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SOME
REFLECTIONS
 UPON THE
ADMINISTRATION
 OF
GOVERNMENT.

E Ufficio d'huomo buono, quel bene, che per la malignità de' tempi & della fortuna, tu non hai potuto operare, insegnarlo ad altri: acciò che fendone molti capaci, alcuno de quelli più amato dal Cielo possa operarlo; *Machiavel, Book II. Di Discorsi.*

*For Forms of Government let Fools contest,
 Whate'er is best administred, is best.*

ESSAY ON MAN Ep. 3d.



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MDCCL.



S O M E

R E F L E C T I O N S , & c .

I HAVE often taken notice, that it is very difficult for a Man not to fall into those very Faults he has blam'd in others. Whether it be, that we do not so readily observe our own, as other Men's Failings; or whether we are so partial as to allow that in ourselves, which we cannot approve of in others; or, what is most likely of all, that it is a much easier Matter to see Errors, than to avoid them. I was naturally led into this Reflection by accidentally turning over some of our late Party Writings, where each Side quarrels very justly with the other, for that abusive Liberty, which never fails to be met with in the Writings of both. As there is very little Use to be made of this kind of Reading,

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ing, so a good natur'd Man will find very little Pleasure in it: The only Benefit that can arise is the creating, if possible, an Aversion in one's self to that mean Spirit of Interest and Envy, which is the chief Foundation of these Disputes.

'Tis impossible for any one to be at all conversant in History, and not observe the great Advantage of what we call a Publick Spirit; to what a Height of Strength and Reputation those States have been carried, where this Humour has prevail'd amongst the People; and how sensibly and fast they have decay'd, in proportion as this Temper has abated amongst 'em. 'Tis the Remark of a late ingenious Writer, that the Body of a People do (for the most part) pursue more steadily the Interest of their Country, than those of the highest Rank; because their Minds are less bias'd by private Views, and the only Benefits they can expect are such as naturally arise from the Peace and Prosperity of the Publick. The Truth of this Observation is a very severe Satire upon Mankind; it implying no less than that the Honesty of private Men is like the Temperance of crazy ones,

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ones, merely owing to their not being able to bear a Debauch.

THERE are indeed some Writers, who have seem'd to set up Self-Interest upon the same Foot with Self-Preservation, as if they were Dispositions equally natural; which is, in my Opinion, just as true as to assert, that it is the same Thing to fall upon every Man you meet, as to defend yourself when attack'd; a Notion it would not, I believe, be much for any Man's Advantage to put in Practice.

IT is surely a great Instance of human Weakness, that Men are never to be cur'd of the Folly of running after Happiness, as if it were a Thing easy to be attained to; and yet, at the same time, taking Measures directly contrary to those very Views, which they vainly form in their own Imaginations. Would it not be Matter of just Surprize, if it were not so commonly met with, to see one Man physicking himself out of his Health in order to be long liv'd, and another ruining his Estate to make himself considerable in the World?

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THESE Paradoxes are frequent, and yet there is something still more wonderful, which is, that the exposing of such Fooleries has not been able to correct 'em: So difficult a Matter is it for even Experience to convince some Men they can be in the Wrong. After what I have said of Paradoxes, I doubt I shall myself be thought guilty of a great one, when I declare, that I could never help thinking an extreme Selfishness as great a Mistake in point of Interest, as it certainly is a Vice in point of Morality. Mutual Assistance is as necessary between Men, as Commerce is between Nations; and how one or the other can well go on without some mutual Benevolence, I am not able to discover.

'Tis possible indeed, that if the Few could impose upon the Many; if they could receive good Offices, whilst they were doing ill ones; and be always trusted, though always betraying; such a Situation might have the Odds on its side. But gross Impositions will not always pass upon even the most Stupid: And when once a Discovery comes to be made, there is not only an End of all future Confidence, but, for the most part, a very great Desire of being

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revenged on the Deceiver. The longer and more flagrant the Delusion, the greater and more keen will be the Resentment. So that the artificial Man, that very cunningly sacrifices his Friends to his own Interest, must expect, one time or other, to be sacrificed to their just Indignation; and then it may be said, to the Honour of his Industry and Parts, that he has undone himself with a good deal of Pains and Dexterity.

THERE is nothing more common in human Life, than to draw Inferences that are false, from Positions that are true; and this is owing rather to the Corruption of our Hearts than the Weakness of our Heads.

THUS for Instance, when a Man has intirely given himself up to a selfish Disposition, and is, in his own imagination, become as it were * *the Center of all the World about him*; He is apt to tell you, that Interest governs Mankind, and that very little would be done or attempted that is considerable, if it was not

* Stillingfleet Origin. Sac.

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for the expectation of some private Advantages: That mutual Benefits create mutual Dependances, and those are necessary Cements of all Sorts of Society: That without this we should fall back into a State of Nature, and perhaps into a State of War with one another. And thus, by this Way of Reasoning, it appears plainly, that the most interested Men are the wisest and most useful Members of a Community; and consequently, the greatest Knaves the most valuable Men in the World. But the Fallacy of all this Sort of Discourse will be easily seen when we consider that Interests are of two Kinds, the Interest of the Whole, and the Interest of the Particular; the one is great and noble, the other may be mean and scandalous. Nay, they are often Opposites, the one being commonly destructive of the other. 'Tis to these narrow and partial Views, we owe most of the greatest Inconveniences of Life: Thus sometimes it has been the Misfortune of Princes, either by their own Passions or the Ambition and Avarice of their Ministers, to be brought to pursue a separate Interest from that of the Publick, and by that means they have run themselves and their Kingdoms into great Difficulties: Thus likewise in private Families,

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milies, Fathers and Sons, Husbands and Wives, Relations and Kindred, have been weak enough to fancy they have been doing themselves great Service, by some little favourite Ends of their own; whilst, in reality, they have been only entailing lasting Misery upon themselves and their Posterity. The true Interest of every Man in Society, is the welfare of that Society upon which his own must absolutely depend; and I know of no Exceptions to this general Rule, but what must be sought for amongst the Indigent and Lazy, who have no Fortunes of their own, nor Industry enough to acquire a necessary Subsistence. Such Men have no prospect of thriving in any regular way of Living, and as they have nothing to lose, so they think they may have a Chance of getting by Disorders and Mischiefs. They are apt to envy the Satisfactions of those, whose good Examples they will not imitate, and are therefore inclin'd to wish for such a State of Affairs in the World, that may at least make their Neighbours as miserable as themselves. Since they neither can without endeavouring, nor will take the Pains to endeavour to raise themselves up to their Level, they are willing to take the shortest way

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way to be Rich; and since Labour is required to get an Estate; and Oeconomy to preserve it when it is got, they imagine it a much easier, as well as more agreeable Method, to thrive by the Use of little Arts and mean Contrivances, which as they are more suited to their Inclinations, so they fancy they may be compass'd with less Trouble and Pains. As they know they deserve nothing of the Publick, so they expect nothing from it; and therefore hope for nothing but what they can extort by Knavery and Fraud.

THO' the Character of such Persons is indeed altogether scandalous, yet their Conduct is natural, and well enough adapted to their Circumstances. When-ever Men of Fortune suffer themselves to be govern'd by these unworthy Motives, 'tis hard to find a Name bad enough for so inexcusable a Behaviour: It is Injustice, it is Folly, it is Madness, thus to degrade themselves from their Station, and put themselves upon a Level with Pick-pockets and Beggars. These Men are common Enemies to Mankind, as well as to themselves, since by their Example they justify such Practices, as cannot but tend to the universal Prejudice of all about them:

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them: 'Tis like a Man of an Estate who sits down to play with profess'd Sharpers, who can have nothing to stake but what they must first have got from some such Fools as himself. And indeed, if daily experience did not convince us there were such People to be met with, Reason wou'd be apt to incline one to look upon the Supposition of such a Thing as an Extravagance and an Absurdity.

'TIS a very just Reflection of the first Earl of *Shaftsbury's*, that Reputation is the Business of all great Dealers in the World. 'Tis like Credit in Trade, which, very often, supplies the Place of Money: But then both are equally subject to the same Inconvenience, of being easily forfeited by ill conduct, and never after to be retriev'd when they are once lost.

THE misfortune is, the cunning Fellows (as they are proud of being call'd) will still persuade themselves they can (like some of their Brethren the Necromancers of Old) be invisible as often as they please. They can, as *Dr. South* expresses it, say their Heart is right with
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God whilst their hands are in one's Pocket. But in this they deceive themselves as much as ever they can have done others; For they must be discover'd at first Sight by a tolerable Observation, and will, in a little time, be found out by the blindest of their Cullies; since tho' a Man cannot see, he must, one time or other, certainly be brought to feel, how much he has been impos'd upon.

THE greatest Credulity, the strongest Prejudices, have yet certain bounds which they cannot be made to pass, by the most artful Deceits, and the most solemn Professions: 'Tis true indeed, Simplicity and Folly may, and often have been carried great Lengths, and the Numbers of the Deluded have given a strength to the Delusion itself, which it could never otherwise have had: But, as Oppression will make a wise Man mad, severe Sufferings will work a much greater Miracle, and sometimes make a Fool wise; at least wise enough to find out the Rogueries, and be reveng'd of the Rogues which occasion'd them.

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INDEED, (such is the silly Pride of Man's Nature) we are easily flatter'd out of our Senses; the artful and the designing know very well how to make a good use of our Folly; 'tis but Complimenting us upon the Excellency of our Fabrick, and the great Superiority of our Accomplishments, when compar'd with all other Parts of the visible World, and we presently are ready to imagine, that even Omnipotence did it's utmost in our Favour, and that we are in a manner the Master-piece of the Almighty: Whereas a very little Observation might serve to convince us that, in many things, we are surpass'd by what we are apt to call the meanest Part of the Creation, and that even Reason itself, which we value ourselves so much upon, is, in most Cases, a much less sure Guide than Instinct. How common is it for Men to call passion Reason? just as Knaves are us'd to pass their Rogueries upon you for Conscience; so that the most absurd and infamous Actions have found Advocates who have undertaken gravely to persuade the World they were Rational and Just. Some have even gone so far as to affirm, that each

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Man's private Opinion, is sufficient to justify him in every thing he does ; and, provided he acts upon the best of his Judgment, he is not to be censur'd for his Conduct. So that according to this Rule, whoever is wise enough to keep himself out of the Reach of penal Laws, so as not to be in danger of being hang'd, need never fear passing for Honest, so long as he can plead Principle in his Defence, and appeal to the Sincerity of his Intention, of which he alone can be a competent Judge.

THIS has introduc'd such a comfortable Latitude into the World, that there is scarce any thing can be wrong in it, since no one will be weak enough to condemn himself, and no Body else can have a Right to do it. 'Tis true, indeed, this will not hold against Civil Institutions, where Statutes have determined, Conscience will not screen the Transgressor. But how many Things are there that Laws doe not descend to, which yet may be very mischievous and destructive to Society ? If a Man notoriously guilty of Ingratitude, should assure you he had very good Reason for using his Benefactor like an Enemy, and that he acted upon the best Grounds

in doing so ; how is this Matter to be tried ? Here is the Appearance indeed of a very scandalous Behaviour on one Side, but then on the other, there is a sincere Intention, and a thorough Conviction of Conscience. Some People, perhaps, will tell you, 'tis the Duty of every Man who has a Family, to take all proper Ways of increasing his Substance, and that so long as he does not violently seize, or privately steal from his Neighbour, he is in the Right to be, what he will call industrious, as to every thing else : And what endless Scenes of Fraud and Iniquity may not be carried on under such sanctified Pretences as these ? So that there seems to be something more wanting to keep the World in Order, than the bare Regulations of Society, so far as they can be digested into the Forms of Laws, though these may be indeed a great Step towards it. Some Men may be led, whilst others must be drove ; and different Dispositions should always meet with different Treatment.

IT must surely therefore be the capital Interest of all Governments to promote as far as they can, Principles of Honour and Probity in the Minds of their Subjects, by all suitable Rewards

wards and Encouragements; and more especially, by setting the first Example of it themselves, and preserving as high an Opinion as is possible amongst those over whom they preside. This would not only make their Administration safe and easy, but the Submission to it chearful and sincere: There would be no need of Artifice or Corruption, Threatening or Violence, to induce Men to come into such Measures as they really thought, intended for their Service. Little Emiffaries, and vile Agents, first perverted themselves in order to pervert others, Spies, Armies, and Executioners, (not much less dangerous very often to those that employ 'em, than to those against whom they are employ'd) would be as unnecessary as they are burthensome. The People would insensibly be brought to follow the Example of their Superiors, and even those Few that could not, would yet find it absolutely necessary to preserve Appearances, which would very much lessen their Power of doing Mischief: 'Tis in Commonwealths as in Camps, where-ever there is a Confidence in the Chiefs, there Enterprizes are generally attended with Success: Men are usually bold and vigorous in the Execution of those Orders, which they
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have reason to believe, are the Result of Integrity and Wisdom; and it is in vain for the General to lead, unless the Soldier be disposed to follow, and that he will never willingly do to his own certain Destruction. And this Reputation, so necessary for the Support of all Authority, is not so difficult to be acquired, as some Men who resolve never to deserve it, would make us believe. Whatever those Governors, who act like Beasts of Prey, are apt to insinuate against the People, whom they always look upon as Beasts of Burthen, 'tis certain, Justice and Benevolence seldom fail of meeting with suitable Returns. All that Sort of Popularity which intriguing Men are us'd to value themselves upon, and which consists chiefly in permitting, and perhaps encouraging Luxury and Licentiousness, is, as indeed it ought to be, unstable and precarious. The End of it once discover'd, the Merit of it ceases; since no one will be very forward to thank another for that which he finds only done for his own sake. 'Tis the distinguishing Mark of true Wisdom, that it will stand the longest as well as the strictest Enquiry: it will even in Time overcome the strongest Prejudices against it:
whereas

whereas Cunning, the mean Mimick of it, is always discovering itself, by over-acting its Part; the most successful Artifices being, for the most part, short liv'd; and at best always terminating sooner or later in Infamy and Destruction. The beaten Track is the easiest to find, and the surest to follow; and will probably bring you the soonest to the End of your Journey: Bye-Paths are generally but the Refuge of the Guilty, and very often discover those who design to be conceal'd by 'em; and when one considers how much a safer and a shorter Way it is to do one's Duty, than to * *be trying Experiments upon the World, and taking ten Times as much Pains to pass for Honest as it would really cost one to be truly so*, 'tis impossible to look upon the common Practices of Mankind without at least as much Astonishment as Indignation.

How few have there ever been of the most fortunate Villains, whose Successes have not been overbought by the Difficulties, they have run through, and the constant Dangers which have

* Archbishop Tillotson.

have attended them even in their highest Elevations? Not to mention that Load of Guilt and Infamy which has never fail'd to sit heavy upon them, to the very End of their Lives. So that if one were fairly to state the Accounts of those few overgrown Transgressors, of the known Laws of common Justice and Honesty, who have rais'd themselves to be the Wonder as well as Envy of their Contemporaries; how seldom should we find that the Purchase so far answer'd the Toils of the uneasy Pursuit as not to leave the Ballance, in point of Happiness, very much against 'em? Many good Qualities had *Cæsar*; he was brave, eloquent, generous, and merciful: and yet his insatiable Thirst of Dominion made him obnoxious to much the most valuable Part of his Countrymen, and at last brought him to a violent Death, in which one of his Friends, suspected even to be his own Son, thought it his Duty to be assisting. So true it is, that ill Effects of some Kind or other will always attend ill Practices; and tho' they may seem to succeed for a Time, tho' Power, Wealth, or Fame may be the Lot of the Disturbers of Mankind, yet the unjust Possessors

of these imaginary Blessings, can as little taste the Pleasures of the Enjoyment of 'em, as the famous * Glutton could relish the Dainties of an exquisite Repast, whilst a drawn Sword hung directly over his Head, which nothing but the strength of one poor single hair cou'd prevent from putting an End at once to both his Feasting and his Life.

Cou'd *Richard* the Third have been content with the Situation in which Fortune had plac'd him, how bright a Figure might he have made in the English Story? He was Brother to a great King, his personal Abilities were equal to his high Station, he was made Protector of the Kingdom, and might possibly have been King of it in a natural Way. But the Selfishness and Cruelty of his Disposition, made the present Possession of a Crown appear cheaply purchas'd, by the Murther of his two young Nephews in the Tower, which lost him the Hearts of all honest Men, and expos'd him to the Misfortune which soon after befel him, of being attack'd from abroad, and deserted at Home;

* *Damocles.*

so that after all his Diffimulations, Frauds and Cruelties, what were the Rewards of them, but a short Reign, an untimely End, and an infamous Memory.

MY Lord *Herbert of Cherbury*, * speaking of the Death of *Ferdinand the Catholick*; makes this just and beautiful Observation upon him.
' But while he escap'd not the Opinion and
' the Name of False—He neither complied
' with his Dignity nor indeed the Rules of
' Wisdom; true Reason of State consisting of
' such solid Maxims that it hath as little need
' of Deceit as a sure Game at Chés of a false
' Draught; there is no Use of it therefore
' among the wiser Sort; as being—only a
' supply of Ignorance among the ruder, and
' worst Kind of Statesmen.'

THUS we find that *Charles* the Fifth, when in the Troubles occasion'd by the Disputes of Religion in the Empire, he mistook his Interest so far as to condescend to Act the mean Part of deceiving the Elector of *Saxony*; in the

* *Hist. Henry VIII.*

unjust Detention of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, had like to have been the Dupe of his own ill judg'd Cunning, having escap'd very narrowly the falling into the Hands of his incens'd Enemies, tho' he cou'd not escape the Scandal and Disgrace of a Conduct as unworthy a great Prince, as the Consternation and Flight it was the Occasion of.

So likewise *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, who seems to have resembled his Father only in the worst Part of his Character, by abusing the Credulity of the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, so alienated the Affections of his Subjects in the Low-countries, that after a long, bloody, and expensive War, he was at last forc'd to stoop to an ignominious Treaty, and give up all his Pretensions to a State he had lost by his own Mismanagement.

BAPTISTA NANI in his History of *Venice*, remarks very truly upon King *James* the First, that it was his own false Politicks that were the Occasion of his making so very contemptible a Figure in the Time of the Troubles of *Bohemia*; the little Artifices he made

made use of to render himself absolute in a free Country, had put it out of his Power to act the Part that became him, in Foreign Affairs, so that the End of all his fine-spun Schemes of low King-Craft, was only to make himself uneasy and hated at home, and consequently impotent and ridiculous abroad.

THESE crooked Politicks which generally pass under the Name of Reason of State (to avoid a much worse that better belongs to 'em) do indeed succeed sometimes, infamous Points are carried by as infamous Expedients, and the worthy Contriver is generally not a little pleas'd with the Superiority of his Genius, as well as the Success of his Schemes: But Time fails not to shew, that, like a young Gamester, he is but drawn in by his Luck, which he mistakes for Skill, to still greater Betts and bolder Play, till at length he becomes the Bubble of his own Vanity and Fortune, and instead of the Wealth and Reputation he aims at, meets with the Disgrace and Ruin he deserves..

BUT we shall perhaps be told, that there are no *Eutopia's* but upon Paper; that worldly Affairs

fairs must be carried on by worldly Means, and that in civil as well as military Conduct, you must be arm'd like your Neighbours, if you pretend to engage with them: Did any one blame our *Harry* the Eighth for treating some of his Contemporaries, as he had been treated by them, or was he not rather blam'd for not doing it sooner? Or could any Prince or State have dealt with *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, and *Francis*, without having recourse to that Sort of Politicks, they seem'd so fond of and us'd so much; were not *Richlieu* and *Mazarin* the great Restorers of the *French* Grandeur, that had been sunk so low by their domestick Quarrels? And did not *France* owe a great deal to their Conduct? And yet neither of these Churchmen piqued themselves much upon the Obligations of their Profession, and the latter more especially (having been employ'd often by his Predecessor in some not very righteous Schemes) got such a Habit of Fraud that he grew infamous for it, and it was look'd upon as a Mark of great Weakness, to put any Confidence in him, or believe him capable of speaking as he thought, or keeping his Word in any thing, when it was his Interest to do otherwise.

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To set this Matter in a clear Light, it will be necessary to consider the Consequences of the Politicks of these great Princes with regard to themselves, their Kingdoms, and *Europe* in general: And as to themselves, one cannot but observe, how much Trouble and Uneasiness, they suffer'd, how many Difficulties they run into, and how many low and unworthy Actions were occasioned by their continual Endeavours to surprize and impose upon each other: *Francis*, to put an End to his long Captivity, was forced to enter into Engagements dishonourable and disadvantageous, imposed upon him by the Emperor, which he never design'd to make good, and which, perhaps, had he design'd it, he would not have been able to have effected. Thence all those abusive Declarations, Letters, Messages, and even Challenges, that made them the Jest of foreign Courts, as well as the Contempt of their own: And as to their Kingdoms, how much loss of Blood and Treasure to carry on Designs of no Benefit to their several Countries, and which seem'd rather to be the Effects of Malice and Revenge than the Result of any deliberate and wise Counsels.

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Then as to *Europe* in general, the *Turks* took the Opportunity of their Quarrels, to make themselves Masters of the Island of *Rhodes*, where they might have been very easily defeated had there been the least Union amongst the Christian Princes, to have defended it. How different was the Case in the Reigns of *James* the First King of *Arragon*, and *Ferdinand* the Third of *Castile*, about two Centuries before; they by a well-judg'd Agreement between themselves, which they were prudent enough never to let any little Interests disturb, both kept their neighbouring Territories free from the Mischiefs of Ravages and Inroads, and likewise were enabled to make large Conquests upon the *Moors*, and by that Means laid the Foundation of the future Greatness of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

AND surely, notwithstanding all that may have been said in Favour of the great Ministries of *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*; the Cardinals *D'Amboise* and *Ximenes* did more Good, or rather less Hurt to their several Countries during their Administrations, were better belov'd whilst they liv'd, and left a much better Reputation behind

behind them when they died, than either of the other two with all their Artifices and Fortune.

MACHIAVEL indeed, does in several Parts of his Writings incline very much to the Crafty in Matter of Politicks, but he liv'd at a Time and in a Country where Scruples were not in Fashion, especially if they stood in the way of any notable Acquisitions, and so seems to have thought the Honour lay more in the Success than the Means of obtaining it: He was like *Alexander*, for cutting the Knot which he could not readily untie, without considering that might as effectually have been done with a Cook's Knife as a Conqueror's Sword.

BUT as the Consequences must always be taken into the Account in the Conduct of Affairs, as well as the present temporary Advantages, no Actions surely can be reputed wise ones, that pay so dear for their transitory Emoluments, as to purchase 'em at the Risk of Fortune, and perhaps not very distant Evils; the Extent and Duration of which 'tis not in the Power of any human Prudence to foresee.

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PHILIP Le BELL King of *France* was very profuse in his Expences, and so it became necessary for him to take all Methods of raising upon his People the Money to answer them: He valued his Ministers, but as they were fertile in Inventions of Oppression and Fraud, he called in the Specie and Plate of his Subjects, and then basely delivered it back to them again, very exorbitantly above the intrinick Value; he laid arbitrary Taxes, and in short, omitted no sort of Injustice, how mean and crying foever, to pillage the Country; his Coadjutor *Marigny*, after he had served his Master forgot not himself, so that his Administration was but a licensed kind of Robbery, and Plundering the Kingdom under a Pretence of Government. Count *Boullainvilliers* (who if he be at all partial, is partial on the right Side, in Defence of the Liberties of Mankind against the united Attempts of bad Princes, bad Ministers, and bad Churchmen to destroy them) gives a very natural but a very terrible Account of that Reign: *France*, says he, infected by the ill Example of the Court, became almost universally corrupt, there was nothing but Self-interest, Extravagance and Dissolution. The Great Men
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for the most part given up to Violence, Knavery, and Treason, had forgot all the Notions of Honour, Generosity, and Faithfulness, so becoming their Rank and so much the Practice of their Ancestors; the Women outdid all others in abominable Excesses; Prostitutions and Poisonings were their common Amusements and Diversions. The great Officers of the Kingdom and all who had any Share of Favour made use of it with a kind of Ostentation and Vanity, to the Ruin of their Country; and the common People grew so wicked and dangerous, that besides private Murthers, they would poison the very Wells and Fountains, not caring how many Thousands perished, so that they could but gratify their Revenge upon a few Enemies of their own.

BUT the King paid very dear for the Evils he had been the Occasion of; his three Sons Wives were convicted of notorious Adulteries, for which one of them died by the Hands of an Executioner; and his whole Family became the Jest and Scandal of the Publick. Himself grew so odious and despicable, that there was a powerful Conspiracy framed against him, the Apprehensions of which were generally thought
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to have been the Occasion of his Death, which in all Probability came but just in Time to save him from being deposed or murdered; and he left his Kingdom to his Successor in so miserable a Condition, that it was a Work of great Time and Difficulty to recover it out of that ruinous and desperate State; if indeed it can ever be said to have throughly recovered. Pensionary *De Wit* observes very rightly, that That is not to be called a Good Government, where the Happiness or Misery of the Subjects depends upon the good or bad Qualities of those that are at the Helm: But where the only Security of the Magistrate lies in the due Performance of his Office, and he has no other Way of making himself safe, but by making his People happy. And it was probably for this Reason he was always so strenuous a Republican, imagining perhaps it was more likely to find such a Government under a Commonwealth than a Monarchy.

CERTAIN it is, something there seems to be of vicious and corrupt in Man's Nature; (how ever it came there,) and consequently Restraints upon Men in Power are the best and indeed the only Securities of their not abusing it. That famous

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mous saying of a *Roman* Emperor; *Oderint dum Metuant*, tends directly to turn all Princes into Tyrants, and Subjects into Slaves; and therefore of all Restraints, that of being obliged to act in such a Manner as to preserve a good Reputation would surely be the most effectual of any: Hypocrisy as great a Fault as it is amongst private Men, may be in some Degree esteem'd a kind of Virtue amongst those of high Stations, in that it at least preserves a Community from such a barefac'd and excessive Prostitution, as brings it to the very Brink of the Precipice, *O! venalis Res publica, mox peritura si Emptorem inveniat*, said *Jugurtha* of the *Romans*; a prophetic Speech and fully justified by the Event. For a Purchaser is not long wanting when once a Country comes to be set up at Auction, neither indeed is the Purchase very difficult, since it is generally so contrived, that the Fools are bought with their own Money, and from a voluntary and corrupt Slavery, insensibly bring themselves into an absolute and perpetual One.

RUY GOMEZ De SILVA us'd to say of the Inhabitants of the low Countries, that

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that they were as Fierce as Lions in Defence of their Liberties, against those who attacked them by open Force; but no People more apt to give them up on a sudden by their own Folly and Humour.

'Tis the usual Weakness of Mankind to run headlong into the Extrems on each Side, and generally they go from one to the other: Many real Grievances made an Opposition necessary in King *Charles* the First's Days; but it was not enough to remedy those Evils; the World at that Time was possessed of such a Spirit of Diffidence, that no Security could be found sufficient. * And thus by desiring more than the Nature of human Affairs would admit of, to avoid one sort of Slavery they fell into another, and escaped the Effects of their own Folly, but by the accidental Incapacity † of *Richard Cromwell*. No sooner had the

* I mean not verbal Security only; that was rightly enough rejected, but some other more effectual might have been contrived and was probably intended by the Earl of *Essex* and his Party, till by the Cunning of the other Side, and the Treachery of some of their own, they lost all Credit.

† Had *Richard* been as able and bold as *Oliver* was, he might have settled the Protectorship so well, as to have made his Son or any other who had succeeded him, a mere Sultan uncontrollable by any Law, but that of his own Will, and liable to no other Danger but the Fury of the Soldiers.

Changes

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Changes and Confusions of those unsettled Times, made way for the Restauration, but the old *Frensy* return'd again, and the People thought they could do no less than give up all their own Rights to the Son, as they had with great Judgment taken away all the Rights of the Crown from his Father. As good luck (the Wisdom of Fools) sav'd our Ancestors in the former Instance, so in the Latter, one may say they came off by a Kind of Miracle, since they ow'd their deliverance to the good Sense, and disinterestedness of two great Courtiers, one of which was Rewarded afterwards by a Parliamentary Prosecution, which ended in his Banishment, and 'tis possible the other, if he had liv'd longer might not have gone off without some Mark of National Gratitude.

DIFFICULT, very difficult it is, to prevent the ill effects of epidemical Madness, to stop the Tide of it is impossible, all that can be done is to break a little it's force and to direct it as much as may be to the least dangerous Side. This requires some Judgment and Address, and none but Men of the greatest Integrity will be at the risk and trouble of the Experiment. A
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much more easy and advantagious Sort of Politicks it will be, to Swim down with the Stream, and make Use of its rapidity to carry on a private Trade, leaving the publick to shift for itself, as happens but too often to be the Fate of those, who have labour'd and lost most in it's Service.

AND here who can chuse but reflect on the unaccountable Tempers of most Men; often ready to contrive, and always active in carrying on such Measures as end in their own unhappiness! There seem's to be an eternal Fluctuation in all worldly affairs. Restless and unsteady, weary of their old Customs and Usages, and tir'd of even the very best Constitutions human Policy can frame, greedy after the Leeks and Onions of their Neighbours, and preferring 'em to the greatest Dainties of their own Growth. What a Number of voluntary Evils do Men bring upon themselves! The Road lies plain and easy to all that Happiness we are capable of in Society, and we must first resolve to leave the beaten Track before it is possible for us to loose our way.

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I COU'D never read the account *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* gives of the ancient *Egyptians* without the utmost Satisfaction and Complacency. That noble Simplicity of Manners making the publick Good the chief End and Aim of all their Politicks, what a great Idea does it give one of the Prudence and Honesty of that wise People? The severe Laws against Perjury, Calumnies, and Cruelties, as well to Strangers as their own Kindred and Acquaintance, must have made their Lives very safe and easy; and those excellent regulations to prevent the many Abuses of Courts of Justice, the Cowardice and Insolence of the Soldiery, the ill effects of Idleness, Pride and Villainy amongst the common People, must have render'd their Properties no less secure: But what seems most admirable of all was their making infamy a more terrible Punishment than even Death itself.

SHAME rightly plac'd is the best Guard of Virtue: Laws may indeed punish great and notorious Crimes, Robbers and Assassins may meet with the just Reward of their Villainies; but the natural Malignity of ill Men will still have
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great Scope to exercise itself, to the Prejudice of Society. Private Injustices, Frauds, and Defamations, may be carried on so as not to come well under the Cognizance of the Magistrate's Tribunal. Besides, Law may be evaded, Judges corrupted, Evidences hir'd, when once there is nothing to be fear'd except the Ax and the Gibbet. But Shame will have a much more extensive Influence, when the Great cannot glory in Oppressions, the Rich in their ill gotten Estates, nor the mean spirited envious Wretch in his little Arts of Malice and Detraction: When the Criminals of all Kinds are treated with Detestation and Abhorrence; and Contempt is the no less certain consequence of private Offences, than Ruin and Death will be of publick and flagrant ones, there will then be little room or encouragement for ill Actions of any Kind: The Hazard will be too evident, the Gains too uncertain, and, what is more terrible to some Sort of Men, the Possession will be after all but precarious, uneasy, and uncomfortable.

There needs surely no stronger Proof of the powerful Effect the fear of Infamy has on the
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minds of Men, than to consider that it will make 'em confront the greatest Dangers and go boldly almost upon certain Death itself; and that not only in defence of their Country and their just Rights and Priviledges, (for this were less to be wonder'd at,) but even upon the most romantick Expeditions of Ambitious Princes, and the idle Quarrels, which the Folly, Incapacity, or Corruption of their Ministers may happen to bring 'em into. A sense of Shame will, we see, likewise check the next strongest Passion to the Love of Life, which is the Love of Pleasure; The very Women, whose great Idol it is, and who seem to think themselves born, as it were, to be the Playthings of the World, and to be for ever running thro' a course of Gallantry during their whole Lives, are very often so afraid of Scandal, as to sacrifice their Interest to their Character: Take away this Barrier, and let a contrary Fashion once prevail in a Country, and you will soon see, the same Women setting examples to the Men of the most abandon'd Libertinism and Rakerly.

SINCE therefore Governments may have such a strong Hold upon Mankind, by rightly directing

recting and applying this Passion to the Benefit of Society, for which Purpose it was probably design'd by Nature; What shall we say of those who both by Example and Precept, in Action and in Conversation, take so much Pains to explode and drive it out of the World? To govern Men by encreasing and fomenting their Vices, when it might be as easily, and much more safely done, by the nursing up Virtue among 'em, what a Madness and Folly is it? 'Tis as if a Gentleman should employ all his Tenants, Vassals and Servants in perpetual thieving from his Neighbours for his own Benefit, till he had so much accustomed them to a Habit of Idleness and Plundering, that they would become both useless and dangerous to himself.

THE greatest Encomium that was ever made upon the famous Minister *Richelieu*, was the calling him a *Genie Vast*, an Expression not fully to be explain'd in *English* without a Paraphrase: It was saying that his Views were all Grand, his Politicks employ'd upon great Designs, and conducted in a noble and generous Way: Whereas the Cardinal *De Retz* describes his

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Successor *Mazarin* as a despicable little Fellow, chiefly employ'd in securing himself, and filling all Places with his own Dependants and Creatures, pursuing these worthy Ends by as worthy Means, such as Spies, Falshoods, Frauds and Briberies; and in short, debasing the Character of a First Minister of a great Kingdom, into that of a common Sharper or Pickpocket: And the Consequence was natural upon such a way of proceeding, he brought, says the Cardinal *De Retz*, the Government into Contempt, the most dangerous Distemper of a State.

Richelieu in all his most bold and dangerous Schemes, for some such he had by which his Country then suffer'd and even still suffers, yet however preserv'd Appearances as much as possible, and seem'd even to have wish'd he could have been a better Friend to the Publick: whereas *Mazarin* stuck at nothing, blush'd at nothing, and even in the very best Things he ever happened to do, the bad Heart was visible, and he plainly appear'd to be acting against his Nature. This made his Administration mean as well as odious: He was oppos'd, threaten'd, proscrib'd and forc'd to fly out of *France*, and

would

would probably never have got back again, had it not been for the obstinate Folly of the Queen Regent his Friend, and the wrongheaded Jealousies, Emulations, and Quarrels of his Enemies.

A *Genie Vast* in Politicks wants not the Help of base Methods to carry on the Business of a Kingdom, and is too wise not to see the ill Effects of 'em. There is nothing more easy than to introduce Corruptions into a State; and nothing more difficult then to root them out again when once they come to spread wide. *Majorien* Emperor of the West, was a brave, an able, and a worthy Man, but it was his Lot to govern in times of great Licence; he made a Shift however, to restore some Order amongst the Troops, and in the Finances of the Empire, but he could never get the better of the Corruptions of his own Court. A late Historian observes upon this Occasion that, 'The Founders of new Establishments and States have seldom any but foreign Enemies to defend themselves against, whereas he that goes about to recover a Nation out of a Condition of Misrule and Disorder, will find himself surrounded with Enemies at home, and often those that are nearest

'nearest his own Person. History shews us many Heroes that have succeeded in founding new Kingdoms or Commonwealths, but one meets with not above two or three who have been able to reform such as have once sunk into Vileness and Degeneracy: A violent Death is the common Reward of Attempts of this kind. How important therefore is the Prevention of such Evils which spread so fast and take such deep Root, and yet if not soon remedied, rarely end in any thing short of Ruin? And this naturally calls to my Mind that excellent Reflection Mr. *Rollin* makes upon the *Athenians*, when they had lost their Constitution and were subjected to *Antipater*. 'They were, says he, a Sett of mutinous and mercenary Fellows, without the least spark of Virtue or Notion of Justice, puffed up with a false Idea of Liberty, but quite ignorant of the Bounds it ought to have, the Duties it requires, or the Ends for which it was design'd.

THE Rise and Fall of States is Matter of curious Observation and perhaps one of the most useful Lessons to be learnt from History. I shall not undertake to determine where Luxury first begins

begins amongst a People, tho' it seems a little odd to suppose, as some have affected to do, that it should begin with the inferior and poorer Rank of Men. Certain however it is, that from thence most flourishing Nations may date their Decay and Destruction. As idle and extravagant Expences prevail, Industry grows less, and Wealth diminishes: Unusual, unjust, and unjustifiable Methods are found out to bring in Money, and all still too little to supply the Wants that Folly and Vanity are eternally encreasing. Hence arise Emulations, Envyings, Hatred and Distrust, the Bane of Society. Courage is enervated, all Notions of Honour, Love of their Country, and Zeal for the publick Welfare are destroyed amongst Men; And in their Place arise, little Arts, low Designs, and mean Contrivances to extort from and prey upon one another. Justice itself becomes venal, and what alone can check and controul this prevailing Evil, does but by the Abuse of it, add Fuel to the Flame; and like a corrupted Air in time of Pestilence, kills those who fly to it for Relief.

Non auro, testive modus: mensaque priores
 Aspernata famés: cultus gestare decoros
 Vix nuribus, rapuere mares: fecunda virorum
 Paupertas fugitur; totoque accessit orbe,
 Quo gens quæque perit. *Luc. Lib. Prim.*

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IT would be endless to mention the many Mischiefs of Luxury, they are so numerous; and needless, since they are so very apparent: I have therefore always thought sumptuary Laws a necessary part of the Constitution of all Countries. Since one Man is not to be suffer'd to invade the Property of another, why should he be allow'd to arrogate to himself the Distinctions of those of a superior Station in Life? That * levelling Principle, the darling Whimsy of the unthinking and vainglorious, is so very absurd, one would be surprized (if any thing in this World could be thought wonderful) how it should ever enter into even the weakest Head. Difference of Ranks is as requisite in a Community as different Seasons are in a Climate: The World could be no more govern'd without the former, than it could be fed and maintain'd without the latter: Nature cannot subsist without Order, nor Order without some Inequalities, and could ever Men be brought to a reasonable Reflection upon themselves, they would easily see that this Grievance, if it be one, is unavoidable. But whatever the ill-judging Part of Mankind may imagine who know no other

* Vid. *Arist. De. Rep. Lib. II. Viét. Edit. Flor. Pag. 118.*

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Rule of Action but their own Will, the Executive Power, whose duty it is, and whose constant Business it shou'd be, to watch over the whole, must, if they cannot perswade, however compel them, to come in. A Government can scarcely ever be too mild in Things of an indifferent Nature, or too severe in matters of Importance and Danger. The Publick must not be sacrific'd to the Caprice or Humour of the Mad and Phantastical, and there only wholesome Severities are commendable, where unconcernedness or Indolence wou'd be destructive.

THE Misfortune is, Private Views are forever mixing themselves in publick Transactions, and what usually goes under the specious Name of Politicks, is too often nothing more than the interested Schemes of a Faction or a Cabal: Hence it sometimes happens, that Luxury becomes an Engine of State, and is industriously promoted as a Means of impoverishing and humbling a People that they may be govern'd with more Ease, and plunder'd with less Risque. But alas! how shortighted is human Cunning, when the Means so often destroy the

Ends

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Ends they are design'd to Serve. The Corrupt, the Base, and the Degenerate may be said to live at the Mercy of the Generous, the Enterprising, and the Bold. They may be insulted with impunity, invaded with Success, and even conquer'd without much Difficulty. *Darius* no doubt thought himself very secure when he survey'd his own vast Army, and consider'd the small Number of the *Macedonians*, who were coming to Attack him: And had the great *Cyrus* been there with a much less Body of his old *Persians*, 'tis probable *Alexander* might have met with the Fate he deserv'd. But *Darius* found to his cost, that all his Grandeur was imaginary, a Grandeur of the Eye alone, no ways able to abide the Test of an Engagement with a handful of hardy disciplin'd Soldiers, clad in plain Steel, and animated with true Courage.

REMARKABLE even to a degree of Ridicule, is the Account we have of an Incident in the famous Battle of *Pharsalia*. *Cæsar* order'd his Veterans to point their Spears at the Faces of the fine Young Roman Gentry in the Army of *Pompey*: Amaz'd at this un-

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expected Attack upon their Beauty, They forgot their Courage, and run all away which they might as well have done for fear of disordering their Dress or spoiling their Cloaths.

THE *Turks*, for a considerable tract of time together, by the rapidity of their Conquests, alarm'd and terrify'd all Europe, but they ow'd their Success in a good Measure to the great Subjection of their Troops in time of War, and the Simplicity of their Diet and Manner of Living. This made 'em resolute to undergo the fatigues of those long and bloody Sieges they undertook, and enabled 'em to subsist such numerous Armies, so far engag'd in an Enemy's Country commonly laid waste and destroy'd before their Arrival.

THERE is a Kind of a publick Decorum which is absolutely necessary for the Support of all States; Society is a Sort of Machinery, every individual has his Part to Act, and if even any of the lowest Springs are out of Order, the whole Frame suffers some Damage, and if it be conniv'd at and left to grow and encrease, Confusion will follow.

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PRINCIPIIS Obsta, is a very valuable Maxim in the Body Politick as well as the Natural Body, when the Evil gets to a Head, the Remedies must be Violent, and altho' Necessary, yet are often Dangerous: 'Tis for this Reason, the manners of a People shou'd be carefully attended to and observ'd. If by the Accidents of foreign Wars, or domestick Discords, some new Customs are introduc'd; if Insolence, Rapine, and Cruelty shou'd take the Place of Decency, Frugality, and good Nature; 'tis high time for a Government to interpose, and prudently and vigourously put a Check to the growing Irregularity of such a Spirit. Peace and Plenty, as good Things as they are, have yet their ill Sides; and if they produce Prodigality and Dissoluteness amongst a People, they will in a very little Time have as ill Effects, as the worst that are to be fear'd from the contrary extreams. Every Country has its different Humours, Manners and Disposition; and if it is not very difficult for a Man much conversant in the World, to distinguish the Natives of each Part of it by something peculiar in their Complexions and Behaviour; He may do it still
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more easily by their several Tempers, Habits, and Failings. It wou'd be too invidious a Task to produce the many Instances that might occur and contribute to the Proof of this Assertion: The use I wou'd make of it is only to observe how proper a Thing it is for all Governments to have an Eye to those particular ill Qualities, that may be occasion'd by Circumstances, manner of Living, or perhaps may be the Effects of the Climates they live under. The late *Peter*, who very well deserves the Name of the *Great Czar of Moscovy*, told a Foreigner of Quality, who was then at his Court and seem'd surpriz'd at the Severity of some late Executions, that he did not know the Nature of that People, and were it not for the rigour of such Punishments, no Man cou'd sleep secure in his Bed at *Moscow*. And there is no one who considers the very different Figure, that great Kingdom now makes in *Europe*, from what it did half a Century ago, but must admire the Judgment, Conduct, and Vigour of that Prince, who cou'd in so short a Time, turn Darkness into Light, and by the best Use that perhaps was ever made of an arbitrary Authority, convert a Herd of Savages into an orderly, polite and gallant Nation.

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tion. I speak here of those employed in their civil and military Affairs, since of them only their Neighbours can be Judges; for 'tis scarce possible to conceive the Reformation can have extended to the whole Dominions, so hard a Matter has it always been to abolish Barbarism defended as it generally is by Obstinacy and Ignorance.

In the early Ages of the World, we find the Law-givers took great care of the Manners of the People; *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, both acted upon this great Principle, rightly concluding that to make Men good Subjects, the surest Way was first to make them good Men. It was for this Reason *Lycurgus* directed that the Education of Children should be the Business of the Publick: They were to be instructed together in Schools appointed for this Purpose, that they might be taught to obey and reverence their Superiors, to make the Laws of their Country the Rule of their Actions, and get a Habit of Submission in their Youth, to fit them the better for publick Offices and Command, as they grew up to, an Age and Experience for it. *Solon* likewise, amongst many other good Regulations, obliged

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obliged the Senate of the *Areopagi*, to enquire into the Way of Life of their Subjects, how they subsisted Themselves and their Families, and to punish severely such amongst them as were found idle, negligent, or extravagant. How many Mischiefs would such a Method prevent, how many Lives would it save, and what a Fund of Riches would it be to a trading Country. Other Laws seem calculated for the Punishment of Crimes; but these tend to a much better Purpose, preventing the Commission of them: 'Tis to a bad, or rather no Education at all, that so many People owe their Ruin: The latter is commonly the Case of the poorer Rank of Mankind; they want the Means, and so very seldom entertain the Thoughts, of having their Children brought up to the Knowledge of any thing, but what may just enable them to keep from starving; and even the Rich content themselves with the common Road of a School, where little is ever taught but the bare Knowledge of Languages, and where the Masters, generally chose by Favour or Interest, act as one might well expect, and are much more concerned about the Perquisites than the Duties of their Calling: Some small smattering of *Greek* and

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and *Latin*, the knowing the Measures of a Verse, and the being able to write a Page or two of Words with little or no Meaning, provided there be no false Grammar in it, which is what they call Exercises, make up the whole Merit of a very promising Boy. If there be any further Care it is commonly to rivet them to some Church, Sect, or Form of Religion, with a total Ignorance of, and a thorough Aversion to all others; a right Method no doubt to make Men fiery, wrongheaded Biggots, but never good Citizens, nor useful Members of a Community. But were Publick Schools (as surely they ought to be) provided, maintained, and watched over by publick Authority, the Poor wou'd not want what was necessary for the Instruction of their Children, and the Rich would be much more secure of its being performed honestly, diligently, and usefully; each might be taught what was proper for them in their different Stations, and all would be well grounded in Principles of Probity, Justice and Benevolence; without which Religion is but a Name, like putting a Badge on a Man's Coat, to denote him to be of this or that Company, without acquainting him with the

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Skill and Knowledge of the Trade he belongs to ; neither can I think such a Case at all below the Dignity of the supream Power, tho' the great Affairs of a State are generally understood to be the encreasing their Revenues at home, and the Management of their Alliances and Conquests abroad ; but these are like the Superstructure of a Building, which tho' never so ornamental and showy, will be of little Use or Duration unless the Ground-work be strong, solid, and in good repair : A right Education of Youth is this Ground-work, upon which all the rest leans ; and if that be wrong plac'd, ill compacted, or carelessly put together ; the Bulk, often mistaken for the Power, of a Community, like the Ornaments of a Building, do but oppress it the more, and destroy it the sooner. But as the best Education will not always get the better of a bad Disposition, and as there is such an unaccountable Malignity in some Natures, that like a barren Soil no Culture can improve or amend them ; the next care of the Community should be to watch over them, and prevent their ill Effects ; and this can no way better be done than, according to that Law of *Solon*, to keep them employed. Were Overseers in the
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several Districts appointed to inspect the private Behaviour of each Family, to see that none were exempt from the common and necessary Employments of Life, but that they were provided for by an honest and useful Industry ; Idleness, the universal Parent of all Roguery and Mischief, might easily be check'd. And whoever considers what vast Numbers are made miserable themselves, and contribute to make others so too, by being left to their own Sloth and Perverseness, cannot but agree that such a Regulation would be of the highest Benefit to the whole, as well as to every individual Member of a Society. *Xenophon*, in his account of the *Perſian* Government, takes notice of the great Care they had of the Cultivation and Improvement of their Lands : The Kings themselves did not think it below their Dignity to make frequent Visits to the several Provinces of their great Empire, and when their other Affairs did not allow them that Leisure, some of the greatest Men in Rank, and most eminent for Abilities and Probity, were deputed in their stead. And in these Visits not only Matters relating to the Troops, the Finances, the Administration of Justice, and the flourishing of Trade

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and Commerce were diligently enquired into; but the publick Buildings, Roads, Bridges, Woods, and the very Agriculture and Handicraft Trades were examined and inspected. And those Governors whose Provinces were found in the best Condition in these several Respects, were sure to meet with Favour and Grati-
fications; as those who were found otherwise, never fail'd of being discountenanced or removed. *Cyrus* the Younger, went even so far as to inform himself of the Culture and Condition of the Gardens of private People, in order to distinguish such as were Remarkable for their good Husbandry, from those that were idle and negligent in their Affairs. What an Encouragement must it have been to industry, when proper Officers were appointed by the Publick to survey from time to time the Management of the Husband-man, to commend and even reward the Active and Skillful, and reprimand and punish the Indolent, the Ignorant, and the Slothful. There is a Restlessness in the Mind of Man, which shews him to have been by Nature designed for Action, and there is scarce any one of so lazy a Disposition but must be doing something or other; those who do no
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good will be very apt to do Mischiefe, and as the Publick is obliged to prevent the one, so they have a just Right to expect and demand the other at the Hands of such who live under their Protection. Liberty which is only a Security from Oppression, can never be pleaded in Defence of Disorder, such an Independency would in effect dissolve the Bonds of Society, and make the wildest Deserts, and the most obscure Retreats, preferable to the Uneasiness and Hazards of a populous Community. All Countries, and more especially Trading Countries, owe their very Being to the Number of useful Hands they can employ, and as Luxury sets Men above their Business, so Idleness makes them Needy and Desperate, fit only to discourage the Diligent, and find Work for an Executioner. If Princes would give themselves the Trouble to look into the History of their own and other Nations, they would quickly see that Seditions and Tumults, are the Effects of Prodigality, Laziness and Insolence; those who busy themselves in some useful Calling have neither Leisure nor Inclination to be factious and turbulent; they can only lose in a short Time what they have been long acquiring, and no Man was
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ever mad enough to be willing to risque a quiet and growing Substance of his own, for the Uncertainties of a Scramble, to gratify the Passions, Discontents, and Ambition of others. The Peace as well as Wealth of a Kingdom both equally depend on good Orders being preserved in it. And that Minister serves his Master as ill as his Country, who is weak enough to frame Schemes of Greatness to the former, by corrupting, and consequently enervating and weakening the latter.

THE Truth indeed is, that all such Methods of Government are rather the Resources of the Unworthy, than the Result of any wise or deliberate Resolutions: A Man may have great Ambition, as well as great Avarice, with very little Capacity; and it is generally a Mark of a little Genius to over rate his own Worth; If then such a Man should happen to get into Play, he will aim at every Thing, but as he has not the proper Talents, he must make amends for the Want of them by others of a lower Kind. He must gain those who can help him, and keep out by any Means those who deserve better than himself; in
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short he must stick at nothing to carry his Point. Thus what he has acquired by one ill Artifice, he must support by a thousand, till the Power he at first desired out of Wantonness, becomes necessary for his Preservation, and then his Business is to stand his Ground at any Rate, and the Master who employ'd, and the Country who paid him, must expect to be sacrific'd alike when ever it shall be his Interest to ruin one or both of them as it may best tend to his own Security.

MONTAIGN observes humorously enough, that Fortune (to shew her great Power in all human Affairs) since she cannot make a Fool a wise Man, has however taken care to give him so much Success, that he may pass for wise, at least in the Opinion of the World. This is what Occasions so much wrong reasoning amongst us. Men are apt to judge in the gross without giving themselves the Trouble of a nicer Enquiry; and so if the Event has been lucky, the Counsells are applauded of course without examining any farther: Had *Alexander* and *Cæsar* been destroyed at their first setting out on their romantick Expeditions

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tions, the former in his mad Attempt to pass a great River in the Sight of an Army above triple the Number of his own; and the latter by the Desertion of his Legions when they found they were to be employ'd in the ruining their Country; what would have been said but that one died the Death of a Fool, and the other of a Traitor? And such would then have been the Characters of our two greatest Heroes of Antiquity.

IT becomes therefore necessary to look a little more narrowly into the Behaviour of those Persons who have had the Government of States committed to their Care, that we may be better able to discern how well they may have deserv'd that Trust, whether the Successful have been always wise and good, and whether those that have miscarried have been weak and wicked Men, or whether the direct contrary has not been most commonly the Case.

INDEED not go to so far backwards as the ancient Governments of the *Greeks, Persians, &c.* Those who for want of Leisure or Languages, have

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have not an Opportunity of consulting the admirable Writers from whom the Accounts of them are taken, may find them in *Rollin's* judicious Collections of old History, with many very just and honest, and consequently valuable Observations and Reflections of his own: I shall therefore confine myself to later Times, where there may be found Instances enough to confirm and illustrate all those necessary Truths which by the Artifices of Knaves and the Inadvertency of Fools, have been so darkened, misrepresented, and confounded, as to be almost lost tho' the well being of the World does so plainly depend upon the Knowledge and Practice of them.

IT should not (one would imagine) be necessary so much as to mention a Maxim so undeniable, as that the End and Design of all Government must have been the Benefit of the whole People, if the mean Flatteries of many worthless tho' learned Men, had not render'd this Doctrine in a Manner problematical in, order to enable the few to oppress and tyrannize over the many. Without entering into nice and dark Disquisitions of the earliest Beginning

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nings of those Nations, which upon the Decay of the *Roman* Empire found means of establishing themselves, and have continued to flourish down to our present Times, so far seems very clear, that their first Chiefs were Men chosen rather as Leaders and Generals than as Officers of State, Grandeur, and Opulence amongst them: Their Circumstances made War in a manner their principal Occupation, for when their old Masters by a long Series of bad Emperors and corrupt Ministers, were become so degenerate as not to be able to maintain their ancient Dignity and Power, the tributary Provinces were on Course left to defend themselves in the best Manner they could, from the Irruptions of Strangers, and the Robberies and Invasions of their Neighbours. Such Sort of Magistrates thus chosen were *Clovis* amongst the *Franks*, *Vortiger* amongst the *Britons*, and each of the several invading Colonies which first ravaged and afterwards possess'd themselves of the best Part of *Spain*, made their Princes or Generals by Election in the same Manner, which is more than sufficient to convince any reasonable Man, what was the true Origine and Intent of kingly Power. But if any are
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still willing to believe it of divine Extraction and that it fell down, like the Statue of the great *Diana*, immediately from the Throne of *Jupiter*, they have my Consent, and I leave them to their Superstition; not unlike that I have somewhere read of a People, I think in the *Indies*, who used zealously to throw themselves under the Wheels of the Chariot of their heavy Idol, and were proud of being crush'd to pieces by it.

TAKING therefore for granted that all Governments were originally set up for the Preservation of Order, the Punishment of Injustice, and the Security and Encouragement of the honest, industrious, and useful Members of Society; we must frame our Judgments of the Merits of those Persons who have been trusted with Power, according as they have more or less employ'd it in the procuring those good Purposes for which it was given them. That publick Good is always the Pretence seems to be a sure Sign it is looked upon as their Duty to take care of it even by themselves, but that Passions and Interest so often prevail is in a good Measure owing to the natural

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tural Insolence of Authority on the one Hand, and the common Flattery and Servileness of dependency on the Other; for as the Former is the Source of all bad Administration, so the latter must contribute to support and maintain it.

USQUE adeone times quem tu facis ipse timendum, says *Lucan*, and a truer Thing he could not have said; for surely no Governors would ever have ventur'd to oppress or plunder their Subjects, if they had not first found they could blind them by superstitious Fears, divide them among themselves by party Quarrels, or corrupt one Side to betray the Other, and thus make them the Instruments of their own Destruction, by a voluntary holding out their Necks to receive a Yoke which could otherwise never have been put upon them: That all Nations who have at any Time lost their Liberties, have lost them by some of these Means is unnecessary to be proved; since History is so full of the Examples of it, and any one the least versed in the Characters of Mankind can easily account to himself in what Manner it may be done: I myself remember

ber once to have heard a Man of Quality, and in other Respects of a good Understanding, declare at a Time when the Violence of contending Factions ran pretty high, that tho' he had a very ill Opinion of the keeping up of standing Armies in time of Peace and in a free Country, yet he would consent to the coming in even of an Army of Foreigners, rather than see himself and his friends at the Mercy of a set of Men, whom he had no other reason to fear than as he was conscious of their having been too much provoked by a Series of great and unjustifiable Severity. 'Tis no wonder then, that bad Princes and bad Ministers have found so ample a Field to exercise their Talents in, since there cannot well be a greater Encouragement to Knaves than to know they have to do with Fools, who will suffer themselves to be cajoled, frighten'd, or bribed out of Priviledges upon which their whole Security depends, and which alone distinguish them from the Cattle in their Pastures, which are sold, fleec'd, or put to death, at the Will of their Owners. It will indeed, I believe, be found, a never failing Truth, that no powerful State ever did
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or could loose their Liberty whilst they deserved to keep it. A weak Prince may perhaps vainly desire to be absolute, and an ill Ministry may possibly see Occasion for his own Interest or Safety, to endeavour to make him so; and a few Mercenaries without Merit, or Fortune, may basely contribute the little Assistance they can give to the carrying on this noble Project. But what is all that to the Body of a Nation, who must be the most despicably stupid of all Fools, if they cannot see thro' such shallow Schemes, and the most Abject of all Cowards, if they suffer them to be put in Execution when once they have discover'd them. Standing Armies I know are the worthy Tools, of these Builders up of Tyranny; but of what Men must this Army be composed, when raised, how paid and maintain'd, without the Consent, Knowledge, or Contributions of the Publick? Will Natives, who have tasted the Sweets of living under a limited Government, lend their Hands to the destroying it; or if a sufficient Number of the poorer Sort could be capable of such a silly piece of Treachery to themselves, would the major, much the major and more substantial

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tial Part look on tamely, whilst they were before their Eyes levied, disciplin'd, and armed; much less contribute to the Expence of it, or let a mob † of tawdry Ragamuffins no braver than other common Highwaymen, or Robbers (and if they are capable of such a Parricide) much less honest than the Worst of those be established amongst them, quarter'd upon them, and insult over them? No surely, whilst their is one grain of Sense, Courage, or Honesty left amongst them: But whenever a great People comes to be destitute of these three Qualities, they must, they cannot but be Slaves, Slaves to the meanest of their own Slaves more whenever they shall have the Misfortune of seeing the Families of their most illustrious Taskmasters extinct among them: such was the Case of the *Romans* in the Declension of their Empire, and such will be the Case of all States when they happen to fall into the

† This is not to be understood of those regular Troops which are necessary for the Defence of each Country, according as their Situations, extent of Frontiers, or other particular Circumstances may require; but of those Armies which are kept up to maintain and support Oppression and Tyranny, such as were the *Prætorian Bands* (in the Times of the *Cæsars* at *Rome*) who made and murder'd Emperors, and set the very Empire up at Auction to the highest Bidder; and *Oliver Cromwell's* Soldiers, who lock'd up the Doors of the Parliament House and destroy'd that Commonwealth they had so lately establish'd themselves.

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the like Circumstances. Many Things must concur and contribute to the bringing a Nation into such an unhappy Condition, the Ambition and Avarice of their Princes or Ministers, a Want of Execution, or at least a partial Execution of the Laws, the Violence of contending Factions so long rivalling each other, till they at last become desperate enough to sacrifice all to their Rage and Madness; but chiefly the universal Depravation of Manners and total Degeneracy of a People. And this last is but the natural Effect of the Evils before mentioned; bad Designs can never be carried on but by bad Instruments, and in order to have enough of them, Luxury must be introduced, Corruption encouraged, and Rogueries connived at, which is just the Reverse of what is the Duty, and ought to be the Practice of all Governors.

BUT as Reflections of this Kind would be endless, it is time to illustrate them, by giving some Instances of the ill Effects of bad Administrations, to shew whence they arise, how they are commonly supported, and how hard a Matter it is to get rid of them. And I will begin with that remarkable *Æra* of
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the *Spanish* History, when *John II.* came to the Throne of *Castile* very young, upon the Death of his Father *Henry*, who met with the usual Fate which generally attends all good Princes, that, is to be allowed but a short Reign. After *Ferdinand*, the deceased King's Brother, had with uncommon Generosity refused the offer that was made him of the Crown, he undertook the Regency in Conjunction with *Catherine* the Queen Mother: But that was soon altered by his Being elected King of *Arragon*, in a manner very unusual, but as it prov'd, a very wise one, since it did a Piece of Justice to superior Merit, instead of sacrificing the Nation to the Interest of Ambition or Avarice, which is the common Method in such Cases. By this Means however very unfortunately both for Prince and People of *Castile*, the Queen Mother became in a Manner sole Regent, but more especially so after the Death of *Ferdinand* the new King of *Arragon*, which happened not long afterwards. The Consequence was natural, an intriguing, voluptuous, effeminate Court; the King brought up in Ignorance, Idleness, and Luxury, in order to make him unfit for Business, and that so the Power might
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continue by a Sort of Necessity in the Hands of the Queen, which is a common little Artifice of the Sex who are always more fond of Governing, the less capable they are of it. However she did not live to enjoy long that Authority, tho' she had sacrificed her Son's and the Kingdom's Welfare for the Securing of it to herself. She died, says *Mariana*, of having indulged her Appetites too much in eating and drinking, especially the latter, which was the less to be wonder'd at, as she was an *English* Woman. Her Character, is that of Simplicity, Openness, and a Kind of good Nature near a Kin to Folly, by which she became the Property of little, obscure, and interested People about her, by whom she was generally led, which way they pleased, as the same Author tells us.

'TIS no Wonder that the Reign of a Prince thus educated, should be a perpetual Scene of Disorder and Confusion, and that a Regency should be struggled for with some Warmth, when it was like to last as long as the Life of the Sovereign. The Archbishop of *Toledo* was first at the Head of Affairs, but he behav'd so

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haughtily, that the Grandees declared the King of Age, in order to get into a Share of the Administration; not long after the two Brothers, *John* and *Henry*, Sons of *Ferdinand* the late King of *Arragon* engaged in those Disputes which run very high, till at length *Henry*, the younger Brother, by a Surprize got the King into his Hands, and consequently the whole Power was his, whilst he could keep him, which was not long, *Alvarez de Luna* having artfully contrived his Escape under Pretence of Hunting. As this great Favourite, after he had possessed himself of the Royal Authority, carried it higher, and preserved it longer (notwithstanding the almost continual Cabals and Conspiracies against him) than most other ruling Ministers have had the Skill or Luck to do; It will not be improper to consider his Character a little more particularly. *Mariana* describes him as a Man who rose from small Beginnings to an immense Fortune, but was destroyed by his own unreasonable Ambition; he had (says he) both bad and good Qualities in his Composition; but which of the two predominated, was afterwards shewn by the Event; his Parts were lively, his Judgment sagacious, he expressed himself well,

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and was a witty Companion; but then he was extremely crafty, bold, proud, and false; he grew to have a great Contempt for the rest of Mankind, the usual failing of Court Favourites, and the Opposition he met with so far sharpened his ill Humour, that he became as mischievous and sanguinary as a provoked wild Beast let loose from his Den; and depending upon the same good Fortune he had formerly enjoyed uninterrupted, he cared not to what exorbitant Excesses he was carried in the gratifying his Revenge upon his Enemies. From such an Account of the Minister, it is not wonderful to find his Administration attended with great Murmurings, Caballings, and even frequent Insurrections, and tho' for the Sins of the People he had been delivered from Dangers that would have not only terrified, but even undone many a much wiser and worthier Man than he appeared to be; yet at last he was fell'd to the Ground on a sudden, at a Time when he least feared it, and by a Hand whence he least expected it. The same Weakness in the King that gave Rise to his Favour, and then continued his Power in spite of all Opposition how justifiable soever, was what at length occasioned his Ruin; the

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the Queen whom he had almost married his Master to, without so much as acquainting him with it, till the Ceremony of the Nuptials were to be performed; that very Queen he had chosen out in order to serve some political Turns of his own, grew quickly tired of his insolent Behaviour, and found Means to Spirit up the King to consent first to his Imprisonment, and next to his Execution; a Thing he would never have dared so much as to have thought of, had it not been artfully concerted and brought about to his Hand. So absolute had been the Sway of this Favourite, his Master did not venture to stir out of his Palace, nor change his very Cloaths without his privity and consent. 'Tis easy then to imagine how the publick Affairs were managed; the Minister at liberty to do whatever he pleased, made it his chief Business to secure himself in the Plenitude of his Power, from any Accident without, for he had nothing to fear from within; so that his Government was a Series of a Kind of Jobb-work, where all begun and ended in himself; no Views for the Prince's Service or the People's Benefit, but all centered in one single Point, that he might continue for Life uncontrouled in the

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exorbitant Authority he exercised over both King and Kingdom, without any Regard to the Troubles it occasioned, the civil Wars it should cause, and the Ruin it might naturally bring upon both in the End. An odd Effect this of Power upon some Men, when once they have tasted of it they cannot bear the Thoughts of ever parting with it again; no Fatigues, no Hazards, no Obloquy, no Opposition, nor even the Decays of old Age itself, can make them quit their Hold, till they are forced away by the Stroke of a violent Death, which they often deserve; or a natural one, which with all their Arts they can neither prevent nor delay. One would have imagined that after a Reign so remarkably unquiet and turbulent, thro' the great Abuse of Power in the Hands of a Favourite, the next at least might have been clear of that Evil: But it happened to be quite the Reverse; *Henry*, surnamed the *Impotent*, was as fond of his Minions as ever his Father had been, and suffered, if possible, still more by them: *Mariana* observes very rightly upon this Occasion, that the People of *Castile* seemed to live under an unlucky Aspect of the Heavens at that Time, since they were always to be governed by a Minister,

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nister, their two Kings, both Father and Son, being so very Weak as never to be able to go without Leading-Strings. *Henry* soon raised his *Pacheco* Marquis *de Villena*, to near as high a pitch of Grandeur as the late Constable *Alvarez de Luna* had been invested with, and was absolutely govern'd by him in all Things, and very ill govern'd he was, as appeared by his first Step, the sending back his Queen *Blanche* home to *Navarr* with Infamy, and immediately marrying *Jeanne* Sister to *Alfonse* King of *Portugal*. This was the Source of those many great Evils which disgraced his Reign, and continued to persecute *Castile*, even after his Death. Every one thought it an Hardship, as well as an Affront upon Queen *Blanche* to be divorced for Barrenness, when it was well known to be owing to his own Impotence, which was no secret to the World; and it was looked upon as a monstrous Absurdity to take another Wife in his Circumstances. The poor weak Prince all the while imagined he could disguise his Infirmities, by pretending to great Gallantry with the Women of his Court, and took another pretty extraordinary Method for the same End, which was to introduce *Bertrand de Cueva*,
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a handsome young Gentleman to the Queen's Favour, by whose means as it was generally thought, and not without great Probability, she had a Daughter born, who was afterwards the innocent Occasion of great disturbances to the Kingdom, as well as unhappiness to Herself. The King seems to have been full as fond of *Bertrand* as the Queen could have been, for he was always loading him with Honours and Posts, which failed not to disgust the great Men, and particularly the Marquis de *Villena*, who seeing his Credit declining, contriv'd to raise an Opposition which quickly brought *Henry* into inextricable Difficulties, and Difficulties too which were attended with the utmost Degree of Indignity and Contempt. He had very near been surprized in his Palace by the revolted Grandees, and it was with no small Difficulty he escaped with his darling and second self *Cueva*. The rest of his Reign was one continued Scene of Confusion; open War was declar'd, sometimes he was the Strongest, and then he always let slip the Advantage, but oftner the Conspirators had the Better, and then he was forced to run away from them and treat with their Embassador *Vellina*,
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who always impos'd upon him, and who was one he should never have trusted, if common Sense had been any part of his Character. The Rebels had the Assurance to ask and the Cruelty to insist upon the King's disowning his Daughter *Jeanne*, whom he had declar'd and who had been acknowleg'd as next Heir to the Crown by themselves. And they likewise forced him to deliver the Infants *Alphonse* and *Isabel* into their Hands, and then set them up one after the other against him. They dethron'd him publickly in Effigie, and would probably have done it once more in due form, if his Death had not interven'd, and saved him from a piece of Ignominy which his own extreme Folly must necessarily have brought upon him.

FROM this Short account of the two Reigns of *John* and *Henry*, Kings of *Castile*, which may very properly be call'd the Reigns of Favourites, and the many Evils that attended them, there results this one plain Observation, that the surest Test of all Administrations, must be to consider whether the Views of them are Publick and General; or
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whether they are Particular and Private. Where ever a Single Minister governs absolutely under the Name of his Master, they will for the most Part be of the latter Kind; the Prince is to be flatter'd and encouraged, and assisted in his Follies and Vices, in order to secure a lasting Interest with him; and such Persons must be put into places of Trust, whom the Minister can in all Cases depend upon; and these are generally the most servile, abject, and worthless of every order of Men in the State. The Consequence is evident: A Nation in such an unhappy Situation, together with all its most valuable Interests, must be sacrific'd to the mean and iniquitous Projects of a Single Member of it, who endeavours to raise himself above all the Rest, and is very probably one who least deserves such a Distinction.

THE next Instance I shall bring, is that of *John* King of *Navarr* and *Arragon*; the First of the Two Kingdoms came to him by the Marriage of *Blanche* the Queen, and the Latter in order of Succession upon the Death of his Brother *Alfonse*. By *Blanche* he had a Son and two Daughters, the Eldest of which

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was married to *Henry* the Impotent, and divorced by him as has been already mentioned; and the Youngest to *Gaston de Foix*. The Son called the Prince of *Viana*, was by the constant usage and custom of *Navarr*, entitled to succeed to that Crown, immediately upon the Demise of his Mother; but the Father was no ways inclin'd to Yield it up to him; so far from it, the Disposal of his two Daughters in the Manner just spoke of, was purely with a political Design, in order to have Neighbours ready to assist, in case his Son should be prevail'd upon to assert his Right; and so to be able to deprive him of it by force of Arms. The *Navarrois* were greatly displeas'd with this proceeding, which they took for an Invasion of their Rights, and a kind of Breach in their Constitution, some of the Most considerable Men amongst them tried to prevail with the Prince to insist upon the Priviledge of his Birth-right, but he told them his Duty to his Father would allways keep him from entertaining any such Thought, and forbid any further mention of that Matter to him. This behaviour had not the good effect it ought to have had upon the King; on the Contrary,

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he could not bear the reflecting upon his Son's undoubted Title, and that he himself should only reign as it were by Curtesy. As he was of a rough, haughty, inflexible Temper, this Jealousy of Empire turned the Indifference he had probably before, with regard to his Son, into an absolute and fixed aversion to him; which was still more encreased, by his great and uncommon Merit, and the universal Admiration and Love, which it drew to him from the People. The Prince of *Viana* (Says an † Historian) was born with all those happy Talents, that could make him the Delight of his Subjects. It was one of his least Commendations, to be the most beautiful and graceful Prince of his Time. He was besides that, Mild, Affable, Valiant, Generous, Sincere, and of the strictest Honour: He was a great Lover and encourager of Arts and Learning; and had a very good Taste in both: He wrote elegantly in Verse and Prose, and employ'd his leisure Hours in translating some of the antient Philosophers; and design'd to have left to Posterity an History of the Kings of *Navarr* his Predecessors, of his own composing. 'Tis no wonder such fine Qualifications,

† *Abbè de Vertot, Rev. D'Espagne.*

fications, so rarely seen among crown'd Heads, should create jealousy and envy, in a Person of King *John's* Character, which seems to have been that common one with most Princes, of false Ambition, Pride, and Imperiousness. But what still added Fuel to the Flame, was the King's second Marriage to the *Amirante of Castile's* Daughter. As Step Mothers seldom come into any Family, but with the honest Intention of ruining it if they can, the new Queen was admirably well fitted for such a Purpose, besides having a good share of Beauty, she had a great deal of Cunning, was of a very aspiring Nature, and unrestrain'd by any kind of Principles from pursuing her Ends by all sorts of Means, how wicked and abominable so ever. As second Wives have generally a great Influence over their Husbands, who after having done one foolish Thing, are easily led on to the doing a great many more; the Queen found it no difficult Matter to thrust herself into some part of the Management of the Kingdom, and used it as Women generally do all Power, so as to make herself Obnoxious to every body: This Carriage gave the highest Disgust to the *Navarrois*, who did not think themselves

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themselves obliged to submit to the King, and much less to the ill Treatment of a Queen, who had not the least shadow of Pretence to meddle in their Affairs, nor so much as even any just claim to the Title itself. The Queen soon perceiv'd their dislike, and repaid it with Ufury, she conceiv'd an implacable Averfion to them, and their favourite Prince, and resolv'd to do both all the Mischief she could. She took not even so much as the Precaution to disguise her Resentments, but treated the Prince and the Grandees with the utmost insolence and scorn. The Constable *de Lerin* had often complained to him of the unreasonableness of submitting to so unjustifiable as well as indecent an Usage; but the Prince who had an affection for his Father, how little so ever he had deserv'd it of him, was still for pacifick Measures, and had often prevailed upon them to be quiet. But the Queen still persisting in her hot and rash Behaviour, matters came to such an Extremity, that it was resolv'd by the Grandees, the Prince must either set himself at their Head, and expostulate roundly with his Father in their behalf; or be content to see another Chief which they should be very
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much concern'd to be forced to chuse in his Stead. The Prince was therefore at last forc'd to represent to the King that the People were no longer able to endure a Stranger should govern them more absolutely than any of their own native Princes were ever us'd to do, that he hop'd his Majesty would consider their just Grievances, and not drive them to Dispair; in which case he was by his Birth oblig'd to protect them, and should, however unwillingly, be constrained to undertake it. This Remonstrance was extremely ill receiv'd, and so far from having any Regard to it, the King confirm'd the Queen in her Authority, and took away the Sword of Constable from the Count *de Lerin*; and in order to divide the *Navarrois* amongst themselves, he gave it to the Count of *Grammont* his Rival and mortal Enemy. Civil Wars ensued, several Battles were fought, and Fortune according to her usual Custom espous'd the oppressive side. The Prince of *Viana*, to put an end to the Disorders retir'd into *Italy*, and took shelter under the protection of his Uncle, who was at that Time enjoying the benefits of his new conquest of *Naples*. *Alfonse* loved and esteem'd his Nephew
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phew, was sensible of his Worth, and intended to have interposed in his behalf, but dying soon after, *Arragon* and its dependancies fell to King *John*, and but the better enabled him to compleat the utter Destruction of his unfortunate Son. He had no sooner taken possession of his Brother's Dominions, then he found himself petitioned by all his Subjects to be reconciled to the Prince of *Gironne*, which was the Title of the Heir apparent of the Crown of *Arragon*; He thought it a prudent and popular Part to seem to comply with their Request, and receiv'd him with some outward shew of Kindness, when he came to wait upon him at *Barcelona*. But this was all mere outside. † The Father from an unnatural Barbarity of his Disposition hated his Son, the Mother-in-Law both hated, feared, and resolved to ruin him: This the Prince saw and could not avoid seeing, since all that great Accession of Territory had not prevail'd upon the hard Heart of the old King, to give up at length the Kingdom of *Navarr*, which had been

† *Pejor odio amoris simulatio. Plin Ep.*

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been so long and so unfairly detained. This was the Occasion of his listening, for his own Security, to the Proposals of *Henry IV.* of *Castile*, which handle the King readily took hold of, and immediately laid him fast in Prison, from whence nothing less than an universal Revolt of the *Catalans* could have released him; but his Father found another Method then, and since he durst not take away the Prince's Life under a form of Justice, he put him into his Mother-in-Law's Hands under the pretence of restoring him to the People, who let not slip the blessed Occasion, but gave him a slow Poison, of which he Died some small Time after at *Barcelona*, to the great Joy of the Queen and his Father, but to the universal Grief of all their Subjects.

ONE need not, I think, much hesitate in condemning an Administration founded upon such visible Iniquity, as this I have been last speaking of was; the only remark I shall therefore make, is upon the strange, and to us unaccountable methods or misteries of Providence (as one may call them) in the disposal of the Affairs of this World. King

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John of Arragon after having wrong'd, persecuted, and at last murdered his Eldest Son, and then delivered up his Daughter to a cruel Brother and Sister-in-Law, that she might from them meet with the same Fate, dies at last quietly in his Bed, at above Fourscore Years of age, and his second Son *Ferdinand*, by an odd combination of Events, inherits all these Kingdoms, thus Villainously acquired, and at last unites in himself the whole *Spanish* Dominions by an uncommon, and as it were, almost miraculous series of good Fortune, tho' one is all the while quite at a loss from either of their Characters, to conceive which way they could have been intitled to the favour of Heaven.

LET us now look a little into the *French* History, and examine the Administration of some of their Princes by the rule I have already laid down (which is, that the views of all good Governors must be to the publick Advantage, and not to their own private Interests or Fancies) and here I cannot but premise an observation of one of their best Writers, when he is speaking of the Successors of

Charlemagne : Tho' they differed says he very much in their Conduct in other Respects, they always agreed in one Point, which was, to subdue the People, destroy the great Men, and make their own Power as Arbitrary and despotical as they could.

CHARLEMAGNE or *Charles* the Great, was perhaps the Prince who best deserved that Title of any one that has ever born it : He had not only superior Abilities and Talents, but he had the greatness of Mind to apply them Rightly : It was not for the false Honour of possessing great Dominions, merely to be absolute and tyrannical over them, to drain them of their Money and spill their best Blood in unnecessary and wanton Expeditions, purely calculated for the mean End of making a noise in the World, that he did the great Things recorded of him in History. No : he had nobler, more humane Views ; he aimed at what alone is the true Glory of a Prince, that is to make his People happy under his Reign, and to endeavour to settle Things upon so just, firm and lasting a Foot, that his Successors might not easily be able to pull down what

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what he had so strongly founded, and so well built up. He was (says a very judicious *French* Author) a better Politician then any of those who reign'd before, or since his Time. He went by this never failing Maxim, that every Prince who governs without a due regard to the rights and priviledges of his Subjects, without attending to their Character, or considering their welfare and happiness, without any concern about what is to come after him, or the least desire of raising to himself a Character from the justice and good order of his Government, that such a one I say, is so far from deserving the Title of a good Prince, that he can be look'd upon by Posterity no otherwise than as an Oppressor, as one that made an ill use of his Power, to gratify his Passions, and serve his Purposes; and by these means, did as it were, separate himself and his Interest from the rest of the Community; and thus in effect destroy it by appropriating those Advantages to one particular Person, which ought to be enjoy'd in common by them all. These are true Politicks, and the consequence of *Charlemagne's* acting according to them was, (says the same Author) he acquired the

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the esteem and good will of his Subjects, even those that he had conquer'd, and lived free from the many fears and apprehensions which usually haunt and persecute Tyrants. It is true *Charlemagne* was quite a Stranger to the art of ruling by Parties, by Force or by Violence; He knew not the Methods of drawing all his Subjects wealth into his own Coffers, and keeping them in perpetual apprehension and terrour, that he might reign with the more State and uncontroul'd; on the contrary, He founded all his Glory upon a high Reputation justly deserved, and not upon that haughty stiff sort of Grandeur, which seems to have been the utmost Ambition of so many of our Monarchs. He thought likewise, that a King could not well perform the Duties of his Station, without a good deal of Knowledge of all kinds; for which Reason, tho' he was one of the most learned Men of his Time, he past some Hours always of the Night in study and reading, after he had employ'd two thirds of the Day in his military and civil Occupations. Such was *Charlemagne*, and according to this description of him a greater and a better Monarch could not well be set upon

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upon a Throne. But to show how rarely such qualifications are to be met with in Kings, we need only run over the several Reigns of his Successors and Descendants. Indeed no sooner were his Eyes closed, but his Son opened another and a very different scene to the World: His Authority was quickly sunk, and the Administration lodg'd in the Hands of Priests, Women, and Minions. It is true, *Louis Le Debonnaire* was not without some good Qualities; He was naturally just and pious, but with so much Weakness that he let himself be governed; and there was such a mixture of superstition with his Piety, that it made him neglect the Duties of his high calling; he was much fitter to have been at the Head of a Convent than a great Kingdom. 'Tis no wonder then, to hear of civil Wars under such management, or that his ill Conduct should have made him despicable enough to be forced to depose himself, in order to prevent his being deposed by the People. This was the fatal Epoque of the *French* Grandeur, the loss of the Empire, and the occasion of separating the large Dominions left by *Charlemagne*; so that what fell afterwards to the share of *Charles Le Chauve*, is pretty much

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much what goes now by the Name of the Kingdom of *France*. The account we have of *Charles* the Bald, is that he was very covetous, and interested, considered nothing but himself, and was the first who corrupted the ancient discipline and manners, by his ill example, and the open contempt and disregard he affected to shew to those Engagements and Duties, that are the support of all civil Society and Order. Nothing need therefore be said of such an Administration, neither could any thing else be expected from it, but what follow'd in the many Usurpations that divided and tore in pieces the *French* Monarchy immediately after his Death. The Few of the *Carlovisgian* Race, that next succeeded to the Crown, made so little and mean a Figure, that they well deserve the Name of *Rois Faineants*, and only served to justify the *French* in encouraging and adhering to the usurpation of *Hugues Capet*, who stepped into the Throne upon the Death of *Louis*, after he had defeated the claim of the next and only Heir who was Son to *Louis D'Outremer*. *Hugues Capet*, found the Kingdom as it were Cantonned out amongst the great Men; his chief attention

attention therefore was to recover what he could of it again, in which design he was followed by his Son *Robert*, and with more ability and success by *Louis Le-gros*. But the Scheme was not brought to Perfection till the Reign of *Philip August*, who was well qualified for that Purpose, being a brave and enterprizing Man, cautious with, and indeed over-respectful to his Clergy to keep them quiet, but in other regards, not checked by any Scruples when they stood in the way of his main View. He was so much taken up with reuniting the broken parts of his Dominions, that it is not to be expected he could apply himself to the good Government of them; on the contrary, he found it necessary to keep up a number of Forces to secure what he acquired and was the first who introduced the Method of standing Armies, no very good Friends to the People, however useful they may seem to be to the Sovereign. *Lewis VIII.* lived but a little while, but however long enough to shew that he did not look upon the most solemn Oaths as things very binding upon his Conscience, and that his Zeal against *Hereticks*, arose rather from his Interest, than his persuasion

suaſion. *Lewis IX.* or *St. Lewis* was full of justice and devotion, but wanted Capacity for governing, and tho' he seem'd to intend well, yet what he did proved rather Prejudicial then for the service of his Country. *Philip III.* was another very weak Man, and *Philip le Bel* who came after him, one of the worst Princes, as well as one of the worst Men of his Time, so that in all this Race, we find but one good King; and that was *Charles VII.* He had been bred up in the School of Adversity, and by that means got much Experience, and thus tho' he was not a Man of very great Abilities, yet an honest Heart, and a good Resolution carried him thro' all his Difficulties; till at length he re-establish'd the Kingdom in its former Grandeur, and then set himself to restoring the good Order that had been destroy'd in the times of Civil War and Confusion: The Misfortune was, he could not do all the good he intended: He saw very well the ill Qualities of his Son *Lewis*, but was not able to prevent his employing them in the Ruin of the Kingdom, whose ancient Constitution, by his craft, artifices, and falsehood he found means of subverting, and then set up a new and an
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absolute One of his own, which has been continued down ever Since.

ARBITRARY Power is a Thing so suited to the corrupt and vitious Tempers of Men, that it is no wonder it should prove a Snare to them, and therefore I shall not enquire particularly into the Conduct of each Reign, it may suffice in general to observe, that there have been but two good † Kings since the Establishment of *Lewis XI's* new Model, which is I think a very just ground of Prejudice against it.

So much has been said, and by very able Writers, upon our *English* Affairs, that I shall have occasion to dwell the less upon them; Whoever has a mind to be thoroughly inform'd of the Constitution of *England*, may read *Nathaniel Bacon's* Historical Reflections, where he will find an Account of it regularly deduc'd from the old *Saxon* time till the end of Queen *Elizabeth*, and founded upon the best Authorities:

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† By good Kings are here meant those Princes, who have shewn a Concern for the Welfare of their People; and would not indulge themselves in any Passions, that might bring them into difficult and uneasy Circumstances. Such was the Character of *Lewis XII.* and in a good Measure, of *Henry IV. of France*: And this is that *Sensus Communis* which *Juvenal* says is so rarely to be found amongst Persons in high Stations.

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And as to remarks upon particular Reigns, many may be met with, but I would particularly recommend Sir *Robert Howard's* Observations upon *Richard II.* and [the *Edwards*, which he concludes with a very judicious as well as ingenious Parallel of their several Administrations. I shall therefore only take notice here of the two Reigns of *Henry IV.* and *Henry VII.* As they both owed the Crown to their good Fortune, and the ill Conduct of their immediate predecessors, rather than to any claim of Right of their own; one would for that Reason expect their Government should have had an air of Mildness and Wisdom, as well out of Gratitude to the People who admitted them, as also the better to establish their Thrones upon the good Will of their Subjects, and so make themselves more easy in the possession of the Kingdom, and their Posterity more secure of the succeeding to it after them. But this does not seem to have been the case; for as to *Henry IV.* tho' according to * *Mr. Rapin* the Parliament, which was before hand disposed to do every Thing he would have them, made as if they heard and approved his reasons and declar'd him King without enquiring into his Title;" Yet soon

† Abridg. of *Rym. Fed.*

after he was crown'd, he put out a Proclamation by which he founded his Title upon a right of Conquest, *Richard's* resigning to him and because he was the next Heir male: The First of which Reasons was odious, the Second ridiculous, and the Last so notoriously false, that it occasioned that Pun upon it, the Earl of *March* humourously enough calling him *Hæres Malus*. This haughty Behaviour gave great Offence to the People and doubtless was not very pleasing to the Parliament, who could not with any Satisfaction see the King arrogating that to himself as a Right, which was in truth a mere Gift of theirs, and shewed pretty plainly what they were to expect from a Monarch of their own making, who however resolved not to own any Obligation to them. Hence arose great Disaffection on one Side, and no less diffidence on the Other, which produced frequent Disturbances at home, and drew on many Insults from abroad. The *Scotch* tho' under *Robert Steward*, a very weak Prince, invaded *England* twice, and according to *Buchanan* three Times; tis true they were severely handled by *Fiercy* the great Ear of *Northumberland*, but this gave *Henry* a further

opportunity of shewing his want of Judgment and Temper, by quarreling upon a very frivolous and unjustifiable Pretence, with his great Friend and gallant General *Northumberland*, which brought him into new and worse Difficulties; out of these he was extricated by mere dint of Luck, for which he was much more remarkable than for his Prudence. The *French* too, according to their usual artful Method of dealing with their Neighbours, sent over their Embassador to *England* with the Proposal of a Match, but in reality to pry into the State of the Nation, and when they discover'd how ill the King stood with his Subjects, they used him accordingly, and treated him with the highest Insolence even to the invading and ravaging the Western Coasts, which he durst not resent, but was all the while meanly and foolishly Negotiating with them. And it was a further Instance of the wonderful Success which always attended this Prince, that the *French* by the bad state of Health of their King *Charles VI.* and the Disputes about the Regency, were not able to carry further their ill Intention against him, which they had sufficiently shewn, not only by setting the *Britons* upon him in the

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West, but by a powerful Aid which they sent under *Montmorancy* to *Glendourdy* his great Enemy in *Wales*, not to mention their underhand Attack upon and plundering the *Isle of Weight*, which when the Mischief was done they disown'd, likewise the Challenge the Duke of *Orleans* sent to *Henry*, which he contented himself with complaining of to the Court of *France*, and answering with a good deal of abuse and ill Language. And altho' afterwards the *French* Broils grew so high, that the King had a very fair Opportunity of revenging himself upon them, and made some Steps towards it, yet it is highly probable his Fears would have hindered him from performing any great Matters but that luckily he Died about that Time, and was succeeded by his Son *Henry V.* a Man of another Mould, who by his Conduct and invincible Courage made himself the Idol of his Subjects, the Terror of his Enemies; and tho' he died very Young, left behind him the Character of one of the greatest Men that ever wore the *English* Crown. "*Henry Tudor* Earl of *Richmond* (says the Historian) "came to the Throne after an extraordinary

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nary Manner, without any formal Call to it, "without any Demand of the Crown in Parliament, who had the sole Right to dispose of it, without any Publication of his Claim, "and perhaps without knowing himself whereon to found it." But then the winning it in the Field of Battle, and from a Man so obnoxious as *Richard* had made himself by his Crimes; was what reconciled the People to him, who were not displeas'd to see one Ufurper destroy another, and especially when they expected to change for the better, and could not well do it for the worse: He had besides that, another great Advantage, which was the being able to unite the two Families by marrying *Elizabeth* of *York*, and so put an End to a Contest, that had for many Years made *England* a perpetual Scene of Blood and Confusion: What had he then to do, but to come readily and chearfully into a Marriage which he saw both Sides would like, and the House of *York* required at his Hands, as but a just Return for their Good-will in inviting him over, and so heartily joining him when he landed? Such a Method of acting would undoubtedly have made every thing easy, and he would have had nothing

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nothing to fear at Home, which is always the most dangerous Place for a Prince to find Enemies in. But here, as it often happens to great Politicians, *Henry* was too cunning; his Army in the first Joy of their Victory, as is natural in such Cases, would have him immediately proclaimed King, and that put into his Head a Scheme of setting up his own bad Title, as the only good one; and determined him to treat so ill the Wife he was obliged to marry, and her Friends of the House of *York* who had served him so well; that he lost the Affections of Numbers of his Subjects, and by that Means was exposed to many Plots and Conspiracies, which made him often unsafe in his Throne, and always uneasy in his Mind. The Fear therefore of a Disaffection, he had by his own Fault drawn upon himself, and another worse Passion of extreme Avarice, *were*, says the same Historian, *the distinguishing Characters of his Reign*. No wonder then, they obscured the Lustre of it: *Henry* was undoubtedly a Man of Understanding, but he had the Misfortune to have it turned on the Side of Cunning, and a sort of Cunning that made him overlook great Things, whilst he was pursuing
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little ones. If Art be necessary to a Prince, it ought rather to be used in a defensive than an offensive way, because if he succeeds in the latter, he loses more than he gets by it; for Subjects can never esteem a Governor they cannot trust, and when once all Esteem is lost, Hatred and Contempt will soon follow, and then there wants but any little Incident from Abroad, to set all in Movement; and where that may stop, human Foresight cannot easily conjecture. The King seemed to be aware of this, and therefore took great Care to be at Peace with his Neighbours; *Scotland* he bore with, and then lured *James* their King with Matches for himself and his Son, the latter of which took Effect, and upon the Extinction of the *Tudor* Family, brought that of the *Stuarts* into *England*: As to the *French*, tho' he threatened sometimes, chiefly with a Design of getting his Subjects Money, yet 'tis plain he never seriously intended to have a War with them; so far from it, he even suffered *Bretagne* to become an Accession to the Crown of *France*, rather than run the Risque, or be at the Charge of defending it: Neither do I think he was deceived in his Politicks, as *Monf. Rapin* insinuates
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ates, nor that he could fancy he might be always sure of obliging the *French* to desist from their proposed Encroachment; all he seems to have designed was to make this Affair a Pretence to get Supplies from the Parliament, and to gratify his private Passions at the Expence of the Publick, whose Interest appears to have been no Part of his Concern; and indeed covetous Men, whether Subjects or Princes, seldom look beyond themselves: for as there is not any one Affection of the Mind more violent and lasting, so neither is there any more void of Feeling and Compassion, or more destructive of Justice, Humanity, and every social Virtue than Avarice.

FROM this cursory View of the two Reigns of *Henry IV.* and *VII.* there arises one very natural Reflection, and it is this; that tho' nothing could be more obvious nor visible, than the Part both of them had to act in the Government of the Kingdom, yet both missed of it, and forsaking, as one may call it, the direct Road to their own, and their People's Happiness and Glory, they with much Difficulty found out bye Ways and untrodden Paths, full of Brakes and Briers,

and not even without Precipices, to their own no small Labour and Annoyance, and to the great Prejudice and Dissatisfaction of their Subjects.

IF we were to take a Survey of the Administrations of Republicks, or free States, we should, I believe, find them always better or worse, according as their Bottom was more or less wide, as there were fewer or more Checks upon the governing Part amongst them; 'tis true, they are not so liable to suffer by the Passions or Weaknesses of particular Persons, but if their Constitutions happen to be Aristocratical, the Nobles will be apt to be jealous of the Commons, and perhaps oppress them, that they may not ever think of casting off their Yoke, or desire to come in for their Share in the Dignities or Emoluments of the Publick. The Commons on the other Hand, will resent such ill Usage and Partiality, and that will occasion Heartburnings, Seditions, and Insurrections, which are reputed to be the usual Inconveniencies and Foibles of Commonwealths: But then, this is owing to the wrong Models of particular Constitutions, and such Evils might be easily remedied, if the Interests and Follies

of Mankind would give them leave to make the Experiment. Whoever looks into the Histories of the modern Republicks in *Italy*, will find the chief Disturbances that have been amongst them, owing to the unjust Claims of some of their most ancient Families, who imagined the executive Power should be always lodged in their Hands, and who consequently made a very bad, and often a tyrannical use of it.

THE many Tumults, Murthers, and Banishments, that for a Number of Years infested the *Florentine* State, were nothing more than the Effects of a Struggle between the Friends of the House of *Medicis*, and those of the Publick, labouring one to introduce, the other to keep out the arbitrary Power of a single Person. And what did all these Caballings, Squabbles and Mischiefs end in? Why, the Emperor *Charles V.* thought it his Interest to make the *Florentines* more dependant, and for that Reason forced a Sovereign upon them, who kept them oppressed and poor, made them tame and submissive, and after having rendered them thoroughly weak and despicable, left them

them at last, upon the Extinction of their good Master's Family, to be disposed of like Cattle, as their more powerful Neighbours should find expedient or profitable to themselves. The *Genoese* too, tho' they had the good Fortune to escape better than the *Florentines*, yet were often brought to the very Brink of Ruin, by the perpetual Factions of the *Grimaldies* and the *Fiesques*, who distinguished themselves by the Cant Term of *Gueelphes*; and the *Dorias* and the *Spinolas*, who took upon them the Name of *Gibbellines*. *Doria* even had it more than once in his Power to have made himself Master of his Country, by taking Advantage of her Distresses, but he was too generous for so mean an Action, and chose rather to restore her Liberty, and made several good Regulations to preserve and continue it, which had like all to have been destroyed at a Stroke, by the Conspiracy of the *Fiesques*, who were not able to bear the Diminution of their Authority, they had so long been enlarging, and chose to confound every Thing or perish in the vile Attempt, rather than see *Florence* free, and themselves kept within the due Bounds of Equality with their Compatriotes.

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THE *Venetians*, though called a Commonwealth, are however altogether governed by the Nobles, and with a pretty strict Hand too: and I am apt to think the Freedom from domestick Broils, they have so generally enjoyed considering the Form of their Government, is pretty much owing to the extraordinary Power and kind of Inquisition in civil Matters, as one may stile it, which that terrible Counsel of *Ten* is armed with, in order to frighten all such as should presume to murmur or complain.

I MUST own, I have always thought the Constitutions of the *Dutch* and the *Swiss*, to be much the best calculated of any, for Duration, as they are less liable to domestick Disturbances, and consequently more secure from the Artifices, and the Ambition of their Neighbours: The uniting so many distinct Communities into one firm Body, (so as to join Counsels, Purfes, and Arms, in case of Invasion) which they cannot break without Danger to each of them, and at the same time preserving their own Rights and Priviledges, separate and inviolable to every Province in *Holland*, and *Canton*
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in *Switzerland*, seems to me the Ne-plus-ultra of all human Sagacity in the establishing of a Commonwealth, just as the old *Gothick* Models, when kept up to their original Purity, are the best Sort of Monarchies: Upon the whole Matter, all Forms of Governments are but like the Cities under their Dominion, the Work of Men's Hands, and as such, subject to ill Accidents of various Kinds, and at best must decay and moulder away in time.

THE great Skill of Lawgivers is shewn in the finding out, stating rightly, and guarding as strongly as may be, a kind of Equilibrium in their Constitutions, which it is the Business of their Descendants carefully to hand down as little violated as is possible to their Posterity: This can only be done by a watchfulness to preserve good Sense, and good Manners amongst the People. If a general Corruption, Luxury, and Immorality should grow up by degrees, and at last come to prevail, there is an end of all Principle and all Order, so that Anarchy must take Place, and Tyranny infallibly ensue. Which of these is the worst is scarce worth the Enquiry, since neither of them can be lived under
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with any Safety or Comfort: How to guard
 against two such mighty Evils, almost always
 productive of each other, is the Difficulty. Up-
 right Men at the Helm can only do it. But what
 Country can flatter themselves with a long Suc-
 cession of such Worthies? If the Torrent of
 Fashion should chance to run the other Way,
 'tis not likely such Times would produce many
 good Patriots, and if they did, 'tis still less
 likely they would be esteem'd or employed.

F I N I S.

