

130-1

0244



*Antient and Modern Corruption Compared.*

SHEWING, THAT

**A V A R I C E,**

Which destroyed the

**LIBERTIES**

OF

**GREECE and ROME,**

Will necessarily have the same

**EFFECT in *These* NATIONS,**

If not timely and steadily discouraged by the

**EXAMPLE of the *Virtuous* and *Active*.**

---

*Semper Avarus eget.*

HOR.

*— Nam ubi Cupido Divitiarum invasit, neque Disciplina, neque Artes bonæ, neque judicium ullum satis pollet, quin Animus magis, aut minus Mature, postremo tamen succumbat.*

SALL.

---

LONDON:

Printed for W. WEBB, near St. Paul's. 1743.

[ Price One-Shilling. ]

THE HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

BY JOHN BUNYAN

IN THREE VOLUMES

THE SECOND

AND LAST VOLUME

OF

THE ROMANS

BY JOHN BUNYAN

IN THREE VOLUMES

THE SECOND

AND LAST VOLUME

OF

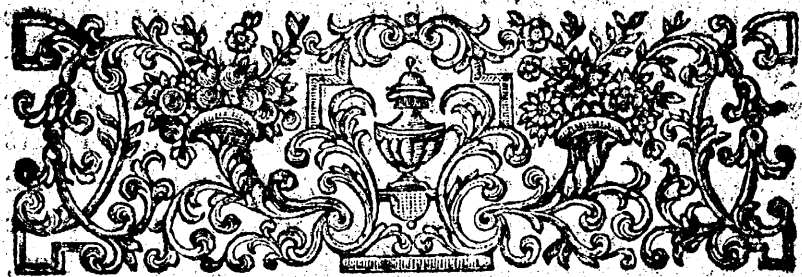
THE ROMANS

BY JOHN BUNYAN

IN THREE VOLUMES

THE SECOND

AND LAST VOLUME



ANCIENT and MODERN

CORRUPTION  
COMPARED.



HE ancient *Romans*, from being the freest, and, consequently, the happiest People in the World, became such abject Slaves, and so wretchedly miserable, that it was deem'd equally culpable in them, by some of their Tyrants, to wear Joy or Grief on their Countenance. They were punish'd alike for appearing gay or dejected; and to laugh or weep was equally criminal. 'Tis scarce credible, that a People the most tenacious of their *Freedom* of any in the World; a People that expell'd their Kings for invading their Liberties; a People so jealous as to banish, and even put their *Consuls* and *Tribunes* to Death from Suspicions only of their

[ 4 ]

Ambition: I say, 'tis scarce conceivable that such a People should fall into so abject a State of Degeneracy as to bow submissively and patiently to such tyrannical Power as is above described; and yet there are no historical Facts better attested, or less controverted.—The Question then is not, Whether that once brave, free People did lose their Liberties, but how they came to lose them?

The Unlearn'd will naturally suppose, that a People so extremely jealous of *Liberty*, as the *Romans* were, could lose it only by Conquest; but the Learned know, that the Loss, tho' inestimable, was voluntary. This is astonishing, but yet it is true. The *Romans* themselves were solely the Authors of their own Misfortunes. Before they conquer'd *Asia* they were virtuous; and whilst they remain'd virtuous they were *Free*: But with the rich Spoils of the East they became luxurious; and with Luxury enter'd *Avarice*, which soon vanquish'd these Vanquishers of the World.

But has not *Avarice* had the same Effect all over the World as well as at *Rome*? Is it necessary to seek for Instances of its Influence amongst the Records of Antiquity, when so many are to be found in our own? What need we have Recourse to History for Proofs of the Power of this destructive Vice, when we see the dire Effects of its having engrossed the Minds of almost this whole Nation, from the greatest Post and Estates, to the lowest and

[ 5 ]

and least? Have we not, since the Days of our happier and more virtuous Fathers, found that Five, Ten, nay Twenty Thousand Pounds a Year could not satisfy Men so far as to set them above selling their Votes for Places and Pensions? Can it be hoped, that *Liberty* will be permanent where *Avarice* is so universally rever'd?

If we would recover or preserve the *Liberty* we were born to, let us take the Advice of *Salust* to *Julius Caesar* concerning *Avarice*. \*  
 ' The greatest Good you can do your Coun-  
 ' try, this City, yourself, your Posterity, and,  
 ' indeed, all Mankind, is to take away, or, at  
 ' least, to lessen, as far as human Nature and  
 ' the Necessities of Life will permit, that ea-  
 ' ger Intenseness and Passion for *Money* which  
 ' now prevails. Unless you can accomplish  
 ' this, expect not that Affairs, either publick  
 ' or private, in Peace or in War, will be  
 ' conducted wisely or virtuously: For where-  
 ' ever this incroaching *Lust of Riches* takes  
 ' Root, in vain shall Discipline, the whole-  
 ' somest Arts, or the soundest Judgment, at-  
 ' tempt to guard the Mind so as to prevent  
 ' its yielding, sooner or later, to its Ty-  
 ' ranny, &c.

The better to enforce the Necessity of the Dictator's practising this Advice, he gives, in the same Discourse, the following Description

\* ——— Sed multo maximum Bonum Patriæ, Civibus, tibi, Liberis, postremo Humano Generi pepereris, si Studium Pecuniæ, aut sustuleris, aut quoad Res feret minueris, &c.

[ 6 ]

cription of *Avarice*—*Bellua fera, immanis, intoleranda est; quo tendit, Oppida, Agros, Fana, atque Domos vastat, &c.* 'AVARICE is an insupportable wild Beast, which spreads Ruin where-ever 'tis admitted: It lays waste Houses, Temples, Towns and Countries, impiously and promiscuously mingling together Things divine and human: No Walls have Strength, nor Army Force enough to stay its Progress, or resist its Power whilst it dispoils its Votaries of Fame, Modesty, Children, Parents, Country, &c.' How poetick soever this Portraiture be, every Man of Judgment and Experience must be convinc'd that it is just. *Salust* was not a Speculatist only, but a Man of Business and Observation, who saw the dismal Effects of *Avarice* in that City which had built its Power and Greatness on contrary Maxims, but which he saw hast'ning to its Ruin by the Prevalence of this destructive Vice.

That which is most particular in the Historian's Advice, is, That it is given to one who was no less obliged to the *Avarice* of his Countrymen, for his extraordinary Elevation, than to his Courage and Address. *Cæsar's* personal Merit alone, how superior soever, had never rais'd him above the Constitution of his Country, if he had not strengthen'd his Party more by Gifts, Pensions, Employments and Promises, than by his Oratory and Conquests: And this, we may suppose, were *Salust's* chief Motives for giving him the Advice.

[ 7 ]

Advice. Tho' no Man was less tinctur'd with *Avarice* than *Julius*, yet as few had had more Experience of its Influence over others, he was the fittest to be expostulated with about putting a Stop to it. *Salust* might likewise rely on his Patron's natural Abhorrence of the Vice; for *Cæsar* was generous, or rather lavish to a Degree: And it is thought that his first Largeesses, after he had the Command in *Gaul* conferr'd upon him, were with no other Intention than to relieve the Necessitous, or reward Merit; but observing, that the more he gave, the more was craved; and that these Cravers from becoming his Clients, only, became his Slaves, he began to entertain Thoughts of making his Generosity subservient to his Ambition.

But where shall we find a modern *Cæsar* to apply to for discountenancing *Avarice*? Where shall we seek one who abhors the Vice in others, and practices its Reverse himself? *Julius* was to blame for having alter'd the Constitution of his Country; but had every Virtue requisite for discharging with Dignity the high Office he assumed. The Vices of his Countrymen were the Rounds by which he mounted to Power, but *Avarice* was the Fountain whence all the rest issued. He saw the growing Corruption of his Country, and probably cherish'd it whilst he had the Empire in View; but had no sooner seiz'd the Helm, than he endeavour'd to root up those Vices, and particularly *Avarice*, which nourished all  
th

[ 8 ]

the malignant Humours of the State. He lived not long enough to execute so glorious a Design; but his Heir and Successor, *Augustus*, did; and during his long Reign, the *Romans* partly recover'd their primitive Virtue, and were happy. We may be convinc'd of this, from the following Description of the Reign of *Augustus*, by an Antient of high Reputation.—\* *Revocata in Forum fides, &c.*

‘Honesty is recall'd to the Bar; Dissention is banish'd the Senate; Justice and Probity are return'd to the City, in Company with Industry and Address; Magistrates have resum'd their former Authority, Senators their ancient Majesty, and Decrees their former Efficacy; the Citizens in general are become inclin'd to be virtuous, or are under a Necessity of being so; Virtue is as highly revered, as Vice is severely punish'd; the Commons have Veneration for the *Patricians* unally'd, with dread; and these support their Dignity without despising them; Peace and Plenty, Joy and Gladness, Security and Ease, &c.’—Heavens! What an amiable Picture is here of the Reign of an Usurper! This is that which induced *Monsieur St. Evremont* to say, ‘That *Augustus* had made the World happy, and was happy in the World; that he had nothing to wish for from the Publick, nor the Publick from him; and that to consider the *Evils* he had done to come to the Empire, and the Good  
‘ he

\* Velle. Paterc. Hist. lib. 2.

[ 9 ]

‘ he did after he was Emperor, it might be said with great Justice, *that he ought never to have been born, or never to have died.*’—But, alas! *Augustus* is no more; and *Rome* and the World saw but one perfect Prince. Most of that exalted Class have rather abetted than discourag'd Vice, having almost constantly heap'd their Favours on the Vicious and neglected the Virtuous. It must have been this almost general Infatuation of Princes, which oblig'd *Monsieur Voiture*, tho' a Subject to a despotic Monarch, to say, that, happy was he who knew Princes least; but happier still was he who had nothing to do with them.

*Heureux qui ne les connoist guere!  
Plus heureux qui n'en a que faire!*

Is it not very particular that the most perfect Model of a *Ruler*, set before us by ancient History, should be an Usurper? Might it not be reasonably expected, that one inheriting a Crown peaceably, would be a more tender and compassionate Father of his People, than one who wades to it in Blood, against the Inclinations of the Subjects? But the most reasonable Conduct is not always observed, tho' always the most salutary, or our own Annals had not furnish'd us so many Instances of the unnatural Behaviour of many of our lawfullest Kings.

Our Historians are copious in Praise of some of our *Edwards* and *Henrys*; but, for my Part,

B

I

[ 10 ]

I look upon our *Norman*, Conqueror as he is commonly stiled, to have promised fairest, had his Reign been longer, of all our ancient Kings, for becoming another *Augustus*, and making the Nation happy. I never think of what *Hoveden* says of him in the fourth Year of his Reign, but I wish that most of his Successors had copied after him. ' He commanded, says this Author, the Laws of King *Edward* to be observed in all Things: And that, in the fourth Year of his Reign, by the Counsel of his Barons, he made the noble and wise Men of *England* to be summoned throughout all the Provinces, that he might hear from them, who were skilled in their Law, their *Rights* and *Customs*; and that *twelve* Men were chosen out of every County, who swore to their Power to tread in a right Path, *neither turning to the right Hand or to the left*, and to make known to him the Custom and Establishment of their Laws. '

*William I.* was a stranger to our *Saxon* Laws, of which the People were so justly fond, but was willing to be instructed, that he might command them to be observed. This was worthy a great Mind: But the Oath administered to his Instructors, shews him to be as Good as he was Great. They were to warp neither to the *right nor left*. We of this Age would have had less Reason for *groaning* than we have at present, if the Instructors or Counsellors of our late Rulers had observed the Te-

nor

[ 11 ]

nor of this antiquated Oath. Had they observed even the modern Oath of Privy-Counsellors, we had not felt the Miseries we feel, nor dreaded those we don't. We know not of a single Reign, nor scarce of a single Year, of any of the Reigns of our Kings without evil Counsellors. All our Misfortunes flow from this Spring; for, by our Laws, our Kings can do no Wrong; and therefore all the Evils of a Reign are necessarily imputed to Ministers.

Before the Conquest, our Kings were obliged, by Law, to have none but *prudent* and *pious* Counsellors about them. Sir *Henry Spelman* tells us, ' That, in a Parliament held at *Calebutb Ann. 787*, it was ordain'd and enacted, that the Kings being chosen, they should have *prudent Counsellors fearing God.* ' See how careful our Ancestors were to have their Princes well advised. But this Wariness shews also, that they held them accountable for Misconduct, on a Supposition that they did not comply with the Tenor of the Act, by which they oblig'd themselves to chuse *prudent Counsellors fearing God.*

The Laws of *Edward* the Confessor go yet much farther, in regard to Kings, and the End for which they were constituted; but as, in our vitiated Days, that obsolete Doctrine, tho' perhaps reasonable and wholesome, may not be relish'd, let us chuse to say with our more modern courtly Lawyers, that our Monarchs can do no Wrong. This being premi-

B 2

fed,

fed, we cannot suppose it will be so much as suggested, that we mean any but Ministers in recounting our present Calamities, or reviewing the Misconduct which occasion'd them. The same Laws which absolve our Kings render their Ministers responsible for their Conduct. Taking then the Benefit of these Laws, without which our boasted Freedom would be an empty Sound only, we will proceed to examine the present State of our Liberties in most Lights, that it may appear whether the present general Complaints of the People be no better founded than our happy Court-Pensioners allow them to be.

Tho' it be too true, that our *Liberties* have been much abridg'd of late Years, 'tis not, as yet, thank Heaven! come to that, that a *Briton* may not complain, and wear openly his Afflictions. 'Tis not as yet with us as with the abject *Romans* under their Tyrants, who were not only debarred appearing what they really were, *Miserable*, but obliged to seem what they were not, *Happy*. \* *Miseri vetabamur agere miseros, imo omnes cogebamur mentiri beatos.* This was refining upon Cruelty; for what Misery could be more exquisite than for a People that had been the freest and happiest on Earth, to be the most abject Slaves under the Sun, and yet be obliged to pocket their Chains, and wear Mirth and Satisfaction on their Countenances? Could their Tyrants rob them of *Memory* as well as *Liberty*,

\* Pacat. Panegyri.

it would be some Alleviation of their Wretchedness; or, rather, with *Ovid*, it would be a Happiness to forget what they had been.

*Felicem Nioben, quamvis tot Munera videt,  
Quæ posuit sensum, Saxeæ facta, mali.*

To Men born Slaves, Slavery scarce wears the Aspect of Hardship. A *Persian*, a *Frenchman*, or a modern *German* feels not that he wears Chains, tho' he scarce can breathe for the Weight of his Burden. Habit becomes a second Nature; but with these unhappy Nations, it may be said it is pure Nature, since their Slavery is not only habitual, but hereditary: And yet even these hereditary Slaves, (that is their Fore-fathers) were once free. Even the *Persians*, who have, for Ages, thought it the highest Honour and Felicity to adore the *Great King*, were originally free: And what Nation enjoy'd ampler *Freedom* than the *French*? *Cæsar* is an undeniable Testimony of the Freedom of the *Gauls*; and latter Authors of the best Credit prove, that their Name, *Franks*, alluded to the State of their intire Freedom: But we read of no Northern Nation more celebrated for *Liberty* than the *Germans*; and yet what People in the World are at present greater Slaves? What Heart don't feel Anguish for the present Unhappiness of the Wretches throughout all *Germany*, a few *Hans* or Imperial Towns excepted, when the following Description of their

[ 14 ]

their former *Freedom* is consider'd? Our Brethren of the happy *Electorate* are not freer than their Neighbours, tho' they are far more eas'd of Taxes, since we are come to their Relief, and saddle ourselves with Part of their Burden. But as to *Liberty*, they have no more Right to it at *Hanover* than in *Bohemia* or *Brandenburg*, where the Commonalty are as much the Property of the Nobles, and the Nobles of the Prince, as his Oxen and Coach-horses; yet see what *Mezeray* says of these once free and happy People.

There were three Sorts of Governments among the *Germans*. In some Places the People had the principal Authority, and yet they often elected a Prince, or a King; sometimes a General, whom we call Duke, from the *Latin* Word *Dux*, a *ducendo*: But the Power of these Chiefs descended entirely on the Community, or People, so that it was always a mix'd Democracy. In other Parts, the Kings reign'd with more Power, yet not to the Detriment of *Liberty*: Their Royalty was limited by Law and the Reason of Things. As for *Liberty*, no People were ever so jealous of it, or ever defended it so long and so successfully as the *Germans*. It may indeed be said, that *Liberty* being driven out of the best Part of the World by the *Roman* Arms, took Refuge on the further Side of the *Rhine*, where she had for Companions and Guards, *Poverty*, *Innocence*, *Frugality* and *Modesty*; and were  
in

[ 15 ]

in the Fastnesses of Woods and Morasses, sometimes on the Defensive, sometimes making courageous Sallies: She combated five hundred Years together against Tyranny, and all her Train; I mean *Ambition*, *Luxury*, *Voluptuousness*, *Flattery*, *Corruption* and *Divisions*, the Instruments which that cruel Enemy of human Race employs to forge Manacles and Fetters.

As there is at present a kind of political *Affinity* between us and the *German* Nation, the Reader will hold the foregoing Quotation the more excusable. Here he sees they were free, and why they were so; and sees also what contributed most to reduce them to the Wretches they now are. Before they were sacrificed to *Avarice*, they were uncorrupt, they were virtuous and free: So were a Nation more dear to us, that defended their *Liberties* much longer than the *Germans*, whom *Mezeray* celebrates for their Perseverance: But as the *German*, nor no other Nation in the World could have been more corrupt, when they lost their *Liberty*, than we are become within a few Years; what Heart does not bleed with the dreadful Apprehension of becoming what they are, *Slaves*?

Before I drop that virtuous celebrated *French* Historian, let me trespass on the Reader's Patience for a Moment longer. Monsieur *Mezeray*, towards the End of the last Century, discoursing with an *English* Man of Quality about the Difference of the Government



[ 16 ]

ment in *France* and *England*, broke out into the following pithy Exclamation :

*O Fortunatos nimium, bona si sua norint Angli-  
genas !*

• We had once, continued the worthy  
• Man, in *France* the same Happiness, and  
• the same Privileges which you have in *Eng-  
• land* : Our Laws were made by Represen-  
• tatives of our own chusing : Our Money  
• was not taken from us but by our own Con-  
• sent : Our Kings were subject to the Rules  
• of Law and Reason : But now, alas ! we are  
• miserable, and all is lost. Think nothing,  
• Sir, too dear to maintain these precious Ad-  
• vantages ; and if ever there be Occasion,  
• venture your Life, your Estate, and all you  
• have, rather than submit to the Condition  
• to which you see us reduced.

The Advice given here is worthy of an  
old *Greek* or *Roman*. Let me say, 'tis wor-  
thy of an old *Frank* that had been *free*, or of  
a *Briton* that has and will be free ; or at least  
ought to be so or die along with the *Free-  
dom* of his Country. Who that has any  
Traces of *Liberty* on his Soul, would not die  
before he would be a Slave ? But, alas ! who  
are they in this venial Age and Nation, that  
prefer *Liberty* to the Gratification of their  
Passions ? *Avarice*, the Bane of all publick  
Virtue, has seiz'd on the Hearts of the whole  
People, as formerly on the *Germans* and  
*Franks*,

[ 17 ]

*Franks*, and fits us for the Yoke, as it did  
those once happy Nations.

*Mezeray* does not here tell us by what  
Means or Arts his Countrymen lost their  
Freedom, nor need he ; it being certain, that  
they themselves had been the Forgers of their  
own Chains. No People can possibly be re-  
duced to Slavery, without Conquest, but by  
their own Concurrence. An Usurper of na-  
tional *Liberty*, be he ever so valiant and cun-  
ning (wise he can't be, who would rule over  
Slaves) is but *one*, and consequently could  
never, nor would never attempt invading *Li-  
berty*, unless he were abetted by the People  
themselves. Had not the *Roman* Tyrants,  
*Roman* Senates, that gave Sanction to their  
Tyranny ? And can we doubt the *Estates* of  
*France*, the *Cortez* of *Spain*, and the *Diets* of  
*Germany*, were corrupted by those Princes  
that had invaded the *Freedom* of these Coun-  
tries ? And what was it but *Avarice*, that in-  
gross'd the Hearts of these Guardians of an-  
cient *Liberty* ? What was it but those curs'd  
*Metals*, which, that more curs'd *Passion*, feeds  
upon, that had, and always will be the In-  
struments by which Tyrants are enabled to  
corrupt. *Ambition* is but a secondary Passi-  
on in most Men. Titles, Ribbands, Stars,  
and all Distinctions bestowed by Princes, are  
never sought after till *Avarice* be satiated.  
Poverty and Title would ill agree ; nor would  
Stars and Rags be less inconsistent : There-  
fore

fore the primary Object with all *Paricides* is *Wealth*.

I have often wonder'd that *Tacitus* would make a Doubt whether *Gold* and *Silver* were bestow'd on Man as a Curse for his Disobedience. \* *Argentum & Aurum propitii an irati Dii negavarint dubito*. Here, he treats of *Germany*, where, in those Days, there were no Mines of *Gold* or *Silver* discover'd. 'And 'is it, says he, an Effect of the Love or 'Wrath of the Gods, that here is none of 'those precious Metals?' God help the poor Wretches, they are curs'd enough, if Slavery be a Curse, without these precious Metals, which are generally put to a bad Use, tho' in virtuous Hands would be Blessings. *Gold* and *Silver* in *Germany*, except in *Hanover* of late Years, would be a kind of Prodigy; and yet the  *Germans*  are as abject Slaves as the *Indians* of *Peru* and *Mexico*.

'Tis plain then, there are more Ways of feeding *Avarice* than one. *Gold* and *Silver* are not always necessary for carrying on Schemes of Slavery; the Work may be done by other Means. As Credit will answer all the Purposes of Specie in a well regulated Community, so will it answer all the Ends of *Avarice* as well. Lands and Property of all Sorts and Kinds will do the same. *Avarice* is none of your abstemious Passions; she has none of your sickly squeamish Stomachs that requires Delicacies: On the contrary, she

\* Tacit. de Morib. Germ.

she is so voracious as to crave incessantly, because she digests all Things: Nothing comes amiss to this devouring Passion. In *Sweden*, she will take up with *Copper* and *Iron*, tho' in *France* and *Spain*, she must have *Gold* and *Silver*. In *Russia* she makes a Meal on Hemp and Wood, tho' in *Holland* she may be so dainty as to expect Butter and Cheese. In our Colonies she must have Sugar and Rum, but yet here at home will be contented with a Scrip of the thinnest *Paper* in *Europe*. *Avarice* thrives not so well in this Country on any Diet as on *Paper*. We have seen her, for almost thirty Years together, drudging in the Service of the *Great*, and grown sleek and wanton, but insatiable as ever, and had no Provender all the while but Bits of *Paper*, with a few Hieroglyphicks printed upon them. Surely, there must be some occult Virtue in the *Paper* itself, or the *Characters* impress'd upon it? For my Part, I am quite a Stranger to the Qualities of this Sort of *Paper*, being, thank my Stars! unacquainted with *Avarice*; but have known many that have earn'd the Bread of Infamy, who say, that these same Scraps of *Paper* are so valuable, as to fetch any Thing whatever one has a Mind to. They will purchase a Harlot or a Coronet, a Coif or a Truncheon, a Garter or a Halter, and a good Conscience or a bad one.

These magick Scrips of *Paper*, this Fother for *Avarice*, the Vice which has brought

[ 20 ]

our present Calamities upon us, have one Quality in the Hands of Ministers of State, which, above all others, should be guarded against by a free People. 'Tis to the want of this Circumspection, for near thirty Years past, that we now feel those Miseries which excite our Sighs and Groans.

In the Hands of a corrupt Ministry (and what other have we known of late?) these printed Paper Selvages will purchase Numbers; and Numbers, we know by woeful Experience, can do any thing. The Antients may say what they please of the Power and Force of Reason and Eloquence, but, in my Mind, nothing can compare to the Power of Numbers, taken in any Sense whatsoever. Of these there are three Sorts, which are chiefly consider'd; *Poetical*, *Mathematical* and *Political*. The Power of the *Poetical Numbers* is such, that Woods have danced, and Rivers changed their Course in Obedience to them. That of the *Mathematical Numbers* is so invincible, that if we believe a Right Reverend \* Adept of our own Country, there is never an Oak in the Forrest of *Dean*, nor a Steeple within the Bills of Mortality, that can resist a Hair, disposed of to the most Geometrical Advantage.

But the *Numbers*, which fall more immediately under our present Consideration, are the *Political*; and they come so little short of either of the foregoing, that even Law and

\* Bishop Wilkins.

[ 21 ]

and Reason submit and fall down before them. How surprising the Instances of the Power of these *Numbers*, as recounted in ancient History! How extraordinary those that we have known in our Days! In *Athens*, did not these *Political Numbers* vote heroick Virtue into Faction, and publick Merit into Treason? Did they not drive the best Men into banishment, at one time, for having saved, at another, for having reform'd the State? Did not *Pericles* lavish and squander away the publick Money for a long time, by Means of *Numbers* he had obtained by that very Money? And was it not the Dread of being brought to an Account for his Peculation, by the same *Numbers* that induced him to throw all Things into Confusion, the better to escape Punishment? Did he not, with this View, raise Armies, put his Country to an immense Expence, and enter precipitately into a War with *Lacedemon*; which, after much Blood, Desolation and Misery, ended in the Captivity of his Country?

Had not these same *Numbers* equal Power at *Rome*? Did they not, at one time, take the Power from *Cato* for his Virtues, and, at another, give it to *Clodius* for his Vice? Is there not a thousand Instances of the Power of these *Numbers*, to the Destruction of the Commonwealth, to be met with in the *Roman Annals*? For there is this great Inconveniency in *Political Numbers*, as well as others, that they may be put to an ill Use, as often as to a good

good one : Nay, it frequently happens, that the *Ambitious* make Use of those very *Numbers* to the Destruction of those that compose them. So it was in *Rome*; so it was also in *Denmark* in the last Age; and here at home under the *Usurper*. Pray Heaven it may not prove so in our time! Let us examine the Grounds our Dread.

The Truth is, there has been nothing extravagantly foolish, or prodigiously wicked, but has been done by means of *Numbers*. Did not they oblige us to sacrifice our Trade, spill Oceans of Blood, and spend near *Three Hundred Millions* since the *Revolution*, under a *Pretence* of preserving *Religion*, which is publicly derided and ridiculed with Impunity; and *Liberty*, which has been hacknied away to every bold *Bidder* who took a Fancy to undermine it, in order to curry Favour with his Master? Did not *Numbers* cook up the *Declaration of Rights* so as not to answer the Hopes of the People, nor the Ends of that great Change? And why, but to court the Smiles of the Great, the better to feed *Avarice*? Was it not proposed to the *Convention* Parliament, as the only Means for securing *Liberty* from the Ambition of Princes, Craft of Ministers, and Corruption of their Creatures, to stipulate absolutely that we should have annual Parliaments; and did not *Numbers* carry it for Triennial?

But to overlook all the Mischiefs done by *Numbers* for Twenty-six Years after the *Revolution*,

let us see what pritty Things they have brought about since? Let us see if *Numbers* have not sacrificed that insatiable Cormorant, *Avarice*, which occasions our present *Groans*. Did not they repeal some essential Clauses, and exclaim away others of a *Law*, which ought to be held sacred for the common Benefit of Prince and People? Did they not exchange our *Triennial* for *Septennial* Parleaments? Have they not kindly ramm'd this bitter Pill down our Throats ever since? And have not all our Hardships sprung from this poison'd Fountain ever since? Did not *Numbers* shape out all the Shackles and Menacles which have been forged for us since the Death of Queen *Anne*? Was not the Heaviest of our Chains (the Riot Act) and, God knows, we *groan* under many a heavy one, put upon us by *Numbers*? To whom do we owe all our *Penal Laws*? To whom are we obliged for the Decay of our Trade, the Weight of our Debts and Taxes, the Increase of our Luxury, the Decrease of Virtue, and the late enormous Growth of *Avarice*, the general Undoer of Nations? Are not we obliged to *Numbers* for those and all the other Hardships the People complain of?

Did not *Numbers* compliment *Some-body* with many Millions of our Money in Subsidies and the Pay of foreign Troops for the Sake of Dominions we have nothing to say to? Were not these dear Dominions enlarged by Purchases made with our Money? And was not this

[ 24 ]

this Liberality owing to the cringing *Numbers* who had supported and approved of alternate Wars in the *North* to maintain these Purchases, and with a View to make others? Did not *Numbers* approve of all our wise Measures in the late Reign? Have they not done the same in the present? Was not the Treaty of *Hanover* approved of in that? And was not that of *Seville*, and the memorable *Convention*, authorized by *Numbers* in this? Did not *Numbers* approve of pulling down the House of *Austria* in the late Reign? And don't they approve of the expensive Plan laid down of late for doing an Impossibility? Did they not approve of all the wise Methods of the late and present Reigns, for raising the House of *Bourbon*? And don't they approve also, and support the vague Measures for pulling down that which had been lifted above our Reach, by the Wisdom or Honesty of our Conductor?

Did not *Numbers* sanctify every Measure of our late most virtuous *Minister* for twenty Years together? But did not *Numbers*, at last, turn short upon him, and force him to descend from the Stage? Have not the same *Numbers* declared him unworthy, who had procured his Fall? And have not they declared him since upright and spotless? Nor is it at all improbable but *Numbers* will hereafter approve of the Conduct of that Greatman's *Successors*, tho' the Nation seem inclin'd to think no better of them than of him. With

Regard

[ 25 ]

Regard to the very wise and honest *Successors* of the late *Minister*, I should not wonder to find those Words of the Chancellor *de l'Hopitel*, in his Memoirs or Will, after his Death. The *French Minister* says in his Will: 'Those who got me removed out of my Place, did it under the Colour of Religion, while they were themselves without Piety, and without Religion.'—Now, as Piety and Religion are too old fashion'd and obsolete for either the late or present *Ministers* to trouble their Heads about them, I expect to see the late *Minister's* testamentary Testimony to run in the following Words, or Words to the same Purpose: 'Those who opposed me for almost twenty Years together, and at last prevail'd so as to oblige me to lay down all my Posts, did it under the Masks of Patriotism and publick Spirit; but so soon as they succeeded, they dropp'd these specious Veils, and became more slavishly obsequious to their M——r, more profuse of publick Money, more an Enemy to Liberty and Trade, and greater Encouragers of Corruption, and other Vices, than ever I had been when I was most inveigh'd against.'

Should the late *Minister* or his Panegyrist attempt his Justification by recriminating in this Manner, or rather by setting his *Successors* in a more odious Light, would the Publick disbelieve the Charge? I fancy not, unless it should be forgotten, that these *Suc-*  
D *cessors,*

[ 26 ]

cessors had obstructed, since they had been in Power, the Repeal of *all*, or any of those *Penal Laws* which they themselves had complain'd of as the heaviest Grievances in the late Administration; or prevented every Means propo'd for encouraging Industry, recovering Trade, and securing *Liberty*. Could our *germanized* Graduates find out some *Nostrum* to stupify the People so as to be insensible of all Misery and Evil, they might not believe the Charge brought against them, nor acquit the late Minister by Recrimination: But while they have the Use of Memory and Understanding they will remember and detest the *Hypocrisy* of those who are the Authors of those Hardships they now *groan* for; and from which they might have been relieved, had their Deluders had a Drachm of that Virtue in the Heart which they wore on the Tongue.

But is it not owing to *Numbers* that the Successors of the late Minister have been able to out-do him in all Things, and preserve him against every Thing? I can't answer that *Numbers* will be as constant with them as him; because if they go on at the mad Rate they begun, no *Numbers* in their Senses will or can keep up with them: For Instance, should they go on increasing the publick Expence, and, instead of *Six Millions and a half* last Year, and *Seven and a half* in the present, should want *Ten Millions* the next, what *Numbers* would, or, indeed, could, bear them

[ 27 ]

them out in a general Decay of Commerce, Interruptions, Captures, Increase of Luxury, sinking of Credit, and fallow Land? Should our present Conductors think it necessary to make their Court, by continuing the Sixteen Thousand *Electoral* Brethren in *British* Pay; or, if that won't satisfy, by augmenting that brotherly Corps to Thirty or Forty Thousand; should any thing like this happen, I can't say they could rely on *Numbers*, unless for a double Consideration.—Here, I am afraid, *Avarice* would operate; nay, I am not without dreadful Apprehensions, that this hellish Fiend would procure *Numbers* to approve the transporting our happier elder Brothers from *Flanders* to *Kent* or *Essex*; or even to *Middlesex*, to guard the *Bank* and the *Tower*.——We have seen such monstrous Things done by *Numbers* for near Thirty Years past, and particularly lately, that one may authoratively and experimentally say, that nothing is impossible to *Avarice*. She procures *Numbers*, and these raise or sink *Liberty*, increase or discharge *Debts*, augment or lessen *Taxes*, cherish or discourage *Trade*, quicken or prohibit the Exportation of *Wool*, punish or reward publick *Delinquents*, and enrich or impoverish: *Numbers* have done all those Things that we now *groan* for; and may, if Heaven avert it not, take from us the Liberty of complaining, and even of sighing, except it be in Secret.

D 2

'Tis

[ 28 ]

'Tis a melancholy Reflection for a *Freeman* to think that the Power of the Crown goes on prospering and thriving every Year, and that of the People withering and decaying. Can a *Freeman* see himself surrounded by an *arm'd Force*, the Children of Blood and Enemies of *Freedom*; and this Force as constantly encreasing upon one frivolous Pretence or other, and not dread the Power of *Numbers*? *Numbers* within can soon create *Numbers* without; and Nations are soon enslaved by those. Such was the Case of all the dignify'd Slaves on the Continent. Their Forefathers either came implicitly into, or did not gloriously oppose the Ambition of their Conductors. *Avarice* gain'd *Numbers* in the Council, and these soon increas'd them in the Field.—Gods! is it possible, that a rational Being would barter away that which is inestimable, for Trifles and Gewgaws? Are not Riches, Ribbands, and Titles, Trifles, in Comparison of *Liberty*? And would a wise Man risk the losing so precious a Jewel, both for himself and his Posterity, to enjoy a momentary Power, a fleeting Satisfaction? No; the Wise would not, but the *Covetous* would. A Heart ingross'd by *Avarice*, is susceptible of no Impressions but what tend to the Gratification of the governing Passion, which feeds upon present Enjoyments, and wholly disregards Futurity. *Avarice*, therefore, is incapable of wise and necessary Reflections in Relation to *Posterity*, which should

[ 29 ]

should be, and is the principal Object of all wise and untainted rational Beings. I don't say but the *Covetous*, as *Paricides*, may sometimes have a View to *Posterity*, but it is rather to make their Successors *Rich* than *Free*: And it is to this fatal Alternative, that we ascribe the *Despotism* of Governors, and abject Subjection of the Governed.

But, according to the Observation of an accurate cotemporary Writer, of all the foolish and wicked Ways of raising Families, none equals that of raising them on the Ruins of *publick Liberty*. The general Security is the only Security of Individuals; and tho' desperate Men often find Safety in publick Desolation, yet they cannot insure the same Safety to their Children, who must unavoidably suffer with the rest in the Misery of all.

If great wicked Men would consider this; if they would consider the dire Consequences that necessarily attend on Paricide, they would probably cease plaguing the World with their Ambition. Their *Posterity* scarce ever miss to reap the bitter Fruits of their Conduct; and the Curse of their Iniquities rarely fails to pursue them even beyond the third and fourth Generation.

The Instruments of publick Ruin, have generally at once entail'd Misery on their Country and their own Race. The blended Calamity of both is inevitable. Those who were the Instruments and Ministers of *Julius* and *Augustus*, and put the Commonwealth under

[ 30 ]

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, establish'd Tyranny in that House.

What avail'd *Agrippa* all the immense Riches, that fed his *Avarice*, his sumptuous Buildings, and that which fed his Ambition more, 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 enrich'd by their base Subserviency to *Augustus*, but was slaughter'd by 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 Emperor's 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 elevated Slaves, and by servile Court paid to them.—Has nothing of this kind happen'd here at Home, when the Dregs of the People got uppermost by publick Confusion,

[ 31 ]

sion, occasion'd chiefly by the *Avarice* and *Ambition* of a few designing Individuals?—But, to pursue the dire Effects of these Vices at *Rome* and *Athens*;

Would the illustrious Ancestors of these reduced, cringing *Patricians*, who had abetted the Usurpations of *Julias* and *Augustus*, have done as they did, had they foreseen this vile Subserviency of their Posterity to Slaves and Pathicks; 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 them with a Power over their Country, they disarm'd themselves of all Title to their Lives and Fortunes, and were disarming Posterity. By laying up Riches for their Families, they did but lay Snares for the Ruin of their Families. It grew a Crime, under the Successors of *Augustus*, 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 Age before.

So that these unthinking Men, who, from the Bait of present *Wealth*, either by Place or Pension, helped to overthrow the Constitution of that Great and Free State, was not only the Parricides, but the Murderers of their own Children and Families, by putting a lawless Dagger into the Hands of those Tyrants



( 32 )

Tyrants to commit 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 nearer-sighted than *Avarice* and *Ambition*? But to their unhappy Descendants, it proved a terrible Inheritance of Servitude, Exile, Tortures and Massacres. What they intended to perpetuate, their *Fortune* and *Progeny*, were the first Things seized and extirpated. They had been real Traitors to their Country to make their Children Great; and their Children were put to Death for false Treason, merely for being Great. So nearly are Punishments allied to Crimes, and so naturally do they rise from them.

Thus rash and unadvised, even 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 indulg'd by it in their own *Avarice*, Pride and Oppression! And so ungrateful is that *Power* when it is rais'd, even to the Props and Instruments that rais'd it! They themselves are often crush'd to Death by it; and their Posterity infallibly are.

This may serve among other obvious Arguments, to prove that Men ought to be  
Vir-

[ 33 ]

Virtuous, Just and Good, for their own Sakes, and that of their particular Families; and especially Noble Men, whose lasting Security is best founded on general Security. It has been observed, some Pages before, how *Pericles* had rais'd himself, by the Force of *Numbers*, above the Laws of his Country, by feeding the *Avarice* of some of his Countrymen: But, to apply his Case to this Part of our Subject,

*Pericles* had long and arbitrarily lavish'd away the publick Treasure to purchase Suffrages, buy Creatures, and perpetuate his Power; but dreading to give up his Accounts, which the *Athens* 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 ones. He would venture the Ruin of the Commonwealth, rather than be accountable to it; he therefore, as has been said, threw all Things into Confusion, and made War upon the *Spartans*, which proved the Ruin of his Country.—The judicious Reader will examine if there be any, and what Analogy there is between the Conduct of *Pericles* in precipitating his exhausted Country into a War with *Lacedemon*, and those Ministers that would force us into one with *France*, without any one powerful Ally, in the unhappy Situation into which we have been plung'd by *Avarice* and Misconduct.

That Parricide *Athenian* died of the Plague, during that War, which was thought to  
E  
og-

[ 34 ]

occasion it; and to his Pride and Guilt alone were owing the Pestilence, the War, and the taking *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 what ought to have increas'd his Anxiety, the Downfal 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 necessarily involved.—Where now was 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.

Yet in that Abyss of Misery, into which the Ambition of *Pericles* had plung'd himself and his Family, he did not, in my Opinion, feel such pungent Sorrow as some later Parricides. He was miserable, but not to so high a Degree as those who out-lived the *Freedom* of their Country. No Pain can be so exquisite as what he must feel who is instrumental in the *Slavery* of a free People, and yet lives to suffer under that Power which he himself had contributed to raise. This has  
been

[ 35 ]

been the Fate of many of those over-grown national Curses, that have brought Ruin on their Country, themselves and Posterity to satiate their *Avarice*; such is the Fate they deserved; and such, 'tis to be hoped, will be that of all those who shall hereafter commit *High Treason* against their Country, by abetting the ambitious Views of any *Governor*, in order to accumulate Riches by acquiring his Confidence.

Our Statute Laws concerning *Treason* generally suppose it committed against the Prince; but our old Common Law supposes *High Treason* committable against the Kingdom. *Glanvil*, the oldest of our Common Law Authors, says, *Crimen, quod Legibus dicitur Crimen læsæ Magestatis, ut de necesse vel Seditioe Domini Regis vel REGNI, &c.* This Maxim is founded in Reason, it being infinitely more criminal to perpetrate the Ruin of Millions than of One or a Few: But the principal Grievance of most Nations is, that the executive Power; that Power which should bring Delinquents against the State to Punishment, is lodg'd with those whose Interest it may be to screen and support such Traitors to the Publick. Where this happens to be the Case, *Freedom* subsists by Courtesy only; and Experience may serve to convince us how feeble a Barrier *Courtesy* is against *Ambition*. Unhappy have been all Nations that have confided too implicitly in the Benevolence of their Chiefs. What have we got by our

E 2

Con-

[ 36 ]

Confidence in our Conductors for the third Part of a Century? Are not our *Liberties* abridg'd, and our *Properties* impair'd, by having too weakly confided in those who had no Views in gratifying *favourite Passions*, but to rise upon the Ruins of their Country?

How basely degenerate have our Ministers been since the A——n! They found a *Bias*, injurious to their Country, where there ought to have been none; but, instead of endeavouring to remove it, or, at least, prevent its ill Effects, they sooth'd and nourish'd it, till, from being in the *Heart* only, it mounted to the *Brain*, where, 'tis to be fear'd, it has taken too deep Root ever to be eradicated. Thus will it always be with Men preferring *Self-Interest* to publick Good. *Avarice*, the Poison of the Mind, that Pestilence of human Nature, has undone us. Inglorious Passion! Had our Ancestors bowed to it as the present venal Generation do, where would have been that precious *Liberty* they transmitted to us at the Expence of their Blood? Our Miseries spring chiefly from Inattention; did we reflect on the Conduct of our glorious Ancestors; did we reflect on their virtuous Care of Posterity; did we discountenance, and even check, early and effectually, as they did, all Encroachments of Power, by nervous Representations to the Crown, and by Punishment of Ministers, *Liberty* had not been at so low an Ebb as it is at present, nor our Condition, in every Circumstance, as melancholy as it  
Man

[ 37 ]

Man is a free Agent by Nature; and *Liberty* the choicest Gift of Heaven, is his Inheritance: 'Tis his *Birth-right*, which he never sacrifices but to *Avarice*, or is compell'd to part with but for want of Courage. 'Tis more peculiarly the *Right* of *Britons* than of any other Nation in *Europe*. We were in Possession of *Liberty* before the *Romans* set Foot upon our Shores; we gave it not up to those Conquerors of the Continent, nor to any other *Foreigners*: But had our Ancestors been as corrupt and venal as we are, we could no more trace up the Footsteps of Freedom amongst us, than our unhappy Neighbours on the Continent.

The *Romans*, who seldom fail'd of building Temples on important Occasions, had one in their Capitol, which particularly directed them to look back to their Original, to put them in Mind, at once, of the Virtue and Eminency of their Ancestors. It was a Temple in which there were Altars erected to a certain Goddess, call'd by them, *Fortuna Primigenia*, whose Assistance they were instructed to implore, that they might weigh and consider Things past as well as present, remember from whom they were descended, and who they were, and reflect on their State and Condition in the World, and on the Gifts, which, at their Birth, they had received from their Predecessors. Here was an Incentive to Emulation, without which, Nations, as well as Individuals, will sink into Vice and inglorious  
rious

[ 38 ]

rious Ease. Christianity forbids such idolatrous Worship as is mention'd above, but we have Records that bear Witness of the Virtue of our Ancestors, to put us in Mind, from their Example, of the Duty we owe to our Country: But, alas! what signifies Example to a People generally worshipping *Avarice*, and those few that don't, indolently and coolly looking on whilst the *Covetous* sacrifice every Interest of the Publick to private Gain. The *Covetous* may be call'd the *Active*, and the *Indolent* the *passive* Enemies of their Country. The first set Fire to the venerable Fabrick, and the second take no Pains to prevent, or put out the Fire, tho' they have the Power, but look on tamely with an *Indifference*, little short of the Guilt of their more active, flagitious Fellow-Subjects.

We have an *Opposition*, but it is too feeble to succeed. The last *Opposition* did, or rather might have succeeded, had not *Avarice* vanquished the Vanquishers of the common Enemy: But even these, fortified and surrounded as they are by the C—, and all the Worshipers of *Avarice*, must give Way, if our *Indifferents* would be as active as they ere warranted by the Constitution, and are obliged by the Duty they owe their Country. I could name a very few Persons could keep *Avarice* and *Ambition* too within Bounds, would they exert the Power which their Virtue, Abilities, Fortune and Quality have acquir'd them with the Publick. I could name one single Person,

[ 39 ]

Person, who could discountenance modern *Parricide*, if not put it to Flight, would he follow the Bent of his own active heroick Soul: And why he does not is a Mystery.

For my Part, I have often wonder'd upon what Account the Character of the *Roman Athens* is so lavishly celebrated by the Writers, not only of his own Time, but made a Pattern to be copied by wise Men in Futurity: For myself, I own, that, tho' in the Perusal of his History, I have always admired his personal Virtues; yet I could never relish his Conduct with Regard to that Republick of which he was a Member. *Atticus* was considerable by his Birth, his Knowledge and his Fortune; so many concurring Circumstances hardly ever met in one private Person, to make him of Use and Importance to *Society*; and yet, thus qualify'd, thus bless'd in every Particular that could contribute to that great End, he still acted within a narrow Compass, was contented with doing Services in peculiar Friendships, and a few ostentatious Actions of Popularity: 'Tis well known in what Scene of Affairs he appear'd, in no less a Contest than that, between *Ambition* and *Virtue*, between *Liberty* and *Tyranny*; and, in a Word, between an *absolute* and a *free* Government.

In such a critical Situation of Affairs, he who was personally loved and admired by every one, but most by the Friends to that Form of Government which the opposite Party

Party were endeavouring to subvert, behaves himself with a calm *Indifference* to either, sometimes retiring from his Country in the midst of its Calamities, and sometimes sitting an idle untouch'd Spectator, without offering a helping Hand to the Cause in which his *Heart* was concern'd. In my Opinion, the very Topick which the Ancients endeavour to recommend him upon, and build all his Encomiums on that Foot, is his greatest Disgrace.

They tell you what a Master he must needs have been of human Nature, to manage it so dextrously, as to be well with the *Chiefs* of the contending Parties, to be reverenc'd by both, and now and then, by a mix'd Interest, be able to do some Kindnesses to a brave or virtuous Man on either Side. But this was not acting up to the Duty of a *Roman*, it was at best but a cold, tame Virtue, a fearful Disposition of Mind, which would not forfeit its Tranquility, or hazard his Fortune, at a Time when he ought to have ventured, or even parted with Life itself for the Preservation of the Liberties of his Country: For, let us only suppose, that he had engag'd on the Side of the *Republick*, what a Weight and Influence must a Man of his Character and Popularity have put in the Scale against the Power that was then usurping upon all Law, Right and *Freedom*! If the Fate of Empires is not to be traced, yet may we be allow'd to say, upon probable Conjecture, that he  
might

might have gone a great Way towards preventing the Destruction of *Rome*, or at least (and if it were no more, that itself had been Glory enough) might have kept *Tyranny* at Bay for some Time, if not hunted it quite down. Instead of which, behold above what was his *passive* Couduct.

From this Character of that *Roman*, who might, and did not save, or attempt to save his Country, this Inference may be drawn, that an *INDIFFERENCE* in a Day of common Danger to our *Country*, is of all others the most stupid, and not to be forgiven Crime. Those curs'd with this criminal Vice, consider themselves as born only for themselves. This is a *Narrowness of Mind* which is inconsistent with the End of our Being: Man being a *sociable* Creature and born for the *common Good* of his *Kind*. Would every one view himself in this natural Light; would he look on himself as a Member of Community, as design'd by Nature to shoot out into Benevolence and good Offices, this unsociable *Depravity* would soon be check'd, and Reason prevail to make us subservient to all the noble Ends of our Creation. How many States would have been preserved from Ruin; how many Millions preserv'd from Slavery, if every one, bless'd with Courage, Wisdom, Affluence, and Reputation, had known himself bound in Honour, in Duty, and Religion, to oppose all Encroachments of Power? We see, in the Story of *Atticus*, what a  
F Chance

[ 42 ]

Chance one Man might have had of securing the *Freedom of Rome*. But who would have been so mad as to have attempted to usurp the supreme Power in *Rome*, if every Man, as he was bound, had done his Duty in opposing the first and every Step towards Usurpation?

To bring these Speculations home to this Nation; suppose all our great and good Men had been as *indifferent* as they ought not to be, in the Reign of the late King *James*, where would have been our *Liberties*? It was the Universality of *Opposition* at that Crisis, that proved our Safety. Had it been by a few only, it might keep up a Spirit of *Liberty* for a Time, but could never effectually preserve the Blessing. On the contrary, I don't know but it might have proved the Means of an Encrease of the Power of the Crown, and consequently of riviting our Shackles the faster. As *Opposition* furnishes Ministers with specious Pretects for strengthening the Hands of the Prince, it should be general and active, or there ought to be none. Experience may convince us of this Truth.

The feeble *Opposition* in Parliament, and a feebler rebellious Resistance in the *North*, which was suffered to ripen, when it might have been crush'd in the Bud, purposely to have a Pretext for an Encrease of Power, have brought upon us all those Calamities we feel, and that dreadful Apprehension of losing our *Liberties*, which rends the Hearts of the

[ 43 ]

the whole People. Before the Year 1715, there was no Power in the Crown, tho' there was full enough, that could affect the *Freedom* of the Subject. But how is it now? We live by *Courtesy*; and if we are not as miserable as most of our fellow Creatures are on the Continent, 'tis owing chiefly to the *Lenity* of those intrusted with the Execution of the Laws. But where is our Security, that we shall always meet with the same gentle Treatment from our Lords and Masters? And suppose such a Security were practicable, where would be the Prudence of living always at the *Courtesy* of another?

A Pensioner, a state Leech, a sycophant Courtier, may ask why the People complain, or dread the Effects of Power, since *Liberty* is permitted in every Shape? We have indeed, as yet, the *Liberty* of Complaint, and so have the most abject Slaves on the Continent; but in what other Shape are we as *free* as our Ancestors were; unless, as I said before, *Lenity* be construed *Freedom*? Let such an unnatural fellow Subject, such an impertinent *Enquirer* turn over the Volumes of *Penal Laws* enacted since the Accession, and then tell me if we now have a Right to the *Freedom* design'd us by the Constitution, and handed down to us by our glorious Ancestors? The *Riot Act*, the *Waltham-Black Act*, and the late *Smuggling Act*, alone put the Persons of *eight Millions* of Souls into the Power of every daring Minister who is a

F 2

Slave

[ 44 ]

Slave to *Avarice*, as most Ministers have been. But to consider many other *Penal Laws* in Force, in Relation to the *Revenue*, and particularly the *Excise*, it may be deem'd a Prodigy, that we have any *Property* left; and a Blessing, that our *Task-masters* don't exercise their Power with more Cruelty. They do it with Vexation enough, and often stretch their Power with Rigour, when any ministerial *Jobs* require it. How many; and how calamitous are the Instances of the Exercise of the Power vested by Law in the Crown, over the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject? 'Tis not many Years ago, since it was computed, that there were no less than *ten thousand* Persons confin'd in our *Gaols*, in Consequence of *Penal Laws* relating to the *Revenue*; and it is likely the Number is much increas'd of late.

Our Iniquity and bad Conduct have created Taxes, and Taxes have created a seeming Necessity for that Multiplicity of *Civil Officers*, which, considering the Power they have by Law, threaten our *Liberties*, and endanger our Constitution as much as our *standing Army*, another Evil sprung up since the Year 1715. These *Civil Legions*, as they are implicitly at the Beck of a Ministry, are most dangerous Enemies. We may look upon them as so many ministerial *Centinels* posted to keep the People in Subjection; so many Spies on their Words and Actions. They are impower'd to enter any Man's House,

[ 45 ]

House, at any Hour, and upon every frivolous Pretence, or none at all. And who is, or can be safe, either in his Person or Property, when the most profligate of the People, often the Scum of the Nation, may first convey, or order to be convey'd by some corrupt Servant, prohibited Goods into some obscure Part of a Man's House, and afterwards inform and prosecute? And that this may, and has been practis'd, no one can doubt, who considers, that these ministerial *Mercenaries* may intrude themselves where-ever, and whenever they please, by Law. How the Dread of this *Civil Army* has influenc'd Elections of Parliament, every Gentleman can tell, who has had any Concern in Elections. What Elector of middling Circumstances dare venture to disobey the Injunctions of a *Custom* or *Excise* Officer, who has all the Power and Countenance of a *Treasury* to support him in all his Exactions, Informations and Prosecutions? To consider the Power and Influence, which *Penal Laws*, Disposal of Offices, and a *standing Army*, give to Ministers over the Electors of our Representatives, it should be deem'd as a kind of Miracle that we have had any *Opposition* at all: But, to say Truth, considering any Benefit that has accrued to us from *Opposition*, it is a Doubt whether we should have been in a worse Condition than we are, if there had been no *Opposition* at all since the *Accession*. 'Tis true, that the *Opposition* was a Pigmy, incapable of relieving

[ 46 ]

relieving us, till the last Year; but what did it produce, when it grew up to gigantick Size and Strength? *Avarice* clipp'd off its Locks; and that virtuous strong *Sampson*, became a servile, cringing Court *Spaniel*. But was not this Misfortune owing to that fatal *Indifference* of which we so heavily and justly complain'd before in the Case of *Atticus*? What was it but the laudable Exertion of a very few of our best Subjects, at the late general Elections, that gave us that happy Chance of being relieved last Year, if the *Avarice* of two or three had not obstructed the Blessings which might have been reasonably expected from the Advantage on the Side of the *Opposition*. The Defection of a few, after the Retreat of the late Minister, could not have prevented the intire Success of the *Opposition*, if the publick *Indifference* had not encouraged the *rotten*, and discourag'd the *sound* Members of it. Had the Publick appear'd unanimous, and warm on the Side of the *Opposition*, the *rotten* Member of it durst not have deserted; and would they venture, they must have gone off alone, since few would care to embark with Men that had the whole Nation for Enemies.

We see the unhappy Consequences of this *Publick Indifference*, since the late Change of Hands. The new M——rs, the *rotten* Members of the late *Opposition*, have improved on the late Minister's Scheme so far, as that their Fingers are become heavier than his  
Loins

[ 47 ]

Loins were; and why did they dare tread in his Steps, that had been obnoxious to the whole People, but because they observed the People so generally *indifferent*, that they supposed they might act any Part with Impunity.

Let us judge of *publick Indifference* by the *Elections* since the People have been deceived by the Chiefs of the late *Opposition*. The Majority of such *Elections* have been carried for the Court; and why? because Gentlemen of the best Interest where these Elections were, look'd on with an unhappy *Indifference*, whilst the *active* Enemies of our Constitution put every Engine to work. Were not the very *Arch-Deceivers* themselves re-chosen without *Opposition*? Shameful *Indifference*, when the *Liberties* and *Properties* of a Nation were at Stake!

If any thing could rouze a Nation from an unhappy *Indifference*, which has embolden'd the Wicked amongst us to bring all those Ills which occasion our present Woes, it would be what happen'd lately at a neighbouring *Borough*: A worthy and useful *Member* having made his Election, being returned for two Places, for a *Borough* contiguous to his Estate and usual Place of Residence, recommended his Friend, a Man of great Worth and eminent Service: But how was the Interest of this gallant Man supported by the principal Members of the Corporation and neighbouring Gentlemen, who could have  
carried



[ 48 ]

carried the Election out of Sight, had they not look'd on with *Indifference*, whilst the Ministry set up a Creature of their own, undistinguish'd for any one Quality that should recommend him at this time of Day? The Ministry succeeded through the *Indifference* of the *Atticus's* in the Neighbourhood; and thereby the *Opposition* is weakened, and that *Party* strengthen'd, which it is the national Interest to weaken.

But it may be asked, why this particular Instance of *Indifference* is pointed out as an Incentive to general *Activity* in Behalf of our Country? Because it is attended with many peculiar Circumstances which require the utmost Attention. The Gentleman who lost the Election, by being strongly oppos'd by the whole Ministry, happens to be, at this very Time, employ'd abroad in the most hazardous and important Service, which a Subject can be put upon. His Conduct has been unexceptionable since he has had the Command of our F—t; and, for what appears at present, the Fate of two Princes, the only Allies we have, and perhaps of *Europe*, depends upon his future Conduct: Yet this is the Man whom the Ministry have thought proper to make Use of all the Weight of C——t Power, in order to exclude him from a Seat in P——t. He is intrusted with the Care of *Italy*, and our naval Force and Commerce in the *Mediterranean*; the Steadiness of the King of *Sardinia*, and even his Safety, depend

[ 49 ]

pend on this gallant Officer: I don't know but the *Fidelity* of the Queen of *Hungary* may depend upon his Valour and Assiduity; and yet our *Conductors* don't care to venture trusting him in P——t.

This injur'd Officer's Virtue is untingur'd, and therefore we will suppose him incapable of any *Resentment* injurious to his Country; but where was the Wisdom of unnecessarily disobliging a brave Man, whose Services demand Esteem and Gratitude? Does it not appear that there is as yet so much dirty Work to be done, as that the Ministry will not run the Hazard of losing a single Vote? Does not this unpopular Partiality shew that no Merit is a Title to Favour, or even to Justice, unless it be attended with implicit *Obedience* within Doors? Does it not prove the Rectitude of the general Dread, which the Nation are under for their *Liberties* and *Properties*? And does it not shew the bad Consequence of that fatal *Indifference*, which, next to *Avarice*, has given Birth to those Evils which cause the present *Groans* of Britons?

Whether we consider the Conduct of our late or present *Task-masters*, in Relation to our foreign or domestick Affairs, I cannot but think that they look upon the whole People to be *insensible* as well as *indifferent*: 'Tis evident the late Ministry never minded whether the People were pleas'd or displeas'd; nor, I think, is it less so, that our present *Conductors* pay them as little Deference. They

G

lay

lay about them so unmercifully, in Taxing, Chaining, Tantalizing and Torturing, that they certainly must look upon the Nation to be either *insensible* or *blind*: How else durst they have drain'd the People last Year of near *Seven Millions*, without doing any one Act of Justice in Return? How else durst they have deceived them, not only last Year, but the present, after solemn Promises to procure the Repeal of certain coercive Laws? How else durst they have loaded their sinking Country with the Expence of 16000 useless *Mercenaries*, without any special Resolution of P—t, on a bare Presumption that every Measure of the C—t would be approved of? How else durst they expend two or three *Millions* of the publick Money on the *Continent*, whence it will never return, without being sure that the *Dutch* would co-operate with them in their Views of reducing *France*? Or, rather, how durst they act so openly impious, as to put their Country to so monstrous an Expence on the *Continent*, when they saw that the *Dutch* were by no Arguments to be persuaded to a Rupture with *France*? How durst they neglect the *Spanish War*, the only Measure, since the *Accession*, in which the true Interest of this Nation was concerned?—We should never have done did we enumerate all such Instances of ministerial Conduct as shew that our Guides are equally heedless whether the People approve or disapprove of their Measures, bless or curse them, sink or swim;

swim; or, in short, whether they see or do not see their present Calamities or approaching Miseries.

The Conduct of our Guides puts me in Mind of certain Birds of Prey, call'd by the Ancients *Caprimulgi*, which suck Goats in the Night-time, and not only rob them of their Milk, and dry their Udders, but bring also a perfect *Blindness* upon them, which they fall into immediately after they have been suck'd. That our political *Caprimulgi* have suck'd the People almost dry, is evident; but whether they have reduced them to that tame or absolute Blindness which they would wish them to be seiz'd with, is not altogether so clear, tho' the *publick Indifference* answers all the Purposes of an actual Privation of Sight: But fearing we may, one time or other, be rouz'd from that lethargick *Indifference*, or that our *Guides* may not be able to bring a total Blindness upon us, tho' they may, and probably will suck us dry, they have cautiously provided against Accidents, by establishing such a *standing Force* as was never before known to our Constitution.

We have had our *Beef-eater* since *Henry VII's* Time, and a few Guards and Garrisons from the *Restoration*; but a large, formidable, constant *standing Army* is a Happiness we owe to that *Accession*, which we once boasted of as the Corner Stone of our *Liberties*.—But—*Tempora mutantur*—How frightful, how dangerous, how unconstitutional soever this arm'd

*Hydra* be, we have been made to pay dear for it since the *Accession*. Our *standing Army*, exclusive of foreign *German Troops* in our Pay, which were as useless and unnecessary, with Regard to this Nation, as our Army at home, has stood us in near *Thirty Millions Sterling* since the *Accession*. What an immense Sum is here for a sinking Nation to expend unnecessarily; I may say, unfaithfully and impolitically! Unnecessarily, with Regard to our Princes of the present Royal Line, who might safely have relied on the Affections of a People that had spontaneously elected them to the Throne; and unfaithfully and impolitically, with Regard to our Ministers and the Nation in general. It was unfaithful in the first, who ought to have watch'd over the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the People, as they were the Servants of the Publick; and unwise in the latter, who ought to have opposed all Measures unknown to the Constitution, and particularly such a Measure as the keeping up a *standing Army*, which had enslaved all the Nations of the Continent, and even our own in the last Age.

See in *Clarendon* and *Ludlow* how an Army rais'd to defend our *Liberties*, made Foot-balls of that Parliament, at whose Actions all *Europe* stood amazed, and, in a few Years, set up ten several Sorts of Government contrary to the Genius of the whole Nation, and the Opinion of half their own Body: But such is the Nature of military Subordination; such is the  
Influ-

Influence of a General or Commander over an Army, that he can make them act like Clock-work, as he pleases, whatever their private Opinions are. An indisputable Instance of the Influence of a General, is the Restoration of King *Charles II.* which *Monk* brought about with Part of that very Army which had cut off his Father's Head.

If an Army, that was rais'd for the Sake of *Liberty*; an Army, composed for the most Part of Men of Sobriety, and rais'd in the Cause of the People: If that Army, I say, could have so tyrannized, could have committed such Violences on a Parliament successful, that had acquired so great Reputation both at home and abroad, and at a Time when the whole People were train'd in Arms, and the Pulse of the Nation beat high for *Liberty*; what have not we to dread from a more numerous Army of the idlest, wickedest Part of the People, in so corrupt, degenerate an Age as the present? Or, in the Words of a late worthy Patriot; What are we to expect, if, in a future Age, an ambitious Prince should arise with a dissolute, debauched Army, a flattering Clergy, a prostituted Ministry, a Bankrupt House of Lords, a Pensioner House of Commons, and a slavish and corrupted Nation? It is well worth the while of a *Briton*, who wishes, and ought to be *Free*, to weigh and consider attentively, at this Time, the Meaning and Tendency of this last important Interrogatory.

The

The Expence of an *Army* should be a Reason, with a Nation declining in Trade, to oppose the Continuance of one; but the Dread of being one Day or other enslaved by it, should determine absolutely against it. An *Army* may undo us in a double Capacity: It may ruin us without the Sword: A Corps of Officers in the House of C—ns may destroy us as effectually as if they and their Men should forcibly seize upon our Estates and Chattles: But should ever a Majority of P—t be composed of *Officers*, whether *Civil* or *Military*, is equal, being both equally under Direction, what are we to expect? Let us guess at future Consequences by that Knowledge we have learnt by Experience. If we judge by this unerring Rule, how melancholy the Prospect which lies before us?

Surely, if ever this Nation had Reason for dreading the Consequences of having too many Officers in the Legislature, or for wishing for an effectual Place-Bill, this is the precise Time, when certain *Measures* are taken and approved of, tho' repugnant to the Interest, and even the Sense of the whole People. Tho' there may be no great Inconvenience in suffering a few that have Places, to have Seats in the House of C—ns, such as come in naturally, without any indirect Means, yet it must inevitably prove fatal to us in Futurity to have many: For all wise Governments endeavour, as far as possible, to keep the *Executive* and *Legislative* Parts asunder, that

that they may be a Check upon one another. Our Government trusts the Prince with no Part of the Legislative but a Negative Voice, which is necessary in order to preserve the Executive. One Part, and not the least necessary and useful, of the Duty of the House of Commons, is to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and redress the Grievances occasion'd by the Executive Part of the Government: But how can that be done, if they should happen to be the *same*, unless, as has been ludicrously said in a late Reign, they would be publick-spirited enough to hang or drown themselves. But, alas! *Avarice* has long since banish'd all *publick spirit* from our Shores. Does not all the Transactions of last Year confirm this Truth? but in Particular, does not the Impunity of a very great *Delinquent* prove, that *Officers* may be as well disciplin'd within as without?—Let us examine the Iniquity, or supposed Crimes of that *Offender*, and by what Means or Arts he comes to escape; and the Enquiry will amply prove the Danger of a *standing Army*, either Civil or Military.

That powerful Man was look'd upon by the whole Nation, and by none more than those who succeeded to his Power, to have been a corrupt and oppressive Minister, that had equally sacrificed the Interest and Honour of the Nation both at Home and Abroad, to private Views. Abroad his *Negotiations* were inconsistent, always chargeable, and

and often unnatural, as well as his *Treaties*, which were for the most Part calculated to amuse for a Sessions of Parliament, or serve some particular Turn relating to his M—r or himself. Peace we had in his Time; but it was attended with none of those Benefits which ever wait on a long uninterrupted Tranquility; and more than once he brought upon us all the Impediments and other Calamities of *War*, without any of its Advantages; so ingenious was he at finding out new Ways to ruin and impoverish us. To this End, our Taxes were increas'd, our Debts unpaid, our Commerce discourag'd and clogg'd, Employments and Officers, Civil and Military, multiply'd, the Publick Expence augmented; and, in short, every Scheme and Project that tended to the Encrease of the *Civil* List Revenue, and the Power of the Crown, or to undermine the *Liberties* of the Subject, were eagerly countenanced and cherish'd. He seem'd to have had but one single Point in View, which was to make any Sacrifice to maintain himself in Power; to do any thing to acquire and preserve the Confidence of his M—r: But how escapes this Man, becomes odious to the whole Nation, after he was forced to lay down his Employments? Why, he escapes by Means of *Numbers*; by Means of *Officers*, who know, it seems, how to *obey* as well as to command— A dangerous Precedent in a free State, which proves, but too evidently, the Dangers of a  
standing

standing Army, and of the Continuance of *Debts* and Taxes, which require another Army of *Civil* Drones, as much at the Beck of the Ministry, as the Military Gentry are of the—

A Notion has prevail'd, particularly since the Administration of the late Minister, that our Publick Debts are unpaid from the Effects of a Court Maxim, which is, that the present Establishment has no other Security for its Continuance. An odious Maxim, as if an Establishment founded on the Principles of *Liberty* could ever be supported by the most effectual Means of rendering the Nation Slaves.

Before the *Revolution*, there had been no Appropriations of the Revenue, except in a very few Instances, which proved often of Detriment to the Interests of the Nation, and gave the Crown Opportunities not only of sinking great Part of the Publick Money, but employing it against the Publick itself, by corrupting the Electors and Elected, and many other Ways. *Appropriations* therefore were look'd upon, at the *Revolution*, as most effectual for putting a Stop to the Misapplication of Publick Money; but it seems what our Ancestors had deem'd our Security proves our Undoing.

The immense National Debt, contracted incautiously, not to say worse, gives the Crown greater Weight in the Constitution, than it ever was able to acquire by the  
H chimerical

[ 58 ]

chimerical Notions of Prerogative: For, by the Constitution, the Crown being the Steward of all Publick Money, the Minister by that Means has now more Influence than he could have formerly, by the Disposal of Offices which necessarily arise from the Discharge and Receipt of an immense annual Revenue. Thus, the higher the National Debts are, the more must the Power of the Minister increase; and if we should ever happen to have another corrupt Administration, the chief Engine of the C——t may employ these very Sums that are appropriated for paying off the Publick Debts, to corrupt the Virtue of our Representatives, and sap the Foundations of our Freedom. Has nothing of this Kind happen'd already? Let the Friends and Screens of the late Minister answer the Question.

But it may be said, that a corrupt and lavish Minister would be still accountable to Parliament; and, consequently, that Liberty could be in no Danger from such a one, however supported by the Crown. This would be true, if all Parliaments were what the present is, and what the Constitution intend'd they should be, *uncorrupt* and *independent*. There is no Security against *Avarice*, but withholding the Means from *Corrupters* to feed the Passion. But if it shall ever be in the Power of a Minister to have, by Means of the Increase or Continuance of the National Debts, the Means of corrupting the

[ 59 ]

the Representative of the Nation, that Minister is secure that he never can be call'd to an Account. Will Justice, in so venal an Age and Country as ours, be able to prevail against the Prevalency of temporary Bribes, Places, and Pensions? How feeble were the Efforts of *Justice* against the late Minister; how prevailing in his Hands, the Power which accrued to him from the Continuance of our Publick Debts! Don't we observe the same *Power* as availing in the Hands of his Successors; and can it be said that they make any better use of it?

Upon the whole, *Avarice* is become so epidemical, *Riches* are so generally idoliz'd, that it is morally impossible we can preserve even those Remains of *Freedom* we possess, unless *Publick Indifference* be dropp'd, and *Publick Spirit* taken up by those who do now, and have long look'd on *Ministerial Craft* and *Incroachments* with *Indolence*, if not with *Despair*. There is but that one additional Curse of an universal *Despondency* to compleat our Misery. I am sorry the Disease has already seiz'd too many, but, should it become general, we are undone. 'Tis true, that *Power* is, and has been lodged, ever since the *Accession*, in the Hands of Men, whom we have Reason to suspect; but these are few in Number, if compared with those that apprehend the future Misuse of that *Power*. But should a Panick seize the Multitude; should Numbers catch the destroying Contagion

gion of *Despair*, what have we to trust to, but the *Mercy* of those, who have had none upon us since they have been elevated over us? — Let us make a short Recapitulation of the *Mercy* of our *Ministerial* Deities since the last general Peace.

Two bloody and expensive *Land Wars*, in Consequence of the *Revolution*, brought a general Stagnation on our foreign Commerce and our Domestick Industry, by the unequal Pressure of *Taxes*, and Growth of *Luxury*. — These Wars, besides, left us encumber'd with a National Debt of about *Fifty two Millions*. We have been in Peace ever since 1712; but how have our *Ministers*, for by the Law we can rise no higher, employed so long an Interval of Publick Tranquility? They not only have neglected our foreign Trade, but laid many new Clogs and Restraints upon it; our Domestick Industry they not only have discouraged, by encouraging *Luxury* in every Shape, but by continuing, or rather encreasing the *Taxes* and Difficulties that had affected the laborious Part of the Subject. The principal Nerve of all our Force, the Fountain of all our Wealth and Power, they have totally neglected, if not industriously discouraged. Surely it can be no Question, whether the *Woollen Manufacture* has been sacrificed, since the Misery of our unhappy *Manufacturers*, and the Burden they are become to their several Parishes, is universally known and admitted? But why the *Taxes*, which affected

ected this favourite *Manufacture*, have been continued against the Petitions and Wishes of the whole Nation; and why the Exportation of *Wool* has not been prevented, or so much as attempted to be prevented, tho' Plans have been offer'd every Sessions, and general Petitions preferr'd for thirty Years successively? These are Questions that want Solution. But who can solve them so well as those who have given Cause for their being put?

Well, but what Part of our *publick Debt* have our *Guides* paid off in an Interval of *Nine-and-twenty Years*? 0,000,000 — They were near 52,000,000 *l.* in 1714, and in this Year, 1743, they will be about 51,000,000 *l.* when the Accounts of the Year are made up, on the Footing of the current Service Expence in the present Month of *March*: But, what with a large Addition of *Foreign Troops*, which is talked of, and an unlimited Vote of Credit at the End of the Sessions, it is very probable our Debts, the next Year, will exceed *Fifty-two Millions*. — Such has been the merciful Care of our *Conductors* in relation to *Property*; let us see if their Benignity has been greater in relation to *Liberty*.

The modern Bulwark of our *Freedom*, the *Act of Settlement*, has been repealed or explained away; all that Patriot Caution of our Ancestors, that *this Nation should never incur any Expence on the Account of the Electorate*, has been explained away; and to such unfaithful Explanation, are we to ascribe

cribe the fatal Continuance of our Debts and Taxes, and the consequential over-grown Power of the Crown and Ministry. That glorious Barrier which our Fathers had set between us and the Power and Corruption of Ministers, has been removed so far, by the Law for *Septennial* Parliaments, that we are now almost wholly at the Mercy of the Crown. He who doubts this, must forget the Transactions of the late Administration; nor can he even remember those of the very last Year. The most coercive of our *Penal Laws* we owe to the *Lenity* of our *Guides*; and what has had a worse Effect; we owe to their *Piety* that Deluge of *Corruption* which had covered the whole Face of the Land. It is needless to talk of the late Growth of Impiety, Immorality and Infidelity; which, if they have not been promoted by actual Laws, they have been countenanced. If they have not been avowedly encourag'd, they have been tacitly so, by the open Protection and Favour shewn to the most profligate and vicious of the People.

Who can reflect, without Emotion, on the Conduct of those Servants of the Publick that have brought those Calamities upon us, which it was their Duty to ward from us? Who can reflect, without cursing the Authors of our Inability, on the national Incapacity of supporting the Cause of *Liberty* on the Continent; by a War, or of averting general Subserviency,