Country undone with them; which must have been the Case if they had not been undone alone. *Sweden* did this in the last Age; *Spain* lately; and another Country in our Time, has not only in effect cancelled all its Engagements, but by various Stratagems drawn the Wealth of the Whole into its Coffers, and seized it when it was there. Which puts me in mind of a Story of a Butcher, who thought himself happy in the Possession of a sagacious, diligent, and seemingly faithful Dog, to whom, by long Experience of his Service, he thought he might safely trust the Custody of his Shambles in his Absence: But *Hector* one Day observing, against a great Festival, the Shop to be much fuller of Meat than usual, thought it was high Time to set up for himself, and so very resolutely denied his Master Entrance; who had then no Remedy left but to shoot him.

I have above endeavoured to shew what, and what alone, ought to be called Credit. But there has lately risen up, in our Age, a new-fangled and fantastical Credulity, which has usurp'd the same Name, and came in with the Word *Bite*, which has been made free of a Neighbouring Court; whereby the poor, innocent, industrious, and unwary People, have been delivered into the ravenous and polluted Jaws of Vultures and Tygers; and Thousands, I had almost said Millions, have been sacrificed, to satiate the Gluttony of a few. This has inverted the Oeconomy and Policy of Nations; made a great Kingdom turn all Gamesters; and
Men

Men have acquired the Reputation of Wisdom, from their Skill in picking Pockets: It has entered into the Cabinets of Courts; has guided the Counsels of Senates, and their whole Wisdom; and most of their Time has been employ'd in keeping up this vile and airy Traffick, as if the Business of Government was not to protect People in their Property, but to cheat them out of it.

This is eminently true in a Neighbouring Country; and I wish I could say, that nothing like it had ever happened amongst us. But as no Men now in Power are answerable for this great Mischief, so I hope and believe we shall have their hearty Assistance to extricate us out of all these Evils. And as I please my self with believing that I speak the Sense of my Superiors, so I shall take the Liberty to say, that neither publick nor private Credit can consist in selling any thing for more than it is worth, or for any thing but what it is. It is certainly the Interest of a Country, that its Commodities should sell at a good Price, and find a ready Vent; that private Men should be able safely to trust one another; that Lands should find ready Purchasers, good Securities, Money at low Interest; and that Mortgages should be easily transferable. And the Way to bring these good Purposes to pass, is to ascertain Titles; give ready Remedies to the Injured; to procure general Plenty by prudent Laws, and by giving all Encouragement to Industry and Honesty. But it will never be effected, by authorizing or countenancing Frauds; by enabling artful Men to circumvent the Unwary, stamping the pub-

lick Seal upon counterfeit Wares ; and by constantly coining a new Sort of Property, of a precarious, uncertain, and transitory Value ; and by constant Juggles and Combinations conspiring to make it more so : Which Conduct, whenever practised, must soon put an End to all publick and private Credit.

In what Country soever these Practices meet with Encouragement, all fair and honest Dealing will be turned into Juggling. There will quickly grow a sort of Cabalistical Learning : And there will be a secret and a vulgar Knowledge ; one to be trusted only to the *vere adepti* and Managers ; and the other to be divulged to the People, who will be told nothing but what is for the Interest of their Betters to communicate ; and pretty Advantages may be made by being in the Secret. As for Example ; Just before any publick Misfortune is to make its Appearance, those who know of it may sell out ; and in the Height of the Danger buy again ; and when 'tis over, by taking another Opportunity, they may sell a second Time. And when these Evils are averted, they may go to Market once more ; and so, *toties quoties*, till the greatest Part of the Property of a Kingdom is got into the Hands of but a few Persons, who will then undoubtedly govern all the rest. Nor can these Mischiefs be possibly prevented, but by wholly destroying this sort of Traffick, or by appointing skilful Pilots to set up occasional Buoys and Sea-Marks, according to the shifting of the Winds and the Tides ; that is, by ascertaining and publishing the real Value of all publick Securities, as often as there

is an Alteration made in them by new Provisions, or by wholly preventing the Abuses occasioned by the vile Trade of Stock jobbing; which I conceive is not difficult to do, when Stock-Jobbers have no Hand in directing the Remedy.

Till something of this kind is done, it is foolish to think, and worse to pretend to think, that any effectual Methods can be taken to discharge and pay off the National Engagements: For in whatever Country it happens, that the publick Funds become the Markets and standing Revenues of those who can best cure the Evil; where great and sudden Estates may be more easily raised by Knavery and Juggling, than small ones by Virtue and Merit, where Plumbs may be got at once, and vast Societies may be made the Accomplices of Power, in order to be indulged with separate Advantages; it is not to be hoped that effectual Methods will be taken to dam and choak up such inexhaustible Sources of Wealth and Dominion: On the contrary, it is to be feared, that new Projects will be yearly invented, new Schemes coloured with popular Pretences, to toss and tumble the publick Securities, and to change them into as many Shapes as *Proteus* knew. One Year shall metamorphose the Schemes of another; and the next shall undo both. The Leaders of one Faction shall unravel the Projects of their Predecessors; shall charge their Designs with Corruption and Rapine, and be more rapacious themselves; and all in their Turns shall raise vast Estates upon the publick Ruins; and the last Spirits shall be always the

worst. Artful and conspiring Men shall buy up desperate Debts, and then use Intrigues and Corruption to load their Country with them; and the Business of Nations shall stand still, or rather it shall become their Business to fish in these troubled Streams, till by long Experience of the Loss of their Fellows the Fish will bite no longer; and then 'tis easy to guess what is next to be done. There is but one Method which can be taken; and that will be taken.

I would gladly know what Advantage ever has, or ever can, accrue to the Publick, by raising Stocks to an imaginary Value, beyond what they are really worth to an honest Man, who purchases them for a regular Support to himself and Family, and designs not to sell them again, till he has Occasion for the Money they will produce. It can most assuredly serve no honest Purpose, and will promote a Thousand knavish ones. Besides those before mentioned, it turns most of the current Coin of *England* out of the Channels of Trade, and the Heads of all its Merchants and Traders off their proper Business: It enriches the worst Men, and ruins the Innocent: It taints Men's Morals, and defaces all the Principles of Virtue and fair Dealing, and introduces Combination and Fraud in all sorts of Traffick. It has changed honest Commerce into Bubbling; our Traders into Projectors; Industry into Tricking; and Applause is earned, when the Pillory is deserved: It has created all the Dissatisfaction so much complained of, and all the Mischiefs attending it, which daily threaten us, and which give Reasons of stand-
ing

ing or occasional Troops : It has caused all the Confusion in our publick Finances : It has set up monstrous Members and Societies in the Body Politick, which are grown, I had almost said, too big for the whole Kingdom : It has multiplied Offices and Dependencies in the Power of the Court, which in Time may fill the Legislature, and alter the Ballance of Government : It has overwhelmed the Nation with Debts and Burdens, under which it is almost ready to sink ; and it has hindred those Debts from being paid off : For if Stocks fell for more, or much more upon the *Exchange*, than the Prices at which they are redeemable ; or more can be got by jobbing them, than by discharging them, then all Arts will be used to prevent a Redemption. But as this is not at present our Case, so it is every Man's Interest, concerned in our Funds, to secure their Principal, and to promote every Means which will enable their Country to pay them.

I doubt not but I shall incur the Censure of many, by thus laying open our Nakedness, and probing our Wounds ; and I cannot deny but I found some Reluctance in doing it : But it must be done before they can be cured. The Patient cannot now bear Quacking ; and if effectual Remedies are not speedily taken, the Case is desperate. The Security and Interest of the Crown, the Power and Reputation of the Kingdom, the Credit and Honour of the Ministry, depend upon doing this great Work : And I really believe the latter have Inclinations and Resolutions to do it. It can never be done effectually without their Assistance ; and if
they

they give it, and set themselves at the Head of so publick a Good, they will justly obtain a Reputation far beyond any who have ever appeared before them, and will enjoy unenvied all the Wealth and Advantages which attend Greatness and Power. 'Tis Folly in any one, who is the least acquainted with the Affairs of Nations, to pretend not to see, that if we do not soon put our publick Debts in a Method of being paid, they can never be paid; and all will certainly do their utmost to prevent so fatal a Mischief to their Country who do not intend it. But if there are any such, which I hope and believe there are not, they will then undoubtedly take early Care to save themselves out of the general Wreck, which very few will be able to do, though all will intend it. Those in the Secret will have the Advantage; for when Selling becomes the Word, no one can sell, unless he sells for little or nothing. All are waiting for a Rise; and if that happens, all or most will endeavour to sell, and then all Selling is at an End: The Managers and Brokers will engross the Books as they did lately, and command the first Sale; and by the Time they are got out, no one else will be able to get out.

There is nothing therefore left to be done, but for all honest Men to join Heads, Hearts, and Hands, to find all Means to discharge the publick Burdens, and to add no more to them; to search every Measure whereby we can lessen the National Expences; to avoid all Occasions of engaging in new ones; and to do all in our Power to increase Trade and the publick
Wealth,

Wealth, without sacrificing it to any Jobs or private Views. Which Conduct alone will enable us honestly to pay off what we owe, and to become once more a free, rich, happy, and flourishing People.

I am, &c.

S I R,

THE Condition of an Absolute Prince is thought the highest Lot of humane Life, in point of Splendor, Plenty, and Power; and perhaps the lowest in point of Happiness. The greatest Appearances of Pleasure are no certain Proofs of Pleasure; and he who can enjoy all Things, has often the least Enjoyment; having little or nothing to expect, he is at a Stand in Life; than which there cannot be a greater Unhappiness. It is an agreeable Fallacy which Men keep themselves under, that while they find themselves daily disappointed in the Enjoyments from which they expected most Pleasure, they still press forward to more Enjoyments, without expecting to be disappointed, tho' they certainly will. Their Happiness consists in being deceived without knowing it; and when they find that they are, they do not grow wiser, but go on to promise themselves Satisfaction from Things, which, upon a Thousand Trials, they have found, gave them none.

Our

Our only lasting Pleasure therefore is Expectation: And what have Absolute Princes to expect; they who are in Possession of all Things? And yet they cannot live without Expectation: They grow weary of Pleasures within their Power, and are therefore for stretching their Power to procure more, or better; which yet it will not procure: But their Hopes beguile them.

Hence great and famous Conquerors, never content with their present Condition, come to be the incessant Troublers of the World: And they who should have protected it, and preserved its Peace, have often sought their Pleasures in the Tears, Misery, and Sorrows of Millions; and often found their own Grief, Ruin, and ill Fate in doing so. That this has been their Character, is too universally true; and I believe it will be hard to shew one such Prince in an hundred, who never laid Snares either against his own People, or his Neighbours; and tho' he never did, yet it was their Duty and near Concern to be upon their Guard against him: They might have depended upon it, as a Proposition that had infinite Odds of its Side, that he was not satisfied with his present Condition, and that he would alter it, if he could, at their Expence: Either his Power was not absolute enough, or his Dominions not wide enough; nor would they ever have been, whatever Accessions of both accrued to him. There was still some darling Point to gain, dearer than any before gained, tho' they were all so before they were gained.

It is the hard Fate of Conquerors, that their only, or chiefest remaining Pleasure, is that of doing Mischief; but the Fate of their Subjects and Neighbours is harder. They are often undone to furnish out Employment for their Governours, who find their Pleasure in destroying their People, or in doing that which destroys them. To increase Power is, no doubt, the Maxim of these Princes; but their Practice generally contradicts it, while they lessen their People and their Wealth to enlarge their Territory; every Addition of this kind being an Addition to their Weakness; and therefore great Empires, from the Moment they are at their Height, are in a continual Decay; the Decay and Discouragement of the People being the unnatural Means of their first Growth; and their Increase contained in it, and carried along with it, certain Seeds of Decrease and Desolation.

It may seem a Contradiction, to say, That the Whole can be built upon the Destruction of the Parts: And yet it is true of absolute Monarchy, which does ever subsist by ruining and destroying those by whom it subsists; and the People, without whom it is nothing, must be undone to make it what it is. It is a Power erected upon the Ruin of its own Strength, which is the People; and when they are gone, the Power must go, growing first impotent in proportion to their Misery and Thinness; and that it does make them miserable and thin, and must at last extinguish them, I have at large shewn in former Letters; I think, demonstrated. It may bounce and terrify for a while,

while, and extend its Bounds; but even at the Time when it looks biggest and strongest, it is wearing out, and by its Conquest does but dig its own Grave the deeper, by consuming its old People to acquire new, whom it also consumes, and with whom it must also consume; like a Debauchee in private Life, the faster he lives, the less he has to live.

The Conquests of the *Spaniards* made a great Noise in the World, and them very terrible for a Time. But their Gold and Silver Mountains of *Mexico* and *Peru*, tho' they are such glorious Prizes as never before fell to the Lot of any Conqueror, have not made that Nation Amends for the Loss and Fewness of their People at Home. Those that remain there cannot be said to be enrich'd by these vast Acquisitions, whatever some Particulars may be, who by their Inequality and Insolence oppress the Whole. And for the *Turkish* Empire, which frightened *Europe* and the World, and subdued great Part of it, it is so wretchedly sunk in its Discipline and Forces, and its Provinces are so desolate and poor, that, in all humane Probability, this Generation will see it broken into an Hundred Pieces. It has spun itself out, as the *Saracen* Empire did before it, into a Thread too long and too small to bear its own great Burden without breaking.

People are like Wire: The more they are extended, the weaker they become; and the closer they are together, the richer they grow, and more potent. This is the Language of common Sense and Experience: But Ambition speaks another and a different, for extensive
Empire

Empire and uncontrouled Dominion ; and being too well heard, puts them upon sacrificing their real Strength to that which is only imaginary. Hence they become really impotent in quest of false Power, and destroy Men in gross for the venal Breath of a few Flatterers, which they call Glory. But horrid and detestable are the Ways to such Glory, which incites them to ravage and plague, to fetter and kill humane Race for the Sake of a pleasant Dream, to which too they sacrifice all their waking Quiet, and make themselves and all others miserable for this delusive Dream of their own separate Happiness, which, like a Phantom, mocks their Sight, and flies from them the more they pursue it.

Besides, whosoever considers the many Difficulties and Dangers, the endless Uncertainties and Anxieties, and the general Horror and Hatred inseparable from such Pursuits, will see how poorly they reward him who makes them ; having long stretched out his Arms to embrace Happiness, he is at last forced to draw them back empty, or full of Sorrows. He who seeks Felicity this Way, hunts a Shadow, which he will never overtake : And, in truth, what can such a Troubler of the Earth expect, but the bitter Aversion of his own People, whom he oppresses and exhausts, and the Curses of Mankind, whom he persecutes and lays waste ? Conquest gives him no new Security ; but, far from it, multiplies those who have a Mind to destroy him, and arms more Hands against him. They who possess most, have more to fear ; especially when coming to
their

their Possessions by Injustice, they must maintain them by Violence. Hence the endless Fears, and Insecurity of Conquerors and Oppressors, and the many Conspiracies against them ;

Sine Cæde & Sanguine pauci —

Such therefore is the bitter Fruit, and such often is the terrible and bloody End of such wild and pernicious Pursuits. No wise Man would, for the Empire of the Earth, live in perpetual or strong Apprehensions of any kind, much less under a tormenting Opinion, that whole Nations detested him, and sought his Life for making them miserable, as Conquerors always do, and must consequently be considered by them as their worst Enemies.

But the strange Madness of Conquest appears from another Consideration, namely, that there is not a Prince in the World, let his Territory be ever so small, but must find full Employment to govern it, if he governs it as he should do ; and therefore there never was a great Empire so well governed as private Cities ; and no City so well as private Families. Where the Governed are but few, or live in little Compass, the Eye of the Magistrate is over them, and the Eye of the Law over him, where he is not above it : Complaints can be easily examined, and Violence and Injustice be quickly overtaken, or readily prevented. But in wide and over-grown Empires, especially where All depends upon the Will and Care of One, let his Heart be ever so upright,

right,

right, a Thousand Evils and Injuries will be done, which he can never hear of, nor they who suffer them have the Means of representing to him ; and which probably are done or connived at by his own Deputies, whom he employs to prevent or punish them.

All Princes have indeed more Business than they can well do ; and when they look out for new Business, they must neglect the old, and throw off necessary Cares, to assume wanton ones, inconsistent with the other. Harmless Amusements they ought to have ; and whatever Amusements those are, is all one to their People, provided the general Security be consulted, and Property and Peace be preserved. But to embark in Wars, and make Conquests at the Expence of the People, and not for the People, is a preposterous Way of protecting them ; and of fulfilling the Duties of Reigning. Such a War was that of *Troy*, where all the Princes of *Greece*, leaving their several States in a State of Anarchy, and draining off their bravest Men, beat their Heads against Stone Walls for Ten Years together, because these Walls contained, as they were told, a *Greek* Beauty who was a great Strumpet. And having sacrificed their Time, their Navy, and the Forces of their Country, to this wise Repentment, at last, by a Stratagem, they got their chaste and important Prize, and for Joy and Anger, burnt the City, putting the King and all the Inhabitants, who had done them no Wrong, to the Sword.

Most of the Wars in the World have been *Trojan* Wars ; but most particularly those in
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the *Holy Land*, whither most of the Princes in Christendom made lunatick and ruinous Expeditions, to rescue from the *Saracens* a Grave which could not be known from other Graves. Great Preparations were lately made for a *Trojan War* at *Astracan*; and in *Italy* a *Trojan War* is apprehended. We too, since the Reigns of the *Plantagenets*, have had our *Trojan Wars*; and our *English Ajaxes* and *Achilles's* have fought many bloody Battles, in which *England* had no other Interest, but the inward Satisfaction and Glory of losing its Men and Money.

Conquest, or Fighting for Territory, is, for the most part, the most shameless Thing in the World. Government is either designed for the People's Good, or else I know not what Business it has in the World: And therefore in all Contests among Conquerors about Territory, if natural Justice and common Sense were to decide it, that Prince ought to carry it, who can satisfy the People that he will use them best. And sometimes they all vouchsafe to promise this, tho' very few of them perform it. But this Consideration, which ought to be the only one, and is perhaps used by them in their Manifesto's, has not the least Weight with most of them. On the contrary, their chief Argument to move People, is often the most ridiculous, stupid, and absurd, of all others, and really concerns the People the least of any other. As to the great Point of using the People well, and promoting their Posterity, these are Considerations so much below the Thoughts of your Conquerors, and so opposite to their Practice, that if the People were to throw
Dice

Dice for one of them, they would do as wisely as if they chose him by deliberate Voices, if they were at Liberty to chuse him, since there is rarely a better or a worse amongst them. And therefore the *Persian* Nobles did not amiss, when they delegated the Choice of such a Sovereign to the Horses they rode. If *Philip II.* of *Spain* had in the least aimed at governing the Seven Provinces for *their* Good, he would never have disturbed their Revolt, since he might see that they prospered a thousand times faster without him than ever they could with him, But as this reasonable and beneficent Thought had no Authority with him, he exhausted in vain the Forces of that great Monarchy, to reduce those new States under his Tyranny, and to make them as wretched and desolate as he made his other Dominions.

I am, &c.

S I R,

MEN do, for the Sake of their Posterity, many Things, which, they tell us, they would not do for their own Sake. The Wealth which they do not spend, they lay up for Posterity; and their Care for Posterity is made a Pretence, to justify all the Acquisitions they make of Fortune and Dominion. But this is false Reasoning, tho' by it they often deceive themselves and others: They find that they have greater Appetites to acquire Wealth than they

they have to enjoy it ; and not being able to deny, that Wealth is only so far useful as it is enjoy'd, and no farther, they cannot justify their Conduct, but by furnishing themselves with a false Excuse from their Regard for Posterity : As if the Affections of Men could be stronger for others, and for a future Race, of whom they know nothing, or for such as perhaps may never exist, than for themselves. Doubtless Men are in no Circumstances to be separated from themselves : They are ever the chief Objects of their own Tenderness and good Wishes ; and the Love of Posterity is only Self-love, continued beyond the Grave. We see those who have no Posterity, nor the Prospect of any, engaged in the same passionate and greedy Pursuits as those who have ; and they often leave their Estates, when they die, to those for whom, while they lived, they shewed no Concern.

This Ambition therefore amongst Men of leaving an illustrious Posterity, is meer Self-love ; a Passion to survive themselves, and to make a Figure after they are dead. To gratify this Passion, Men in all Stations often take wild and unaccountable Courses : They employ great Pains for that which they can never enjoy, and run many Dangers for what they will never reap : They drudge, and laboriously contrive Ways to wear themselves out, and deny themselves Rest and Ease, and the Comforts of Life, that some future Men, whom they know not, may live in Idleness and Abundance, and perhaps despise these their careful and penurious

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Ancestors, who painfully provided for them the Means of Luxury, and enabled them to be insolent, or debauched, or insignificant to Society. They are indeed generally but even with one another. The Descendent receives, without Gratitude, an Estate which his Ancestor left him without Affection. People would take it greatly amiss, if you supposed that they wanted Honour for their Ancestors, or Regard to their Posterity, and that they themselves are the only real Objects of all this Regard, and of that Honour. But let them ask themselves, Whether they would restore to their Grandfather again the Estate which he left them, were he to rise from the Dead, and demand it? or, Whether they are willing to part with it to their Children before their own Death? or, if they sometimes do, Whether they have not other Motives besides paternal Affection? and, Whether their own Credit and Vanity be not the strongest?

Thus Men gratify their own Tempers, and invent fine false Reasons and specious Names for what they do. A Passion for Posterity, is a Passion for Fame; and he who raises a Family, considers his Race as hereditary Trustees for his Name and Grandeur, and as the proper Means and Channel for perpetuating himself. Nor does he carry about him an Appetite more selfish and personal than this. So that all the wicked Things which a Man does to raise a Posterity, are but so many infamous Steps to acquire personal Fame, which he will never arrive at; and does therefore but labour against the very End which he labours for, If his Po-

sterity prove good, it will be remembered to their Praise, and his Shame, what a vile Ancestor they had: If they prove bad, it will not be forgot how much they resemble him; and he will become still more odious in his odious Descendants. Even the wisest Men do a foolish Thing, when they employ great Assiduity and Care to leave a great Estate to a Random-Heir, whom Nature, or Chance, or the Law gives them. How many immense Estates, gathered in a long Course of Years and Application, have we seen thrown away suddenly upon Harlots and Sharpers! The Acquisitions of half a Century have disappeared, as it were, in a Moment; and the chief remaining Monuments of the Founder's Name were Jest made upon his Memory.

But of all the foolish and wicked Ways of raising Families, none equals that of raising them upon the Ruins of publick Liberty. The general Security is the only certain Security of Particulars; and tho' desperate Men often find Safety in publick Destruction, yet they cannot ensure the same Safety to their Children, who must suffer with the rest in the Misery of all. If Great wicked Men would consider this, the World would not be plagued with their Ambition. Their Posterity scarce ever miss to reap the bitter Fruits of their Actions; and the Curse of their Iniquities rarely fails to follow them to the third and fourth Generation.

The Instruments of publick Ruin have generally at once entailed Misery upon their Country, and upon their own Race. Those who were the Instruments and Ministers of *Cæsar* and

and *Augustus*, and put the Commonwealth under their Feet, and them above the Laws, did not consider, that they were not only forging Chains for their Country, but whetting Swords against their own Families, who were all cut off under succeeding Tyrants: Nay, most of their Children fell early and bloody Sacrifices to the cruel and suspicious Spirit of *Tiberius*. He began his Reign with the Murder of young *Agrippa*, whose Father had, by his Courage and Conduct in War, established the Tyranny in that House. What availed to *Agrippa* all his great Riches, his sumptuous Buildings, and even his near Alliance with the Prince, whose Daughter he married, but to hasten and magnify the Fall and Destruction of his House? There was not one *Roman* Family wickedly enriched by their base Subserviency to *Augustus*, but was slaughtered and confiscated under his Successors, and most of them under his immediate Successor: Nay, their Riches and Splendor were Reasons for destroying them. The freed Slaves of the Emperors grew afterwards the first Men in *Rome*, and had at their Mercy the Heads and Estates of the *Patricians*; nor could any of the great *Roman* Lords come into any Post or Office in their own Empire, but by the Pleasure and Permission of those Slaves, and by servile Court paid to them.

Would their illustrious Ancestors, who were the Friends and Abettors of *Cesar*, have done as they did, had they foreseen this vile Subserviency of their Posterity to Slaves and *Patricks*, and the daily and wanton Sacrifices made of their boasted Blood? And yet was

not all this easily to be foreseen? While they were arming him with a Power over their Country, they disarm'd themselves of all Title to their Lives and Estates. By laying up Riches for their Families, they did but lay Snares for the Ruin of their Families. It grew a Crime under these Tyrants, to be conspicuous for any thing; and Riches, Virtue, Eloquence, Courage, Reputation, nay, Names and Accidents, became Crimes. Men, and even Women, were put to Death for having had illustrious Ancestors; and some for bearing the fortuitous Surnames of Great Men dead an hundred Years before.

So that these Men, who, from the Bait of present Wealth and Place, helped to overthrow the Constitution of that great State, were not only the Parricides of their Country, but the Murderers of their own Children and Families, by putting a lawless Dagger into the Hands of these Tyrants to execute these Murders. They sold their own Blood and Posterity to these imperial Butchers, whose chief Employment it was to shed it. These mistaken Men might flatter and blind themselves with a Conceit, that they were laying up Riches for Ages, and entailing Honours upon their latest Race; for what is so blind as Ambition and Avarice? But to their unhappy Descendents it proved a terrible Inheritance of Servitude, Exile, Tortures and Massacre. What they meant to perpetuate their Fortune and Race, were the first Things seized and extirpated. They had been real Traytors, to make their Children great; and their Children were put to Death for false
Treason,

Treason, meerly for being great. So nearly are Punishments allied to Crimes, and so naturally do they rise from them

Thus rash and unadvised, even as to themselves and their own Families, are these wicked Men, who raise up an enormous Power in their Country, because they wear its Livery, and are for some Time indulged by it in their own Pride and Oppressions! And so ungrateful is that Power when it is raised, even to the Props and Instruments that raised it! They themselves are often crushed to Death by it, and their Posterity certainly are.

This may serve, among other Arguments, to prove, that Men ought to be virtuous, just, and good, for their own Sake, and that of their Families; and especially great Men, whose lasting Security is best found in the general Security. *Pericles* had long and arbitrarily lavished away the publick Money, to buy Creatures and perpetuate his Power; and dreading to give up his Accounts, which the *Athenians* began to call for, thought he had no other Way to avoid doing this Justice to his Country, but by adding another great Crime to his past Crimes. He would venture the Ruin of the Commonwealth, rather than be accountable to it: He therefore threwed all Things into Confusion, raised Armies, and entered precipitately into a War with *Lacedæmon*; which after much Blood, Misery, and Desolation, ended in the Captivity of his Country. During that War he died of the Plague, which the War was thought to occasion; and to his Pride and Guilt alone were owing the Plague, War, and

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the taking of *Athens*, with the Desolation of the City and Territory. Before he died, he felt the Loss of his whole Family, and of all his Friends and Relations, and doubtless foresaw the Downfall of his Country. What huge and complicated Ruin ! He would see the State sink, rather than lose his Authority in it : But in the Destruction of his Country, his own was justly and naturally involved. Where was now the great, the politick, the eloquent *Pericles* ? Where was the proud State which he had long and haughtily sway'd ? Where was his Family and Race ? Where were all his mighty future Views ? Why, the Sword, the Pestilence, and foreign Conquest, had by his own Management put a doleful End to them all ; and his Wisdom and profound Foresight proved miserable and ruinous Folly.

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S I R,

AS I do not pretend to be inspired myself, nor am sensible that I have received any personal Revelation concerning the Whore of *Babylon*, nor to have Skill enough in the *Apocalypse* to discover the exact Time of the Fall of Antichrist ; so I shall leave that Search to the profound Persons who are learned in prophetick Knowledge ; but would humbly advise them to use a little of their own Endeavours to demolish the Harlot, and not to expect the whole from Providence.

And

And to encourage them in this Undertaking, I shall attempt to shew in this Paper, what is told us in the Homilies, That *she is old and withered*, and would have long since fallen to pieces, if she had not been patched with Searcloths, and kept alive by Cordials, administered by the Charity of those who were, or ought to have been, her Enemies; and that as soon as they leave off their Complaisance, give her no more Physick, nor adopt her Trumpery, her End will be certain: And this I shall attempt to prove from natural Causes, leaving the supernatural ones to those who understand them better.

It has been more than once said in these Letters, that Population, Labour, Riches, and Power, mutually procure one another, and always go together; that where there are but few People, and those few are not employed, there will be little Wealth, and as little Power; and consequently, those Governments, which provide least for the Increase of their People, and for the Employment of those they have, are less capable of annoying their Enemies, or of preserving themselves. Now, if we try the Power of Protestant and Popish States by this Test, it will appear absolutely impossible that the latter can long subsist, if the former do not lose their natural Advantages by political Blunders.

In the Popish States of *Europe*, there are a Million or more of Male Ecclesiasticks, and almost as many of the other Sex, who by their Religion are hindered from Marriage, and consequently from Procreation, unless by Stealth,

and spurious Births, which rarely produce living Children ; and all, or most of these, subsist upon the Plunder of the People, without contributing anything to the Publick Wealth, either by their Labour, or out of their immense Revenues, which are usually exempted from Taxes, as are their Persons from Wars; but, on the contrary, they have no other Business, but to fascinate and turn the Brains of weak and enthusiastick People, and to make them loiter after Masses and useles Harangues, and to fill their Heads with senseless Speculations and wild Chimera's, which make them either useles or dangerous to their Governors, and the ready Tools and Instruments of turbulent and seditious Pedants ; which Evil is, or should be, better provided against in all Protestant States.

In Popish Countries, one third Part of the Year, or more, is spent in most religiously worshipping dead Men and Women under the Name of Saints; in all which Time the People dare not work to support their Families, but must contribute, out of the little which remains, to pay their Oppressors for preaching them out of their Wits ; and, by consequence, the Publick loses all that the People would earn in those Days ; whereas, in Protestant States, all, or most of this Trumpery, is laid aside, and they most reasonably judge, that Almighty God is not worshipped by his Creatures starving themselves, and weakening their Country.

In Popish Countries the Power of the Ecclesiasticks is so great, and their Revenues so large, that the Civil Authority is often not able to protect

protect its Subjects: The Priests, by the Inquisition and various Cruelties, seize their Estates, drive away their Merchants and People, or starve them at home, and frighten others from coming in their Room; so that their Princes are forced to keep Measures with them, connive at, submit to, and support their Tyranny, to be protected in their own Power; and, by so doing, their unhappy and undone Subjects are reduced to the Condition of their great Master, to be crucified between two Thieves: On the contrary, in Protestant States the Ecclesiasticks are equally subject with the rest of People to the Civil Power; are not so numerous, nor have so large Revenues, and those Revenues are taxable; nor have they so much Power and Influence to mislead their Hearers, and consequently cannot do so much Mischief, and if kept to their proper Business, may do much Good by their pious Examples, and by their godly Precepts.

In Popish Countries a great Part of the Year is spent in keeping *Lent*, and in Fasting-Days, when the People, by their Poverty, are reduced to live upon stinking or unwholesome Food, whereby many of them perish, and the rest are weakened and enervated, and rendered unfit either for Labour or Procreation; and then succeeds a riotous Carnival, during which they are idle and debauched; and both these Extreams, in their Turns, produce Diseases, Poverty, and Misery; whereas in Protestant Countries the People live in regular Plenty, according to their Condition, keep themselves in constant Labour and Exercise, and by such

Means preserve their Bodies in Health, and their Minds within their Bodies, without sending them abroad a Vision-hunting.

In Popish Countries great Quantities of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which ought to circulate, and be used in Commerce, are buried as uselessly as when in the Mine; are applied to adorn Images and Churches, or are locked up in Caverns, and rendered unserviceable to Mankind. This, forsooth, is called Devotion, and giving to God what he before gave to Men for their Use; and their Way of obeying him, is to make no Use of it, and to lodge it only where there can be an ill Use made of it. But I thank God this Superstition is pretty well over in Protestant Countries, where the People (a few old Women and Dotards excepted) think their Riches are better employ'd to maintain their Families, Relations, and Friends, than to support Idlers and Cynicks.

In Popish Countries, their Ecclesiasticks, living in Idleness and Riot, must be more lascivious than if otherwise employed; and by the Means of Confessions, and other secret Communications with Women, have better and frequenter Opportunities to debauch them themselves, and to carry on Intrigues for others, whereby they break in upon the Peace of Families, and interrupt the Harmony which ought to accompany a married Estate. To prevent in a good measure which Mischiefs, (since they are forbid to marry,) these States are necessitated to tolerate established Courtezans under a Regulation, which hinders many others from marrying, debauches their Minds, ruins

ruins their Estates. and enervates their Bodies; and yet gives few Children to the Commonwealth: Which Mischief is well provided against in Protestant Countries; for there no Man is obliged to trust his Wife with a Priest, and, for the most part, they find it convenient to marry themselves; and a Blessing visibly attends their Endeavours, no Rank of People being more observed to multiply their Species.

In Popish Countries many foreign Wars are raised and stirred up by the Pride and Ambition of the Ecclesiasticks to increase their Power; and many domestick ones fomented for the same Reason, about the Power of the Pope, the Investiture of Princes, the Immunities of the Clergy; and endless Contentions arise with the States they live under, about their peculiar Privileges, as well as constant Persecutions against all who oppose their Pretences: All which Wars and Quarrels exhaust the People, perplex the publick Affairs, and either divide them into Factions, or, which is much worse, make them all of their own. But in Protestant Countries these Evils are less enormous: The People begin to see with their own Eyes, and will not undo one another to gratify the Ambition of any who would oppress them all; nor force or drive out of their Country useful Inhabitants, for dry Chimera's and useles Notions, and for the Shape of their Thoughts, and Imaginations; and many of their Clergy do not desire it.

In Popish Countries, great Numbers of idle and useles Members of Society are employed

to support the Luxury of the Ecclesiasticks; or to contribute to their Superstition; as Organists, Fiddlers, Singers, Scholars as they are called, numerous Officers of various Kinds, and many lazy Beggars, who feed upon their Scraps, or are supported by their Means out of the Charity of others, who are perswaded that they serve God in keeping them idle and necessitous, and without labouring for a Subsistence: All these are a dead Weight upon Society, live like Drones in a Hive, and eat Honey without making any. This Grievance is not so great in Protestant Countries, the Clergy amongst them not being used to throw away their Money without having something for it.

In Popish Countries there is an Asylum and Sanctuary in every Parish, where Robbers, Murderers, and all sorts of Criminals, are defended against their Sovereigns and their Laws; by which Means Banditti and Assassins are become a sort of Establishment, and are the Swifs and Guards of the Papacy, depend upon the Priests for Protection, and are always at hand to execute their bloody Designs, and to partake of the Spoil, as well as to be hired by others; by which Means there are numerous and nightly Murders in those Countries, and the People there dare not go about their necessary Affairs; and therefore cannot have the same Security and Encouragement as in Protestant Countries, where this enormous Wickedness is not allowed and practised, and where the Priests cannot protect Assassins; and the worst that can be said of any of them is, that they won't find fault with them afterwards, but

but are ready to absolve them at the Gallows if they have been doing their Work : And in one Instance, in a certain Jurisdiction, where a certain High-Priest, or those who act under him, compound with Delinquents by the Great for Crimes they have committed, or are to commit for the Year ensuing ; *alamode* of his Holiness at Rome

These, and infinite other Evils, are produced by the Popish Religion, which depopulates Nations, destroys Industry, overturns Law and Justice, the Cements of Society, discourages Trade, drives out Merchants, enervates States, and renders the Race of Mankind feeble, lazy, and miserable : Nor can I see a bare Possibility how these wretched People can extricate themselves out of their doleful Condition, which must still go on from bad to worse, till they become so weak as to be the Prey of foreign Enemies, or to expire by an internal Consumption ; for the Power of the Ecclesiasticks is so great, and depends so much upon keeping the Layety poor, ignorant, idle, and helpless, that they cannot have the Will or Power to recover themselves.

This wicked Policy has turned the *Campania* of Rome, and all the populous and fertile Provinces of *Italy*, into Boggs, Morasses, and Deserts, and would have long since extinguished Popery, if some of the Protestant States had not forgot the Principles upon which they had reformed, and others had not submitted to domestick Slavery, but little worse than Ecclesiastical, as both flowing from the same Root, and producing the same Evils, tho' not in the
same

same Degree; however, I think the Catastrophe of Popery is but a little farther removed, for the few States amongst the Protestants, with prudent Laws, and a wise Conduct alone, may be in a Condition, if they can keep their Liberty, without striking a Stroke but in their own Defence, to demolish and overturn this monstrous *Babel*, or make or suffer it to destroy itself.

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S I R,

ONLY the Checks put upon Magistrates make Nations free; and only the Want of such Checks makes them Slaves. They are free, where their Magistrates are confined within certain Bounds set them by the People, and act by Rules prescribed them by the People: And they are Slaves, where their Magistrates chuse their own Rules, and follow their Lust and Humours; than which, a more dreadful Curse can befall no People; nor did ever any Magistrate do what he pleased, but the People were undone by his Pleasure; and therefore most Nations in the World are undone, and those Nations only who bridle their Governours do not wear Chains.

Unlimited Power is so wild and monstrous a Thing, that however natural it be to desire it, it is as natural to oppose it; nor ought it to be trusted with any mortal Man, be his Intentions

tentions ever so upright: For, besides that he will never care to part with it, he will rarely dare. In spite of himself he will make many Enemies, against whom he will be protected only by his Power, or at least think himself best protected by it. The frequent and unforeseen Necessities of his Affairs, and frequent Difficulties and Opposition, will force him, for his own Preservation, or for the Preservation of his Power, to try Expedients, to tempt Dangers, and to do Things which he did not foresee, nor intend, and perhaps, in the Beginning, abhorred.

We know, by infinite Examples and Experience, that Men possessed of Power, rather than part with it, will do any thing, even the worst and the blackest, to keep it; and scarce ever any Man upon Earth went out of it as long as he could carry every thing his own Way in it; and when he could not, he resigned. I doubt there is not one Exception in the World to this Rule; and that *Dioclesian*, *Charles the Fifth*, and even *Sylla*, laid down their Power out of Pique and Discontent, and from Opposition and Disappointment. This seems certain, That the Good of the World, or of their People, was not one of their Motives either for continuing in Power, or for quitting it.

It is the Nature of Power to be ever encroaching and converting every extraordinary Power, granted at particular Times, and upon particular Occasions, into an ordinary Power, to be used at all Times, and when there is no Occasion; nor does it ever part willingly with any Advantage. From this Spirit it is, that

occasional Commissions have grown sometimes perpetual; that Three Years have been improved into Seven, and One into Twenty; and that when the People have done with their Magistrates, their Magistrates will not have done with the People.

The *Romans*, who knew this Evil, having suffered by it, provided wise Remedies against it; and when ordinary Power grew too great, checked it with another. Thus the Office and Power of the Tribunes was set up to ballance that of the Consuls, and to protect the Populace against the Insolence, Pride, and In-trenchments of the Nobility: And when the Authority of the Tribunes grew too formidable, a good Expedient was found out to restrain it; for in any turbulent or factious Design of the Tribunes, the Protest or Dissent of any one of them made void the Purposes and Proceedings of all the rest. And both the Consuls and the Tribunes were chosen only for a Year.

Thus the *Romans* preserved their Liberty by limiting the Time and Power of their Magistrates, and by making them answerable afterwards for their Behaviour in it: And besides all this, there lay from the Magistrates an Appeal to the People; a Power which, however great, they generally used with eminent Modesty and Mercy; and, like the People of other Nations, sinned much seldomer than their Governours. Indeed, in any publick Disorder, or Misfortune, the People are scarce ever in the Fault; but, far on the other Side, suffer often, with a criminal Patience, the sore Evils brought

brought wantonly or foolishly upon them by others, whom they pay dear to prevent them.

This sacred Right of appealing to the People, was secured to them by a very good and very severe Law, which is to be found in *Livy* in these Words: *Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum prasidium Libertatis decemvirali potestate everfam, non restituumt modo, sed etiam muniunt, sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum Magistratum sine provocatione crearet: Qui creasset, eum Jus Fasque esset occidi: Neve Cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.* “The former consular Law for appealing to the People, (the first and only great Support of Liberty) having been overturned by the Usurpation of the *Decemviri*, was now not only restored, but fortified by a new Law, which forbade the creating of any Magistrate without Appeal, and made it lawful to kill any Man that did so, without subjecting the Killer to a capital Penalty.” The Romans had but too good Reason for these Laws; for the *Decemviri*, from whom there was no Appeal, had enslav’d them.

And because the being frequently chosen into Power, might have Effects as bad as the long Continuance in it, *Cicero*, in his Book *De Legibus*, tells us, that there was an express Law, *Eundem Magistratum, ni interfuerint decem Anni, ne quis Capito*; “That no Man should bear the same Magistracy which he had born before, but after an Interval of ten Years.” This Law was afterwards strengthened with severe Penalties. Hence *Rutilius Censorius* blamed the People in a publick Speech for creating

creating him twice *Censor*: And *Fabius Maximus* would have hindered them from chusing his Son *Consul*, tho' possessed of every Virtue proper for one, because the chief Magistracies had been too long and too often in the *Fabian* Family. And there are many Instances in the *Roman* History, of Magistrates, Chief Magistrates, being degraded for their Pride, Avarice, and Male-Administration; and those who were thus degraded, were by Law disabled, like our late Directors, from ever enjoying again any Post or Power. Nor were the *Romans* less careful to oblige their Magistrates, as soon as they came out of their Offices and Governments, to make up their Accounts, and to give a strict Account of their good Behaviour; and for an ill one they were often condemned, and their Estates confiscated. Besides all which, to be a Senator, or a Magistrate, a certain Qualification in Point of Fortune was required; and those who had run through their Fortunes, were degraded from the Dignity of Senators — A reasonable Precaution, that they who were entrusted with the Interest of their Country, should have some Interest of their own in it!

In this Manner did the *Roman* People check Power, and those who had it; and when any Power was grown quite ungovernable, they abolished it. Thus they expelled *Tarquin*, and the Kingly Government, having first suffered much by it; and they prospered as eminently without it. That Government too had been extremely limited: The first *Roman* Kings were little more than Generals for Life: They had no negative Vote in the Senate, and could
neither

neither make War nor Peace; and even in the Execution of Justice, an Appeal lay from them to the People, as is manifest in the Case of the surviving *Horatius*, who slew his Sister. *Servius Tullus* made Laws, says *Tacitus*, which even the Kings were to obey. By confining the Power of the Crown within proper Bounds, he gained Power without Bounds in the Affections of the People. But the insolent *Tarquin* broke through all Bounds, and acted so openly against Law, and the People of *Rome*, that they had no Remedy left but to expel him and his Race; which they did with glorious Success.

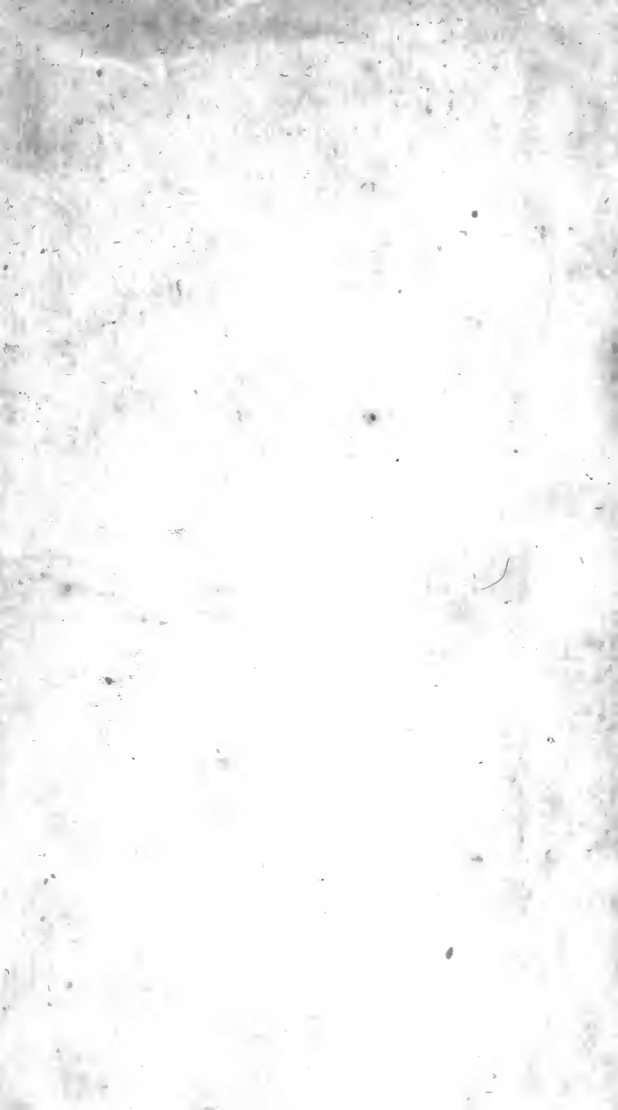
The Dictatorial Power was afterwards given occasionally, and found of great Use; but still it was limited to so many Months; and there are Instances where even the Dictator could not do what he pleased, but was over-ruled by the Judgment of the People. Besides, when the *Romans* came to have great and distant Territories, and great Armies, they thought the Dictatorial Power too great and too dangerous to be trusted with any Subject, and laid it quite aside; nor was it ever afterwards used, till it was violently usurped, first by *Sylla*, afterwards by *Cæsar*, and then *Rome* lost its Liberty.

Lam, &c.

The End of the Third Volume.







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