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Reading Under the Folds: John Dickinson, Gordon's Tacitus, and the American Revolution

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A Senior Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Honors in History.
Faculty Advisor: Richard Beeman

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Abstract
The thesis, "Reading Under the Folds: John Dickinson, Gordon's Tacitus, and the American Revolution" examines the effects that one of the most important radical Whig texts had on one of the leading figures of the American Revolutionary movement. John Dickinson is often overlooked in histories of the American Revolution despite being a strong force from the time of the Stamp Act Congress through the Second Continental Congress, penning many of the resolves that came out of these meetings along with the highly influential Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer. This thesis examines Dickinson's personal copy of Thomas Gordon's translation of the works of the Roman historian, Tacitus, published with Gordon's Discourses on the translation. This radical Whig text was revered by almost all of the American Founders, Dickinson included. Dickinson provided future readers of his copy of the text a unique insight into exactly what he took note of as he read the five volume work. He made no notes in the margins of his copy of the text, but rather folded literally hundreds of pages to mark particular passages throughout the work. Thus, he allowed future readers to literally read along with him. It turns out that almost every fold had a purpose. This thesis analyzes exactly what Dickinson highlighted through his folds and looks at the influence that these highlights had on some of the most crucial moments of his Revolutionary career, including how they very well might have been one of the factors that led to his fateful decision to not sign the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

Keywords
John Dickinson, American Revolution, Thomas Gordon, Tacitus

Comments
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Reading Under the Folds:

John Dickinson, Gordon's *Tacitus*, and the American Revolution

By Alexander Bregman

Primary Reader: Dr. Richard Beeman, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania
Secondary Reader: James Green, Librarian, Library Company of Philadelphia

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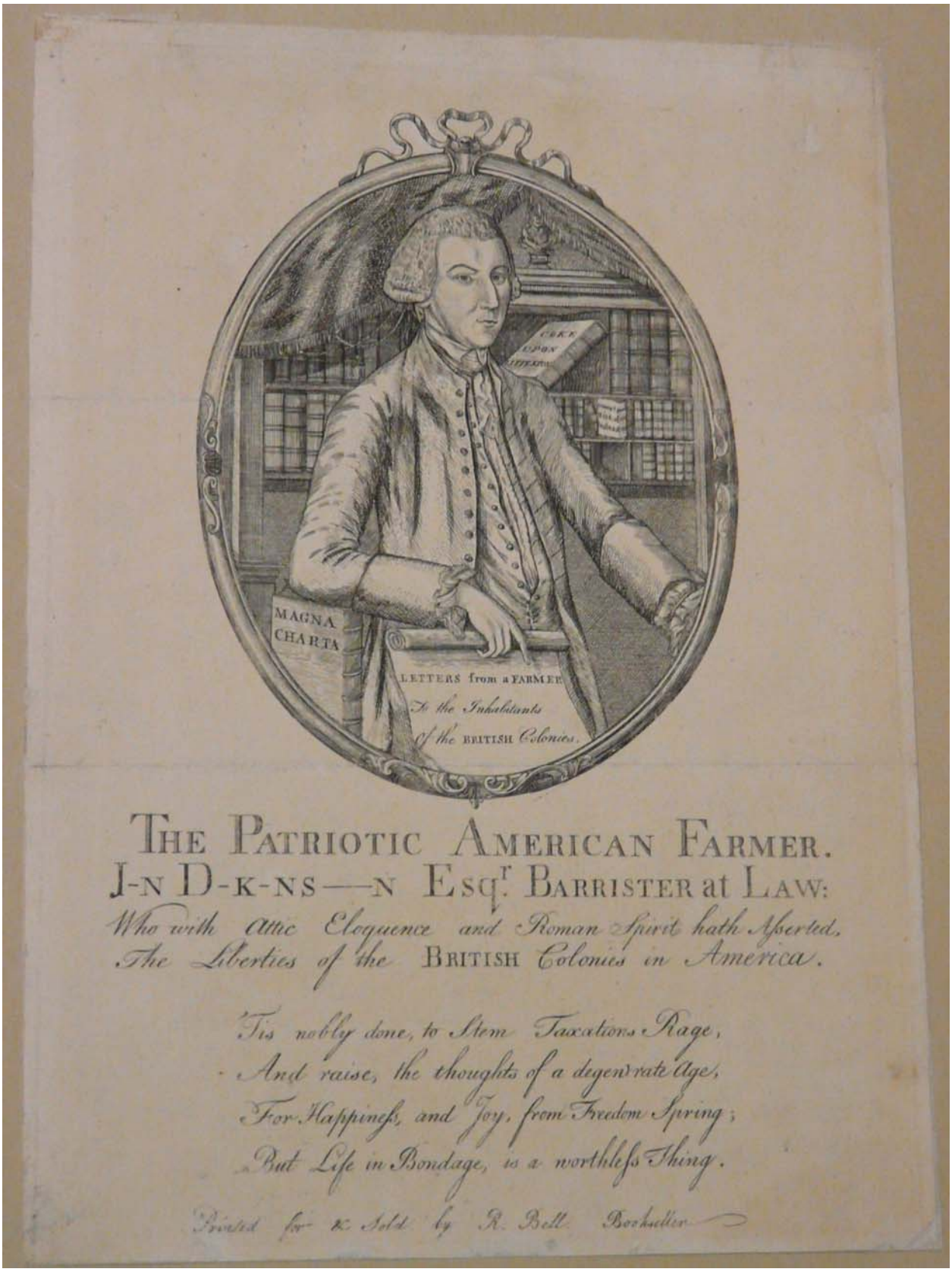

Photo taken by Alexander Bregman at The Library Company of Philadelphia

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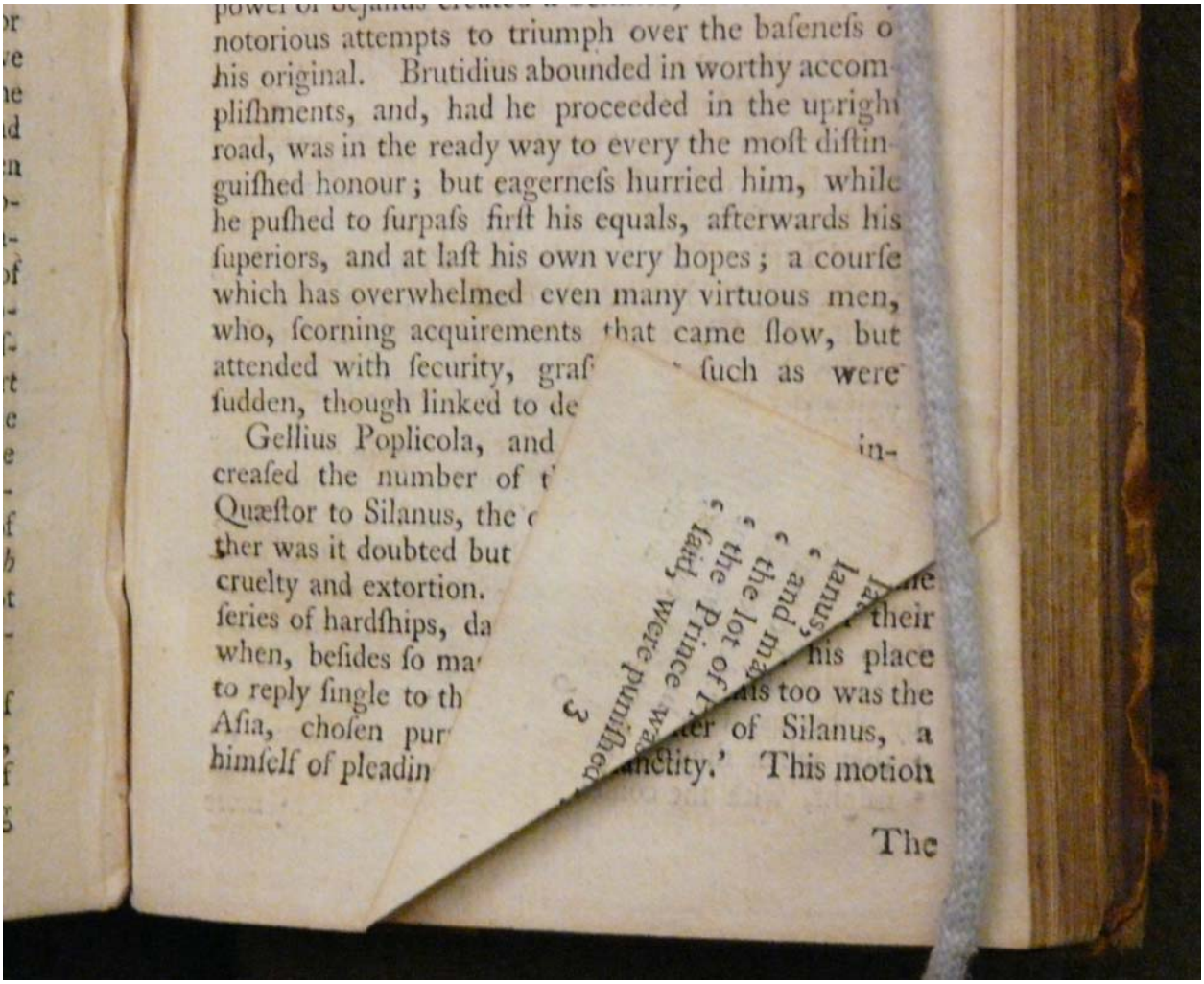

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his original. Brutidius abounded in worthy accom-
pliſhments, and, had he proceeded in the uprigh
road, was in the ready way to every the moſt diſtin-
guiſhed honour; but eagerneſs hurried him, while
he puſhed to ſurpaſs firſt his equals, afterwards his
ſuperiors, and at laſt his own very hopes; a courſe
which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men,
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Photo taken by Alexander Bregman at The Library Company of Philadelphia

Introduction

In 1774, the Boston lawyer and political leader of the American Revolution, Josiah Quincy, Jr., suffering from tuberculosis, wanted to make sure that his fifteen year old son had five specific books before he passed away.[1] He willed to his son the works of Algernon Sidney, John Locke, and Lord Bacon, as well as Thomas Gordon's *Tacitus*, and Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard's *Cato's Letters*.[2] These books, he claimed, would ensure that his son understood "the spirit of liberty."[3] That was because they all helped Quincy himself understand this spirit of liberty, which was at the core of the American Revolutionary movement.

Beyond Quincy, all of these books helped guide the Revolutionary leaders in their cause. As Carl Becker put it in his study, *The Declaration of Independence*, "Generally speaking, men are influenced by books which clarify their own thought, which express their own notions well, or which suggest to them ideas which their minds are already predisposed to accept."[4] The books Quincy willed to his son all fulfilled these needs for him and for many of the other American Founders because they all justified to a certain extent their outrage towards what they saw as abuses by their mother country of their God-given liberties. One of these works, in particular, went beyond reassuring the leaders of the movement through political arguments that what they were embarking on was the right path. That work, Thomas Gordon's *Tacitus*, also provided colonial readers with history with which to compare and contrast their experiences with those of the past. As historian H. Trevor Colbourn noted in his important work, *The Lamp of Experience*, "Shelf after shelf of historical studies in college libraries, booksellers' shops, library societies, lawyers' offices, and personal libraries attest to the measure of the colonists' historical interest

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[1] Richard D. Brown, "Quincy, Josiah, Jr.," in *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000), http://www.anb.org/articles/02/02-00267.html.
[2] Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 22.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence* (New York, 1922), p. 28.

and opportunity."[5] This thesis takes one of these books, the aforementioned Thomas Gordon's *Tacitus*, off of the shelf of one of the most important Revolutionary leaders, John Dickinson, and determines just how he used it to guide and justify his actions for and, in his case, against the causes of the American Revolution.

First to the book itself, Thomas Gordon's *Tacitus*, as will be explained more thoroughly in the first chapter of this thesis, was penned by one of the pioneers of what became known as Radical Whiggery. Thomas Gordon made his early career writing artful criticisms of the corruption that was rampant in the British government of the early eighteenth century. Along with the help of his elder partner, John Trenchard, in two series of pamphlets published in England, first in *The Independent Whig* and then in *Cato's Letters*, Gordon emphasized that liberty was an inalienable right that encompassed rights like freedom of religion and freedom of speech. Trenchard and Gordon also took on the nature of virtue and the evils of tyranny, which was how they characterized their own government at the time. These notions, among others, became the benchmarks of Radical Whig thought and, as it turned out, the benchmarks of the American Revolution.

Gordon's later career, after Trenchard passed away in 1723, was consumed by translations of the works of the ancient Roman historians, Tacitus and Sallust. He accompanied both sets of his translations with extensive commentaries or *Discourses* on them, which singled out the themes from Tacitus that defined Radical Whiggery.[6] Thus, the *Discourses* were an extension of Gordon's previous Whig writing. This thesis only concerns his translation of and

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[5] H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1965), 226.
[6] Marie McMahon, "Trenchard, John (1668/9–1723)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006).

Discourses on Tacitus, which were much more widely read and admired in the colonies than Gordon's work on Sallust.

Tacitus, particularly in his work, *Germania*, wrote an extensive history of ancient Germany, which was home to the ancestors of the Saxons who emigrated from northern Europe to England.[7] In other words, it was home to the original Englishmen. This history was so remarkable because it was a history of the original parliament—the original true representative government of the people, by the people, and for the people.[8] It was a history of the earliest kind of pure democracy.[9] Tacitus's works also provided extensive examples of tyrannies and how these tyrannies, like Caesar's Rome, came into being. Thus, they provided Gordon with countless examples of good and bad governments about which he could then write. Thus, essentially, "In Gordon's hands, Tacitus virtually became an apologist for English whiggery."[10] Gordon used the history provided by Tacitus to write about the dangers of factions, the evils of tyranny, the natural right of liberty, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and the power of the people, among other subjects that further defined radical Whig thought and would eventually define the American Revolution. Thus, it is no surprise that Gordon's *Tacitus* was considered sacred to many of the American Founders.

Gordon's *Tacitus* provided the colonists and, in particular, those who were leading the American Revolutionary movement with an accessible history and commentary to help justify their decisions to themselves, their fellow colonists, and the world. It not only provided ancient examples of what a government should and should not look like, but it also provided commentary that helped these Revolutionaries put into context their own experiences with the

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[7] H. Trevor Colbourn, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1959), 280.
[8] Edwin Wolf II, *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City*, (New York: Clarendon Press, 1988), 92.
[9] Ibid.
[10] James Green, *The Library Company of Philadelphia Annual Report*, (1990), 18.

experiences of ancient states like Germany and Rome. As Thomas Jefferson wrote of Tacitus, "I consider [him] as the first writer in the world without a single exception. His book is a compound of history & morality of which we have no other example…."[11] As for the translator and commentator, Gordon, Jefferson's praise was equal: "the *Works* [*of Tacitus*] preserved the 'spirit' of the original and Gordon's 'selection of Tacitus…for translation seems to have been dictated by the similar causticity of his own genius.'"[12] Later in his life, Jefferson wrote about his admiration of Tacitus, which in all likelihood was Gordon's *Tacitus*, to fellow Founder, John Adams: "I have given up newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides…and I find myself much the happier."[13] Adams's response: reading Thucydides and Tacitus was like "reading the History of my own Times and my own Life."[14] Though it cannot be determined whether or not Adams was referring to Gordon's *Tacitus* here, Adams did own a copy of Gordon's *Tacitus* among other versions and translations of Tacitus's works.[15] Nevertheless, it is clear that Gordon's *Tacitus* provided these Founders, among others, with a history that they could use to help guide their future.

One of the other Founders who read and admired Gordon's *Tacitus* was John Dickinson. As H. Trevor Colbourn describes him, "Dickinson has never quite made the inner circle of our revered founding fathers."[16] He was, however, responsible for so many of the major documents that guided the American Revolution from the Stamp Act Congress through the Second Continental Congress. Most notably, he penned the second most popular and widely distributed

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[11] David. L. Jacobson, "Thomas Gordon's *Works of Tacitus* in Pre-Revolutionary America," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (1965), 63-64.
[12] Ibid., 64.
[13] Ibid., 58-59
[14] Stanley M. Burstein, "The Classics and the American Republic," *The History Teacher* (1996), 35.
[15] David. L. Jacobson, "Thomas Gordon's *Works of Tacitus* in Pre-Revolutionary America," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (1965), 59.
[16] H. Trevor Colbourn, "The Historical Perspective of John Dickinson," in *Early Dickinsonia: The Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures*, (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The Library of Dickinson College, 1961), 3.

series of pamphlets in the colonies known as *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, which were a response to the Crown's taxation without representation being imposed on the colonists. Despite all of these written contributions to the Revolution, there was one vital document that he had no part in writing and refused to sign. Unfortunately for him, that one document was the Declaration of Independence.

Dickinson's very vocal decision not to sign the most important document of the Revolutionary period was a decision from which most historians have never allowed Dickinson to fully recover. As this thesis will demonstrate though, his refusal to sign the Declaration was completely consistent with the rest of his career. He did not oppose the idea of declaring independence. He only opposed the timing of it. As Colbourn sums it up, "[Dickinson] was essentially a conservative sort of a rebel, a rather reluctant revolutionary whose adherence to his own political logic and conviction in 1776 cost him most of the popularity accumulated during the previous decade."[17]

Much of this logic and conviction came from the many books that Dickinson read over the course of his life and many of these books were histories. One of these histories that had an enormous impact on Dickinson was Gordon's *Tacitus*. As an English-trained lawyer, Dickinson frequently turned to Gordon's *Tacitus* to better understand the roots of Englishmen and the rights they possessed. Dickinson rooted almost all of the logic in his arguments to English law, which was a primary reason for why he appeared to be so conservative compared to many of his fellow revolutionaries. He was trained to argue in the context of English law and Gordon's *Tacitus* provided Dickinson with the origins of English law and a historical context to which he could then use to make a case to a jury of his peers. He made his admiration for Tacitus known in the first major speech of his career in colonial politics. He praised the Roman historian as an

[17] H. Trevor Colbourn, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1959), 272.

"excellent historian and statesman…whose political reflections are so justly and universally admired."[18] Thus, just as Jefferson and Adams used Gordon's *Tacitus* to guide their thoughts, so did Dickinson, but even more deliberately and publicly than them.

The Library Company of Philadelphia, to which Dickinson himself paid £17 of Pennsylvania money for a membership in June 1762, has graciously provided me with Dickinson's personal copy of Gordon's *Tacitus*.[19] Dickinson's copy of Gordon's *Tacitus* is thus the centerpiece of this thesis. While the Library Company provided me with the book, Dickinson provided me with the means to examine it. Other than his signature on the first page of each of the five volumes of the work, Dickinson left no notes or marks in any of the margins; rather he folded literally hundreds of pages to mark particular passages. Thus, not only was I able to read one of Dickinson's books off of his shelves, but I also had the opportunity to read along with him and see exactly what he took note of in his reading of this very important Whig text. Without Dickinson's unique way of reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*, I would not have been able to write this thesis.

The first chapter will examine what it meant to be a Radical Whig, focusing primarily on Thomas Gordon's life and career as well as the content of his works. The second chapter will examine and analyze exactly what Dickinson highlighted in his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*. It will essentially lay out the highlights of the highlights. Finally, the third chapter will examine when and how Dickinson's reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* seemed to intersect with Dickinson's career. It will focus only on his Revolutionary career because the influence of Gordon's work did not seem to stretch beyond this period of time in any significant manner. Thus, the third chapter

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[18] H. Trevor Colbourn, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1959), 280; Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 8.
[19] David L. Jacobson, *John Dickinson and the Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1764-1776*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 5.

will start with Dickinson's entrance into colonial politics in 1764 and finish with his fateful decision to not sign the Declaration of Independence in 1776, ending his previously strong influence on the Revolutionary movement. Though I do want to stress that, in the spirit of Colbourn's *Lamp of Experience*, I am not attempting to prove that Gordon's *Tacitus* provided Dickinson with direct motivation for his political actions.[20] In Colbourn's words, "The dangers of implying such causation are painfully obvious."[21] Nevertheless, it should be clear by the end of this thesis that Gordon's *Tacitus* did provide guidance to Dickinson's words, writings, and actions in his Revolutionary career for better and for worse.

[20] H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1965), xxii.
[21] Ibid.

Chapter 1: Thomas Gordon, Gordon's *Tacitus*, & Radical Whiggery

Little is known about Thomas Gordon's life, especially his earlier life. His exact date of birth is unknown, though his year of birth is believed to have been around 1690.[22] One of the earliest details known about his life is that in late 1718 he probably moved to London and taught languages for a living.[23] While Gordon would eventually become one of the most prominent radical Whigs, he did not embark on any serious literary ventures until 1719, when he authored the much-reprinted anti-clerical *A Modest Apology for Parson Alberoni…and a New Confutation of the Bishop of Bangor* as well as his *Apology for the Danger of the Church*. [24] These pamphlets were Gordon's responses to what became known as the Bangorian controversy, which developed for the most part around two works of Benjamin Hoadly, the Bishop of Bangor.[25] Hoadly's works condemned the exercise of church authority over an individual's conscience and Gordon's works wholeheartedly approved of the Bishop of Bangor's views.[26] Gordon's works concerning the Bangorian controversy proved to be important to Gordon on a number of levels. They exposed his strong anti-clericalism that would mark his later works and, more importantly, they got him the attention of a sufficient readership, which included, most notably and most admirably, John Trenchard.[27]

Gordon would go on to write his most famous works, *The Independent Whig* and *Cato's Letters* with Trenchard, who he met for the first time in 1719, at the Grecian Coffee House in Devereux Court, London.[28] It was apparently at this initial meeting where Trenchard and Gordon decided upon their partnership, which would eventually come to define radical Whig thought. As

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[22] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 107.
[23] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xx.
[24] Leslie Stephen rev. Emma Major, "Gordon, Thomas (d. 1750)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004).
[25] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxi.
[26] Ibid., xxii.
[27] Ibid., xxi.
[28] Ibid., xxiii.

historian Caroline Robbins describes their collaborations, "For four years [their] essays and letters attacked the divine righters and Tories in the church, and the wealthy malefactors in the state."[29] While these essays and letters abruptly came to an end with the death of Trenchard in 1723, Gordon's career as an influential radical Whig certainly did not. Following Trenchard's death, Gordon devoted the rest of his life to translations of the works of the ancient Roman historians, Tacitus and Sallust, and to extensive commentaries on each translation that were just as controversial as his earlier collaborations with Trenchard.[30] Gordon, first through his collaborations with Trenchard, and then through his translations of Tacitus and Sallust, defined what it meant to be a radical Whig.

Independent Whig

Trenchard and Gordon's first collaboration, which, as noted, was sparked by Gordon's commentary on the Bangorian controversy, put a heavy emphasis on religion and the church-state relationship. They were essentially a continuation of Gordon's previous works laying out his complaints about the church's censorship of free thought and speech. Their first pamphlet, *The Character of an Independent Whig*, was published shortly after their meeting in 1719. It was basically a straightforward statement outlining anticlericalism, their pleas for the rights of Protestant dissenters, along with their fear of standing armies.[31] These themes would become some of the pillars of radial Whig thought, and, according to historian David L. Jacobson, *The Character of an Independent Whig* "had obviously been successful enough" because beginning on January 20, 1720, a series entitled *The Independent Whig* began to be published on a weekly

[29] Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1959), 111.
[30] Ibid.
[31] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxiii.

basis through December 31, 1720. By the end of this run, Gordon had written more of the weekly issues than Trenchard, despite entering as the apparent junior partner in the relationship.[32]

The most prominent characteristic of *The Independent Whig* was its strong anticlericalism.[33] Gordon and Trenchard felt strongly that the leaders of the Church had no right to force Christianity onto anyone, especially when their goal was simply to gain power and not spread the gospel. As *The Independent Whig* put it, "though the Clergy…were raised and paid for protecting Mankind from their Spiritual Enemy…they soon made use of the Sword put into their Hands against their Masters, and set up for themselves."[34] Trenchard and Gordon believed that the leaders of the Church were using their roles not to propel Christianity and the faith of the people, but rather to propel their own power over the people. They were using the rules of the Church to rule the people rather than guide them. When anyone disagreed with the clergy, the clergy would censor and punish these dissenters. To that end, Trenchard and Gordon demanded general freedom of thought and no interference with its expression by the Church.[35] Through *The Independent Whig*, Gordon and Trenchard made their position on religion clear: they were against all authority in spiritual matters except that of the individual conscience.[36] As *The Independent Whig* put it, "Reason is the only Guide to Men in the State of Nature, to find out the Will of God, and the Means of Self-preservation."[37] The clergymen, according to Trenchard and Gordon, should not interfere with this reason. Trenchard and Gordon believed that a religion should not be forced upon anyone, but rather should be all based on one's genuine faith.

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[32] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 107.
[33] Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1959), 112.
[34] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), 4.
[35] Ibid., 111.
[36] Ibid., 112-113.
[37] Ibid., 32.

Religion, however, was not the only subject that interested Gordon and Trenchard. Their interests turned out to be far broader. At the heart of all of their interests was a strong belief in the natural right of liberty. They saw this natural right of liberty being abused on more levels than just in the Church. Thus, to lay out their more general views and to reach a larger audience, they began, in the latter part of 1720, their remarkable series of letters in *The London Journal* under the signature of "Cato."[38] The main role of *The Independent Whig* was to lay the groundwork for an ideology that would become known as radical Whiggery, which rested on the belief that "if liberty were achieved, progress would follow."[39] This liberty, as *The Independent Whig* laid out, was certainly not being achieved through religion in England and *Cato's Letters* laid out the other aspects of life in England where this liberty was being neglected—primarily by the leaders of the government.

Cato's Letters

While the *The Independent Whig* laid the foundation for Gordon and Trenchard's ideology of radical Whiggery, it was their second and final collaboration that eventually made radical Whiggery a genuine force to be reckoned with. This collaboration was a series of letters signed by "Cato," the first of which appeared in late 1720 in *The London Journal*.[40] Not surprisingly, there was a reason behind Trenchard and Gordon choosing the name Cato to sign their letters. The "Great Cato" was the opponent of Julius Caesar and the uncle of Marcus Brutus, who was the chief assassin of Caesar.[41] Caesar, as Gordon would go on to write about extensively in his *Discourses* attached to his translations of Tacitus, was the ultimate tyrant and enemy to liberty in the eyes of Gordon and, of course, Cato. Rather than even accept Caesar's

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[38] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxiv-xxv.
[39] Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1959), 111.
[40] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 107.
[41] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxv.

tyrannical rule, the "Great Cato" committed suicide. Thus, by signing their letters with the name Cato, they were emphasizing just how important liberty was to them and to the ideals of radical Whiggery.

In the end, there would be a total of 138 letters signed by "Cato," the majority of which were written by Gordon.[42] Just as Gordon and Trenchard used a specific event, the Bangorian Controversy, as a catalyst for *The Independent Whig*, they used another event to spark *Cato's Letters*. This catalyst for Cato's first letter was a catastrophic financial crisis known as the South Sea Bubble or Hoax.[43] The Bubble was a collapse of the British economy in September 1720 essentially due to the deception and corruption of Parliament.[44] It involved the stock of the South Sea Company, which primarily traded slaves with Spanish America.[45] In 1720, South Sea stock boomed in value after the British Parliament accepted a proposal by the Company to take over the national debt.[46] The boom in value resulted in many British investors being coaxed into buying the stock when they did not have the money to afford it. By September 1720, this led to the collapse of the British market—the South Sea Bubble burst. Trenchard and Gordon took issue with the swindlers that ran the South Sea Company and the members of Parliament who went along with these swindlers' scheme for completely personal gains. At least three members of Parliament were found to actually have been bribed to go along with the hoax.[47] Thus, Trenchard and Gordon's initial goal in writing the letters was to diagnose and propose a remedy to the state of national corruption revealed through the South Sea Bubble.[48] They quickly, however, moved on to such broader questions and issues as the nature of virtue, the values of

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[42] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxv.
[43] J. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 468.
[44] "South Sea Bubble." *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica Online), 2007.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] J. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 468.

liberty, and the evils of tyranny.[49] In other words, the corruption associated with the South Sea Bubble simply provided Gordon and Trenchard with a good launching point to spread their radical Whig ideas beyond the limited themes of *The Independent Whig*.

One of the grander themes explored by Cato was the power of the people. One of *Cato's Letters* pointed out that, in the majority of the time, the people will naturally take the most moral course of action.[50] They only take a turn for the worse when they are misled by wicked rulers.[51] In Letter 59, Cato wrote:

> …In Truth, I think it is as much the Business and Right of the People to judge whether their Prince be good or bad, whether a Father or an Enemy, as to judge whether he be dead or alive.[52]

The governed should keep constant check on those who govern them. A government's power thus rests with the people. This notion was crucial to understanding Gordon and Trenchard's ideology. Tyranny arises and corruption ensues when a government loses sight of its people and strips them of their natural right of liberty. As they further explain in Letter 59, "All Men are born free; Liberty is a Gift which they received from God himself."[53] This natural God-given right of liberty does not exist in a state where the people do not have a say in how they are governed. Furthermore, the people have the right to decide whether they are being governed fairly and they should be able to safely and freely go about their lives without fearing their government. To that end, when the people do feel betrayed by their government, they have the right to revolt. As Caroline Robbins puts it, "The natural power of the people checked the

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[49] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxv.
[50] Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1959), 117.
[51] Ibid.
[52] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), 111.
[53] Ibid., 108.

magistrates by tumults and insurrection."[54] Gordon and Trenchard viewed a public outcry or uproar as completely necessary if the people genuinely feel that they have been stripped of their liberties and the right to govern themselves.

It is not surprising then that at the heart of Gordon and Trenchard's message was man's universal right of liberty. As Gordon describes it in Letter 62:

> …the Power which every Man has over his own Actions, and his Right to enjoy the Fruit of his Labour, Art, and Industry, as far as by it he hurts not the Society, or any Members of it, by taking from any Member, or by hindering him from enjoying what he himself enjoys.[55]

Gordon continued, "Liberty was 'the Parent of all the Virtues.'"[56] Gordon did not see liberty as a privilege, but rather as a natural right. Thus, people should not feel lucky to possess liberty. They should, however, be angry when it is taken away from them. In Gordon and Trenchard's view, everything good in society stems from liberty and, thus, a lack of liberty leads to corruption and tyranny, which then should lead to a revolt from the people if they are stripped of their liberty for an extended period of time. Vital aspects of life like arts, science, learning, property, and commerce, can only prosper in a state of liberty.[57] *Cato's Letters* were all based upon the notion that liberty was an inalienable right without which people could not undergo the previously mentioned marks of a good life.[58] Liberty, according to Gordon and Trenchard, was essential to living a proper life.[59] It was also essential to understanding radical Whiggery.

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[54] Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1959), 119.
[55] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxvii.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., xxxvii.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

The words of Cato certainly struck a chord with the people of England, producing a storm of controversy and, particularly, becoming a source of annoyance to the King's ministers.[60] Parliament, however, got nowhere with various investigations into the writings of Cato due to what Jacobson calls "procedural confusion."[61] Furthermore, Parliament was deterred from taking any serious actions against Gordon and Trenchard because any action taken would be a form of censorship, which would essentially fulfill the complaints in the letters. It would put into action the words of Cato. Parliament did not want to risk making the *London Journal* and its two noted writers more popular by fulfilling the characteristics of a corrupt government, a government that restricts liberty through censorship, as described by Cato.[62] Thus, ironically, to many of the King's ministers' dismay, Gordon and Trenchard were able to practice the "Freedom of Speech" that was emphasized in Cato's Letter 15 as, "the Right of every Man, as far as by it does not hurt and controul the Right of another."[63] Freedom of speech was vital to giving the people a say in their government and, through their writings, Gordon and Trenchard proved just how important and powerful speech can be in a state that attempts to remove this vital aspect of liberty.

Eventually though, the government did get its way and, after two years, the government quietly silenced Gordon and Trenchard by paying the owner of the *London Journal* enough money to discontinue "Cato" in September of 1722.[64] Trenchard and Gordon did find a way to continue their work, but only in the new, much less influential publication called the *British Journal*.[65] *Cato's Letters* continued to appear in this new forum until July 27, 1723, when Cato bid "Farewell," not only marking the end of the series, but also marking the end of the great

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[60] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 107.; David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxvi.
[61] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxvi.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., 38.
[64] Ibid., xxvii.
[65] Ibid.

partnership between Trenchard and Gordon.[66] Trenchard's death from a kidney ailment on December 16, 1723 officially ended this extraordinary journalistic partnership, which defined one of the most influential ideologies of their time and beyond.[67]

Gordon's Tacitus

Following Cato's "Farewell," Gordon underwent a bizarre transformation and became a supporter of Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister who, just a year earlier, had been the one who paid off the owner of the *London Journal* to discontinue *Cato's Letters*.[68] The hypocrisy of this transformation was all too obvious to the British poet, Alexander Pope, who wrote in his work, "Epilogue to the Satires":

> 'twill only be thought
> The Great man [Walpole] never offered
> you a Groat.
> There's honest Tacitus once talked as big
> But is he now an Independent Whig?[69]

Surprisingly though, not much else has been made in the limited scholarship written on Gordon's life about his apparent switch of allegiances, going from being one of the most outspoken critics of Walpole and his corrupt government to being a public supporter of him. This probably was because the themes and tenor of his work remained the same; though instead of using the English government as a whipping post, he used the governments described by Tacitus and Sallust in their histories as his targets of criticism. Furthermore, the transformation, for a number of reasons, was apparently more practical on Gordon's part than sinister. First off, Gordon accepted

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[66] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), 270.
[67] Marie McMahon, "Trenchard, John (1668/9–1723)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006).
[68] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxviii.
[69] Ibid., xxviii.

a patronage job with Walpole's government editing government pamphlets and so the government that he had made a career in criticizing was now paying him enough money to live a decent life.[70] Secondly, Walpole took action against some of the same corrupt ministries in England that Gordon despised so much and had written about in *The Independent Whig* and *Cato's Letters*. [71] So Gordon actually had some reason to praise Walpole. Finally, Gordon actually got to know Walpole on a personal level, which made it harder for him to write outright attacks against him and his government.[72] Gordon got to know Walpole so well apparently that he even went on to dedicate part of his translations and commentaries on the works of Tacitus to Walpole. Though despite what appears to be a clearly hypocritical change in allegiances on Gordon's part, his remaining literary work kept true to his radical Whig values. As previously mentioned, Gordon devoted the remainder of his literary career to translations of the works of the ancient Roman historian, Tacitus, which he preceded with extensive political commentaries or discourses on his translations. His translations and commentaries on Tacitus were published in their first editions between 1728 and 1731. [73] He followed his work on Tacitus up with translations and discourses on the Roman historian, Sallust, which were published in their first editions in 1744.[74] Of the two, according to Jacobson, "*Tacitus* was especially popular and widely praised."[75]

Much like Gordon, few details of Tacitus's life are known other than that he was a Roman senator.[76] Nonetheless, Tacitus left his mark on the world through the work he produced as a historian. He used his access as a Roman senator to the senatorial files to write extensive

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[70] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxviii-xxix
[71] Ibid., xxix.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 107.
[74] Ibid.
[75] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxx.
[76] Herbert W. Benario, *An Introduction to Tacitus*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 12.

histories of the Roman Empire along with that of ancient Germany. As historian Ronald Mellor describes him, "Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55 – c. 117 CE) was the greatest historian that the Roman world produced."[77] Tacitus felt that his career as a politician would be worthless if he did not pen some sort of history of the empire that he was serving.[78] According to Mellor, "[Tacitus] thought that his history could be useful to future generations since he believed that history could intimidate tyrants by subjecting them to the judgment of posterity."[79] Ironically, this is exactly how Gordon used Tacitus's history. As historian Herbert W. Benario puts it, for Gordon, "the Roman historian appears to be a convenient peg from which to hang a political essay."[80] In other words, Gordon did not simply translate the works of Tacitus. He chose to use Tacitus to further expand his reputation as a radical Whig. Tacitus, particularly his work entitled *Germania*, provided Gordon an excellent platform to do so because it gave him a description of a Germanic democracy in the northern woods of Europe, which elected their monarchs and which lived "in a state of chastity well secured, corrupted by no seducing shews and public diversions, by no irritations from banqueting."[81] *Germania*, in other words, provided a description of a government that was ideal in the eyes of a radical Whig—a government in which its people were allowed to use their God-given right of liberty. Thus, it made perfect sense for Gordon to use Tacitus as a launching point for a series of radical Whig sermons.[82]

In Gordon's actual translation of Tacitus's works, according to Benario, he made choice additions and used "loaded" words in what he viewed as important passages, so that his version

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[77] Ronald Mellor, *The Roman Historians*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 76.
[78] Ibid., 21.
[79] Ibid., 78.
[80] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 109.
[81] H. Trevor Colbourn, "Thomas Jefferson's Use of the Past" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., Vol. 15, No. 1. (Jan., 1958), 61.
[82] David L. Jacobson, "Thomas Gordon's *Works of Tacitus* in Pre-Revolutionary America." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 69 (1965), 61.

could be read as a continuation of his Whig message.[83] For example, in the third chapter of Tacitus's *Agricola*, Tacitus writes about the period of fifteen years in which Romans were afraid to speak: "*senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium*."[84] Benario translates this as "the mature approached the very limits of extreme old age, in silence."[85] Gordon translates this as "awful silence."[86] Thus, Gordon, echoing *Cato's Letters*, is emphasizing his strong belief in the right to free speech associated with the overarching theme of liberty for all. Despite numerous instances like these that permeate the text of Gordon's translation, according to Jacobson, "For the modern reader, the translation is generally accurate, though somewhat ornate."[87]

The political discourses attached to the translation are truly where "'[Tacitus] virtually [becomes] an apologist for "English Whiggery.'"[88] Beginning with his discourse on "The Character of Tacitus," Gordon essentially calls the historian Tacitus a radical Whig, describing him as follows:

> …a masterly Historian, who draws events from their first sources…a profound Politician who takes off every disguise, and penetrates every artifice: an upright Patriot, zealous for publick Liberty and the welfare of his Country, and a declared enemy to Tyrants and to the instruments of Tyranny; a lover of humankind; a man of virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth…[89]

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[83] Herbert W. Benario, "Gordon's Tacitus," *The Classical Journal* Vol. 72, No. 2. (Dec., 1976 - Jan., 1977), 109.
[84] Ibid., 109-110.
[85] Ibid., 109.
[86] Ibid.
[87] David L. Jacobson, "Thomas Gordon's *Works of Tacitus* in Pre-Revolutionary America." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 69 (1965), 62.
[88] Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 42.
[89] Thomas Gordon, "Discourse II: Upon Tacitus and His Writings, Sect. I. The Character of Tacitus," *The Works of Tacitus. In Four Volumes. To which are prefixed Political Discourses upon that Author. The Second Edition, corrected*, (London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1737).

Thus, in his description of Tacitus and in his further discourses on the ancient historian, Gordon simply seems to pick up where he left off with Trenchard in *Cato's Letters*. The discourses were Gordon's way of summing up his radical Whiggery. He wrote extensively about his opposition to unlimited government, his hatred of corrupt ministers and rulers and religious intolerance, his insistence on the right or even duty of a people to overthrow evil rulers, and his very wide view on freedom of speech.[90] In other words, "the discourses…amounted to a distillation of Gordon's earlier writings."[91] In *Tacitus*, Gordon suggested that people are naturally peaceful, grateful, and more moderate than their rulers and the people only become unreasonable or turbulent when they are oppressed by their rulers—when they are stripped of their natural right of liberty.[92] This could easily be mistaken for one of *Cato's Letters.* Thus, Gordon's *Tacitus* was essentially Gordon's way of reiterating and reemphasizing the themes of his previous writings with Trenchard. Gordon commented on and analyzed Roman history with a view toward the same evils he had attacked the English government in *The Independent Whig* and *Cato's Letters*.[93] Though Gordon did go on to translate historian, Sallust, it was his *Tacitus* along with *Cato's Letters* that would go on to impact his most avid and important readers: the American colonists.

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[90] David L. Jacobson, "Thomas Gordon's *Works of Tacitus* in Pre-Revolutionary America." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 69 (1965), 61.
[91] Ibid., 60.
[92] Caroline Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1959), 117.
[93] David L. Jacobson, *The English Libertarian Heritage*, (San Francisco: Fox & Wilkes, 1965), xxx.

Chapter 2: Dickinson's Gordon's *Tacitus*

In 1757, John Dickinson, in his last year of studying English law in London, purchased his copy of Thomas Gordon's *Tacitus*, by then in its third edition. While Dickinson left no marks in the book, he folded literally hundreds of pages to passages throughout the five volumes of Gordon's work and, remarkably, he never seemed to fold a page without a purpose. Almost every fold highlights either a passage that describes a particular benchmark of radical Whig thought or a passage that emphasizes the importance of education and, in particular, the importance of learning about the past.

The fact that Gordon's *Tacitus* was, for the majority of the work, a history itself shows just how important learning history was to Dickinson. As historian H. Trevor Colbourn emphasized in his essay, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," "Even the briefest review of his revolutionary writing indicates a wealth of historical allusion, a sincere concern for the past, and an impressive reliance upon history as a vital guide to political thought."[94] According to Colbourn, Tacitus, specifically citing Gordon's *Tacitus* in his footnotes, "made a major contribution to Dickinson's historical outlook" and was, in fact, present from the very beginning of Dickinson's political career.[95] In what was considered to be the speech that launched Dickinson's career in colonial politics, given to the Pennsylvania Assembly on May 24, 1764, Dickinson not only cited a passage from Tacitus, but he also referred to Tacitus as "that excellent historian and statesman *Tacitus*, whose political reflections are so justly and universally admired."[96] Dickinson's unique way of highlighting passages in his copy of Tacitus allows

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[94] H. Trevor Colbourn, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1959), 271.
[95] Ibid., 280.
[96] John Dickinson, "Speech on a Petition for a Change of Government of the Colony of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764," In Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Political Writings of John Dickinson, Esquire, Late President of the State of Delaware, and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, V1, (Wilmington: Bonsal and Niles, 1801), 8.

readers to literally read along with him, gaining insight into what he admired so much in Tacitus, Thomas Gordon, and, most importantly, the radical Whig ideology to which Gordon subscribed.

As described in the previous chapter, Gordon divided his work into two sections, his actual translation and then his *Discourses* on the translation. It was in these *Discourses* that Gordon wrote about liberty, popular sovereignty, freedom of speech, and other ideals of radical Whig thought that he found from his study of Tacitus. A telling sign of Dickinson's ideology is that the majority of Dickinson's folds can be found in these *Discourses*. Furthermore, the folds found in Gordon's actual translation of Tacitus's works, for the most part, highlight the themes that Gordon writes about in his *Discourses.* The primary purpose of this chapter is to draw out and analyze the major themes, which are, for the most part, all related to one another, that Dickinson highlighted as he read Gordon's *Tacitus*. In other words, this chapter will point out the highlights of the highlights.

Liberty & Popular Sovereignty

The theme most prominently highlighted by Dickinson throughout Gordon's translation and *Discourses* is the natural right of liberty, which is directly linked to the notion of popular sovereignty. Popular sovereignty cannot exist in a state in which people do not fully possess liberty. Early on, in *The Annals of Tacitus*, Dickinson highlights words of Tacitus that explain this link exactly, "For the sovereignty of the People is an establishment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the unchecked lust of simple Monarchy."[97] Tacitus is saying that, in fact, people only possess liberty when they have control over their own government. When only a few people decide how to rule over an entire state, liberty cannot exist. In this passage, Tacitus clearly takes issue with oligarchies and monarchies and the threat they

[97] Volume I, 308; Please see Appendix A for full citation information on each volume of Gordon's *Tacitus*

pose to a person's natural right to liberty. Thus, in just this short passage, Dickinson highlights praise for popular sovereignty, which is a government ruled according to the will of the people without being governed by the people, and disdain for any other way of running a state.

In Gordon's dedication for the third volume, Dickinson highlights a passage, this time in Gordon's words, that emphasizes that an effective ruler never separates himself from his subjects, "He who separates himself from his People, can only earn insecurity and reproach; nor aught else can he expect but reproach, and the severest, if he strive against the happiness of his Subjects, and bring misery upon those whom he is bound to cherish and protect."[98] In other words, nothing good will come of a ruler who ignores his people. Dickinson is highlighting how the people should always be on the mind of a ruler. To that end, the people's happiness should be a ruler's top priority and when it is not, that is when trouble and instability arises. A selfish ruler will only lead to unhappiness among the people and if enough people are unhappy, that ruler will not be in power for long.

On the subject of liberty, in Gordon's translation of *The History of Tacitus*, Dickinson highlights Tacitus's notion that liberty is a natural, god-given right: "Liberty was a blessing bestowed by the bounty of nature, even upon dumb beasts."[99] Tacitus clearly establishes his belief that liberty is a part of nature, even for those not a part of civilization. This implies that if the uncivilized naturally possess liberty then it is no question as to whether civilized human beings possess it. In fact, it is not even a possession, but rather just a part of the state of being. According to Tacitus, since liberty is a part of the natural state of being then popular sovereignty is also a natural state of governing because without popular sovereignty liberty cannot fully exist.

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[98] Volume III, xvii.
[99] Volume III, 282.

Dickinson continuously highlights passages in Gordon's *Discourses* that affirm Gordon's disdain for a government run by a monarch who rules only depending on his own self interests. In one notable passage Dickinson highlights Gordon's praise for the way the English monarch governed the country at the time Gordon wrote his *Discourses*:

> Monarchy, according to Plato, is the best Government, or the worst: to which opinion I subscribe…England is the place in the world, where the Public is most equally administered, and where the people suffer the least violence. We are blessed with that form of Government which Tacitus mentions as the most perfect, and thinks the hardest to be framed; that happy balance and mixture of interests which comprehends every interest.[100]

Gordon, in this instance, moves away from his otherwise disdain for monarchies because the English monarch, from his point of view, accepted the notion of popular sovereignty. The English monarch did not suppress its people or rule through violence and fear; rather it ruled based on the wants and needs of its people. The English monarch was so successful in the eyes of Gordon because it governed its subjects fairly and justly, balancing their interests with the interests of the monarch himself. Later on in this same passage, Gordon further highlights this point:

> An English Monarch has one advantage which sets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth; he obliges his subjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; so they, by supporting him, enable him to do it: while they give by choice, and not by force, they give

[100] Volume IV, 294.

> chearfully. Princes who take all themselves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people.[101]

According to Gordon, the English monarchy was not arbitrary. It ruled based on reason and that reason stemmed from the voice of the people. As opposed to other monarchies, the English monarchy was only acceptable because it did not lose sight of its people's wants and needs. It actually protected its people's wants and needs. Furthermore, Gordon notes that the English monarch defended *their* laws, meaning that England's laws were not the monarch's, but rather the people's laws. The English monarchy was such a sustainable form of government because it essentially had a symbiotic relationship with its people. The monarchy and the people relied on one another to survive happily. It is when a monarch begins to ignore its people that trouble arises for the state. Gordon also notes in this passage that this type of monarchy is a rarity, implying that a government ruled by the people, a democracy, and not a single monarch is the best alternative to a monarch who rules according to the will of the people. It is also worth noting that Dickinson put particular emphasis on this long passage and folded to the beginning of the passage on one page and to the end of the passage on the next page of Gordon's *Discourses*.

It should be pointed out that it interesting that the same English monarchy for which Gordon holds in such high regard in his *Discourses* was the chief target of criticism in his *Cato's Letters*. In his *Letters*, as described in the previous chapter, Gordon criticized those who defended the English monarch because the English monarch actually consisted of the monarch's many ministers who completely disregarded the will of the people. As he wrote in Letter 72, dated April 7, 1722:

> The advocates for absolute monarchy argue as ignorantly as perversely, and build without a foundation…Single and absolute monarchy…or the ruling all by the

[101] Volume IV, 295.

> will of one is nonsense and a contradiction; it is rather a multiplication of monarchs, and in fact the worst sort of oligarchy. Now, suppose we were to obey blindly the will of the prince; are we also to obey blindly the will of his eunuchs, mistresses and janizaries, who oppress without his knowledge, or against his will?[102]

At the time that he wrote *Cato's Letters* with John Trenchard, Gordon believed that even if the absolute monarch ruled with the best intentions according to what he perceived to be the will of the people, these good intentions can be completely reversed by those in charge of carrying them out. There is no check on the actions of a monarch's ministers. They are not checked by the monarch himself and so they have no reason to rule according to anyone's interests, but their own self interests. After all, *Cato's Letters* were written in direct response to the corruption and selfish ill will of these ministers. Thus, the English monarchy either underwent a drastic transformation between the time of *Cato's Letters* and Gordon's *Tacitus* or Gordon's praise for the English monarchy was simply an expression of his bizarre change of allegiances discussed in the previous chapter to Prime Minister Robert Walpole. Considering that Gordon went so far as to dedicate his *Discourses* to Walpole, his praise for the English government was probably an expression of the later and possibly not a genuine admiration for the English monarch. Nonetheless, Dickinson did highlight Gordon's praise of the English monarch and folded no pages in Gordon's dedication to Walpole. This could certainly be viewed as Dickinson hinting at his own admiration for the English monarch or at least Gordon's characterization of the monarch, which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Dickinson was so reluctant to break away from at the height of the American Revolution.

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[102] Thomas Gordon, "No. 72," from Volume 3 of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters, or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects.* Four volumes in Two, edited and annotated by Ronald Hamowy (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995). Accessed from http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/737.

Moving on, later in the *Discourses*, Dickinson highlights a passage that emphasizes that a just ruler can only govern according to the public good and should in fact have to follow the same laws as his people, "What is it that gives a Prince a right to power? Not his bare will, for then every man who has force, has a right to power, a right to all that downright brutal force can bring him. As the public good is the general rule of Laws, these Laws are the rule and boundaries of the Prince's power."[103] A ruler's power, according to Gordon, should stem from his people and not from himself. This is precisely what defines a popular sovereignty—a state where the ultimate source of power lies with the will of the people. This is different from a pure democracy, in which the people actually do the governing. Thus, Gordon is not advocating for a democracy, but rather a popular sovereignty. In Gordon's view, trouble arises when a ruler makes his own rules based on what pleases him and not his people. The public good gives legitimacy to the laws of a state and since a ruler is expected to abide by the same laws as his people, the public good also gives legitimacy to their ruler. Gordon finishes up this passage by emphasizing how important it is for a ruler to live by the same laws as his people, which, of course, are laws that have been approved by his people, "To these all men are and ought to be subject, he especially who is intrusted with their execution and the care of all men. If the Laws are for the security of the State, why should not the Prince observe them, he to whom the guardianship of the State is committed?"[104] People cannot be expected to abide by the laws of their state if the person in charge of enforcing these laws does not also live by them. Furthermore, if a ruler does not abide by the same laws as his people, then he is, in essence, ignoring the public good and thus the state is not being ruled according to the will of the people, but rather the will of one person.

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[103] Volume V, 70.
[104] Volume V, 70.

Dickinson again highlights in the *Discourses* Gordon's emphasis on how important it is for a ruler to lead in a moral manner, "Neither is the Virtue and Morality of a Prince of greater advantage to his People than to himself. Virtuous Subjects are always peaceable, nor will they fail to honour a virtuous Governor."[105] Gordon insists that a ruler must essentially lead by example. He must follow the laws of the land. Not only must a ruler abide by the laws of his own state, but a ruler must also set the moral high ground for his people. If a ruler lives according to high moral standards, then his people, according to Gordon, will follow suit. People cannot be expected to live virtuous lives if their own leader is not doing the same.

Finally, Dickinson highlights a passage of Gordon's *Discourses* in which Gordon discusses how best to govern a nation through the will of the people. After all, while popular sovereignty is the best way to govern a nation, without some order to the way the people are governed, the people might as well be living in anarchy, "It is a remark of Thucydides, that bad Laws well executed are better than good Laws not duly observed. It is not enough for a Nation to have a good Constitution, unless both the Governors and People concur in adhering to it with strictness."[106] Popular sovereignty only works if the laws that govern the people are actually followed. It is tough for a state to exist in a legitimate fashion according to the public good if there are no laws to maintain order in that state. Thus, interestingly, Gordon concurs here with Thucydides, and believes that any laws, whether they completely abide by the public good or not, are better than laws that attempt to completely abide by the public good, but are simply not enforced. Gordon understands that no government can be perfect and is professing practicality in this instance. He does not demand perfection in a popular sovereignty, he simply demands that

[105] Volume V, 95
[106] Volume V, 258.; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.

whatever laws are on the books (literally or not) must be followed in order to sustain the health of a nation.

"The genius of the commonalty" & the Evils of Factions

Another theme Dickinson highlighted throughout Gordon's translation of Tacitus and his *Discourses* was Tacitus and Gordon's emphasis on the importance of balancing the interests of many interest groups or factions when governing a state. Governing according to the will of the people does not mean governing according to the will of some people, but rather the will of the many factions that make up a state. The idea is that as many factions as possible should feel like their interests are being served by their government—one faction should not have much more power over another. If this balance occurs, a happy state will follow. Before getting to this theme exactly, it is worth noting a passage highlighted by Dickinson late in Gordon's *Discourses* in which Gordon defines just what he means by the people. As he explains and clarifies to his readers, obviously in this case that reader being Dickinson, he does not simply consider "the people" everyone who lives in a given state. He explains, "As by the People I mean not the idle and indigent rabble, under which name the People are often understood and traduced, but all who have property, without the privileges of Nobility."[107] Thus, the will of the people only refers to those who actually have some genuine stake in their state. After all, people without property have nothing to lose and so their interests may not always be rational. If the state suffers due to their interests, it will be only those around them who suffer because they have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Of course, the people in a state have many different views and interests, and while some people have common interests, the people as a whole definitely do not. In one of the early

[107] Volume V, 198.

passages that Dickinson highlighted, Tacitus discusses just how important it is that a state governed according to the public good makes sure that this public good is that of the entire public and not just one powerful group:

> For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rulers. The frame of a state chosen and compacted out of all these three, is easier applauded than accomplished, or if accomplished, cannot be of long duration. So that, as dureing the Republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the Senate bore the chief sway; it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be humoured and restrained.[108]

The only way that a popular sovereignty, a state that is ultimately ruled by the will of the people, can survive for an extended period of time is if everyone in that state, from the leaders on down, feel that their interests are being met. This does not mean that their interests have to actually be met, but rather that the balance of all of their interests is met by the rules in which they are governed. Tacitus admits that this balance is no easy task, but it is certainly not an impossible one. As Tacitus notes, when it does occur, it is because the interests of the people, "the commonalty," are heard by the nobility. Thus, the people, who Gordon defines above as "all who have property without the privileges of Nobility," are essential to the stability of a popular sovereignty.[109] The interests of the nobility and ruling class factions cannot overpower the interests of the other factions in a state. That is, after all, why, according to Tacitus, "the genius" lies in "the commonalty."

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[108] Volume I, 224.
[109] Volume V, 198.

In a later passage highlighted by Dickinson, in Gordon's dedication of his translation of *The Histories of Tacitus*, Gordon points out that the reader of Tacitus's *Histories* will see firsthand how important it is to stop any faction that appears to be overpowering the rest:

> [A reader of these *Histories*] will find the noblest designs for the Public Good often marred by malignant spirits, through private pique, and the gratification of a particular passion find one man, or party of men, frequently combining to distress, perhaps to destroy their Country, because another man, or party of men, was employed to serve it or to save it. He will find personal and domestic feuds often producing popular factions, and even convulsions in the State, such as have threatened its downfall…he will learn to stifle betimes the beginning of faction in the State.[110]

Gordon wants his readers to learn from Tacitus that nothing good can come from a faction whose interests are only that of the faction and not of the public good. A state is no longer a popular sovereignty when one faction gains an inordinate amount of power over the rest. Thus, Gordon encourages his readers to quell such a faction before its power becomes too great to overcome. Factions are only acceptable to Gordon when they are balanced by other factions.

Dickinson returns to the theme of the commonalty's importance in Gordon's *Discourses*, highlighting a passage in which Gordon praises the people of Rome for being the key to controlling the often overbearing faction of nobility in their state:

> The Roman Commonalty quarrelled not with the Nobility, until the Nobility insulted and oppressed them; nay, they bore it a good while without complaining, complained long before they proceeded to an insurrection, even their insurrections were without blood, and they grew calm and content upon

[110] Volume III, xiii-xiv.

> every appearance of redress; for, their redress was seldom complete, and what was undertaken seldom made good.[111]

Gordon strongly admired the people of Rome because they only resorted to instability when their liberties were threatened for an extended period of time. They never overreacted, but rather acted for the good of the state and never for the good of themselves. The nobility, on the other hand, acted completely according to their self interests, disregarding the rights of everyone else in Rome when they deemed necessary. Despite what the nobility thought, the commonalty, in Gordon's eyes, was the group who held the state in the palm of their hands. Unlike the nobility, the commonalty appreciated and understood their own power and the importance of maintaining a balance between their wants and needs and those of the nobility. The nobility saw no need to show concern for the good of the commonalty because they did not recognize how much power lies in the hands of the people.

The Evils of Tyranny

When a state fails to abide by the will of the people and disregards the natural right of liberty, the result, according to Gordon, is tyranny. Interestingly, Dickinson highlighted passages that take note of the evils that stem from tyranny about as much as he highlighted the happiness that stems from a popular sovereignty. In Gordon's Introduction to his *Discourses*, Dickinson highlighted a powerful passage that stressed that the vitality of liberty is often felt in a tyranny, where liberty is only given to the tyrant and not the people:

> The advantages and blessings of Liberty are there most palpably to be discerned, where Tyranny is most heavily felt; and from this very History the reader will see, that whatever is good or amiable in the world is by Tyranny

[111] Volume V, 168.; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.

> destroyed and extinguished; that whatever is evil, mischievous and detestable, is by Tyrants introduced, nurtured and propagated. From hence he will reason and recollect that every thing dear and desirable to society must result from a state of liberty; that there only property and life are not precarious, nor conscience and the faculties of the soul bound in chains.[112]

Tyranny forces people to appreciate liberty. A tyranny will prove to onlookers and the unlucky citizens who live under tyranny how great and vital a life of liberty is compared to a life of slavery—the opposite of liberty. Gordon explains that there is no happiness in a state where liberty is sacrificed for the power of a tyrant. A tyranny quells all happiness because it quells a people's natural right to liberty—a right that is natural at birth. Gordon was hoping that his *Discourses* and his translation of Tacitus would give enough examples of the evils of tyranny to save his readers from ever living in one.

In one passage highlighted by Dickinson in Gordon's *Discourses*, Gordon equates tyranny to barbarism:

> Time, however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inseparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the essence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling sounds, and swelling titles, suitable to the genius of absolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeness from grossness and bondage.[113]

A tyranny is essentially a government removed from civilization. It simply tries to fool its subjects into believing that some sort of rule of law exists when, in reality, the only rules that

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[112] Volume V, 8.
[113] Volume IV, 291.

exist are those that suit the power of the person in charge. A barbaric society does not bother to put in place false order. A tyranny, according to Gordon, is a barbaric society that puts into place a false order. The only order that exists though is the arbitrary will of the tyrant. Just because a tyrant may claim his people possess liberty does not mean that this liberty actually exists. In fact, according to Gordon, it means just the opposite.

Caesar, a central character in Tacitus's work, was used by Gordon throughout his *Discourses* and introductions and dedications to his translations of Tacitus as his whipping boy, as an example of the evils that result from living under a tyrant. Interestingly, Dickinson did not highlight many passages from Tacitus's descriptions of Caesar, but he did highlight many of the passages in which Gordon gives his stark criticism of Caesar. In one of these passages, Gordon writes that just because Caesar had all of the power he could possibly imagine, this power did not mean that he was happy:

> That the great, the able and the accomplished Caesar was often pressed by distress and despair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a Public Criminal, ready to fall upon his own sword; and that after a restless life, full of hurry and perplexity, full of fears and cares, he perished just as he had established his Tyranny, though with it he could not establish his own happiness: That whoever makes numbers unhappy and discontented, cannot expect to be easy and happy himself: That happy, truly happy, is he who does good to all men, who causes whole Nations to rejoice and to bless him: That had Caesar, in order to preserve and secure Public Liberty, done what he did to destroy it, had he for this glorious end exerted the same industry and admirable talents, what an amiable

> character he had been, in what security he might have lived! or that he had certainly died in renown, however he had died.[114]

Caesar's power did not bring him happiness. He was so unhappy that he was ready to leave the state which he had worked so hard to conquer. Caesar's goal was to rule a vast empire, but he forgot about the people who made up this empire and, in turn, they forgot about him. He put too much power into his own hands and did not give his subjects a say in their government. While this landed Caesar with all of the power that he ever dreamed of having, it also landed him a life living in fear. Gordon's main point being that a ruler cannot be happy if his subjects are not also happy. Caesar would have led a much more fulfilling life if he had governed according to the public good rather than what he perceived as his own good. A ruler's good is equal to that of the public good. When it is not, tyranny arises, and as it turned out in Caesar's case, when the public good is not fulfilled, neither is the happiness of the tyrant. This served as Gordon's warning to any of his readers who happened to be considering ruling a tyranny—being a tyrant is not as great as it may seem.

In another passage highlighted by Dickinson, Gordon attacks how selfish it was for Caesar to want to have reign over so many people:

> What could be more interested, what more selfish, than to take the world to himself? Caesar had good sense and experience; he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even more odious than the slaughter of thousands, under the title of war and conquest, however unprovoked and unjust: So much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, though the former is often the more mischievous passion.[115]

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[114] Volume III, x.
[115] Volume IV, 191.

Caesar knew exactly what he was doing and how abominable and evil his actions were in pursuit of his tyranny. Nothing he did was an accident. A tyrant like Caesar could not have been as successful in accomplishing his goals if he did everything on a whim without any calculation. To Gordon, Caesar was clearly the ultimate, most extreme example of a tyrant. To Gordon, a tyrant is a ruler who is willing to not only kill thousands for his own self interest, but who is willing to dupe thousands to murdering thousands in the name of a state that will never return the favor once the war has been won. Furthermore, a tyrant may claim to be fighting a war for his nation, but in reality he is only fighting a war for himself and his own good.

Unfortunately, a tyrant can be so successful because selfish cruelty often overpowers selfless ambition. To that end, in another passage highlighted by Dickinson, Gordon unequivocally attacks Caesar's lofty goals: "I cannot admire Caesar's ambition; he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village, than the second man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, especially of the greatest State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggest Lord."[116] While some may admire Caesar for gaining so much power, Gordon saw him as nothing more than a power-hungry and power-driven tyrant. A tyrant's main goal is to have complete control over his people. Every law in a tyranny must serve the tyrant's interests and only his interests. A tyranny is nothing more than a state of slaves. There are no people in a tyranny other than the tyrant because people possess property and rights. Thus, a tyrant like Caesar possessed so much influence and power over his subjects because they had nothing to really lose if they disobeyed the will of their ruler.

One of the biggest problems inherent in a tyranny is that the tyrant rules solely on his passions and not on what is necessarily best for the state. Dickinson highlights this point in Gordon's *Discourses*, "How foolish is the reasoning of passion! It leads men to throw away

[116] Volume IV, 198.

strength to gain weakness. Even where these sons of violence succeed, they may be justly said to acquire nothing, beyond the praise of mischief."[117] A tyrant rules at the whim of his own passions rather than thinking before acting. A tyranny is so unstable because passions are completely unpredictable. Passions should not be involved in ruling a state. A system of laws decided upon by the people should govern a state. The problem in a tyranny is that these laws are the tyrant's passions and thus they change constantly.

Because a tyrant rules according to his passions, those around a tyrant constantly try to keep him happy. In other words, a tyrant's power is often completely based on flattery. His power is completely based on false praise—on lies. A state governed on a foundation of lies can only last so long before collapsing. Not surprisingly, this notion of flattery giving a ruler a false sense of stability is another aspect of tyranny written about by Gordon and highlighted by Dickinson: "A Prince trusting to flattery and surrounded with flatterers, is often long hated before he knows that he is not beloved, nay, whilst he is persuaded that he is."[118] A nation's best hope of ridding itself of a tyrant is, in fact, to dupe its ruler into believing its flattery. Flattery, in other words, can undermine a tyranny because a tyrant will be completely caught off guard if and when those around him revolt. Along the same lines, Dickinson highlights another passage in which Gordon points out that flattery is essentially equal to hatred, "men so caressed, applauded and worshipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praises, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with detestation, and their hearts with abhorrence."[119] Flattery occurs when people are afraid to criticize. A tyranny is no longer a tyranny when everyone around that tyrant no longer feels obligated to praise him. A tyrant may be poised to change his course of action if the people around him are willing to criticize and not

[117] Volume IV, 309.
[118] Volume III, xiv.
[119] Volume IV, 309.

flatter him. Though, when this does occur, the state is no longer a tyranny, it is closer to being a popular sovereignty.

Finally, obviously not all rulers are tyrants, as Gordon points out in another passage highlighted by Dickinson:

> This was Virtue, this was Wisdom; and what Prince who knows the value, the glory and advantage of it, would be without it?...Henry the fourth held his honour so sacred, as to declare, 'That he would lose his Crown rather than cause the least suspicion of breaking his Word, even to his greatest enemies.'[120]

In Gordon's eyes, a good ruler is one who not only keeps his word to his subjects, but also keeps his word to his enemies. Furthermore, a good ruler uses his morals to run his nation, not selfish passions. A tyrant, on the other hand, runs his state based on lies and violence along with what pleases him and only him. A tyrant aims to destroy his enemies, not tell them the truth. This is why a tyrant has so many enemies as opposed to a virtuous ruler.

The Evils of Empire

Gordon also took issue with empires and evils that result from a vast territory being ruled by one ruler. Dickinson accordingly took note of Gordon's sentiment in his folding:

> He will see much ground for approving the advice of Isocrates, not to envy Princes who possess vast territories, but only to emulate such as know how to preserve and improve their own. He will be convinced, that Princes who have the smallest Dominions, have enough to do, if they will do it well; and that vast

[120] Volume V, 108.; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.

> Empires, instead of growing more flourishing and populous, grow generally Desarts.[121]

Bigger does not always mean better, especially when it comes to a state. A vast empire may have a strong influence on other countries, but the subjects who live within such an empire are better off living in a state where the government is concerned for its people and not for its size and influence on other nations around the world. The ruler of a small state has the time to make sure his people are happy, while the ruler of an empire is only concerned with the growth of that empire. Furthermore, it is almost impossible for a vast empire to be run according to the public good because there are so many views to balance and incorporate into the rule of law. Thus, by default, an empire can quickly become a tyranny because if it is a great challenge for the ruler of an empire to rule based on the public good, the only other way to govern is based on his own self interests.

In another passage highlighted by Dickinson, in *The History of Tacitus*, Tacitus points out that the construction of an empire quickly leads to the destruction of the people who live in that empire and, in turn, those who rule the empire:

> The lust of dominion, so ancient and now long since rooted in the hearts of men, increased with the growth of the State, and when the Empire was full grown, burst forth with violence. For whilst the condition of our City was but low, an equality amongst her citizens was easily maintained. But when once the world was subdued, when all competitors for power, whether the same were great Cities or great Kings, had been vanquished and overthrown, and leisure was given to

[121] Volume III, xvii.

> pursue riches with security; then first between the Senate and People fierce broils were kindled.[122]

Because an empire is so large and has so many different factions, it is almost impossible to maintain any sense of order throughout the entire empire. The result, as described by Tacitus, is violence. People in a large empire feel neglected and this neglect leads to anger which, in turn, leads to violence. While the violence initially will be among the neglected people, it will eventually make its way to the top and bring down those in charge. After all, the violence stems from the lust of those in charge who care much more about quantity than quality. Thus, after killing each other for a period of time, the people will realize that the real trouble lies with those who built up the empire, not those who simply live in it.

Finally, in Gordon's *Discourses,* Dickinson again highlighted a passage in which Gordon defends the notion that a good state does not equate with a vast state, "The strength of a Government consists in numerous subjects industrious and happy; not in extent of territory desolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle."[123] Much like the passages above, Gordon stresses quality of living over the size of a state. Quality of living and leadership is clearly much higher in a smaller state than in some vast empire. There is simply no way that the ruler of a vast empire can focus as well on his subjects as the ruler of a small state. By default it is much easier to have a well run state than a well run empire because the government can genuinely take into account the public good when making decisions rather than assume what it thinks the public good may be across its vast territories.

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[122] Volume III, 128.
[123] Volume IV, 352.; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.

Freedom of Speech

On top of highlighting the broad theme of liberty, one specific liberty that Dickinson highlighted was freedom of speech. It logically follows that speech would be one of the specific liberties that Dickinson highlighted because it is the one specific liberty in which people's views can be heard in a popular sovereignty. Dickinson highlights one passage of Tacitus that states that even immoral speech should go unpunished, "Instances from the Greeks I bring none: with them not the freedom only, but even the licentiousness of speech, is unpunished; or if any corrected be returned, it is only by revenging words with words."[124] One should not be punished for something one says simply because others do not agree with it. A public dialogue can never get underway if any speech that goes beyond the bounds of what is acceptable is punished. Thus, without a public dialogue there is no real way of knowing what lies in the public interest. Furthermore, as Tacitus points out, if one disagrees with the words of another, then one should simply respond accordingly by continuing the conversation. Words are the only things that should be used to counter other words.

The opposite of freedom of speech is censorship, and, as Dickinson highlighted in this passage from Tacitus, censorship is a clear mark of an evil society, "Liberty, so did we of Bondage, since through dread of informers and inquisitions of State, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech and attention. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent."[125] Thus, the obvious goal of any ruler restricting the speech of his subjects is to make his word the only one that has any consequence. The only reason censorship would ever be imposed on a society is if the head of that society fears any dissenting speech will undermine his authority. If a ruler is loved by his

[124] Volume I, 227.
[125] Volume IV, 72.

people and has no fear of illegitimacy, then there will be no good reason to restrict the speech of his subjects. Furthermore, if people are silenced for long enough, they may possibly lose their will to regain sovereignty. Then again, being silenced may also provoke just the opposite effect, sparking riots or even a revolution, which is another theme to be discussed that Dickinson highlighted.

Religion

On the subject of religion, Dickinson was very particular about what he highlighted throughout Gordon's *Discourses* and did not highlight any notable passages on the subject of religion from Gordon's translation of Tacitus. The passages that Dickinson highlighted stressed the importance of religion in society, but only when religion is free and not forced upon people. According to Gordon, People should be free to believe in whatever religion they want. No religion should be imposed upon a nation simply to maintain order; when it is, that is when tyranny arises:

> That even Religion, in order to do good, must be left entirely free, and that in countries enslaved, it is converted, even the sacred alliance between the soul of man and its Creator, is converted, into an apparent engine of tyranny and delusion, into a manifest market and commodity for deluders, who whilst they are openly engaged in nothing but gain, and fraud and domineering, and the like selfish pursuits, all very worldly, many very wicked, have the confidence to preach up self-denial, to preach against the world, and to claim successorship to the poor, wandering, holy and disinterested Apostles.[126]

[126] Volume V, 8-9.

Religion can certainly do a lot of good in a society, but religion is all a matter of faith and faith cannot be forced upon anyone. According to Gordon, faith must be genuine to have any positive effects. People should not believe in a religion out of fear. People should believe in a religion only if they truly do have faith in all of that religion's teachings. Unfortunately, as Gordon notes above, religion is certainly an easy tool to be used by a tyrant to gather followers. A tyrant becomes extremely dangerous when he imposes a religion on his state. It opens the door to more rules and regulations and thus more punishment for breaking these rules. Religion can be a powerful force for good, but it can also be a powerful force for evil.

As is described here in another passage highlighted by Dickinson, Gordon again writes about how great of a tool religion can be for a tyrant to maintain order:

> What were the people or themselves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of the principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impostor is little else but an impious bargain and composition with God for abusing men.[127]

Echoing the previous passage, a religion imposed on a people becomes nothing more than a way to control and, as Gordon puts it, abuse them. Nothing good can come from imposing a religion on a state. According to Gordon, if a leader somehow convinces his people to believe in his religion, then this ruler can convince his people to do anything he pleases. Thus, as highlighted by Dickinson, in another passage, Gordon claims that no religion can often be much more beneficial to society than any religion at all:

> The Bonzes or Priests, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion; but are vicious, sordid, base, and void of every virtue private or public. Here is an instance of a Monarchy the most thriving of any upon earth, or that ever was upon

[127] Volume IV, 171.

> earth; an Empire that contains more people than half the rest of the globe, these people full of industry and arts; yet administered by men who are of no particular Religion, or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reason and Morality; nor knows it a greater blot and disgrace than the vile lives of its Priests and Religious.[128]

A state is much better off run by moral people who do not adhere to a particular religion than by people who say they adhere to a religion, but only do so in order to gain power over their subjects. People can be moral without believing in a religion and, often times, they can actually be more moral than those who claim to be religious or have a religious title. If the title of priest is being used only to gain influence and power over people, then that priest is better off calling himself a tyrant than a priest. Furthermore, the most successful states are run by leaders who preach nothing but reason and morality as opposed to a particular faith.

Riots and Revolution

When a people's natural right to liberty is violated for an extended period of time, it is only logical for the people to rise up and revolt in demand for the return of their natural right to liberty. Tacitus puts it best in a passage highlighted by Dickinson, "To uphold tranquility and peace, righteous designs are required and virtuous management."[129] Simply put, if many of the above ideals such as liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and a government based on popular sovereignty are adhered to, a state will always live in peace. Trouble arises when rulers begin to ignore these ideals and unhappy, unsatisfied citizens turn to violence to get not only what they want, but also what they deserve. The result is the tumultuous scene described here by Tacitus and highlighted by Dickinson:

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[128] Volume IV, 169.; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.
[129] Volume III, 267.

> Many were the prodigies that happened this year: upon the Capitol were seen birds of evil omen, frequent concussions of the earth were felt, and by them many houses overthrown…For a prodigy also was reckoned the barrenness of the season, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to houses and corners; they even gathered in tumultuous crowds round the Prince, then engaged in the public administration of justice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; so that, to escape their violence, he was forced with his guards to break through the incensed multitude.[130]

When justice is not administered by the head of state, the public will eventually take justice into their own hands. This passage serves as a warning to any ruler who gets selfish and forgets about his people that eventually his people will get even and he will fear his people much more than they initially feared him. They will not confine their anger to themselves; they will quickly look to the person in charge and blame him for their unhappiness. According to Gordon, people who do not possess any official power may, at first, seem harmless to a tyrant, though people can only take so much abuse before they rise up for their liberties. Of course, all of this can be avoided if a ruler does not forget about his people and, in fact, puts their interests above his own.

The Importance of Education, History, and Experience

A book like Gordon's *Tacitus* would serve very little purpose if no one learned from it and Gordon acknowledged this in his *Discourses*. Dickinson also acknowledged this sentiment through his folding. In this passage, Gordon stresses to the reader how important it is to

[130] Volume II, 62.; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.

constantly look to the past as a guide to action and how history will consistently show that the best state is always a free state:

> To reason from experience and examples, is the best reasoning. Compare any free State with any other that is not free. Compare the former and present condition of any State formerly free; or once enslaved, and now free… happiness and wretchedness are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage."[131]

History, including the one translated by Gordon, shows time and time again that a free state leads to happiness while a tyranny leads to misery. This is reason enough to use the past to guide one's actions. The message here being to learn from the mistakes made in history and to not repeat them, which would inflict pain on more innocent people. There are no excuses for tyrants to plead ignorance to their people because there is too much history that should guide a tyrant towards creating a free state based on the will of the people over a dictatorship. The bottom line here is that history—the experience and mistakes of others—should guide the actions of present leaders and citizens to doing the right thing.

In another passage highlighted by Dickinson, Gordon stresses how important it is for a government to properly educate its people:

> Tacitus says, that no Government was ever sufficiently powerful to repress the turbulent sallies of a people, who were once brought to sanctify and defend the evil doings and devices of men as real parts and acts of Religion. Never was any observation more true; and it shews of what importance it is to Government to take care how the people are nurtured, that the public education be rational and just, and that subjects be not taught to reverence any authority in the State more than the civil authority, or indeed to behold or feel any other whatsoever.

[131] Volume IV, 233-234.

A poor education or an education that teaches a people to blindly worship and listen to their government eventually will lead to violence and that government's downfall. Thus, educating the public is just as important to the public as it is to the government because a proper education of the public will sustain the government and ensure its survival. This passage also links history to education, because, history has shown that when a poorly educated people rise up against their repressive government, that government almost always comes out on the losing end. If people are given a proper education and one that teaches them the truth about their government, then there will be no revolts in the first place because a government that teaches the truth has nothing evil to hide. This passage is also clearly linked to Gordon's notion of what makes a proper religion. According to Gordon, religion cannot be forced on a people. Religion can only be based on a matter of faith. If the public learns the truth behind a religion, that it was simply created by the state to instill order, the people will revolt and, as has been shown here, there is no turning back for the survival of that state.

Dickinson again highlighted a passage of Gordon's that stresses that a ruler is much safer having educated and intelligent people than having ignorant and uninformed people:

> It does not at all follow from the ignorance of the people, that they are thence the more likely to be peaceable subjects. The more ignorant they are, the more easily they are deceived; and such who depend, not upon reason, but upon authority and men, are the surest dupes of Ambition and Craft, the certain materials for every public combustion. A few loud, or solemn, or even senseless words artfully pronounced and applied, are sufficient to raise their passions, to

> present them with false objects of love and hate, to fill them with foolish pity or foolish indignation, and to harden them against all sense and peace.[132]

When it comes to ruling a state, ignorance is not bliss. While keeping one's subjects in the dark and forcing them to depend on the government for every move and thought they make may seem like the best, most efficient way to run a government, this strategy of governing will eventually turn against the state. It may be easy to initially keep ignorant people in order, but it is only a matter of time before that order turns to violence and a revolt against the government. Education and transparency, for that matter, are essential to running and sustaining a free state. The moment an ignorant people find out that they have been duped is the moment that a state begins to collapse. Furthermore, if a ruler ever faces opposition, according to Gordon, it is much easier for that opposition to convince an ignorant people to rise up against their ruler than it is an educated people. Thus, education ensures a state's survival.

Education, as is described in another passage of Gordon's highlighted by Dickinson, is not only essential for the survival of a state, but it is also, more importantly, essential for the survival and wellbeing of an individual, "It is chiefly by education and the exercise of the understanding that some men come to surpass others; for by nature men are alike, all made of the same materials; nor greater difference is there between the Lord and the Slave, than that which proceeds from chance or education."[133] Without education, every man is equal, but not equal in rights, rather equal in productivity and the lack thereof. Education separates the leaders in a state from those who follow their lead. It separates the governed from those who govern. Education also promotes competition among the best and brightest citizens, which is what makes a popular sovereignty thrive. The more educated people there are in a society, the more factions there will

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[132] Volume V, 217-218.

[133] Volume V, 168; Please see Appendix B for expanded versions of the passages highlighted in this section along with further passages that fall under this theme.

be and thus the more viewpoints there will be to balance one another. Education is the lifeblood of a government that is ruled according to the will of the people—it is the lifeblood of a popular sovereignty.

Caution, Patience, and the Dangers of Eagerness

Finally, Dickinson took note of one last theme that Tacitus stressed in a leader: patience. As Tacitus wrote in this passage, which Dickinson highlighted and actually took direct note of in a 1764 speech to be discussed in the next chapter, a great leader should not try to accomplish too much, too quickly because that is when a leader begins his downfall:

> Brutidius abounded in worthy accomplishments, and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the most distinguished honour; but eagerness hurried him, while he pushed to surpass first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own very hopes; a course which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men, who, scorning acquirements that came flow, but attended with security, grasped at such as were sudden, though linked to destruction.[134]

Tacitus is using the example of Brutidius to show what happens when a successful leader gets ahead of himself in his accomplishments. A leader is only successful because he takes the time to think his actions through. When a leader begins to act without thinking, when he begins to conquer those in his path to success without considering the backlash that can possibly come from all of those who have been conquered, he will soon be conquered himself. This is how a monarch who rules a popular sovereignty becomes a tyrant and how a well run popular sovereignty becomes a corrupt empire.

[134] Volume I, 189.

This theme of caution, though only highlighted once throughout his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*, would go on to define Dickinson's political career. That being said, it is, of course, impossible to prove that Dickinson's reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* provided him with direct motivation for his political actions. In the words of historian Trevor Colbourn, "The dangers of implying such causation are painfully obvious."[135] Furthermore, it is impossible to prove that Dickinson agreed with everything that he highlighted in Gordon's *Tacitus*. It is certainly no coincidence, however, that the majority of his folds did emphasize the benchmarks of radical Whig thought, which, above all else, stem from the notion that liberty is a natural right. Admittedly so, there is no refuting the point that the only reason Dickinson highlighted these pillars of radical Whig thought was because he was, in fact, reading a radical Whig text. As will be displayed in the next chapter though, almost all of the themes that Dickinson folded to in Gordon's *Tacitus*, Dickinson put to use in his political career from 1764 to 1776. To that end, many of the themes came to define Dickinson's political career for better and for worse. Thus, proving Colbourn's point in *The Lamp of Experience*, "The most that can be claimed is that the character of [the Founder's] reading, their particular preferences and comments on them," and in Dickinson's case, his unique highlighting method, "do inform powerfully on their political though and final action."[136]

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[135] H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1965), xxii.
[136] Ibid.

Chapter 3: Gordon's *Tacitus*, "A piddling Genius," and the American Revolution

John Dickinson has acquired a number of different labels from different historians over the years. He has been called everything from "Penman of the American Revolution" to "Historical Revolutionary" to "Conservative Revolutionary."[137] Unfortunately for Dickinson, the label that he has been most remembered for is "a piddling Genius," not because of its accuracy, but because of its creator, John Adams.[138] Adams called Dickinson this "In Confidence" in a letter written to James Warren on July 24, 1775 from Philadelphia in the midst of a meeting of the Second Continental Congress. [139] Adams was frustrated about a debate that he was having with Dickinson on whether or not to open up American ports to the rest of the world.[140] Dickinson vehemently opposed the opening of the ports and eventually won the debate.[141] As far as history goes though, this victory for Dickinson was far less important than Adams's frustrated description of him in his letter to Warren. Despite Adams's wishes that his letter to Warren remain private, British General, Sir Thomas Gage, intercepted it, among other letters, and had it published on August 17, 1775 in Draper's *Massachusetts Gazette*. [142] Dickinson has been "a piddling Genius" ever since.

Adams's stinging comment aside, Dickinson's intellect and writings guided the Revolutionary movement from its initial stages up to the Declaration of Independence. He is most remembered and revered for his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, which were

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[137] Moses Coit Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution, Volume II*, 1776, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1897), 21; H. Trevor Colbourn, "John Dickinson, Historical Revolutionary," *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1959); Milton E. Flower, *John Dickinson: Conservative Revolutionary*, (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1983).
[138] John Adams, "John Adams to James Warren, Philadelphia, July 24, 1775," in Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921), 176.
[139] John H. Powell, "A Certain Great Fortune and Piddling Genius," in *Early Dickinsonia: The Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures*, (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The Library of Dickinson College, 1961), 55.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid., 43-44.

published between 1767 and 1768 in response to the Quartering Act of 1765, the Restraining Act of 1766, and the Townshend Duties of 1767.[143] Only Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* had more of an impact on the colonists and a wider circulation than Dickinson's *Letters*.[144] Dickinson's "Liberty Song," which was published in 1768 as a further response to taxes imposed on the American colonies by the British Parliament, was also very popular among the colonists.[145] These two pieces of writing, among others to be noted throughout this chapter, were what gave Dickinson the title of "Penman of the American Revolution."

Despite gaining such a positive reputation from his writing of the *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, two other incidents in Dickinson's revolutionary career raised Adam's ire. The first marked Dickinson's entrance into colonial and revolutionary politics and the second, for all intents and purposes, marked his exit in terms of influence on the Revolutionary movement. In 1764, Dickinson took a strong stance against a fairly popular coalition led by Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway to make Pennsylvania into a royal colony, putting it under the direct rule of King George III, and revoking the Penns' proprietary charter over the colony. Dickinson was able to recover from this incident, but his reputation and influence never fully recovered from the second incident, which was his refusal to sign the Declaration of Independence in 1776. So Dickinson's reputation began on a somewhat negative note, at least in the eyes of the majority of his peers in Pennsylvania, because he opposed being ruled by the Crown of England in 1764 and was permanently tarnished for his refusal to break away from that same Crown's rule in 1776. Interestingly, as this chapter will show, the case made by Dickinson in 1764 foreshadowed the

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[143] Elaine K. Ginsberg, "Dickinson, John" in *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000), http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00218.html.
[144] Forrest McDonald, "Introduction" in Forrest McDonald, ed., *Empire and Nation* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), xiii.
[145] Frank Moore, "Liberty Song" in *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York: Hurst & Company Publishers, 1905), 38.

case he would make in 1776.[146] Furthermore, many of the explanations that Dickinson gave in 1764 and 1776 to justify his actions along with many of the ideas he laid out in his *Letters* and "Liberty Song" can be found in his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*, which is what makes Dickinson's purposeful folding of Gordon's work so important.

Admittedly, Gordon's *Tacitus* was not the only influence on Dickinson's words and actions. As he wrote in his first *Letter*, "Being generally master of my time, I spend a good deal of it in a library, which I think the most valuable part of my small estate."[147] Thus, Dickinson was admittedly an avid reader and it was certainly a combination of many books, among other factors, that influenced his words and actions. A close reading, however, of the *Letters*, "Liberty Song," and the speeches he gave to justify his actions in 1764 and 1776 showed that Dickinson incorporated a remarkable amount of the themes that he highlighted in Gordon's *Tacitus*, including references to the work itself. The previous chapter analyzed and pulled out the themes that Dickinson highlighted throughout his reading of Gordon's work. This chapter will look at how Dickinson put those themes and ideas to work at some of the most crucial moments in his Revolutionary career. It will take a look at how the character of Dickinson's reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* appeared to have influenced his thought and action during the American Revolution.

Dickinson's Entrance: A Speech against Royal Government, 1764

On May 24, 1764, John Dickinson took his first major action in colonial politics, speaking out boldly at the Pennsylvania Assembly against the likes of Benjamin Franklin and

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[146] David L. Jacobson, "John Dickinson's Fight against Royal Government, 1764," *William and Mary Quarterly* (19) 1962, 65.
[147] John Dickinson, "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania: Letter I" in Forrest McDonald, ed., *Empire and Nation* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), 3.; "Letters from a Farmer n Pennsylvania will hereafter cited as Dickinson, Letter I-XII.

Joseph Galloway.[148] The issue at hand was whether or not to petition the Crown to revoke Pennsylvania's proprietary charter of the Penns and replace it with a royal charter from King George III.[149] Franklin and Galloway presented a report to the Assembly outlining their grievances against the Penns on the very same day that Dickinson gave his controversial and lengthy speech explaining his position on the issue. Franklin and Galloway felt that the Penns were ignoring the will of their people and misrepresenting Pennsylvania's wants and needs to Parliament. They wanted to thus revoke the Penns' proprietary rights over the colony so that the people of Pennsylvania could then report directly to the Parliament and have their genuine views heard. Dickinson, on the other hand, did not believe that the time was right for such a change in government. He acknowledged the problems associated with the Penns' leadership, but he also felt that things would not get any better and might get worse if Pennsylvania was completely taken over by George III. Dickinson admitted to his audience, "No man, Sir, can be more clearly convinced than I am, of the inconveniencies arising from a strict adherence to proprietary instructions."[150] Dickinson understood Franklin and Galloway's frustrations with the proprietary government, but felt that they were making things out to be much worse than they actually were in Pennsylvania. Furthermore, he felt that they were not thinking clearly of the consequences of being ruled directly by a royal government. In his attempt to dissuade the Assembly from following Franklin and Galloway's lead, remarkably, Dickinson fused a number of the themes that he highlighted in his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* into almost every aspect of his argument against a change in government. Dickinson's views on the dangers of governing based on one's

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[148] David L. Jacobson, "John Dickinson's Fight against Royal Government, 1764," *William and Mary Quarterly* (19) 1962, 64.
[149] Ibid.
[150] John Dickinson, "Speech on a Petition for a Change of Government of the Colony of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1764," in Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of John Dickinson* , Volume I (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1895), 4.; hereafter cited as Dickinson, Speech, 1764.

passions, the need to govern with prudence and caution, freedom of religion, the natural right of liberty, and the importance of governing according to the will of the people were all are remarkably similar to the views that Dickinson highlighted in his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*.

The first of the themes that he introduced to the Assembly was a warning against governing based on passions. From his opening lines, words from Gordon's *Discourses* seemed to appear as Dickinson stressed the dangers of making decisions based on passion:

> It being expedient for those who deliberate of public affairs, that their minds should be free from all violent passions. These emotions blind the understanding: they weaken the judgment. It therefore frequently happens, that resolutions formed by men thus agitated, appear to *them* very wise, very just, and very salutary; while others, not influenced by the same heats, condemn those determinations, as weak, unjust, and dangerous.[151]

Dickinson, like Gordon did in his *Discourses*, warned his audience against allowing one's government to make a decision based on personal and selfish passion. In Dickinson's view, Franklin and Galloway were not thinking of the consequences and the negative aftermath that Dickinson foresaw for the people of Pennsylvania if their government became overrun by the King and Parliament. In Dickinson's view, Franklin and Galloway were blinded by their anger with the Penns and were not considering the negative consequences that the people of Pennsylvania would likely suffer under a royal government. They were not governing with the future in mind, but rather were only governing in the moment.

In Dickinson's view, the faction favoring royal government was nothing more than the faction against proprietary government. Franklin and Galloway, as Dickinson explained, did not admire the King, rather they were just angry with the Penns:

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[151] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 3-4.

> In a sudden passion, it will be said, against the proprietors, we call out for a change of government. Not from reverence for his majesty; not from a sense of his paternal goodness to his people; but because we are angry with the proprietors; and tired of a dispute founded on an order approved by his majesty, and his royal grandfather.[152]

Dickinson argued that those who wanted the change in government were acting blindly out of anger. They were not thinking of what would come from a royal government and they certainly did not admire such a government. It was simply the only obvious alternative that presented itself to them, even though it was not the best alternative. Furthermore, as Dickinson pointed out, the proprietary system that Franklin and Galloway hated so much was put into place by the very royal government that they claimed to want so much. Thus, they should not have expected a much better system under a royal government alone. From his reading of Gordon, Dickinson would have linked a government of passion to a tyranny or an overbearing faction. Dickinson was doing his best to counterbalance what he saw as a dangerous faction led by Franklin and Galloway. He did not go as far as calling them tyrants, but he certainly attributed many of the characteristics that Gordon used to describe tyrants to describe Franklin and Galloway's faction.

Another theme, which came to define Dickinson's political career, from Gordon's *Tacitus* that Dickinson stressed throughout his speech was the need for prudence and caution before taking action. Dickinson fervently agreed with the notion presented in Gordon's *Tacitus* that rulers and governments should act with prudence and never rush into anything without fully thinking of the consequences that would be imposed on the people. In this case, Dickinson did not understand the urgency of the change in government and thought that this urgency would

[152]Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 13.

lead to Pennsylvania's downfall. To bolster this position, he directly cited and praised Tacitus in his initial discussion of this crucial aspect of his argument:

> That excellent historian and statesmen *Tacitus*, whose political reflections are so justly and universally admired, makes an observation in his third annal, that seems to confirm these remarks. Having mentioned a worthy man of great abilities, whose ambitious ardour hurried him into ruin, he uses these words…'Which misfortune hath happened to many good men, who despising those things which they might *slowly* and *safely* attain, seize them too hastily, and with fatal speed rush upon their own destruction.'[153]

As described in the previous chapter, Dickinson was paraphrasing a passage that he directly noted in his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*. The leader he was referring to was Brutidius, who, as Tacitus put it, "abounded in worthy accomplishments," but "eagerness hurried him," which led to his "destruction."[154] Dickinson saw Franklin and Galloway as Brutidius. They were both noble leaders of great accomplishments, but, in this case, they were simply rushing into a situation that would eventually lead to their own destruction and, more importantly, the destruction of the people of Pennsylvania. He was hoping that Franklin and Galloway would learn from the mistakes of Brutidius rather than follow in his footsteps and his path to destruction.

As Dickinson explained even before he used Tacitus to bolster his case against rushing into a change in government, "More particularly are we bound to observe the utmost caution in our conduct, as the experience of many years may convince us, that all our actions undergo the

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[153] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 8.
[154] Gordon's *Tacitus*, Volume I, 189

strictest scrutiny."[155] In Dickinson's eyes, history had proven time and time again that governments that do not act with caution quickly end up destroying themselves and their people. Dickinson did not want Pennsylvania to go into the history books as one of those governments. He wanted the Pennsylvania Assembly to debate all of the foreseeable consequences that a change to royal government might entail before actually going through with such a change. There was too much at stake to rush into making such a decision. History had proven to Dickinson that all good governments had scrutinized and thoroughly debated the foreseeable consequences of their actions before making any final decisions. In this case though, Dickinson was the only one willing to spark such a debate.

Dickinson felt strongly that the Assembly owed it to its people to think through all of the possible consequences and alternatives that might be available before making any rash decision, "A people who intend an innovation of their government, ought to choose the most proper *time*, and the most proper *method* for accomplishing their purposes; and ought seriously to weigh all the probable and possible *consequences* of such a measure."[156] The time for a change in government would only come when the Pennsylvania Assembly could come up with a better alternative to a proprietary government. Dickinson did not see a change to royal government as such an alternative. A change to royal government was simply a change proposed out of convenience and not a change proposed with the best interests of Pennsylvanians in mind. Just because a change to a royal government might have been the most obvious and easiest alternative to a proprietary one did not mean that it was the most advantageous.

Unlike his opponents, Dickinson thought the consequences of a change to royal government and the prospects of such a change did not look good:

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[155] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 4.
[156] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 6.

> I think this neither the *proper season*, nor the *proper method*, for obtaining a change of our government. It is *uncertain*, whether the measures proposed will place us in a better situation, than we are now in, with regard to the point, lately controverted: with respect to other particulars it may place us in a worse. We shall run the *risque of suffering great losses*. We have *no certainty of gaining* any thing. In a *precarious, hasty, violent* remedy for the present *partial* disorder, we are *sure* of exposing the *whole body* to danger. I cannot perceive the necessity of applying such a remedy.[157]

The risks associated with a royal government were certainly not worth the reward. Dickinson did not foresee Pennsylvanians gaining anything positive from a change in government. In fact, Dickinson saw them losing many of the rights they currently possessed under the Penns' rule. Thus, he did not understand why Franklin and Galloway wanted to rush into a change in government when that government would probably leave Pennsylvania worse off than before. Dickinson saw change as only a good thing when it happened slowly and when the consequences of such a change would add to the public happiness, rather than make things worse.

If Franklin and Galloway could somehow ensure Dickinson that all of the liberties that Pennsylvanians currently possessed would be guaranteed under a royal government, then Dickinson would have been in favor of such a change. Dickinson, however, just did not see this happening under the likes of the British royal government, "If the change of government now mediated, can take place, with all our privileges preserved; let it instantly take place: but if *they* must be consumed in the blaze of royal authority, we shall pay too great a price for our approach to the throne."[158] Thus, Dickinson was stressing caution in a change of government because he

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[157] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 42.
[158] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 5-6.

did not foresee the royal government having any good reason to preserve the liberties and rights that Pennsylvanians currently possessed. Pennsylvania had a system in place that put most of the power in the hands of the people and thus if the people were unsatisfied with certain aspects of their government they could take action to change them. That would simply not be the case under a royal government. The British monarch had no good reason to take into account the will of the colonists, especially when they voluntarily fell to his rule. Thus, from Dickinson's view, Pennsylvanians were putting themselves at the mercy of a monarch without making certain that this monarch had any mercy for them in the first place.

The urgency of Franklin and Galloway was so troubling to Dickinson because they seemed to be ignoring all of the liberties upon which Pennsylvania was founded, "No man, sir, amongst us hath denied, or will deny, that this province must *stake* on the event of the present attempt, liberties that ought to be immortal--*Liberties!* Founded on the acknowledged *rights of human nature*; and restrained in our mother-country."[159] Echoing Gordon, Dickinson saw liberty as part of the state of nature and he saw Pennsylvania as being founded according to this notion of liberty. As will be noted later, Dickinson also agreed with Gordon's notion that a natural state of liberty is necessary to govern according to the will of the people. Dickinson saw no need for Franklin and Galloway to put all of Pennsylvania's liberties at risk simply because they were angry with the Penns. As Dickinson put it, "[Our liberties] are safe now; and *why* should we engage in an enterprize that will render them *uncertain*?"[160] The rights and privileges that Pennsylvanians possessed were too precious to risk losing to the hands of a monarch who would definitely not have the same understanding of these rights as Pennsylvanians did. Thus,

[159] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 22.
[160] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 32.

Dickinson, guided by his conservative mindset, did not understand the urgency of Franklin and Galloway, especially when it put so much of the good that Pennsylvania stood for at risk.

One of the liberties and another theme that Dickinson stressed in a similar fashion to the way Gordon described it in his *Discourses* was the importance of maintaining freedom of religion, "In the first place, we here enjoy that best and greatest of all rights, *a perfect religious freedom*."[161] Dickinson saw freedom of religion as the most important liberty maintained in Pennsylvania because he saw so many other liberties stemming from a freedom of religion. To start, he stressed that freedom of religion allowed those who govern in Pennsylvania to govern based on their conscious and not on the tenets of a specific religion, "Posts of honour and profit are unfettered with *oaths* or *tests*; and therefore are open to men, whose abilities, strict regard to their conscientious persuasion, and unblemished characters qualify them to discharge their duties with credit to themselves, and advantage to their country."[162] Members of the Pennsylvania Assembly did not have to swear to the tenets of any religion in order to take office. They ruled based on their genuine conscious and that of the people, as opposed to the rules of a religion. Furthermore, they could not use the tenets of a religion to impose laws on the people of Pennsylvania. They did not govern according to the constitution of a religion; they governed according to the constitution of the people.

Dickinson feared that the Church of England would put an end to this vital freedom of religion that Pennsylvania was founded and had sustained itself upon,

> …all zealous persons, think their own religious tenets the best, and would willingly see them embraced by others. I therefore apprehend, that the dignified and reverend gentlemen of the church of *England*, will be extremely desirous to

[161] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 23.
[162] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 23.

> have *that* church as well secured, and as much distinguished as possible in the *American* colonies; especially in those colonies, where it is overborne, as it were, by dissenters. There never can be a more critical opportunity for this purpose than the present. The cause of the church will besides be connected with that of the crown, to which its principles are thought to be more favourable, than those of other professions.[163]

Dickinson saw the religion of the Church of England as a legitimate faith and admired all those who believed in it. That aside, however, he knew that especially in a state like Pennsylvania, which was founded by the Quakers to escape religious persecution, the Church of England could very well destroy the very reason that Pennsylvania came to exist. After all, as Dickinson highlighted throughout his reading of Gordon, a forced religion is the ideal tool of a tyrant because it provides a tyrant with an easy way to maintain order among his people. Furthermore, it provides a tyrant with a convenient way in which to abuse the people's rights in the name of such a religion. Given even the slightest possibility that the King might go on to impose the religion of the Church of England onto the people of Pennsylvania provided Dickinson with more than a good enough reason to oppose a change in government. Dickinson did not want to give King George the opportunity to look at the religion of the Church of England as a simple means to enforce new laws on his new subjects in Pennsylvania.

Dickinson ended his speech to the Assembly stressing the fact that despite being ruled under a proprietary charter, Pennsylvania was a state ruled by the people and for the people. Dickinson had read Gordon's praise for a government ruled according to the will of the people, a popular sovereignty, but, interestingly, Dickinson viewed Pennsylvania as more than a republic. A popular sovereignty is simply a government ruled according to the will of the people, but not

[163] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 25-26.

ruled by the people. Pennsylvania, however, was ruled by its people and it was up to members of the Pennsylvania Assembly to meet the demands of their constituents. In other words, Pennsylvania was not ruled by the Assembly and for the likes of Franklin and Galloway. The people of Pennsylvania put their trust in the Assembly to act according to what they deemed best for them as a whole and not for the Assembly alone. To that end, while it might have been legally possible for the Assembly to vote on a change in government, Franklin and Galloway's proposal, in Dickinson's view, did not properly take into account the will of the people. After all, it was the will of the people that approved of a proprietary government in the first place. As Dickinson reminded his audience:

> We have received these seats by the free choice of this people, under this constitution; and to preserve it in its utmost purity and vigour, has always been deemed by me, a principal part of the trust committed to my care and fidelity. The measure now proposed has a direct tendency to endanger this constitution; and therefore in my opinion, we have *no right* to engage in it, without the *almost universal consent of the public*, exprest in the plainest manner.[164]

The members of the Assembly were nothing more than servants to those who elected them. They were servants to the public good. This was what made Pennsylvania a republic rather than a popular sovereignty. Unless Franklin and Galloway had some sort of proof, which they did not, that the large majority of the people wanted to put their government into the hands of the King of England, they had no legitimate right to do so. Thus, on top of all of the negative consequences that a royal government would entail, Dickinson saw the very act of the Assembly voting to approve such a change in government as illegitimate in the first place. The people had never founded a royal government, they founded a proprietary government.

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[164] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 37.

Dickinson even proposed "to see a vast majority of [the people] join with a calm resolution in the measure, before I should think myself justifiable in voting for it, even if I approved of it."[165] If this majority approved of the change in government, Dickinson would follow suit, but, until then, Dickinson saw no legitimate explanation for such an act by the Assembly. On this issue, Dickinson's thinking certainly progressed beyond that of Gordon. Dickinson, as a representative, was only comfortable making decisions after he knew what the people of Pennsylvania wanted and not what he just perceived they wanted. On the one hand, this can be viewed as Dickinson's praise for a more democratic form of government than simply a popular sovereignty. On the other hand, it can be viewed as Dickinson living up to his conservative mindset when making decisions. He only wanted to act when he was absolutely certain that it was according to the will of the people.

Dickinson's final plea to the Assembly defined his motive for speaking out against a change in royal government, "My only wish now is, that the resolutions of this house, whatever they are, may promote the happiness of *Pennsylvania*.[166] Dickinson did not see his role in the Assembly as promoting his own happiness. He saw it as promoting that of the people who elected him to the Assembly in the first place. This is not to say that Franklin and Galloway did not see their roles as promoting the happiness of their constituents. Dickinson simply felt that they had lost sight of their constituents and the dangerous consequences that a rash change in government would entail for them. He learned from Gordon's work of the dangers of acting on one's passions and being blinded of the consequences of such actions. He learned that it was best to act with prudence than with eagerness and of the evils that an overbearing faction can present to a state. To that end, even though Dickinson's viewpoint against a change of government was

[165] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 37.
[166] Dickinson, Speech, 1764, 43.

in the minority and thus, in a sense, radical, compared to the larger Franklin and Galloway faction, it was actually more conservative than anything else. At the core of Dickinson's reasoning behind not changing Pennsylvania's form of government was the same conservative and cautious outlook that would go on to be the most defining characteristic of his political career.

Dickinson had hoped that his speech would open the Assemblymen's eyes so that they would see exactly what they were getting themselves into. Apparently Dickinson's case was not convincing enough though, because the day after he gave his speech, the Assembly overwhelmingly voted in favor of the plan for royal government.[167] The next step in the process of changing forms of government was to deliver the petition to do so to the King. Not surprisingly, the Assembly elected Franklin to carry out this task, not only because he was one of the chief proponents for such a change, but also because he had previously dealt with the royal government.[168] It would only be a matter of time, however, before Dickinson's warnings became realities. Ironically, the same month, March 1765, that word finally reached Pennsylvania that Franklin had made it safely to London was the same month that the Parliament passed the notorious Stamp Act.[169] The passing of the Stamp Act not only fulfilled the prophecies of Dickinson, but it also ended any chance for Franklin to actually follow through with delivering the petition to the King. Thus, Pennsylvania would remain a proprietary colony until it was no longer a part of the British Empire, proving Dickinson's conservative approach was the right one to have all along, at least on this occasion.

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[167] David L. Jacobson, "John Dickinson's Fight against Royal Government, 1764," *William and Mary Quarterly* (19) 1962, 64.
[168] Ibid., 82.
[169] Walter Isaacson, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life*, (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2003), 222-223.

The Farmer's Letters

As noted, it was not long before the fears that Dickinson so eloquently presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1764 became a reality in Pennsylvania and the rest of the colonies. First came the Sugar Act of 1764 and then, shortly after, the British Parliament passed the Stamp Act of 1765.[170] The "Farmer's Letters" allowed Dickinson to completely regain his reputation after his very unpopular fight with Franklin and Galloway. They made him appear prophetic to the colonists, who now needed someone like Dickinson to be able to make their case against these imperial abuses of power. To that end, Dickinson was selected to be part of the four-member delegation from Pennsylvania to attend the Stamp Act Congress of 1765.[171] Not only did he attend the Congress, but he also penned its Rights and Grievances, which articulated the idea of no taxation without representation. He followed up these Rights and Grievances in November of 1765 with a broadside addressed to "Friends and Countrymen" that further urged the colonists to ignore the Stamp Act.[172] That same month he also published *The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies*, which was addressed to a British audience and stressed the negative economic consequences that the British, not just the colonists, will suffer from the Sugar Act.[173]

In March 1766, Dickinson's hard work seemed to have paid off with Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act, though at the very same moment of this repeal, the British struck again by declaring the right to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."[174] Then just fifteen months after the Declaratory Act, Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, which imposed duties

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[170] Elaine K. Ginsberg, "Dickinson, John" in *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000), http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00218.html.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Forrest McDonald, "Introduction" in Forrest McDonald, ed., *Empire and Nation* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), xii.

on certain items that the colonists imported (paper, glass, lead, paints, and tea) and completely reorganized the colonial customs system.[175] Dickinson wasted no time in responding to these latest abuses out of Parliament and had twelve essays in the form of letters ready to go to greet the new customs commissioners as soon as they crossed the Atlantic.[176] On November 30, 1767, the first of twelve *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* appeared in the weekly *Pennsylvania Chronicle* and *Universal Advertiser*. These *Letters* became the most popular pamphlets of the Revolutionary period only behind Paine's *Common Sense*. Unlike his most recent work regarding the Stamp and Sugar Acts, Dickinson brought back the spirit of Gordon's *Tacitus* to help make his case against the latest British abuses of the colonists, including references to the work itself. Similar to his speech in 1764, Farmer Dickinson discussed the importance of learning from the past, the evils of making decisions of passion, governing with caution, governing according to the will of the people, tyranny, and liberty as a natural right. Interestingly, on all of these subjects, Farmer Dickinson sounded very much like Farmers Gordon and Tacitus.

The importance of history and learning from the past was the first of the themes from Gordon's *Tacitus* that Dickinson brought out in his letters. He wrote in Letter I, "From my infancy I was taught to love *humanity* and *liberty.* Enquiry and experience have since confirmed my reverence for the lessons then given me, by convincing me more fully of their truth and excellence.[177] Dickinson's education and experience proved to him that time and time again a society based on liberty always prevailed over a tyranny. He was obviously urging his readers to learn from the past and end the British abuses of power before liberty completely disappeared. After all, as history had shown, it would not be long before society and public happiness

[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., xiii.
[177]Dickinson, Letter I, 3.

disappeared as well. Even the date that Dickinson put on this first letter was a significant reference to the past. November 5, 1767 was the seventy-ninth anniversary of the landing of William the Third at Torbay, which was the day that "gave Constitutional Liberty to all Englishmen."[178] Interestingly, this was the only letter that he signed with a date and took note of its significance as "The day of King William the Third's landing" in a footnote.[179] Thus, he wanted to make absolutely sure that his readers understood that history showed that, as Englishmen, the colonists had the right to a government based on liberty and this was the reason for writing these letters.

In Letter X, Dickinson returned to the notion of learning from the past and, most importantly, the mistakes of the past:

> Happy are the men, and *happy the people who grow wise by the misfortunes of others.* Earnestly, my dear countrymen, do I beseech the author of all good gifts, that you may grow wise in this manner; and if I may be allowed to take such a liberty, I beg leave to recommend to you in general, as the best method of attaining this wisdom, diligently to study the histories of other countries. You will there find all the arts, that can possibly be practiced by cunning rulers, or false patriots among yourselves, so fully delineated, that, changing names, the account would serve for your own times.[180]

Though not specifically mentioned in this letter, one of the histories he most likely had in mind was that of Tacitus's. He unambiguously urged his readers to look to the past so that history did not repeat itself. The mistakes of the past only repeated themselves when the past was ignored.

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[178] Forrest McDonald, "Introduction" in Forrest McDonald, ed., *Empire and Nation* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), xiii.
[179] Dickinson, Letter I, 7.
[180] Dickinson, Letter X, 60.

The downfall of other countries throughout history, like the ones described in Tacitus, came about when liberty was ignored and tyranny ensued. As he insisted above, "You will there find all the arts, that can possibly be practiced by cunning rulers, or false patriots among yourselves, so fully delineated, that, changing names, the account would serve for your own times."[181] Thus, Dickinson insisted that even if the newly imposed duties on the colonists did not seem so bad at the time, his readers should look at tyrannies that had fallen in history, and the beginning of the tyrant's rule would look very similar to the situation currently underway in the colonies. If Dickinson's plea above was not clear enough to his readers, the very last line of Letter X, which stood alone above the Farmer's signature making sure Dickinson's message was crystal clear: "Remember your ancestors and your posterity."[182] Dickinson was urging his readers to learn their history as Englishmen, which was described, for instance, in Tacitus's *Germania*, so that they understood that any abuse on liberty was a violation of their rights and should not be taken lightly.

The danger that lies in a government that ruled based on the passions of its rulers and not its people was another subject that the Farmer brought up which echoed Gordon and Tacitus and his speech in 1764. As he pointed out to his readers in Letter III:

> Every government at some time or other falls into wrong measures. These may proceed from mistake or passion. But every such measure does not dissolve the obligation between the governors and the governed. The mistake may be corrected; the passion may subside. It is the duty of the governed to endeavor to rectify the mistake, and to appease the passion.[183]

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[181] Dickinson, Letter X, 60.
[182] Dickinson, Letter X, 68.
[183] Dickinson, Letter III, 18.

Dickinson was plainly inferring to his readers that the recent abuses made by the royal government were either honest mistakes or made out of passion and had blinded the King and Parliament from what was best for its colonists. It was thus up to the colonists to remind their government of the rights they were owed as Englishmen. Nothing good came when a ruler made decisions based on his own passions and not on the wants and needs of his people.

Dickinson again in Letter X reminded his readers that their duty as Englishmen was to stop the duties of passion being imposed on the colonists by the King and Parliament, "True it is, that if the people of *Great Britain* were not too much blinded by the passions, that have been artfully excited in their breasts, against their dutiful children the colonists, these considerations would be nearly as alarming to them as to us."[184] The considerations referred to, of course, were the recent duties imposed on the colonists, which were imposed, in the eyes of Dickinson, according to the passions of the King and Parliament and clearly not according to the will of the colonists. To that end, Dickinson was claiming to any readers who might have been skeptical of Dickinson's outrage because similar outrage was not being expressed by their fellow Englishmen across the Atlantic that the reason for this was because they had been swept up by the powerful passions of the King and Parliament. If the same duties were imposed on them, then they would be just as outraged as Dickinson.

Despite Dickinson's outrage, just as he had back in 1764, Dickinson also urged prudence and caution to his readers just a few years later. In Letter III, Dickinson blatantly expressed this notion to his readers, "We cannot act with too much caution in our disputes. Anger produces anger; and differences, that might be accommodated by kind and respectful behavior, may, by imprudence, be enlarged to an incurable rage."[185] Amazingly despite Dickinson's anger with the

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[184] Dickinson, Letter X, 64.
[185]Dickinson, Letter III, 19.

royal government, he still urged the colonists to act with caution against this government. If the colonists took too extreme of an action in response to the duties, harsher ones would be imposed. He was obviously still encouraging the colonists to do something to end the taxation without representation imposed on them. He just wanted to make sure that they thought their actions through carefully before carrying them out. He did not want the colonists to do anything they would quickly regret.

Dickinson insisted that liberty could only be brought about through, among other characteristics, prudence and modesty:

> The cause of *liberty* is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. Those who engage in it, should breathe a sedate, yet fervent spirit, animating them to actions of prudence, justice, modesty, bravery, humanity and magnanimity.[186]

Since liberty is a part of the peaceful state of nature to begin with, the only way to maintain it was through actions that characterized such a state. He did not want the colonists to stoop to the level of those who took their liberty away from them. He wanted them to act with the consequences of their actions in mind. The only rational way, in Dickinson's mind, to maintain or regain a state of liberty was to act with modesty and with caution.

In his very last letter, Letter XII, Dickinson again insisted that the colonists must act with prudence because not only would it help them in the short term, but it would also help them with their reputation in the long term:

> You have nothing to do, but to conduct your affairs *peaceably—prudently—firmly—jointly*. By *these means* you will support the character of

[186] Dickinson, Letter III, 17.

> *freemen,* without losing that of *faithful subjects*—a good character in any government—one of the best under a *British* government. You will *prove,* that *Americans* have that true *magnanimity* of soul, that can resent injuries, without falling into rage; and that tho' your devotion to *Great Britain* is the most affectionate, yet you can make PROPER DISTINCTIONS, and know what you owe *to yourselves,* as well as *to her*—You will, at the same time that you advance your *interests,* advance your *reputation*—You will convince the world of the *justice of your demands,* and the *purity of your intentions.*[187]

The colonists could take action against their own government while still respecting their government. The only way to do so, in Dickinson's eyes, was to act with prudence. Resorting to violence had too many negative consequences and could very much lead to a disaster for the colonists. Whatever liberties the colonists were holding onto before resorting to such actions would be absolutely crushed if they resorted to turbulence to regain such liberties. Furthermore, acting with prudence would appear more rational to people outside of Great Britain who could not witness the British abuses of liberty firsthand. The rest of the world would be more likely to come to the aid of the colonists if they acted prudently than if they act rashly. The actions of the royal government against the colonists would look much worse to foreigners if contrasted to prudent responses, not turbulent ones. Prudence gave the colonists more legitimacy than violence.

It followed perfectly then that Dickinson blamed the actions of the royal government on a lack of modesty and caution, "Moderation has been the rule of her conduct. But now, a general humane people, that so often has protected the liberty of strangers, is inflamed into an attempt to tear a privilege from her own children, which, if executed, must, in their opinion, sink them into

[187] Dickinson, Letter XII, 84.

slaves."[188] According to Dickinson's logic, the royal government threw its normal moderation away and replaced it with the evil duties imposed on the colonists. If the government had acted modestly and cautiously, it would have realized that they were overstepping their boundaries as rulers of a free state. Instead, by unjustly taking away the property of the colonists, they were slowly but surely turning these free people into slaves. As Dickinson more succinctly put it in Letter VII, "Their happiness therefore entirely depends on the moderation of those who have authority to impose the duties."[189] Thus, less moderation on the government's part meant less happiness for the colonists. The duties imposed on the colonists were a blatant action out of the realms of moderation and if the royal government did not return to its normal state of moderation it would be very tough for the colonists to regain their happiness.

Another theme that the Farmer echoed from his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* was the natural right of the people to have a say in the laws that were being imposed upon them. According to Dickinson, laws were only legitimate if the people whom they were imposed upon had a say in their creation. As he put it in Letter VII, "It is the particular business of the people, to inquire and discover what regulations are useful for themselves, and to digest and present them in the form of bills, to the other orders, to have them enacted into laws."[190] The people not only had a right to approve of the laws that they were governed by, but they also, according to Dickinson, had a duty to do so. If they had no say in their laws, then they were not living in a true state of liberty. Laws must be created according to the public good. Otherwise, they were not laws, but rather abuses of power. This again marked a departure from Gordon in terms of his views on the best way to govern a state. Gordon thought the best way to govern was not necessarily by the people, but for the people—a popular sovereignty. Just as he did in his speech

[188] Dickinson, Letter V, 31-32.
[189] Dickinson, Letter VII, 43.
[190] Dickinson, Letter VII, 39.

in 1764, Dickinson again empathized in Letter VII that his preference for the most proper form of government was more of a direct rule by the people, not just for the people—more of a republic than a popular sovereignty.

Dickinson invoked Tacitus specifically in Letter VI to get across to his readers just what it meant to be a genuinely free people:

> A FREE people therefore can never be too quick in observing, nor too firm in opposing the beginnings of *alteration* either in *form* or *reality*, respecting institutions formed for their security. The first kind of alteration leads to the last: Yet, on the other hand, nothing is more certain, than that the *forms* of liberty may be retained, when the *substance* is gone. In government, as well as in religion, "The *letter* killeth, but the *spirit* giveth life." [Tacitus in quotes][191]

Dickinson was using the wisdom of Tacitus to urge the colonists to continue to live as free people despite the threats being made by the royal government against such a way of life. If the colonists simply abided by these new duties, which they had no say in making in the first place, it would only urge the royal government to impose more abuses onto the colonists. A state of liberty did not have to be lost in the colonies simply because an unjust set of laws were being imposed on them. Liberty would be lost, however, if carelessly the colonists abided by such laws.

Along those lines, Dickinson in Letter VII gave his exact definition of a free people, "For WHO ARE A FREE PEOPLE? Not *those*, over whom government is reasonable and equitably exercised, but *those*, who live under a government so *constitutionally checked and controlled*, that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised."[192] Thus, people could only

[191] Dickinson, Letter VI, 36.
[192] Dickinson, Letter VII, 43-44.

genuinely be free if they had a say in their government. A government that appeared to be reasonable did not make it genuinely free unless its people agreed with this characterization. Thus, as a free people, the colonists had every right to have a say in the laws being imposed upon them by the royal government. The fact that they did not have this right in the creation of the latest duties imposed on them made these laws illegitimate to begin with, unless, of course, the colonists accepted the fact that they were no longer a free people. Though, according to Dickinson, a government that did not govern according to public good, could not sustain itself for very long, "A *people* is travelling fast to destruction, when *individuals* consider *their* interests as distinct from *those of the public.* Such notions are fatal to their country, and to themselves."[193] If a ruling faction did not take into account those who it was ruling, that ruling faction would not be in power for very long. A state could only survive according to the will of its people, not the will of a few. Thus, it was only a matter of time before the British Empire began to crumble.

When a government did not take into account the will of its people, it was no longer a free state, but rather a tyranny. Dickinson invoked Tacitus most frequently when describing the characteristics and telltale signs of a tyranny. Dickinson used Tacitus to warn the colonists that just because the royal government might have appeared to be legitimate and just, they should not judge the government based on its appearance, but rather on the realities of the laws that they had created. As he put it in Letter VI:

> All artful rulers, who strive to extend their power beyond its just limits, endeavor to give to their attempts as much semblance of legality as possible. Those who succeed them may venture to go a little further; for each new encroachment will be strengthened by a former. "That which is now supported by

[193] Dickinson, Letter XII, 77.

> examples, growing old, will become an example itself," [Tacitus quoted] and thus support fresh usurpations.[194]

Dickinson was using Tacitus to open the eyes of any colonists who saw any legitimacy in the recent taxes imposed on them by the royal government. According to Dickinson, they had no say in the passing of these taxes and so they were not legitimate. Though if the colonists simply abided by paying the taxes without any complaint, then they would be ending any semblance of a free state that had existed before the taxes were imposed. Furthermore, the royal government would see no point in ending its abuses on the colonists if the colonists did not see them as abuses in the first place. Thus, illegitimate acts only became the norm and, in a sense, legitimate if they were not recognized properly as being otherwise.

Dickinson used Tacitus again in his next letter to emphasize the same sort of dangers to look out for in a tyrant, this time citing a specific example of a tyrant who Tacitus wrote about:

> This policy did not escape the cruel and rapacious NERO. That monster, apprehensive that his crimes might endanger his authority and life, thought proper to do some popular acts, to secure the obedience of his subjects. Among other things, says *Tacitus,* "he remitted the twenty-fifth part of the price on the sale of slaves, but rather in *show* than *reality;* for the seller being ordered to pay it, it became part of the price to the buyer." [Tacitus's Ann. Book 13 in quotes][195]

Similar to his previous citation of Tacitus, Dickinson did not want any actions of the royal government that may have appeared to benefit the colonists to hide the fact that the royal government was still completely ignoring the will of the people by imposing duties without giving the colonists a say in Parliament. No matter how legitimate the Parliament claimed its

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[194] Dickinson, Letter VI, 36.
[195] Dickinson, Letter VII, 41.

taxes to be, Dickinson emphasized that they did nothing more than advance the cause of the King against the rights of the colonists. After all, similar to Nero, if King George III knew that he could get away with acting only in his self interest, there would be no reason for him to act otherwise. As Dickinson wrote, Nero was able to do just that and win his people over at the same time, "This is the reflection of the judicious *Historian;* but the deluded *people* gave their infamous Emperor full credit for his false generosity."[196] Dickinson's hope was that the colonists would learn from Tacitus's account of Nero and not be fooled by any action that was only legitimate in appearance and not in reality.

Finally, at the heart of Dickinson's entire argument in his *Letters* was the notion that liberty was part of the natural state of being. Any government that did not abide by this notion, which was emphasized throughout Gordon's *Tacitus,* was illegitimate in the eyes of Dickinson, Gordon, and Tacitus. Dickinson was so outraged by the newly imposed duties on the colonists because, as he explained in Letter II, they were a blatant violation of the natural liberties that the colonists deserved to possess:

> The single question is, whether the parliament can legally impose duties to be paid *by the people of these colonies only,* for the sole purpose of raising a revenue, *on commodities which she obliges us to take from her alone,* or, in other words, whether the parliament can legally take money out of our pockets, without our consent. If they can, our boasted liberty is but…A sound and nothing else.[197]

Dickinson's first point here was that the colonists should in no way have to pay duties to the royal government if they did not receive any benefits from their payments. His second point was that the colonists did not give Parliament its consent to tax them in the first place because it

[196] Dickinson, Letter VII, 41.
[197] Dickinson, Letter II, 15.

provided the colonists no just representation. Both of these points came down to the fact that Parliament was acting in blatant violation of the liberty that all of the colonists naturally possessed and there was no legitimacy in a government that did not honor liberty. These points essentially defined the purpose for Dickinson penning the Farmer's Letters in the first place.

Again in Letter X, Dickinson pleaded with the colonists to recognize, just as they did with the Stamp Act, that the latest acts of Parliament were a direct violation of their natural right to liberty, "I hope the people of these colonies will unanimously join in this sentiment, that the late act of parliament is injurious to their liberty, and that this sentiment will unite them in a firm opposition to it, in the same manner as the dread of the *Stamp Act* did."[198] Thus, if the colonists did not understand any of the other points that Dickinson made in his *Letters*, Dickinson hoped they would at least see the similarity of the most recent acts to the Stamp Act and react accordingly. To that end, Dickinson ended his series of letters with a final plea to the colonists to recognize their natural right to liberty, acknowledge that the royal government was violating this right, and, most importantly, that it was up to the colonists to defend it. As he eloquently put it in Letter XII, "While all mankind must, with unceasing applauses, confess, that YOU indeed DESERVE liberty, who so *well understand* it, so *passionately love* it, so *temperately enjoy* it, and so *wisely, bravely,* and *virtuously assert, maintain,* and *defend* it."[199] By this point in his series of *Letters*, it should have been obvious to the colonists that they naturally possessed and deserved liberty and when that liberty was being violated, as it was by the royal government, they must defend it. Dickinson hoped that his *Letters* would give them reason to defend their liberties. As he put it in his closing line, "For my part, I am resolved to contend for the liberty delivered down to me by my ancestors, but whether I shall do it effectually or not, depends on

[198] Dickinson, Letter X, 65.
[199] Dickinson, Letter XII, 84.

you, my countrymen.[200] Dickinson thus left the onus on the colonists to take all of the wisdom and ideas presented to them in his *Letters* and put them to use in a constructive manner. After all, their liberty was not going to defend itself.

Dickinson's *Letters* certainly did strike a chord with his "countrymen." They were widely read and widely praised. They went on to appear in nineteen of the twenty-three English-language newspapers published in the colonies in early 1768.[201] The "Farmer's Letters" occupied a major place in newspapers from Boston to Savannah for three months.[202] They also went on to appear in seven American pamphlet editions, at least two of which went through more than one printing.[203] The *Letters* would not have been so widely published and distributed if they were not being widely read. To that end, the Farmer became a constant authority used by writers when they wanted to urge their fellow countrymen to action, warn of new dangers and grievances, as well as to clarify their own supporting arguments against the British.[204] In just one of the countless praises published in newspapers after the wide circulation of the *Letters*, one Bostonian, possibly Samuel Adams, wrote on March 9, 1768 and published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* on March 31, 1768, "At a Time when public Liberty is in Danger, from Measures not so obviously fatal to common discernment…the *Farmer's Letters*…shew the Tendency of such Measures."[205] In other words, Dickinson's *Letters* and the arguments that he made in them clarified to the colonists exactly how the British through taxation without representation were violating their rights as Englishmen. As historian Carl F. Kaestle put it, "The comprehensiveness

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[200] Dickinson, Letter XII, 85.
[201] Carl F. Kaestle, "The Public Reaction to John Dickinson's Farmer's Letters," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 78 (Worchester, MA: The American Antiquarian Society, 1969), 325.
[202] Carl F. Kaestle, "The Public Reaction to John Dickinson's Farmer's Letters," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 78 (Worchester, MA: The American Antiquarian Society, 1969), 325.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., 326.
[205] 'A.B.' [Samuel Adams?], "Messieurs Edes and Gill, Boston, March 9, 1768," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 31, 1768, 2. Provided by NewsBank/Readex, Database: America's Historical Newspapers.

of the *Letters*—the persuasiveness with which Dickinson related the recent acts to general British policy and focused so many historical parallels and authorities on the crisis at hand—made his message keenly relevant to Americans in all the colonies." Thus, using Gordon's *Tacitus* along the way, Dickinson clearly made his mark permanent on the American Revolutionary movement.

The Liberty Song

Not long after the last of the *Letters* were published, "A song now much in vogue in North America" appeared in the *Boston Gazette* on July 18, 1768.[206] Dickinson had enclosed this song in a letter to James Otis of Massachusetts, who then went on to have it published in the *Gazette*. [207] It was a different, unconventional piece of writing for Dickinson, who admitted in his letter to Otis, "I have long since renounced poetry, but as indifferent songs are very powerful on certain occasions, I venture to invoke the deserted muses."[208] Not only did he invoke the muses, but traces of Gordon's *Tacitus* could also be found in his song, which became known as "Liberty Song."

Even in his correspondence with Otis, traces of Tacitus's influence can be found. It turned out that Dickinson sent Otis two versions of "Liberty Song" because he felt that the first version that he sent would stir up too much trouble, "I inclosed you the other day a copy of a song composed in great haste. I think it was rather too bold."[209] Dickinson apparently practiced what he preached and, remarkably, he applied the same standards to his own personal actions as he did to the actions of the Pennsylvania Assembly back in 1764 and, as will be shown, to the Continental Congress in 1776.

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[206] Frank Moore, "Liberty Song" in *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York: Hurst & Company Publishers, 1905), 38-39.
[207] Frank Moore, "Liberty Song" in *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York: Hurst & Company Publishers, 1905), 38.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid., 39.

Obviously "Liberty Song" got its name for a reason and that was because it stressed the importance of liberty in a society and the fact that the taxes imposed on the colonists by the British were draining their natural right to liberty:

> And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call;
> No tyrannous acts, shall suppress your just calm.[210]

The colonies were founded based on the natural right of liberty. The taxes, as described in Dickinson's *Letters*, were a direct assault on this natural right. This was how, as Dickinson described the actions of the British monarch, a monarchy becomes a tyranny. Dickinson was calling on the colonists to take note of this assault on their well being and demand an end to the taxes.

Finally, Dickinson not only stressed the importance of learning from the past, but he also stressed how important it was for the colonists to set a good example for future societies to learn from:

> All ages shall speak with amaze and applause,
> Of the courage we'll show in support of our laws;
> To die we can bear,--but to serve we disdain,
> For shame is to freemen more dreadful than pain.[211]

The colonists would only go down as a proper example in history if they showed their sovereignty and the power of the will of the people over that of an evil tyrant. A government, after all, according to Gordon, Tacitus, and Dickinson, was only legitimate when the people's interests were its number one concern. The taxes imposed by the crown were in direct violation of the laws that the colonists put into place and thus, Dickinson, was imploring the colonists to end this oppression. The fact that the usually cautious Dickinson used a great deal of hyperbole here in telling the colonists that they would be better off dead than living under such a tyranny,

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[210] John Dickinson, "Liberty Song" in *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York: Hurst & Company Publishers, 1905), 39.
[211] Ibid.

showed just how important the cause of liberty was to Dickinson. As he highlighted in Gordon's work, liberty went hand in hand with governing according to the will of the people and, without it, tyranny ensued.

Dickinson's Last Stand: A Speech against Independence, 1776

Dickinson continued to be a leading voice and penman of the Revolutionary cause through the Second Continental Congress. He attended the First and Second Continental Congresses and drafted many of the major documents that came out of both bodies. He drafted the resolves of the First Continental Congress along with its address to the King.[212] Interestingly, at the Second Continental Congress, he drafted the second "olive branch" petition to the King as well as the Congress's "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms."[213] John Adams described this paradox as "having a sword in one hand and an olive branch in the other."[214] To that end, just as he was hesitant to rush into a royal charter back in 1764 despite his grievances with Pennsylvania's proprietary government, Dickinson did not want to rush into war against the British despite his clear disgust with them. Thus, one document that he did not have any part in writing at the Second Continental Congress was the Declaration of Independence.

Just as he had back in 1764, he gave a very well thought out, though a much more concise speech to the Congress on July 1, 1776 attempting to justify his views against breaking away from the British Empire. It echoed many of the ideas from Gordon's *Tacitus* that he brought up in 1764. This time around, however, unlike the fears that he expressed in 1764, his fears concerning the Declaration never became a reality. Thus, his heavy influence on the Revolutionary movement quickly came to an end after his fateful speech before Congress. This

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[212] Elaine K. Ginsberg, "Dickinson, John" in *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000), http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00218.html.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Milton E. Flower, *John Dickinson: Conservative Revolutionary*, (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 129.

speech, however, was not the only occasion in which Dickinson chose to explain his opposition to what became America's founding document. In January 1783, Dickinson chose to explain himself again to the American people in an attempt to salvage his reputation throughout the country. He did so through a series of letters published in Philadelphia newspapers that together became known as his *Mr. Dickinson's Vindication of his Career during the Revolution*. One of the primary focuses of his *Vindication* was, not surprisingly, his refusal to sign the Declaration.

Above all else, Dickinson's main concern with the Declaration was its timing. He stressed caution and deliberation before taking action. He thought that more preparation should be made in the colonies before they break away from the Empire, "Besides, first we ought to Establish our governments & take the Regular Form of a State—These preventive Measures will shew Deliberation, Wisdom, Caution & Unamity."[215] Thus, Dickinson agreed that a declaration of independence should definitely be made at some point, but not at the moment the members of the Continental Congress were choosing to make it. He wanted to first put solid colonial governments into place and then declare independence, rather than take the opposite course of action, which the colonists were about to do. As Dickinson put it, "We are in so wretched a State of Preparation."[216] He did not think that the colonists were prepared for what they were getting themselves into. More debate should have been had and more preparations should have been made before simply breaking away from their mother country. Dickinson could not stress enough the importance of caution, "The utmost Prudence is required in forming our Decision."[217] The consequences, in Dickinson's eyes, were too grave to risk declaring independence without making sure that the colonies had stable governments of their own and would be able to actually

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[215] J. H. Powell, ed., "Speech of John Dickinson Opposing the Declaration of Independence, 1 July, 1776," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 65 (1941), 475; here after cited as Dickinson, Speech, 1776.
[216] Dickinson, Speech, 1776, 480.
[217] Dickinson, Speech, 1776, 470.

sustain themselves without the help of the royal government. A more creative way that Dickinson tried to explain this was as follows: "To escape from the protection we have in British rule by declaring independence would be like Destroying a House before We have got another, In Winter, with a small Family; Then asking a Neighbour to take Us in and finding He is unprepared."[218] Dickinson clearly felt that this house was not even close to being built on July 1, 1776. The situation, in Dickinson's eyes, was still bearable enough to put in some more time to prepare for all of the consequences that would result from breaking away from British rule. The bottom line was, as he emphasized even further in his *Vindication*, "I opposed the making the declaration of independence *at the time when it was made*.[219] He strongly supported the cause, but he did not feel that the colonists were ready for such a huge change.

Dickinson, along the same lines as previous arguments he had made in his career, felt that those in favor of the Declaration were letting their passions get in the way of the consequences of their actions. To that end, as he put it, history had consistently shown the consequences of making rash decisions of passion over decisions based on careful thought and planning: "There was a certain weight and dignity in such movements, when they appeared to be regulated by prudence, that would be lost, if they were attributed to the emotions of passion."[220] Events in history had proven to Dickinson that time and time again, success only came when caution was exercised over passion. Passion blinded people into making rash decisions without thinking of all of the negative consequences and how to react to such consequences when they occurred.

Dickinson also stressed that the Declaration could easily be made at a later time because of what was at stake, "The preservation of Life, Liberty & Property is a sufficient Motive to

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[218] Dickinson, Speech, 1776, 478.
[219] Dickinson's Vindication, in Charles J. Stillé, *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808* (Philadelphia, 1891), 367; hereafter cited as Dickinson, Vindication.
[220]Dickinson, Vindication, 369.

animate the People."[221] Dickinson did not understand the rush to independence when the cause would have been great enough to convince the colonists to fight for it at any time in the future. The cause of liberty was worth the extra preparation to make sure that it would be preserved after independence was declared. Dickinson obviously lost his fight against the timing of the Declaration and essentially lost his influence on the Revolutionary movement. Though keeping with his principles of abiding by the will of the people, he went on to be a colonel of the First Philadelphia Battalion, which he led American troops to face the British in New Jersey.[222] As he stressed in the closing of his *Vindication*, "I received that determination as the sacred voice of my country, as a voice that proclaimed her destiny, in which, by every impulse of my soul, I was resolved to share and to stand or fall with her in that plan of freedom which she had chosen."[223] Thus, he not only expressed the ideas of Gordon's *Tacitus* to form his arguments, but he lived by them as well.

The logic that Dickinson used to clarify his thoughts and actions during the years of the Revolutionary movement were, for the most part, remarkably consistent with much of what he highlighted in his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*. The crux of his arguments in 1764 and 1776 both lied with his prudent mindset and his reliance on history and experience to guide his actions. In both instances, Dickinson felt that the majority of his peers, though they certainly had good intentions, were letting their passions overcome their reason. Again, the danger of acting on one's passion was another theme that Dickinson highlighted throughout Gordon's *Tacitus*. Even in the two pieces of writing that were certainly in line with the majority of Dickinson's peers, he stressed prudence over passion. In all of these instances, he sympathized with the passions of his

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[221] Dickinson, Speech, 1776, 471.
[222] Elaine K. Ginsberg, "Dickinson, John" in *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000), http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00218.html.
[223] Dickinson, Vindication., 374.

peers, but he did not feel that the time was right to act on those passions. In 1764, he did not approve of the proprietary government; he simply did not want to rush into being ruled by the Crown of England. In the Farmer's Letters and "Liberty Song," he clearly disagreed with the taxes being imposed by the Parliament on the colonists, but even then, he urged caution before taking any bold action. Finally, in 1776, he was not opposed to independence; he was only opposed to the timing of it. He always favored readiness over willingness to take action.

While the history and commentary that Dickinson read in Gordon's *Tacitus* made him weary of taking action too quickly, it also made him well aware of how a proper state should be run. Interestingly, the proper form of running a state was actually the only real point where he strayed from Gordon's viewpoint. Gordon was a strong proponent of a government run according to the will of the people, but not by the people—a popular sovereignty. Early on in his career, Gordon lodged major complaints in his writing about the injustices of the British government for not governing according to the will of the people. In his *Discourses* on Tacitus, his tone changed and he praised the British government for being a just government that abided by the natural right of liberty that every person innately possesses. Dickinson, on the other hand, went a step further from a advocating for a popular sovereignty. He was rather a proponent of a government for the people *and* by the people—a republic. As a representative to the people of Pennsylvania, Dickinson stressed that he could not make a decision without knowing the view of the majority of his constituents. While this certainly represented a different viewpoint than Gordon's in his *Discourses*, in a way, it was consistent with another aspect of Gordon's *Tacitus* and with Dickinson's overall demeanor. It stressed Dickinson's prudence and caution before taking any action—a theme stressed in Gordon's *Tacitus* and a theme that defined Dickinson's political career. Interestingly, in both 1764 and 1776, arguing against the large majority of his

peers, he appeared to be the radical. The reality was though that he was actually the conservative. Compared to Dickinson's stance, the radicals were the ones who made up the large majority surrounding him in 1764 and 1776. Dickinson favored a conservative path of action compared to Franklin and Galloway's faction in 1764 and to the majority faction in the Continental Congress in 1776. While there is no way of proving that Dickinson's reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* provided direct motivation for Dickinson's political actions, there is really no refuting that he certainly used the Whig text to justify his thoughts and actions or lack thereof.

Conclusion

On August 13, 1787, representing Delaware at the Constitutional Convention, John Dickinson stated, "Experience must be our only guide. Reason may mislead us. It was not reason that discovered the singular & admirable mechanism of the English Constitution….Accidents probably produced [this discovery] and experience has given sanction to [it]."[224] Thus, while Dickinson's reputation was forever tarnished by his decision to not sign the Declaration of Independence, the fact that he was invited to the Constitutional Convention was proof that his career and influence did rebound after the Revolutionary War was over. Furthermore, Dickinson had guided so much of Revolutionary movement that the Revolutionary leaders proved that they would have been lost without his political mind. To that end, in June of 1776, even after his position on the Declaration of Independence was already public knowledge, he was selected at the Second Continental Congress to lead the committee to write the Articles of Confederation.[225] He also went on to be president of Delaware and then Pennsylvania in 1781 and 1782 respectively. Thus, while his decision to oppose the Declaration of Independence remained a permanent scar on his reputation, his talent as a political thinker and writer was too great for his fellow Americans to dismiss.

As is indicated in his words before the Constitutional Convention, Dickinson's reliance on history and experience remained strong throughout the rest his life. His reliance on the specific ideas and history that he learned from Gordon's *Tacitus*, however, did not remain so strong after that fateful speech before the Second Continental Congress on July 1, 1776. The War had been won and the liberties of the colonists had been restored. Thus, the ideas of Gordon and the history presented by Tacitus were no longer as relevant to Dickinson and the new challenges

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[224] John Dickinson, *Speech*, 13 *August* 1787, *in Koch, ed., Notes of Debates, 447*

[225] John P. Kaminski. "Articles of Confederation" in *The Oxford Companion to United States History*, Paul Boyer, ed. (Oxford University Press, 2001), www.anb.org/articles/cush/e0113.html.

that the citizens of the United States of America then faced. Gordon's *Tacitus* laid out what made a good government and the evils that resulted from a bad one. He did not, however, show the colonists how to build a new one. Thus, while the history and ideas presented in Gordon's *Tacitus* would be forever ingrained in the back of Dickinson's mind, they would not be at the forefront of his mind after 1776. That was because there was really no need for him to use many of those ideas ever again. The experience and insights presented by Gordon and Tacitus were no longer as relevant as the experience and insights of Dickinson and the colonists themselves.

Aside from the futile relevance of Gordon's *Tacitus* after the Revolutionary War, Dickinson may have been hesitant to use the work again because it seemed to fail him in what, for all of the wrong reasons, became the most memorable moment of his Revolutionary career. Gordon's *Tacitus* encouraged a prudent approach to taking action against an unjust government. This prudence proved to be Dickinson's main weakness when the time for action was right. Even in 1764, when the fears he presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly about what the control of royal government would mean for the people of Pennsylvania became realities, his cautious approach to action did initially tarnish his reputation in Pennsylvania. Had his predictions not proven to be correct, he might have suffered the same long lasting criticism that he did after his refusal to sign the Declaration.

There was a time to be prudent and prepare and there was a time to act and that time to act turned out to be on July 4, 1776. Dickinson, blinded by his obsession with prudence and preparedness, an obsession justified by his reading of Gordon's *Tacitus*, did not act when the time was right. While the majority of his fellow Revolutionary leaders saw past the risks that they were taking by declaring independence, Dickinson simply could not. Thus, while Dickinson was certainly an impressively educated man, this education might have been led him to his most

jarring decision in his otherwise reputable political career. Instincts over education proved to be the right course of action for the colonists in 1776, though Dickinson could not overcome his education. I cannot stress enough that I certainly cannot prove that Dickinson's reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* provided him with the direct motivation for his actions between 1764 and 1776, but they certainly did provide him with motivation for his writings and justifications for his actions.

The majority of the Revolutionary leaders were able to look past the tenets of Whig ideology presented in Gordon's *Tacitus*. Dickinson, however, was not. Gordon's *Tacitus* provided Dickinson with plenty of examples of what defined good and bad governments as well as what rights every man deserved to possess. It did not, however, guide Dickinson to take swift action when a government got too bad to restore with patience and preparation. The colonists could only boycott the acts of the British government for so long. They could only display their disgust with these acts for so long before action needed to be taken to separate themselves from a government that ignored their pleas. Dickinson did learn from Gordon's *Tacitus* that a government that ignored its people was not a proper government. He just did not learn how long a people should accept being ignored before they started their own government—a government that would listen to them again.

Dickinson's reading of Gordon's *Tacitus* provided an incredible insight into his actions and the historical reputation that he has upheld. Dickinson believed in the cause of the Revolution because he believed in the natural right of liberty, which was explained to him in Gordon's *Tacitus*. Furthermore, he knew as Englishmen that the colonists deserved the same rights as their fellow Englishmen across the Atlantic. He had a strong respect for the ancient history of his mother country as described in Tacitus's *Germania* and knew that this history and

the inherited rights of the colonists as Englishmen were patently being violated by the King and Parliament. Before taking such an enormous leap to independence though, he wanted to make sure that colonial governments were in place, which would honor the very liberties that were being violated by their mother country. He did not seem to understand that such governments could not fully be put into place without independence. Thus, while he stressed preparation, there was only so much preparation that could be done without first achieving independence. Gordon's *Tacitus* provided Dickinson with remarkable insight into the natural right of liberty and all that entails as well as the evils of tyranny and all that entails. It did not, however, provide Dickinson with the insight into when prudence and preparation needed to be overcome by action. Unfortunately, Dickinson has come to be defined by his prudence and not his action.

Appendix A: John Dickinson's Folds

Abbreviations:
NF = Folded then unfolded
FU = Folded up
FD = Folded down

THE WORKS OF TACITUS. WITH POLITICAL DISCOURSES UPON THAT AUTHOR, BY THOMAS GORDON, Efq; IN FIVE VOLUMES. THE THIRD EDITION corrected.
LONDON: Printed for T. and T. Longman, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, A. Millar, R. Dodsley, J. and J. Rivington, and M. Cooper. MDCCLIII.

VOL. I.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK I.

Pg. 54 –NF
"This is the genius of Barbarians, to judge that men are to be trusted in proportion as they are fierce, and in public commotions ever to prefer the most resolute."

Pg. 74. –NF
"But chiefly, he [Tiberius] used to declare, 'that to him none had signified their pretentions, but such whose names he had delivered to the Consuls, others too were at liberty to offer the like pretensions, if they trusted to the favour of the Senate, or their own merits.' Specious words! But intirely empty, or full of fraud; and, by how much they were covered with the greater guise of liberty, by so much threatening a more hasty and devouring bondage."

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK II.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK III.

Pg. 160 – FU
Sentence preceding the fold:
"At length, Augustus Caesar, in his sixth Consulship, then confirmed in power without a rival, abolished the orders which during the Triumvirate he had established, and gave us laws proper for peace and a single ruler."
"These laws had sanctions severer than any heretofore known; as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea [pg. 161…sentence continues, though no fold on next page] were encouraged with rewards, to watch such as neglected the privileges annexed to marriage and fatherhood, and consequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the same, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people, who were the public parent."

Pg. 182 – FD
"Let us still preserve this strife in virtue with our fore-fathers.
Tiberius, having gained the fame of moderation, because, by rejecting the project for reforming luxury, he had disarmed the growing hopes of the accusers, wrote to the Senate, to

desire the *Tribunitial Power* for Drufus. [beyond the fold, but in same paragraph] Augusts had devised this title as best suiting the supreme power, while avoiding the odious name of *King* or *Dictator*, he yet wanted some particular appellation, under it to control all other powers in the State."

Pg. 189 – FU
"Brutidius abounded in worthy accomplishments, and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the most distinguished honour; but eagerness hurried him, while he pushed to surpass first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own very hopes; a course which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men, who, scorning acquirements that came flow, but attended with security, grasped at such as were sudden, though linked to destruction."

[fold starts here]:

"Gellius Poplicola, and Marcus Paconius, increased the number of the accusers, the former Quaestor to Silanus, the other his Lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accused was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beset with a series of hardships, dangerous even to the innocent, when, besides so many Senators, his foes, he was to reply single to the most eloquent pleaders of all Asia, chosen purposely to accuse him, ignorant himself of pleading, and beset with capital terrors, [pg. 190 – no fold, paragraph continues] a circumstance with disables the most practiced Eloquence."

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK IV.

Pg. 202 – FU
"Four Legions kept in subjection all the mighty range of country, extending from Syria as far as the Euphrates, and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians and other Principalities, who by our might are protected against foreign Powers. Thrace was held by Rhemetalces, and the sons of Cotys; and both banks of the Danube by four Legions, two in Panonia, two in Moefia."

Pg. 205 – FD
"'After all this, what remained but to supplicate his modesty to rest contented here.' Nor was it rarely that he uttered these disgusts, nor to a few; besides, his wife being debauched, all his secrets were betrayed."

Pg. 224 – FU

"For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rules. The frame of a state chosen and compacted out of all these three, is easier applauded than accomplished, or if accomplished, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the Republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the Senate bore the chief sway; it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be humoured and refrained; and such too who were thoroughly ac- [pg 224 – no fold, paragraph continues] quainted with the spirit of the Senate and leading men came to be esteemed skilful in the times, and men of prowess: so now, when that establishment is changed, and the present situation such, that one rules all; it is of of advantage to collect and record these later incidents, as matters of public example and instruction, since few can, by their own wisdom distinguish between things crooked and upright, few between counsels pernicious and profitable, and since most men are taught by the fate and example of others. But the present detail, however

instructive, yet brings scanty delight. It is by the descriptions and accounts of nations, by the variety of battles, by the memorable fall of illustrious Captains, that the foul of the reader is engaged and refreshed. For myself, I can only give sad display of cruel orders, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the destruction of innocents, and endless trials, all attended with the same issue, death and condemnation; an obvious round of repetition and satiety! Besides that the old historians are rarely censured; nor is any man now concerned whether they chiefly magnify the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under Tiberius suffered punishment, or were marked with infamy, the posterity are still subsisting; or if the families themselves are extinct, there are others found, who from a similitude of manners, thank that, in reciting the even doings of others, they themselves are charged: nay, even virtue and a glorious name create foes, as they expose in a light too obvious the opposite characters. But I return to my undertaking."

Pg. 226 – FD

"As to facts, I'm am so guiltless, Conscript Fathers, that my words only are accused; but neither are any words of mine pointed against the Emperor, or his Mother, the only persons comprehended in the Law concerning violated Majesty. It is alledged, that I have praised Brutus and Cassius, men whose lives and actions have been compiled by a cloud of writers, and their memory treated by none but with honour…."

Pg. 227 – FD

"Instances from the Greeks I bring none: with them not the freedom only, but even the licentiousness of speech, is unpunished; or if any corrected be returned, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever allowed, without restriction or rebuke, to pass our judgment upon those whom death has withdrawn from the influence of affection and hate. Are Cassius and Brutus now in arms? Do they at present fill with troops the fields of Philippi? Or do I fire the Roman people, by inflammatory harangues, with the spirit of civil rage? Brutus and Cassius, now above seventh years slain, are still known in their Statues, which even the conqueror did not abolish; and what do the Historians, but preserve their characters? Impartial posterity to every man repays his proper praise; nor will there be wanting such as, if my death is determined, will not only revive the story of Cassius and Brutish from my story."
FU (on pg. 227) – closing this passage.

Pg. 241 – NF

"Just then came the Barbarians, pouring in droves; here, with stones, with wooden javelins hardened in the fire, and with the broken limbs of trees, they battered the palisade; there with hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies, they filled the trench. By others, bridges and ladders, both before framed, were planted against the battlements, which they violently grappled and tore, and struggled hand to hand with those who opposed them…."

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK V.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK VI.

Pg. 308 – FU

Open of paragraph prior to fold:

"Particularly excessive was the flattery practised on this occasion by the citizens of Seleucia; a powerful city surrounded with walls, and not corrupted into the barbarous usages of the Parthians, but still retaining the institutions of Seleucus, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens, chosen for wealth or wisdom, compose, as it were, a Senate; to the populace too remains their share of power; and when all act with unanimity, they despise the Parthians; but when discord reigns, while each side calls in foreign aid against their competitors, he who is invited prevails against the whole: A consequence which had befallen them in the reign of Artabanus, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the Nobles, in pure subservience to the Maxims and interest of his own power."
At fold:
"For the sovereignty of the People is an establishment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the unchecked lust of simple Monarchy."

VOL. II.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK XI.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK XII.

Pg. 62 – FU
"Many were the prodigies that happened this year: upon the Capitol were seen birds of evil omen, frequent concussions of the earth were felt, and by them many houses overthrown. But, as the dread was still more extensive than the calamity in the throng of the flying multitude, all the weak and decrepit were trodden to death. For a prodigy also was reckoned the barrenness of the season, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to houses and corners; they even gathered in tumultuous crowds round the Prince, then engaged in the public administration of justice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; so that, to escape their violence, he was forced with his guards to break through the incensed multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome but just provision for fifteen days, and by the signal bounty of the Gods and the mildness of the winter, it was that the public was relieved in that its urgent distress. [*actual fold*] It was, in truth, otherwise with Italy in former days, when from her fruitful fields foreign provinces too were furnished with supplies; nor, at this time, is the sterility of soil any part of our misfortune; but we now rather chuse to cultivate Africa and Egypt [pg. 63] the lives of the Roman people are entrusted to ships and casualties of the deep."

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK XIII.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK XIV.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK XV.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS. BOOK XVI.

VOL. III.

TO HIS HIGHNESS, FREDERIC PRINCE OF WALES.

Pg. ix – FU

"He will see that, in the nature and ordinary course of things, evil counsels are followed by painful consequences, and that no pursuits whatever which are not worthy and upright, [actual fold] can secure rest and comfort to the human soul: That the most successful conquerors, the most fortunate wicked men, have by their wicked counsels been bereft of all calmness and internal felicity (for, other than…

Pg. x – FD

…internal there is none) and lived under perpetual insecurity, or perpetual struggles and anxiety. That the great, the able and the accomplished Caesar was often pressed by distress and despair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a Public Criminal, ready to fall upon his own sword; and that after a restless life, full of hurry and perplexity, full of fears and cares, he perished just as he had established his Tyranny, though with it he could not establish his own happiness: That whoever makes numbers unhappy and discontented, cannot expect to be easy and happy himself: That happy, truly happy, is he who does good to all men, who causes whole Nations to rejoice and to bless him: That had Caesar, in order to preserve and secure Public Liberty, done what he did to destroy it, had he for this glorious end exerted the same industry and admirable talents, what an amiable character he had been, in what security he might have lived ! or that he had certainly died in renown, however he had died."

Pg. xiv – FU

Pg. xiii "He will find the noblest designs for the Public Good often marred by malignant spirits, through private pique, and the gratification of a particular passion; find one man, or party of men, fre- [Pg. xiv] quently combining to distress, perhaps to destroy their Country, because another man, or party of men, was employed to serve it or to save it. He will find personal and domestic feuds often producing popular factions, and even convulsions in the State, such as have threatened its downfal [*downfall misspelled*]; like the first quarrel between Livius Drufus and Servilius Cæpio at Rome, in the time of the Commonwealth, a quarrel that rent all the City into angry Parties. Yet from what mighty cause did it begin? From no other than that the two families happened to bid upon one another for a Cold Ring at an Auction. [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] Hence he will learn to stifle betimes the beginning of faction in the State."

"He will find that a Prince trusting to flattery and surrounded with flatterers, is often long hated before he knows that he is not beloved, nay, whilst he is persuaded that he is. Hence he will resolve to beware of such as are always soothing him, resolve in order to gain the love of his People, to do things which shall [pg xv] convince them that he loves them, as the surest way of making them love him, and of knowing that they do."

Pg. xvi – FD

"By Virtue Your Royal Highness will easily conceive to be here understood the solid and extensive Virtue of a Prince, such as prompts him to do good to all men, such as restrains him from injuring any, and not an unmanly fondness for fanciful observances and forms, nor a propensity yto monkish devotions, nor his fostering and enriching Hypocrites and Bigots; things which such men generally miscal by that venerable name, or at least consider as equivalents for the ant of it in other and more important instances, to the notable misguidance, and sometimes to

the ruin of Kings, such especially as were devout, but tyrannical, and by humouring Bigots, were encouraged in their Tyranny."

Pg. xvii – FU

"He will see much ground for approving the advice of Isocrates, not to envy Princes who possess vast territories, but only to emulate such as know how to preserve and improve their own. He will be convinced, that Princes who have the smallest Dominions, have enough to do, if they will do it well; and that vast Empires, instead of growing more flourishing and populous, grow generally Desarts. [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] He will perceive the unspeakable advantages of public Liberty (pg xviii) the singular prosperity of Free States, how superior to such as are not free, in Strength, People, and Wealth; that all these advantages accrue to the Prince, whenever he wants them for public ends; that no other ends can he have, if he consult his duty and glory, since in promoting the felicity of his State both his glory and his duty are found: That he who separates himself from his People, can only earn insecurity and reproach; nor aught else can he expect but reproach, and the severest, if he strive against the happiness of his Subjects, and bring misery upon those whom he is bound to cherish and protect."

Pg. xix – FU

"Your Royal Highness is born to govern a People the most free upon earth, a People always free, yet always obedient to Royal Authority tempered by Laws, but ever impatient of encroachments and oppression. This is the character given them by Tacitus sixteen hundred years ago, 'That they chearfully complied with the levies of men, with the imposition of Tribute, and with all the duties of Government, provided they received no illegal treatment or insults from their Governors: for, those they bore with impatience; nor had they been any further subdued by the Romans, than only to obey just Laws [ACUTAL FOLD HERE], but never to submit to be Slaves'"

"Such, Sir was the Genius of the British People then, such it has continued, (pg xx) and such it remains: They were always peaceable Subjects to Princes who observed the Laws, very uneasy and discontented under such as set themselves above Law, and therefore loft all by grasping at too much."

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS: BOOK I.

Pg. 82 – FU

"I come not hither with design either of kindling your affections to me ward, my fellow soldiers, or to animate you to bravery against the foe: for both your bravery and your affections signally overflow. But I come to entreat you, to qualify the heat of your magnanimity with an allay, and confine within some bounds your zeal and tenderness for me. The beginning of the late tumult arose from no thirst of prey, from no hate to the persons of men (motives which have excited many armies to strife and uproar) nor from any dread of peril, or desire to shun it; but your devotion to me, over-passionate and fond, roused you to it with more acrimony than reflection. For, many an honest cause and counsel, when not conducted by sound judgment, is followed by pernicious events. We are proceeding to war. Now, does the reason of things permit, does the nature of times and occasions permit (things which are presented and lost with equal and infinite velocity) that every express, every article of intelligence be publicly communicated, and in the presence of the whole army every difficulty be discussed, and all our counsels holden?

"To be ignorant of some things equally behoves a soldier as to be well acquainted with others. Such is the authority of a General, such the quality and rigour of discipline, that for the preservation of both, it is often inevitably necessary, that even to the Tribunes and Centurions many positive commands be given without any reasons annexed. Were it allowed to every particular, when he receives orders, to ask why, all (pg 83) obedience being thus lost, the loss of Sovereign Empire would immediately follow. And yet shall soldiers, of their own heads, fly to their arms in the dead of night? Shall one or two single men, desperate and drunken, (for that more than two run thus mad in the late distraction, I am loth to believe) shall they dare to embrue their hands in the blood of their Tribunes and Centurions? Shall they be allowed to burst into their Emperor's Pavilion?"

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS: BOOK II.

Pg.113 – FD

"Cæcina having passed the Po, and by many secret conferences and mighty promises labored to corrupt the fidelity of the forces of Otho, found himself assailed by the same arts. So that, after many overtures made and returned about peace and concord, names exceeding specious in found, but void of persuasion and effect, he applied all his devices and cares to the siege of Placentia, which he meant to pursue with terrible efforts; for he was aware, that by the success attending the first attempts of the war, common fame would estimate all that were to follow."

Pg. 128 – FD

"The lust of dominion, so ancient and now long since rooted in the hearts of men, increased with the growth of the State, and when the Empire was full grown, burst forth with violence. For whilst the condition of our City was but low, an equality amongst her citizens was easily maintained. But when once the world was subdued, when all competitors for power, whether the same were great Cities or great Kings, had been vanquished and overthrown, and leisure was given to pursue riches with security; then first between the Senate and People fierce broils were kindled. Sometimes seditious Tribunes insulted; anon the power of the Consuls prevailed; and within the City, nay, in the forum, were seen the preludes and approaches to a civil war. In a short space, Caius Marius, sprung from the lees of the Populace, and Lucius Sylla, a man the most cruel of all the nobility, having oppressed public liberty by the violence of arms, changed it into lawless domination. Then followed Pompey, more close and disguised, not more innocent or upright. From thence-forward the only public struggle was for sovereign rule. In Pharsalia and Philippi the Legions, though composed of Roman citizens, departed not from their violence and arms: Much less likelihood was there, that the armies of Otho and Vitellius would of their own accord have abandoned the war. These armies too were by the same (pg 129) wrath of the Deities, by the same rage amongst men, by the same motives of wickedness and outrage, driven into discord and war. That the wars were each of them brought to a conclusion as it were by so many single strokes, proceeded from the genius of the Princes, impotent and spiritless. But in recollecting the disposition of different times, ancient and new. I have digressed rather too far. I now resume the order of transactions." [*appears to have been a NF ending at this paragraph*]

Pg. 130 – FU

"Whilst the Legions were by the casting of lots ascertaining the order of their proceeding to battle, (pg 131) the cavalry sallied forth by themselves, and, which is wonderful to relate, were by a party of Otho's forces, in number much inferior, repulsed, nay, flying for shelter to their ramparts, till by the vigour and menaces of the Italic Legion they were stopped. That brave Legion opposed them with drawn swords, and forced them back to the encounter. The Legions of Vitellius were embattled without any consternation or alarm; for, all fight of an armed host was prevented by a thick coppice, though the enemy was close by. In the army of Otho, fearful and disconcerted were the Generals; against the Generals the soldiers were incensed; mixt and crowded amongst the ranks were the carriages and retainers to the camp, and from a deep ditch on each hand the way was too streight even for an army marching safe from an enemy. Some stood round their standards, others enquired where to find their own. On every side was heard the uncertain clamour of men running and roaming different and uncertain ways. Some thrust themselves into the front, some retired to the rear, just as each found himself prompted by bravery or by dread."

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS: BOOK III.

Pg. 208 – FU

"Upon their approach to Cremona, there presented itself a task altogether new and immense. In the war against Otho, the soldiers from Germany had pitched their camp around the walls, and quite round their camp had draw a great trench; and to this too had since added bulwarks. At sight of all these conquerors were checked, and hesitated as in truth their Leaders were unresolved what directions to give. To precede to the assault with an army already wasted and weary with the continued toils of a day and a night, were an enterprise full of difficulty; and, as no succour or refuge was night, it were full of danger. If they (pg 209) should return to Bedriacum, intolerable were the fatigue from a journey so long, and vain and abortive would then prove their victory gained. Should they here stay and encamp, this too was a course to be dreaded so near the enemy; for that by a sudden sally he might attack and distress the men when dispersed and employed in their works. Above all their apprehensions was that administered by their own soldiers, men apter to tempt perils than to bear delays. To them all measures that were safe were distasteful, and in feats of temerity they placed their hopes; so that for all the slaughter which they suffered, for all their gorings, and their blood spilt, they found full compensation in the lust and fruition of spoil."

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS: BOOK IV.

Pg. 267 – FU

"For, in exciting public tumults and convulsions, every the worst man has the strongest sway: [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] To uphold tranquility and peace, righteous designs are required and virtuous management."

Pg. 271 – FU

"Since I am here again led to name a man whom henceforward I must frequently mention, it seems incumbent upon me shortly to recount his course of life and pursuits, and what fortune befel him. Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal City of Terracina within the first precinct of Italy, the son of Cluvius who had sustained the rank of a principal Centurion. His

bright and sign parts he wholly applied, whilst yet very young, to studies of the more noble kind; not as many do, to disguise spiritless under a pompous name, but, in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all contingencies and disasters. He adhered to such Philosophers as maintain that only things just are good, that nought is evil save what is dishonest, and in the ranks of things neither evil nor good, place nobility, power, and all other acquirements which depend not upon the foul. Ere he had risen higher than the Quæstorship, he was by Thrasea Pætus chosen for a husband to his daughter: Nor from the character of his wife's farther did he copy aught so studiously as his undaunted exercise of liberty. As Citizen, as Senator, Husband, Son-in-law, and Friend, in all the offices of life, signal was his uprightness and equanimity, ever contemning wealth, ever unmoveable from the righteous judgment, never to be shaken by fear. [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] There were some to whom he seemed over sollicitous for fame; though the thirst of glory by such a passion as even wise men resign last." Upon the deadly doom of his father-in-law, he was driven into exile, and returning in the reign of Galba, set himself to implead Eprius Marcellus, the accuser of Thrasea. The pursuit of this vengeance, though it is uncertain whether it were more daring or more just, rent the Senate into heats and contests. For, were Marcellus suffered to fall, the band of accusers were at once overwhelmed. At first the struggle between them proceeded with notable vehemence, and was by both signalized with excellent speeches. Anon as the inclinations of Galba were in suspence, and upon the interposition of many Senators with entreaties, Priscus dropped the process. Whence ensued various censures and discourse, according to the different humours of men, some magnifying his moderation, some charging him with want of vigour and firmness. But, upon the day when the Senate had under consideration the Sovereignty of Vespasian, as it was agreed to send Ambassadors to the Prince; upon this subject between Helvidius and Eprius, a bitter debate arose. Priscus insisted that they should be nominated by the Magistrates, first solemnly sworn; Marcellus, that they should be drawn by lot, the method already proposed by the Consul elect. But what in reality prompted Marcellus to such sollicitude, was the apprehension of disgrace to himself, lest, were others nominated, he should be thought slighted and postponed. By degrees, from interchanging sharp words, they were carried into continued speeches full of asperity.

Pg. 282 – FU

"Liberty was a blessing bestowed by the bounty of nature, even upon dumb beasts: fortitude and prowess was a felicity peculiar to man, to the most intrepid and brave the Gods were always sure to be aiding. [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] Hence they ought, they who were unimployed, to assail an enemy on every side engaged; they who were in prime (pg 284) vigour, to fall upon men fatigued and exhausted. Whilst some of them espoused Vespasian, some Vitellius, by such division scope was left to annoy both."

Pg. 352 – FU

"During the months which Vespasian passed at Alexandria, awaiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer, many miracles were wrought, when was signified to Vespian celestial flavour, with the concurrence and designation of the Deities. A certain man of Alexandria, one of the commonalty, noted for want of sight prostrating himself at his feet implored a cure for (pg 351) his blindness, by premonition from Serapis, the God whom that nation, devoted to superstition, adores beyond all others.

VOL. IV.

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS: BOOK V.

A TREATISE OF THE SITUATION, CUSTOMS, AND PEOPLE OF GERMANY.

To the Right Honourable JOHN Lord CARTERET.

A TREATISE OF THE SITUATION, CUSTOMS, AND PEOPLE OF GERMANY.

Pg. 41 – FU

"Upon any recess from war, they do not much attend the chase. Much more of their time they pass in indolence, resigned to sleep and repasts. All the most brave, all the most warlike, apply to nothing at all; but to their wives, to the ancient men, and to every the most impotent domestic, trust all (pg 42) the care of their house, and of their lands and possessions. They themselves loiter. Such is the amazing diversity of their nature, that in the same men is found so much delight in sloth, with so much enmity to repose. The communities are wont, of their own accord and many by man, to bestow upon their Princes a certain number of beasts, or a certain portion of grain; a contribution which passes indeed for a mark of reverence and honour, but serves also to supply their necessities. They chiefly rejoice in the gifts which come from the bordering countries, such as are sent not only by particulars, but in the name of the State, curious horses, splendid armour, rich harness, with collars of silver and gold. Now too they have learnt, what we have taught them, to receive money."

Pg. 44 – FU

"They therefore live in a state of chastity well secured, corrupted by no seducing shews and public diversions, by no irritations from banqueting. Of learning and of any intercourse by letters they are all equally ignorant, men and women. Amongst a people so numerous adultery is exceeding rare, a crime instantly punished, and the punishment left to be inflicted by the husband. He, having cut off her hair, expels her from his house naked, in presence of her kindred, and pursues her with stripes through the village. For, to a woman who has prostituted her person no pardon is ever granted. However beautiful she be, however young, however abounding in wealth, a husband she can never find. In truth, no body turns vices into mirth there, nor is the practice of corrupting and of yielding to corruption called coldly, *the custom of the age*. Better still do those Communities in which none but (pg 45) Virgins, marry, and where to a single marriage all their views and inclinations are at once confined. Thus, as they have but one body and one life, they take but one husband, that beyond him they may have no thought, no further wishes, nor love him only as their Husband, but as their Marriage. To restrain generation and the increase of children, is esteemed an abominable fin, as also to kill infants newly born. And more powerful with them are good manners, than with other People are good Laws."

Pg. 46 – FD

"All the enemies of your house, whether of your of your Father or of your Kindred, you must necessarily adopt, as well as all their friendships. Neither are such enmities unappeasable and permanent: Since even for so great a crime as homicide compensation is made by a fixt number of sheep and cattle, and by it the whole family is pacified to content: A temper

wholesome to the State: because to a free nation animosities and faction are always more menacing and perilous. In social feasts and deeds of hospitality no nation upon earth was ever more liberal and abounding. (ACTUAL FOLD DOWN ENDS HERE] To refuse admitting under your roof any man whatsoever, is held wicked an inhuman. Every man receives every comer, and treats him with repasts as large as his ability can possibly furnish. When the whole Stock is consumed, he who had treated so hospitality, and both proceed to the next house, though neither of them invited: Nor avails it that they were not: They are received with the same frankness and humanity. Between a stranger and an acquaintance, in dispensing the rules and benefits of hospitality, no difference is made. Upon your departure, if you ask any thing, it is the custom to grant it, and with the same facility they ask of you. In gifts they delight, but neither claim merit from what they give, nor own any obligation for what they receive. Their manner of entertaining their guests is familiar and kind."

Pg. 48 – FD

"What is marvelous playing at Dice is one of their most serious employments, and even sober they are gamesters: Nay, so desperately do they venture upon the chance of winning or losing, that when their whole substance is played away, they stake their Liberty and their Persons upon one and the last throw. The loser goes calmly into voluntary bondage: However younger he be, however stronger, he tamely suffers himself to be bound and sold by the winner. Such is their perseverance in an evil course: They themselves call it honour. Slaves of this class they exchange away in commerce, chiefly to free themselves from the shame of such a victory. Of their other slaves they make not such use as we do of ours, by distributing amongst them the several offices and employments of the family. Each of them has a dwelling of his own, each a houshold to govern. His Lord uses him like a Tenant, and obliges him to pay a quantity of grain, or of cattle, or of cloth. Thus far only the subserviency of the slave, extends. All the other duties in a family, not the Slaves, but the Wives and the Children discharge. To inflict stripes upon a slave, or to put him in chains, or to doom him to severe labour, are things rarely seen. To kill them they sometimes are wont, not through correction or government, but in heat and rage, as penalty follows. The Freedmen very little surpass the Slaves, rarely are of moment in the house, in the Community never, excepting only such nations where arbitrary dominion prevails. [FU here] For there they bear higher sway than the freeborn, nay, higher (pg 49) than the Nobles. In other countries the inferior position of freedmen is a proof of public liberty."

"To the practice of usury and of increasing money by interest, they are strangers; and hence is found a better guard against it, than if it were forbidden. They shift from land to land, and, still appropriating a portion suitable to the number of hands for manuring, anon parcel out of the whole amongst particulars according to the condition and quality of each. As the plains are very spacious, the allotments are easily assigned. Every year they change, and cultivate a fresh soil; yet still there is ground to spare. For they strive not to bestow labour proportionable to the fertility and compass of their lands, by planting Orchards, by inclosing Meadows, and by watering Gardens. From the earth Corn only is exacted. Hence they quarter not the year into so many Seasons. Winter, Spring and Summer they understand, and for each have proper appellations. Of the name and blessings of Autumn they are equally ignorant." [Pg. 49, FD here]

Pg. 51 – FD

"Of all these Nations the Batavians are the most signal in bravery. They inhabit not much territory upon the Rhine, but possess an island in it. They were formerly part of the Cattians, and

by means of feuds at home removed to these dwellings, whence they might become a portion of the Roman Empire. With them this honour still remains, as also the memorials of their ancient association with us: For they are not under the contempt of paying tribute, nor subject to be squeezed by the farmers of the revenue. Free from all impositions and payments, and only set apart for the purposes of fighting, they are reserved wholly for the wars, in the same manner as a Magazine of weapons and armour. Under the same degree of homage are the Nation of the Mattiacians. For such is the might and greatness of the Roman People, as to have carried the awe and esteem of their Empire beyond the Rhine and the ancient boundaries. Thus the Mattiacians living upon the opposite banks enjoy a settlement and limits of their own, yet in spirit and inclination are attached to use: in other things resembling the Batavians, save that as they still breathe their original air, still possess their primitive foil, they are thence inspired with superior vivacity and keenness. Amongst the People of Germany I would not reckon those who occupy the Lands which are decimation, though they be such as dwell beyond the Rhine and the Danue. By several worthless and vagabond Gauls, and such as one belonging to no certain possessor: Afterwards it became a skirt of the Empire and part of a Province, upon the enlargement of our bounds, and the extending of our garrisons and frontier."

Pg. 56 – FD

"A conduct which proved more pleasing than secure; since treacherous is that repose which you enjoy amongst neighbours that are very powerful and very fond of rule and mastership. When recourse is once had to the sword, modesty and fair dealing will be vainly pleaded by the weaker; names which are always assumed by the stronger. Thus the Cheruscans, who formerly bore the character of *Good and Upright*, are now called *Cowards and Fools*, and the fortune of the Cattians who subdued them, grew immediately to be Wisdom. In the ruin of the Cherufcans the Fosians also their neighbours were involved, and in their calamities bore an equal share, though in their prosperity they had been weaker and less."

FU

"In truth neither from the Samnites, nor from the Carthaginians, nor from both Spains, nor from all the nations of Gaul have we received more frequent checks and alarms; nor even from the Parthians: For more vigorous and invincible is (pg 57) the Liberty of the Germans than the Monarchy of the Arfacides. Indeed, what has the power of the East to alledge to our dishonor,, but the fall of Crassius, that power which was itself overthrown and abased by Ventidius, with the loss of the great King Pacorus bereft of his life?" (NF appears to have been here)

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA. With an ACCOUNT of the Situation, Climate, and People of BRITAIN.

To His Grace JOHN DUKE of Argyll and Greenwich.

THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

Pg. 72 – FU

"Liberty, so did we of Bondage, since through dread of informers and inquisitions of State, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech and attention. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent. (FU here)

Now indeed at length our spirit returns. Yet, though from the spirit dawn of this very happy age begun by the reign of Nerva, he blended together two things once found irreconcileable, public (pg 73) Liberty and sovereign Power: and though Trajan, his adopted Successor, be daily augmenting the felicity of the State; insomuch that for the general security not only hopes and vows are conceived but even firm assurance follows these vows, and their full accomplishment is seen; such, however, is the frailty of man, and its effects, that much more flow is the progress of the remedies than of the evils; and, as human bodies attain their growth by tedious degrees, and are subject to be destroyed in an instant, so it is much easier to suppress than to revive the efforts of Genius and Study."

Pg. 81 – FU
"It is rare that two or three Communities assemble and unite to repulse any public danger threatening to all. So that whilst only a single Community sought at a time, they were every one vanquished. The sky, from frequent clouds and rain, is dull and hazy: Excessive cold they feel not: Their days in length surpass ours: Their nights are very clear, and at the extremity of the Country, very short; so that between the setting and return of the day, you (pg. 82) perceive but from small interval."

Pg. 83 – FU
"Afterwards followed Didius Gallus, and just preserved what acquisitions his Predecessors had made; only that further in the Island he raised some Forts, and very few they were, purely for the name and opinion of having enlarged his Government. Next to Didius came Veranius, and died in less than a Year."

Pg. 92 – FD
"The following Winter was employed in measures extremely advantageous and salutary. For, to the end that these people, thus wild and dispersed over the Country, and thence easily instigated to war, might, by a taste of pleasures, be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first privately exhorted them, then publicly assisted them, to build temples, houses, and places of assembling. Upon such as were willing and assiduous in these pursuits he heaped commendations, and reproofs upon the lifeless and slow. So that a competition for this distinction and honour, had all the force of necessity. He was already taking care to have the sons of their Chiefs taught the liberal Sciences, already preferring the natural capacity of the Britons to the studied acquirements of the Gauls; and such was his success, that they who had so lately scorned to learn the Roman language, were become fond of acquiring the Roman eloquence. Thence they began to honour our apparel, and the use of the Roman gown grew frequent amongst them. By degrees they proceeded to the incitements and charms of vice and dissoluteness, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, and all the stimulations and elegance of banqueting."
"Nay, all this innovation was, by the unexperienced, stiled politeness and humanity, when it was indeed part of their bondage."

Pg. 99 – FD

“Whenever I contemplate the causes of the War, and the necessity to which we are reduced, great is my confidence that this day and this union of yours will prove the beginning of universal Liberty to Britain. For, besides that Bondage is what we have never borne, we are so beset that beyond us there is no further land; nor, in truth, is there any security left us from the sea whilst the Roman Fleet is hovering upon our coasts. Thus the same expedient which proves honourable to brave men, is to cowards too become the safest of all others, even present recourse to battle and arms. The other Britons, in their past conflicts with the Romans, whence they found various success, had still a remaining source of hope and succour in this our Nation. For, of all the people of Britain we are the noblest, and thence placed in its innermost regions; and, as we behold not so much as the coasts of such as are slaves, we thus preserve even our eyes free and unprofaned by the sight of lawless and usurped rule. To us who are the utmost inhabitants of the earth, to us the last who enjoy Liberty, this extremity of the Globe, this remote tract unknown even to common fame, has to this day proved the only protection and defence. At present the utmost boundary of Britain is laid open; and to conquer parts unknown, is thought matter of great pomp and boasting. Beyond us no more people are found, nor aught save seas and rocks; and already the Romans have advanced into the heart of our country. Against their pride and domineering you will find it in vain to seek a remedy or refuge from any obsequiousness or humble behaviour of yours. They are plunderers of the earth, who, in their universal devastations, finding countries to fail them, investigate and rob even the sea. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice; if poor, their ambition. They are general spoilers, such as neither the Eastern World nor the Western can satiate.
“To spoil, to butcher, and to commit every kind of violence, they stile by a lying name, *Government*, and, when they have spread a general desolation, call it *Peace*.”

Pg. 99 – FU
“Dearest to every man are his Children and Kindred, by the contrivance and designation of nature. These are snatched from us for recruits, and doomed to bondage in other parts of the earth. Our Wives and Sisters, however they escape rapes and violence as from open enemies, are debauched under the appearance and privilege of friendship and hospitality. Our Fortunes and Possessions they exhaust for tribute, our Grain for their provisions. Even our bodies and limbs are extenuated and wasted, whilst we are doomed to the drudgery of making Cuts through woods and Drains in bogs, under continual blows and outrages. Such as are born to be Slaves are but once sold, and thenceforward nourished by their Lords: Britain is daily paying for its Servitude, is daily feeding it.
“Moreover, as in a tribe of household Slaves, he who comes last serves for sport to all his Fellows; so in this ancient state of Slavery to which the World is reduced, we, as the freshest Slaves, and thence held the most contemptible, are now designed to final destruction. For, we have no Fields to cultivate, nor Mines to dig, nor Ports to make; works for which they might be tempted (pg. 100) to spare us alive. Besides that ever distasteful to Rulers is magnanimity and a daring sprit in their Subjects.”

Pg. 110 – FD

“He was there received by the Emperor with a short embrace, but without a word said then passed, undistinguished, amongst the crowd of servile Courtiers. Now, in order to soften with other and different virtues the reputation of a military man, a name ever distasteful to those who

live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself intirely to indolence and repose. In his dress he was modest; in his conversation courteous and free, and never found accompanied with more than one or two of his friends. Insomuch that many, such especially as are wont to judge of great men by their retinue and parade, all calculated to gain popular admiration, when they had beheld and observed Agricola, sought to know whence proceeded his might fame: There were indeed but few who could account for the motives of his conduct.

Frequently, during the course of that time, was he accused in his absence before Domintian, and in his absence also aquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor aught else save the glorious character of the man, and the sprit of the Emperor hating all excellence and every virtue. With these causes there concurred the most mischievous fort of all enemies, they who extolled him in order to destroy him. Moreover, in the commonwealth there ensued such times as would not (pg 111) permit the name of Agricola to remain unmentioned: So many were the Armies, which we had lost in Moefie, in Dacia, in Germany, in Pannonia, all by the wretched conduct of our Generals, either altogether impotent or fool-hardy: (Pg. 111 FD) So many withal were the brave officers, with so many bands of men, overthrown and taken. Neither was the question and contest now about maintaining the limits of the Empire and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing encampments of the Legions and preserving our own territories. Thus, when public misfortunes were following one another in a continual train, when every year was become signal for calamites and slaughters, Agricola was by the common voice of the populace required for the command of our Armies. For, all men were comparing his vigor, his firmness, and his mind trained in war, with the sloth and timidity of the others. With discourses of this strain, it is certain that even the ears of Domitian himself were teased: whilst all the best of his Freedmen advised and pressed him to this choice, out of pure affection and duty, as did the worst out of virulence and envy: and to whatever appeared most malignant that Prince was ever prone. In this manner was Agricola, as well through his own virtues, as through the base management of others, pushed upon a precipice even of glory.”

DISCOURSES UPON TACITUS.

DISCOURSE I. Upon the former English Translations of Tacitus.

Sect. I. Of the Translation by GREENWAY and Sir H. SAVILL.

Sect. II. Of the English Translations by several hands.

Sect. III. Of the last Translation of the first Annal.

Sect. IV. Of the last Translation of the second Annal.

Sect. V. Of the last Translation of the third Annal.

Sect. VI. Of the last Translation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Annal.

Sect. VII. Of the last Translation of the eleventh Annal.

Sect. VIII. Of the last Translation of the twelfth and thirteenth Annals.

Sect. IX. Of the last Translation of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Annals.

DISCOURSE II. Upon TACITUS and his Writings.

Sect. I. The Character of TACITUS.

Pg. 140 – FU
"Tacitus is a fine Gentleman, who suffers nothing pedantic or low, nothing that is trifling or indecent to fall from his pen. He is also a man of wit; not such a one as is fond of conceits and the quaintness of words, (*actual FU here*) but a wit that is grave, majestic, and sublime; one that blends the solemnity of truth with the fire of imagination, and touches the heard rather than the fancy; yet for better reception of truth, pleases and awakens the fancy."

Sect. II. How much he excels in Description and Force.

Pg. 143 – FU
"Yee see madmen bear rule, these mad rulers governed and made worse by slaves, villains and harlots; yet all these monsters adored, their persons, wickedness, and even their fury sanctified; iniquity exalted, virtue trod under foot, laws perverted, righteousness and truth depressed and banished; every worthy man doomed to (pg. 144 – FD) scaffolds, rocks, and dungeons; the basest of all men pronouncing that doom, and making a prey or sacrifice of the best; fear and distrust and treachery prevailing; the destroyers themselves haunted with the perpetual dread of destruction, at last overtaken by it, yet seldom leaving better in their room."

Sect. III. Further instances of the justness of his Genius, and of his great Thoughts.

Pg. 145 – FU
"Beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur exslovi posse; ubi multum antecessere pro gratia odium redditur."

Pg. 147 – FD
"Who but Tacitus could have said as does of the ancient Germans: 'Argentum & aurum pro pitii an irate Dii negaverint, dubito?' or that afterwards of the same people: 'mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem hominess sic ament inertiam, quietem oderint?' or that of the Sitones, a particular Clan of German, who were under the Government of a Woman: 'in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitude degenerant?' These are such instances of discernment, sagacity and happy expression, as few Writings can shew. By them and a thousand more, it is manifest that Tacitus saw every thing in a true and uncommon light: and his reflections are like mirrours where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper size and colours."

Sect. IV. The Morality of TACITUS, and his spirit virtuous and humane.

Sect. V. The Stile of TACITUS, how pertinent and happy: His Obscurity, a charge of the moderns only.

Sect. VI. A general Character of his Works.

Sect. VII. TACITUS vindicated from the imputation of deriving events from counsels too subtle and malevolent.

Pg. 157 – FD
"From the doubles and even contradictions that possess the heart of man, the conduct of men will be perplexed and contradictory. It is allowed that 'alieni appetens, sui profusus,' was a just branch in the Character of Catiline, and is reckoned one of the beauties and strong places in Sallust. Without peradventure, as beautiful, and strong, and just is this of Tacitus; 'neque eminentis virtutis sectabatur, & rursum vitia oderat;' the reason too assigned for it, is equally just and fine; ex optimis periculum fibi; a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat.' Is not this accounting, from the principles of nature and self-preservation, for the conduct and politics of Tiberius? Many of his actions and measures, recounted by Tacitus, are supported by collateral evidence, by Suetonius, Pliny, Dion Cassius, and others; many by them omitted are by him related, with such probability, and so perfectly resemble the rest of his conduct, that we must deny Tiberius to have been such a Prince as all men agree he was, or believe the account of him given by Tacitus."

Sect. VIII. More Proofs of the Candour and Veracity of TACITUS.

Sect. IX. Mr. Bayle's unjust censure of TACITUS; and how well the latter knew and observed the Laws of History.

Sect. X. An Apology for the wrong account by TACITUS of the Jews and Christians, and for his disregard of the Religion then received.

Pg. 168 – FD
"He thought that either there was no Providence (for his mind wavered between the doctrine of necessity and that of chance) or such a Providence as he could have well spared; 'non esse curæ Deis securitatem nostrum, esse ultionem.' But this bold reproach upon the Deities, he uttered after his heart, zealous for the good of his Country, had been heated by a terrible detail of her Calamites."

Pg. 169 – FU
"The Bonzes or Priests, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion; but are vicious, sordid, base, and void of every virtue private or public. Here is an instance of Monarchy the most thriving of any upon earth; an Empire that contains more people than half the rest of the globe, these people full of industry and arts; yet administered by men who are of no particular Religion, or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reason and Morality; nor knows it a greater blot and disgrace than the vile lives of its Priests and Religious."

Pg. 171 – FD
"When a Writer relates facts, or reasons from principles, his good sense and veracity only are to be regarded; and we have no more to do with his speculations or mistakes in other matters,

than with his person or complection. Pliny and Aristotle are reckoned Atheists; but what is this to their fine parts and learning? (*actual FD here)* With small spirits and bigots every thing that is noble and free, is Atheism and Blasphemy. The littleness and sourness of their own hearts, is the measure of all things. Nerva, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius were Heathen Princes; but they had virtue and benevolence, and their administration was righteous: what more did their subjects want from them? Justinian, Constantius, John Basilowitz, John Galeas, and Lewis the eleventh were Christian Princes, and men pretending to high Devotion; some of them great contenders for Orthodoxy, and great builders of Churches; but all barbarous and consuming Tyrants. What were the people or themselves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of the principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impostor is little else but an impious bargain and composition with God for abusing men.

Sect. XI. The foolish censure of BOCCALINI and others upon TACITUS.

Sect. XII. Of the several Commentators and Translators of TACITUS.

Sect. XIII. A Conjecture concerning the modern Languages, more largely concerning the English.

Sect. XIV. A Conjecture concerning the present state of the English Tongue, with an account of the present Work.

Pg. 181 – FU
"The late Lord Shaftesbury, though he has been perhaps too anxious and affected in forming his phrase to easiness and fluency, has yet had good success; since it is manifest that his soft alluring stile has multiplied his Readers, and helped powerfully to recommend his Works. Dr. Burnet of the Charter-House wrote with great eloquence and majesty, yet easy and unaffected. Dr. Tilloson's Stile is plain and pleasant, enlivened too with fine images and strong (pg 182) sense; yet many, while the strove to imitate him, have written very poorly."

DISCOURSE III. Upon Caesar the Dictator.

Sect. I. Of Caesar's Usurpation, and why his Name is less odious than that of CATILINE.

Sect. II. Of the public Corruption by Caesar promoted or introduced; with his bold and wicked Conduct.

Sect. III. Caesar might have purified and reformed the State, but far different were his intentions. His Art, good Sense, and continued ill Designs.

Pg. 191 – FU
"The accomplishments of Caesar, the mildness of his administration, and mercy to his enemies, have been much magnified. It is certain he had exquisite abilities and address; but how did he apply them? Was it not to be the Master of mankind? and was not this, interest and self-

love? What could be more interested, what more selfish, than to take the world to himself? Caesar had good sense and experience; he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even more odious than the slaughter of thousands, under the title of war and conquest, however unprovoked and unjust: (*actual FU here)* So much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, though the former is often the more mischievous passion. He knew, that, while general acts of blood would pass for Heroism, fit to be distinguished with praise and laurels, a particular life, taken away in anger, would pass for barbarity."

Sect. IV. The probability of his waxing more cruel, had he reigned much longer.

Sect. V. Caesar no lawful Magistrate, but a public Enemy.

Sect. VI. Of the share which Casualties had, in raising the Name and Memory of Caesar. The Judgment of CICERO concerning him.

Pg. 198 - FD

"As to the glory and prosperous fortune of this mighty Conqueror says, with great truth, that Felicity is nothing else but good fortune assisting righteous Counsels; nor can he whose purposes not upright, be, from any success, esteemed in any-wife happy. Hence it is, that from the impious and abandoned pursuits of Caesar, no true felicity could flow: happier, in my judgment, was Camillus under exile from his Country, than Manlius his co-temporary had been, though he had acquired over his Country that Tyranny which he lusted after.' The same wise man says elsewhere, 'that he would have preferred the last day of Antonius the Orator, tragical as it was, to the usurped rule of Cinna, by whom that worthy Roman was barbarously murdered.' I cannot admire Caesar's ambition; he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village, than the second man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, especially of the greatest State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggest Lord."

Sect. VII. How vain it is to extol any Designs of his for the Glory of the Roman people.

Sect. VIII. Of his Death; and the rashness of ascribing to divine Vengeance the fate of such as flew him.

DISCOURSE IV. Upon OCTAVIUS CAESAR, afterwards called AUGUSTUS.

Sect. I. Of the base and impious Arts by which he acquired the Empire.

Sect. II. Of the vindictive sprit of OCTAVIUS, and his horrid Cruelties.

Sect. III. Of the treachery, ingratitude, and further cruelties of OCTAVIUS. That the same were wanton and voluntary.

Sect. IV. Of the popular Arts and Accidents which raised the Character of Augustus.

Pg. 209 – FU

"He frequently entertained them with Shews and Spectacles; a notable means to produce or continue good humour in the populace, to beget kind wishes and zeal for the author of so much joy, and to make them forget Usurpation, Slavery, and every public evil. These were indeed used for the ends of corruption and servitude; (*actual FU here)* they rendred the people idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, insensible of public glory or disgrace; but the things were liked, and the ends not seen, or not minded, so that they had their thorough effect; and the Roman people, they who were wont to direct might wars, to raise and depose great Kings, to bestow or take away Empires, they who ruled the world, or directed its rule, were so sunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and shews, their ambition went no higher."

Pg. 210 – FD

"By the same arts Cardinal Mazarin began to soften and debase the minds of the French; and after his death the like methods for promoting of idleness and luxury were pursued; shews, debauchery, wantonness and riot were encouraged and became common; and after the Restoration, England adopted the modes of France, her worst modes. ; (*actual FD here)* There were some, too many, who, unworthy of their own happiness and Liberty, came to admire her Government and misfortune; and laboured, with the spirit of Parricides, though without their punishment, to bring ours to the model of that."

Pg. 211 – FD

"He attended business, reformed enormities, shewed high regard for the Roman name; was sparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of Citizens; preserved public peace; procured public abundance, promoted public pleasure and festivity; often appeared in person at the public diversions, and in all things studied to render himself dear to the populace. In truth, when he had done all the mischief he could, or all that he wanted, and more, he ceased his cruelty and ravages. This too was imputed to him for merit. He was reckoned very good, because he began to do less mischief. It was a rational saying of that madman Caligula, 'that calamitous and tragic to the Roman people were the boasted Victories of his great grandfather Augustus;' and therefore he forbad them to be solemnized annually for the future."

Sect. V. though AUGUSTUS courted the people, and particular Senators, he continued to depress public Liberty, and the Senate.

Sect. VI. What Fame he derived from the Poets and other flattering Writers of his time.

Sect. VII. Of the false Glory sought and acquired by AUGUSTUS, from the badness of his Successors.

Sect. VIII. The Character of AUGUSTUS.

Sect. IX. Of the Helps and Causes which acquired and preserved the Empire to AUGUSTUS. His great Power and Fortune no proof of extraordinary Ability.

DISCOURSE V. Of Governments free and arbitrary, more especially that of the CAESARS.

Sect. I. The Principle of God's appointing and protecting Tyrants, an Absurdity not believed y the Romans.

Sect. II. The reasonableness of resisting Tyrants asserted, from the Ends of Government, and the Nature of the Deity. Opinions the most impious and extravagant, why taught, and how easily swallowed.

Sect. III. The danger of slavish Principles to such as trust in them, and the notorious insecurity of lawless Might.

Sect. IV. Princes of little and bad Minds, most greedy of Power. Princes of large good Minds chuse to rule by Law and Limitations.

Sect. V. The Wisdom and safety of ruling by standing Laws, to Prince and People.

Sect. VI. The Condition of free States, how preferable to that of such as are not free.

Pg. 233 – FU

"To reason from experience and examples, is the best reasoning. Compare any free State with any other that is not free. Compare the former and present condition of any State formerly free; or once enslaved, and now free. Compare England with France; Holland with Denmark; or the seven Provinces under the States, with the same seven Provinces under Philip the second; you will find (pg. 234) in these and every other instance, that happiness and wretchedness are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage."

Sect. VII. The Misery and Insecurity of the Caesars from their overgrown Power.

Sect. VIII. A representation of the Torments and Horrors under which TIBERIUS lived.

Sect. X. The wretched Fears accompanying the Possession of arbitrary Power, exemplified in CALIGULA and other Roman Emperors.

Sect. XI. What it is that constitutes the Security and Glory of a Prince; and how a Prince and People become estranged from each other.

Pg.243 – NF

"Mischief is prolific; violence in him begets resentment in them; the People murmur and exclaim; the Prince is thence provoked, and studies vengeance; when one act of vengeance is resented and exposed, as it ever will be, more will follow. Thus things go on. Affection is not only lost, but irrecoverable on either side; hatred is begun on both; and Prince and People consider themselves no longer as Magistrate and Subjects, but one another as Enemies. Hence perhaps Caligula'S inhuman wish, that he could murder all his People at a blow. The sequel of all this is easy to be guessed; he is continually destroying them; they are continually wishing him destroyed."

Sect. XII. How nearly it behoves a Prince to be beloved and esteemed by his Subjects, The terrible Consequences of their mutual Mistrust and Hatred.

Sect. XIII. Public Happiness only then certain, when the Laws are certain and inviolable.

DISCOURSE VI. Of the old Law of Treason by the Emperors perverted and extended.

Sect. I. The ancient Purpose of that Law; the Politics of AUGUSTUS in stretching it.

Sect. II. The Deification of the Emperors, what an engine of Tyranny, and snare to the Roman People.

Sect. III. The Images of the Emperors, how sacred they became, and how pernicious.

Sect. IV. What a destructive Calamity the Law of Majesty grew, and how fast Treasons multiplied under its Name.

DISCOURSE VII. Of the Accusations, and Accusers under the Emperors.

Sect. IV. The pestilent Employment of these Men, their Treachery and Encouragement.

Sect. II. The traitorous Methods taken to circumvent and convict Innocence. The spirit of accusing how common, the dread of it how universal; and the misery of the Times.

Sect. IV. What ridiculous Causes produced capital Guilt. The spirit of the Emperor CONSTANTIUS; with somewhat of his Father CONSTANTINE.

Sect. V. The black and general carnage made under CONSTANTIUS, by his bloody Minister PAULUS CATENA, for certain Acts of Superstition and Curiosity.

Sect. VI. The Ravages of the Accusers continued; their Credit with the Emperors; yet generally meet their Fate. The Falsehood of these Princes. The melancholy State of those Times.

Sect. VII. The increase of Tyranny. Innocence and guilt not measured by the Law, but by the Emperor's Pleasure and Malice.

Sect. VIII. What TACITUS means by Instrumenta regni.

Sect. IX. How much the Emperors hated, and how fast they destroyed all great and worthy Men. Their dread of every Man for any Reason.

Sect. X. Reflections upon the Spirit of a Tyrant. With what Wantonness the Roman Emperors shed the blood of the Roman People. The blindness of such as assisted the Usurpation of CAESAR and AUGUSTUS.

Pg. 288 – FU
"All the world goes well with those that are well; and before men can be brought to believe prophecies of misery, they must begin to feel it. What a child is Man! What a name is Reason! The most frequent use we make of it, is to reason ourselves out of it, and from it to borrow arms against itself: just as we have seen Laws quoted to vindicate the subversion of Law, and the Holy Gospel of Peace (pg 288) and Love urged in defence of Persecution and Enmity."

Sect. XI. Why under such Tyrants, the Senate continued to subsist.

Pg. 290 – FD
"Now what Power, what Genius upon earth, was equal to such a prodigious design, that of vacating at once regulations and usages so infinitely numerous, so long established, *(actual FD here)* become a great part of the public Language, grown, as it were, to the minds and memories of men, and essential to Speech and Conversation, as well as to business and protection; and then to supply such an immense void, with Ordinances, Offices, Terms and manner of Process, so as to answer all the ends of Society in so vast an Empire? This was not to be done, nor was it needful: they found their account sufficiently in breaking the Power and Spirit of the Senate, in reducing it to a skeleton and a name, and in exercising under that name all their own violences and exorbitances. The Senate and the People had a venerable sound, and served as a cloak for power when they themselves had none, and the Emperor had all. The registering of Edicts by the Parliament of Paris is become a matter of form; but without that form, the Court, as uncontrouled as it is, does not care to execute an Edict. The Romans still preserved a veneration for their Senate and Magistrates, and the same was often found in the Armies; insomuch that as late as the Reign of COMMO DUS, the soldiers were so enraged at the insolence of Perennis, his Favourite and Minister, for discharging from their military commands such as were Patricians and Senators, and for placing in their room others of Equestrian Rank, that they cut him in pieces."

Pg. 291 - FD
"Time, however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inseparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the essence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling sounds, and swelling titles, suitable to the genius of absolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeness from grossness and bondage."

Sect. XII. How the unrelenting Cruelty of the Emperors hastened the Dissolution of the Empire. The bad Reigns of Constantine and CONSTANTIUS. The good Reign of JULIAN. The indiscreet behavior of the Christians. Continued Tyranny; and end of the Empire.

Sect. XIII. The Excellency of a limited Monarchy, especially of our own.

Pg. 294 – FU
"Monarchy, according to Plato, is the best Government, or the worst: to which opinion I subscribe; as I do that of Philip De Comines, that England is the place in the world, where the Public is most equally administered, and where (pg 295) the people suffer the least violence. We are blessed with that form of Government which Tacitus mentions as the most perfect, and thinks

the hardest to be framed; that happy ballance and mixture of interests which comprehends every interest."

Pg. 295 – NF

"An English Monarch has one advantage which sets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth; he obliges his subjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; so they, by supporting him, enable him to do it: while they give by choice, and not by force, they give chearfully. *(actual NF here)* Princes who take all themselves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people. If it be true that we hate those whom we have hurt, it is equally true, that we are apt to love those whom we have obliged. Hence God is said, not only to love doing good, but to love the good that he does."

DISCOURSE VIII. Of the general Debasement of Spirit and Adulation which accompany Power unlimited.

Sect. I. The motives of Flattery considered. Its vileness, and whence it begins.

Sect. II. Men of elevated Minds irreconcileable to Arbitrary Power, and thence suspected by it. The Court paid to it always insincere, sometimes expedient, but seldom observes any bounds.

Pg. 303 – NF

"Affection can never accompany a submission which is forced, nor men submit willingly to a Power which they think they have themselves a right to exercise. Hence the compliments and praises of these eminent Romans towards the Emperors, are generally by Tacitus derived from Flattery; though sometimes necessary, and sometimes well intended; necessary, when used for their own preservation; and well intended, when employed to instil into the Prince virtuous lessons of Government. Marcus Terentius was perhaps justifiable, when in defence of his life, which was at stake, he made that high-flown compliment to Tiberius; "To thee the Gods have granted the supreme disposal of things, and to us have left the glory of obedience." The Senators also did well in magnifying some popular Acts of Nero, that his youthful mind being thus incited by the Glory arising from light things, might court it in things which were greater. And Thrasea Petus was justifiable, when in his speech about Antistius the Prætor, arraigned for Treason for lampooning the Emperor, he extolled that Prince's mercy, in order to make him merciful."

Sect. III. The excessive Power of the Imperial freed Slaves; with the scandalous Submission and Honours paid them by the Romans.

Sect. IV. The excessive Flattery of the Senate, how ill judged.

Sect. V. The free judgment of Posterity a powerful warning to Princes, to reign with moderation and to detest Flatterers. The name and Memory of the Roman Tyrants how treated.

Pg. 309 – NF

"ALL men have some vanity, and thence some fondness for fame; if they would acquire it, and avoid infamy, they must square their actions to the judgment of Posterity. With Posterity,

little evasions, false colourings, and chicane will not pass for reasons, though they may with our cotemporaries, who are often influenced by friendships, often engaged in parties, often warmed and misled by passion and partiality. *(actual NF roughly here)* Death and Time destroy all artifices, dissipate all mists, and unveil mysteries; the intentions of men with all their motives and pursuits are then scanned and laid open. The flights of Flattery, will not then be termed fondness for the Prince, nor the efforts of Ambition miscalled public zeal. Claudius and Pallas, Tiberius and Sejanus, Nero And Tigellinus; men so caressed, applauded and worshipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praises, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with detestation, and their hearts with abhorrence. What avail now their craft and subornations, their power and high posts? Does the awe of purple, or the violence of the sword, do Prætorian Guards and perverted Laws, secure their memory, as they did their persons? Do I, for example, fear their charges of Treason, or the vile breath of their Informers, while I treat them as sanguinary Monsters, as the Tyrants, Pests and Oppressors of the earth, as public Curses, and Murderers in cold blood?"

Sect. VI. How lamentably Princes are debauched and misled by Flatterers.

Sect. VII. The pestilent tendency of flattering Counsels, and the Glory of such as are sincere.

DISCOURSE IX. Upon COURTS.

Sect. I. Of Freedom of Speech, and how reasonable it is.

Sect. II. The Spirit of Courtiers what; some good ones.

Sect. III. The Arts of Courtiers; their Cautiousness, and its Causes.

Sect. IV. Of Slanderers and Tale-bearers in Courts. The Folly of Craft.

Sect. V. How much worthless People abound in Courts, any why.

Sect. VI. The remarkable Fickleness and Insincerity of Courtiers.

DISCOURSE X. Of Armies and Conquest.

Sect. I. The Burden and Danger of maintaining great Armies.

Sect. II. Great Armies the best disciplined, whether thence the less formidable to a Country. Their Temper and Views.

Sect. III. Princes ruling by military Power, ever at the Mercy of military Men.

Pg. 344. – FU

"How much easier is it to corrupt a few leading Officers, often necessitous, generally ambitious, than to persuade a whole Kingdom, if they are well governed, to destroy themselves?

Some will be disobliged, because not preferred to their wishes, or because others are preferred before them; they will differ according to their countries or their interests about the person to be their General, *(actual FU here)* and to have the power of preferring or recommending Officers; and that part which is disappointed shall be a faction against that which succeeds. Where-ever Commissions are venal, there will be no difficulty of buying those, who are disaffected, into them, if they can disguise their disaffection till a proper opportunity."

Sect. IV. Instances of the Boldness and Fury of the Roman Soldiery.

Sect. V. The Humour of conquering, how injudicious, vain, and destructive.

Pg. 350 – FD

"How foolish is the reasoning of passion! It leads men to throw away strength to gain weakness. Even where these sons of violence succeed, they may be justly said to acquire nothing, beyond the praise of mischief. What is the occupation and end of Princes and Governors, but to rule men for their good, and to keep them from hurting one another? Now what Conqueror is there who mends the condition of the conquered? Alexander the Great, though he well knew the difference between a limited and a lawless Monarchy, did not pretend, that his invasion of Persia was to mend the condition of the Persians. It was a pure struggle for dominion; when he had gained it, he assumed the Throne upon the same arbitrary terms upon which their own Monarchs had held it, nor knew any Law but his will. The subject only felt the violence of the change, without any benefit or relaxation from slavery. His Glory therefore is all false and deceitful, as is all Glory which is gained by the blood of men, without mending the state of mankind. This spirit of fighting and conquering continued in his Successors, who plagued the earth as he had done, and weltered in the blood of one another, till they were almost all destroyed by the sword or poison, with the whole family (pg 351) of Alexander. It was no part of the dispute amongst them, which of them could bestow most happiness upon the afflicted world, about which they strove, but who should best exalt himself, and enslave all."

Pg. 351 – FU

"When her own Tyrants, become through Tyranny impotent, could no longer afflict her, for protection was none of their business; a host of Barbarians, only known for ravages, and acts of inhumanity, finished the work of desolation, and closed her civil doom. She has been since racked under a Tyranny more painful, as it is more slow; and more base, as it is scarce a domination of men; I mean her vassalage to a sort of beings of (pg 352) all others the most merciless and contemptible, Monks and Spectres."

Sect. VI. The Folly of conquering further urged and exemplified.

Pg. 352 – FD

"What is the use of earth and water, where there are no Inhabitants for these elements to support? The strength of a Government consists in numerous subjects industrious and happy; not in extent of territory desolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle. It is incredible what a profusion of wealth and lives their attempts upon Persia have cost them, always with fatal success, even under their wisest and most warlike Princes; and at a time when their Empire flourished most. Yet these attempts are continued, at a season when their Affairs are at the

lowest; their Provinces exhausted, their people and revenue decayed, their soldiery disorderly, and all things conspiring to the final dissolution of their Empire."

Pg. 355 – FU
"The former lasted eight hundred years, and the other has lasted twelve hundred, without any Revolution; what errors they both committed, were owing to their attempts to conquer, for which they were not (pg 356) formed; though the Spartans were exceeding brave and victorious; but they wanted the *Plebs ingenua*, which formed the strength of the Roman Armies; as the Janizaries, a militia formerly excellently trained and disciplined, formed those of the Turk. With the latter, fighting and extending their dominions, is an article of their Religion, as false and barbarous in this as in many of its other principles, and as little calculated for the good of men."

VOL. V.

DISCOURSES UPON THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Pg. 8 – FD
(Pg. 7) "The following Discourses, like the former, were composed for the interest of public Liberty, against public violence and the iniquities of power. Nor can one who reads Tacitus attentively, fail of start (Pg 8) ing a thousand reflections, such as must fill his heart with anguish for the deplorable lot of a people enslaved and oppressed, and with bitterness against their tyrants and oppressors. *(Actual fold here)* Unless he have hardened his heart against all the impulses of humanity and compassion, unless he have lost all regard for right and wrong, all sense of liberty and truth, he must be struck with the sad scenes before him, innocence suffering, cruelty devouring, iniquity exalted and powerful, virtue persecuted and perishing. He must rejoice in his own happier lot and that of his country; must abhor all practices and principles repugnant to liberty, and productive of servitude, abhor the men who broach such principles, and advance such practices. He must find proportionable delight from seeing the cause of Liberty flourish, from seeing it well explained, asserted and recommended.

The advantages and blessings of Liberty are there most palpably to be discerned, where Tyranny is most heavily felt; and from this very History the reader will see, that whatever is good or amiable in the world is by Tyranny destroyed and extinguished; that whatever is evil, mischievous and detestable, is by Tyrants introduced, nurtured and propagated. From hence he will reason and recollect that every thing dear and desirable to society must result from a state of liberty; that there only property and life are not precarious, nor conscience and the faculties of the soul bound in chains:

Pg. 8 – FU
That even Religion, in order to do good, must be left entirely free, and that in countries enslaved, it is converted, even the sacred alliance between the soul of man and its Creator, is converted, into an apparent engine of tyranny and delusion, into a manifest market and commodity for deluders, who whilst they are openly engaged in nothing but gain, and fraud and domineering, and the like selfish (Pg. 9) pursuits, all very worldly, many very wicked, have the confidence to preach up self-denial, to preach against the world, and to claim successorship to the poor,

wandering, holy and disinterested Apostles. A sort of hypocrisy and assurance more insulting than all the rest of their unhallowed contradictions and doings, that such men as they, the tools of Tyranny, and themselves Tyrants, dare thus cover their pride and passions with the name and commission of the meek and merciful Jesus; dare pretend to reasoning, yet forbid all enquiry, talk of learning, and promote ignorance, demand vast reverence from the people for keeping them in a condition of savageness and slavery, and take great revenues for deceiving and oppressing them."

DISCOURSE I. Of the Emperors who are the subject of the foregoing History: Of their Ministers, their Misfortunes, and the causes of their Fall.

Sect. I. An Idea of NERO'S Reign, how mildly it began, how terrible it grew. The deceitfulness of prosperity.

Sect. II. The weakness of GALBA, and the iniquities of his Ministers.

Sect. III. The folly of the evil measures pursued by these Ministers, how pernicious to themselves and to the Emperor.

Sect. IV. GALBA'S blindness in trusting intirely to his Favourites, who by their wickedness blasted his reign, and their own hopes.

Sect. V. The infatuation of men in power; they generally rely upon it as never to end, and thence boldly follow the bent of their passions. Instances of this. Guilty Ministers how dangerous.

Sect. VI. Weak and evil Princes rarely profit by able Ministers; they like flatterers better: These frustrate the good advice of others.

Sect. VII.: How Difficult It Is For a Worthy Man to Serve a Bad Prince, and How Dangerous.

Sect. VIII.: Under Wicked Princes, How Natural and Common It Is to Wish For a Change. Their Different Treatment Living and Dead. In What a Prince Is Chiefly to Confide.

DISCOURSE II.: Of Competition Amongst the Ministers of a Prince, and Their Corruption. the Evil Effects of Indolence In a Prince.

Sect. I.: Discord Between Ministers, How Fatal to Their Masters.

Sect. II.: An Indolent Prince a Ready Prey to the Falsest and Worst of All Men: These Disgrace His Reign, and Provoke His People. — Their Amazing Corruption.

Sect. III.: The Reign of an Indolent Prince, How Destructive It May Prove, However Harmless the Man. Into What Contempt He Falls.

Sect. IV.: A Prince Beset With Evil Counsellors, How Fast He Improves In Evil.

DISCOURSE III.: Of Public Frugality.

Sect. I.: The Prodigality of the Emperors; Its Terrible Consequences to the Public, Namely, Tyranny, Murders and Oppression.

Sect. II.: Only the Worst Men Share In the Bounties of an Extravagant 'prince, and Carefully Seclude the Best — How Ruinous His Extravagance to Himself and the State.

Sect. III.: The Waste of Public Money, Its Tendency to Produce Popular Commotions and Civil War. — How Much Men Love Themselves Better Than the Public. — Such Waste Seldom Answers Any End.

Sect. IV.: The Wisdom of Parsimony In a Prince —— the Certain Distress and Disgrace of Such As Are Prodigal.

Sect. V.: Public Frugality and Public Profusion Compared In Their Effects. —— Princes Brought By Extravagance Into Distress Have No Resource In the Hearts and Purses of the People.

Sect. VI.: The Greatest Revenues Insufficient Under Ill Management——how Grievous This to the People, How Baneful to the State. the True Liberality of a Prince, What. the Vile Spirit of Flattering Casuists.

Sect. VII.: Public Frugality Advantageous to All; Disliked Only By a Few.——public Bounties Ill Bestowed, How Dishonourable.

DISCOURSE IV.: Of Princes.

Sect. I.: The Duty of a Prince, What. His Motives to Be Good, and Content With Limited Power: That of the Roman Emperors Bounded.

Sect. II.: The Wisdom of Governing By Law ——- No Just Power Without Law —— Just Government Requires Sense —— Any Wretch Capable of Tyrannizing —— No Good Man Fond of Boundless Power.

Pg. 70 – FU

"What is it that gives a Prince a right to power? Not his bare will, for then every man who has force, has a right to power, a right to all that downright brutal force can bring him. *(Actual FU here)* As the public good is the general rule of Laws, these Laws are the rule and boundaries of the Prince's power. To these all men are and ought to be subject, he especially who is intrusted with their execution and the care of all men. If the Laws are for the security of the State, why should not the Prince observe them, he to whom the guardianship of the State is committed? The Roman Emperors, even in their acts of Tyranny pretended to observe Law, and under the name of some Law most of their cruelties were perpetrated. Nor durst they avowedly

violate the Laws. Thus Claudius was afraid to marry Agrippina, for that there was no Law authorizing an Uncle to marry his Niece. Nor durst he accomplish the marriage till a Decree was purposely made. Thus even the outrageous Nero pro (Pg. 71) ceeded in cutting off some of the greatest men: He got them butchered under the form and mockery of Law."

Sect. III.: How Amiable the Character of a Good Prince, Who Rules By Justice and Law, Who Loves and Relieves His People.

Sect. IV.: The Miserable Spirit and Infamy of Princes Who Consider Themselves Above Law, and Independent On Their People.

Sect. V.: Princes Seeking Or Possessing Arbitrary Power, Rarely Exercise Any Themselves: Their Ministers and Creatures Generally Rule All.

Sect. VI.: The Arbitrary Will of Favourites Often Proves the Only Law of a Bad and Arbitrary Prince — How Apt They Are to Abuse His Power, and At Last to Desert Him.

Sect. VII.: Princes Guilty of the Oppressions Committed By Their Authority. Their Ministers Are Generally, Like Them, Bad Or Good. a Limited Authority Safest to Kings and Ministers. the Best Ministers Obnoxious to Clamours.

Sect. VIII.: The Benefit of Standing Laws to Princes and Their Ministers, Further Illustrated. What Regard Princes Should Have to Posthumous Fame, What Dread of Infamy.

Sect. IX.: Idle Princes Seldom Come to Be Able Princes. How Much Application to Business Imports Them, For Their Own Accomplishment and the Good of Their Government.

Pg. 87 – FU

"Indolent Princes, such as love not business, or are kept from it, besides their being liable to be abused, scarce ever come to be men of great…

Pg. 88 – FD

sufficiency, though they may have good natural parts. It is by the continual exercise of the understanding that the understanding is enlarged. A man of much industry, with moderate parts, will be an overmatch for one who has the greatest, but never exerts them. Attention to business and the affairs of life, fills the mind with ideas and reflections, arms it against mistakes and surprizes, and uses it to judging and deciding. But to a spirit untrained and void of experience, every small matter proves a great difficulty, every small difficulty proves discouraging. *(FD ends here)* A man practised in affairs is seldom startled or at a loss, and for every emergency will be apt to find some expedient; for he is used to emergencies, and to provide for them. Every small Clerk will be apt to despise, every little Lawyer be able to outwit a man just come out of a College or a Cloister, though he may make no mean figure there. Even very silly men will acquit themselves notably in business, where it lies in a road and method, and make dispatch where a very bright man not used to it would be strangely puzzled. I have seen a man of poor natural capacity, but well trained in business, triumph over a man of extraordinary talents destitute of

experience. Such as are originally weak may acquire artificial abilities, as others of great genius, applying to nothing, will be good for nothing."

Sect. X.: The Most Wretched and Wicked of All Princes Are Wont to Account Themselves Most Sacred, and to Claim Attributes Divine.

DISCOURSE V.: The Same Subject Continued.

Sect. I.: The Example of a Prince Its Efficacy: When Good How Advantageous to His People and Himself.

Pg. 95 - FU

"Neither is the Virtue and Morality of a Prince of greater advantage to his People than to himself. Virtuous Subjects are always peaceable, nor will they fail to honour a virtuous Governor. *(Actual FU here)* It is the debauched, the riotous, the idle, who are prone (Pg. 96) to sedition, love public changes, and promote them. Whatsoever particular points a Prince may carry by debauching his People, it cannot be the stability of his Throne, whatever he may think. A People who have abandoned their Virtue will readily abandon their King; nor does he deserve any other, if it was he who first corrupted them. From a vicious People it is madness to hope for virtuous Principles, such as those of just allegiance and fidelity. Where no integrity is left, no honour can be expected; and when they are corrupted so far as to sell or throw away their Liberties, which is the highest degree of corruption, what other or lesser degree will they be ashamed of? Nor can one who has made them universally vile, complain, with a good grace, that they prove vile to him. It is but a part of what he taught them."

Sect. II.: The Character of a Prince to Be Learnt From That of His Company and Favourites, and His Designs By the Opinions Which Become In Fashion About Him.

Sect. III.: Doctrines In Defence of Lawless Power, and Against Civil Liberty, to Be Punished As Treason Against the Public. How Princes Discover Their Spirit.——they Seldom Take Warning.

Sect. IV.: Of the Veracity of Princes——the Folly of Falshood——the Worst and Silliest Men Practise It Most —— It Is Inseparable From Tyranny.

Sect. V.: Princes of Noble and Good Minds Scorn to Deceive: Thence Their Glory and Popularity.

Pg. 108 – FU

"This was Virtue, this was Wisdom; and what Prince who knows the value, the glory and advantage of it, would be without it? A worthy Minister of his, the President Jeannin, a man of excellent understanding, was famed for equal probity, and acted in Counsel, acted in Negotiations, and with particular men, without any refinings or doublings, or little artifices. These are what a man truly wise despises, what none but the apes of wise men practise. Henry the fourth held his honour so sacred, as to declare, 'That he would lose his Crown rather than cause the least suspicion of breaking his Word, even to his greatest enemies.'"

Sect. VI.: The Consequences of Falshood In a Prince, Scorn and Impotence——it Is the Mark of a Poor and Dishonest Spirit——great and Virtuous Spirits Abhor It.

Sect. VII.: Tyranny Worse Than Anarchy, Or Rather Nothing But Anarchy.

Sect. VIII.: Bad Princes Ought to Be Treated With Severity and Abhorrence, In Honour and Justice to the Good —— No Worthy Prince Offended to See a Wicked Prince Exposed.

DISCOURSE VI.: Of Bigotry In Princes.

Sect. I.: The Mischief of Bigotry In a Prince: Its Strange Efficacy, and What Chimera's Govern It.

Sect. II.: How Easily a Bigotted Prince Is Led Against Reason and Interest: What Ravages He Is Apt to Commit.

Sect. III.: A Bigotted Prince How Subject to Be Drawn Into Guilt and Folly — the Dictates of Bigotry How Opposite to Those of True Religion.

Sect. IV.: Further Instances of the Great Mischiefs Occasioned By Bigotry of Princes.

DISCOURSE VII.: Of Ministers.

Sect. I.: The Choice of Ministers How Much It Imports Prince and People. of What Sad Consequence to Both, When Bad. the Bad Only Serve Themselves, Not Their Master.

Sect. II.: A Sure Rule For a Prince to Know When He Is Advised Faithfully. the Duty of a Minister to Warn Princes With Freedom. the Interest of Princes to Hear a Minister Patiently. Few Will Tell Them Truth, When Telling It Is Offensive. a Wise Prince Wil

Sect. III.: Ministers to Be Narrowly Observed, As Well As Heard. They Sometimes Combine to Nourish Corruption and Blind the Prince. How Nearly It Concerns Him That All About Him Be Uncorrupt.

Sect. IV.: What Selfish Ends the Counsellors of Princes Sometimes Pursue, Yet Pretend Public Good. They Gratify Private Passion to the Ruin of the State. What a Reproach to a Prince the Corruption of His Servants.

Sect. V.: Under a Prince Subject to Be Blindly Managed, a Change of Ministers Rarely Mends the Administration He Often Hates His Ministers, Yet Still Employs Them. Ministers Most In Danger Where the Prince Has Most Power.

Sect. VI.: Ministers Trusted Without Controul, Sometimes Threatening and Perillous to a Prince. How Fatal This Often to Themselves, and to the State.

Sect. VII.: The Great Mischief of Exalting Favourites Beyond Measure, Especially Such As Command Great Armies.

DISCOURSE VIII.: The Same Subject Continued.

Sect. I.: Good Ministers Often Ruined and Destroyed For Their Virtue By a Combination of the Bad. the Spight and Wicked Arts of the Latter. How Ready to Charge Their Own Guilt Upon the Innocent.

Sect. II.: How Hard It Is For a Good Minister to Support Himself With a Prince Surrounded By Sycophants and Seducers, Or to Preserve Him and His State. Their Execrable Stratagems to Execute Their Malice. How Such Sometimes Abuse the Prince, Mislead Him, D

Sect. III.: Reflections Upon the Fate of King James the Fifth of Scotland Seduced and Undone By Minions, Who Withdrew Him From the Direction of an Honest Minister.

Sect. IV.: Where Flattery Is Encouraged, Flatterers Rule, and Sincerity Is Banished. Ministers Sometimes Fall Not Through Guilt But Faction; Yet Always Accused of Guilt.

Sect. V.: A Minister May Be Disgraced For His Virtue, and Fidelity to His Prince. Mercenary Courtiers Certain Enemies to Upright Ministers. Justice Done to Both By Time and History.

Pg. 165 – FD
DISCOURSE IX. Of the People.

Sect. I.: The Variable Character of the People: Very Good Or Very Bad, According to Their Education and Government. Hence the Improvement or Depravation of Their Manners. *(FD ends here)*

Pg. 166 – FU
"It is thus that men from Savages and Banditti, become just and humane, or from virtuous and free, abject slaves and barbarians.

Attica, the Country of the Athenians, was over-run with violence, feuds, robbery and murders, until Theseus reformed the Government, and by it civilized the People, who by virtue of their (Pg. 167) Liberty and Laws, afterwards corrected and improved by Solon, came to be the masters and standard of politeness and learning over the world. Thus Lycurgus reclaimed the licentiousness of the Spartans, and established such an institution, and such wise orders amongst them, that for courage, patriotism and every kind of virtue, they were the envy and wonder of all Nations. As the Liberty of these two famous Cities decayed, so did their Valour and Probity, and perished when that perished. They seemed afterwards another race of men, though their blood and climate were still the same. The Grecians, once Conquerors and Masters of universal Empire, are now spiritless Slaves, sunk in unmanly superstition, drunken, ignorant, barbarous."

Pg. 168 – FD

"It is chiefly by education and the exercise of the understanding that some men come to surpass others; for by nature men are alike, all made of the same materials; nor greater difference is there between the Lord and the Slave, than that which proceeds from chance or education.
(Actual FD here)
Many men great in title have the spirit of Slaves; many men mean in fortune have greatness of spirit: Many a Cicero has kept sheep, many a Cæsar followed the plough, many a Virgil foddered cattle. Government is public education, and as the national discipline is good or bad, Nations will be well nurtured, or ill. In all civilized Countries, the people are generally harmless and manageable, where they are not misled or oppressed. Oppression is apt to make a wise man mad, nay, the wiser he is the more he will feel the oppression, because he will the more readily discern it to be unjust: And when men are misled, they discern not justice from violence."

Sect. II. The People under good Government apt to be peaceable and grateful: often patient under Oppression: often moderate in opposing Oppressors: inclinable to Justice when not misled.

Pg. 168 – FU
"THE Roman Commonalty quarrelled not with the Nobility, until the Nobility insulted and oppressed them; nay, they bore it a good while without complaining, complained long before they proceeded to an insurrection, even their insurrections were without blood, and they grew calm and content upon every appearance of redress; for, their redress was seldom complete, and what was undertaken seldom made good. In the struggle, particularly about the Agrarian Law, a Law so necessary to the State, so necessary to preserve equality (Pg. 169) amongst Citizens, without which they could not be long free, they were perpetually injured, disappointed and abused. The Law was eternally violated, they eternally the sufferers. (Pg. 169 –NF) Was it any wonder that a grievance so notorious and heavy, so much affecting the Public and the People, was felt and resented by the People; any wonder that they contended for its removal, or, that when it was not removed, they had recourse to violence to procure justice, and were guided by their Tribunes, who sometimes, under the name of that Law and a colour of espousing the Populace, pursued very ambitious and dangerous designs?"

Pg. 170 – FU
"The People too are very grateful to their benefactors, and their affections generally lasting whenever they are well apprized that the object is very deserving. The Athenians ever adored the memory of Theseus and Solon, ever honoured their descendents. The same respect the Lacedæmonians always paid to the name and posterity of Lycurgus. That of Lucius Junius Brutus was affectionately reverenced by the Romans, so was that of Poplicola, of the Gracchi, and indeed that of all their great Patrons and Heroes. Queen Elizabeth is never mentioned by an Englishman but with affection and praise. The name of Orange is popular in Holland, though some who bore it pursued very unpopular measures there.
(Actual FU here)
Does not this shew that the love of the People is stronger than their disgusts? They rather remember him (Pg. 171) who first founded their Liberty, than him who attempted to take it away."

Sect. III. The People generally fond of old Names and Habits. The difference between the same People under different Governments: How generous and friendly when free: how vicious and false when enslaved.

Pg. 172 – FD

(Pg. 171) "THE People are indeed subject to change, but it is chiefly by fits, when they are angry, or seduced. Left to themselves, they usually go on in the old way, or return back to it again. Old Habits and old Names seem to please them most, nor do they readily desert the same till forced or deceived. Cæsar and Augustus were so sensible of this bent in the People to ancient Customs and Institutions, that when upon enslaving Rome, they had in effect dissolved the force and essence of the (Pg. 172) Roman Magistracy, they left the Magistrates their old Names, and all the appearances of power and dignity. They are likewise inclinable to be quiet and harmless, where no provocation rouses them: but when they are enraged, they are very terrible and very cruel.

(Actual FD here)

Yet their outrage is not apt to last. They soon cool, and when their rage subsides, remorse is apt to follow: They will then embrace the man whom just before they sought to murder, and love him the more for having intended him a mischief."

Pg. 173 – FD

Their acclamations were to sound not with what was just or true, but with what was deceitful and pleasing. Their praises were no proof or effect of their affection, but of their falshood and servility: Whether they hated or despised him, they were sure to magnify him, nay, ready to use the same stile towards his enemy and destroyer on the very same day. They were loud in behalf of Galba at noon, vehement in calling for the blood of Otho: Before night they were as loud in the applauses of Otho, as vehement in traducing Galba, who was then murdered, and his carcass the sport of the Rabble.

Sect. IV. The People when deceived by names and deluders, how extremely blind and cruel, yet mean well.

Pg. 175 – FD

(Pg. 174) "Can there be a greater instance of the power and mischief of delusion, a greater warning to guard against it? *(Actual FD here)* Superstition is apt to creep in and gain force, even without the aid of art: But when art, and industry, and interest combine to promote and increase the infirmities of Nature; when all helps, all tricks, all terrors are applied and exerted to mislead, frighten and deceive; nay, when power, and penalties, and punishments, might and magistracy, rods and axes, combine in the cause of delusion and deluders; when all inquiry is forbid, all inquirers executed and damned; *(FD ends here)* what can ensue but thick ignorance and barbarity, the triumphs of fraud, the exile of common sense? Can infatuation and hardness of heart go further, than to rejoice in using a man cruelly, in torturing him till he is almost dead, and afterwards recovering him on purpose to burn him alive, for an opinion perhaps very innocent, perhaps very just, by himself esteemed sacred, at worst hurtful only to himself? Yet at such shocking acts of inhumanity there are people, there are women and infants, and whole Nations that can rejoice, though in other instances not ungenerous nor cruel. They can

sorrow for the just execution of a thief or a murderer, and exult to see a conscientious man thrown quick into the flames, for daring to be rational, for consulting truth, or endeavouring to make himself acceptable to the Deity."

Sect. V. The power of delusion further illustrated. The dreadful wickedness and impieties committed under the name of Religion. Religious cheats surpass all others.

Pg. 178 – FU

It is enough to mortify and grieve any candid spirit, who wishes well to humanity, to see human nature so pitifully debased, human understanding suspended, lost or turned into a snare; taught to be angry at common sense, and to submit to the nonsense of sounds; to learn folly as an improvement; to bear slavery as duty and happiness; to bestow their wealth upon those who inveighed (Pg. 179) against wealth, yet were ever and insatiably pursuing more; to encourage them with great revenues to perform functions which they performed not, but left to others whom they hired for poor wages; to persecute truth, and fall prostrate before falshood; to worship names and garments, common earth, common food, and common men, with many more absurdities alike disgraceful to reason, alike pernicious to society. Such is the sovereign force of delusion, and such was the character of the English Nation, such that of the English Clergy, in the days of the great English Saint, Thomas a Becket, and till the Reformation, when the use of reason and conscience was restored.

Sect. VI. The People not turbulent unless seduced or oppressed: slow to resist Oppressors: sometimes mild even in their just vengeance: brave in defence of their Liberties.

Pg. 180 – FU

"The People of Swisserland groaned long under the heavy yoak of Austria, sustained a course of sufferings and indignities too many and too great for human patience: so insolent and barbarous were their Governors, so tame and submissive the governed. At last they roused themselves, or rather their oppressive Governors roused them, so as not to be quelled. Yet they carried their vengeance no further than was barely necessary for their future security.
(Actual FU here)
They spilt little or none of the blood of their Tyrants and Taskmakers, the Rulers from Austria, who had so freely spilled theirs. They only conducted these lawless spoilers to the borders of the Country, and there dismissed them in safety, under an oath never more to return into their territories. What could be more slow to resist, what more meek in their ressistance, than that brave and abused People? They were indeed so brave, and had been so abused, as to resolve never more to submit to the Imperial Power. Thenceforth they (Pg. 181) asserted their native freedom, and asserted it with amazing valour. With handfuls of men they overthrew mighty hosts, and could never be conquered by all the neighbouring Powers. Their exploits against the Imperial Armies, against those of Lewis the eleventh, then Dauphin, against Charles the bold, Duke of Burgundy, are scarce credible. Three hundred and fifty Swiss routed at one time eight thousand Austrians, some say sixteen thousand. An hundred and thirteen vanquished the Arch-Duke Leopold's Army of twenty thousand, and killed a great number; an hundred and sixteen beat another Army of near twenty thousand, and slew him."

DISCOURSE X.: The Same Subject Continued.

Sect. I.: The Infatuation of Men In Power: They Are Much Apter to Oppress, Than the People to Rebel. People Oppressed Rejoice In Public Misfortunes. In Disputes Between Magistrates and People, the Former Generally to Blame.

Sect. II.: The Gentleness of the People In Their Pursuit of Justice Against Oppressive Magistrates. How Readily Men Who Have Oppressed the Law, Seek the Protection of the Laws. the People Not Revengeful: They Shew Mercy Where They Have Found None.

Pg. 187 – FD
"So gentle and forgiving were the Romans, that though he walked daily and publicly amongst them without any precaution, they made no attempt upon his life, however hateful and guilty. Doubtless the Athenians might have slain their Tyrant Pisistratus, during so many years as he lived privately in exile after they had expelled him, if their vengeance had prompted them: They suffered him to live in quiet, let him live to enslave them again. Towards Dionysius the younger, the Syracusians manifested themselves equally mild and unrevengeful. When they were released from that filthy Tyrant, saw him a necessitous vagabond, reduced to teach boys, they offered not to disturb him, so far were they from seeking his life, but left him an opportunity of enslaving them once more. Nay, to an Aunt of his, sister to the Tyrant his Father, they always paid the respect due to a lawful Princess, even after the abolition of Tyranny, supported her in princely sort, and buried her magnificently."

Sect. III. The People not hard to be governed, nor unconstant, nor ungrateful, at least not so often as they are accused.

Pg. 188 – FU
"I Know not in the world very many Governments that do not make a shift, and some of them use not very good shifts, to supply themselves with as much power as they well want, and as much revenue as the People can spare.
(Actual FU here)
Nor do the People usually refuse or envy them a competent portion of either, nor even some excesses and extravagance in both. But when nothing will suffice less than a power to destroy as well as to protect, nothing less than beggaring the Subjects instead of taxing (Pg. 189) them; when the Laws are annulled or despised, and their birth-right seized; are they unconstant and ungovernable, because they feel wrong, and seek right? Who can be easy under distress, or thankful for barbarous usage? When men are made great in order to do great good, those who made them so, and for whose sake they are so, will murmur, if they are disappointed, especially when instead of great good, they are repaid with great evil."

Sect. IV.: The People Falsly Charged With Fickleness, and Ingratitude, and Rebellion In Resisting Oppressors and Tyrants. All Tyrants, All Who Assume Lawless Rule, Are Rebels, and the Greatest.

Sect. V.: People Who Are Slaves Love Not Their Prince So Affectionately, Nor Can Defend Him So Bravely, As Those Who Are Free.

Sect. VI.: The Weak and Precarious Condition of the Greatest Prince, Who Is Not Beloved By His People. No Tyrant Can Be, and Why.

Pg. 198 – FD
DISCOURSE XI. Of Nobility.

Sect. I. The Political Cause of Nobility. They Are Readily Respected By the People: Apt to Oppress. Nobility Without Virtue, What. the Spirit of Nobility, What It Ought to Be.

"AFTER so much said about the People, it may not be improper to add something concerning the Nobility. As by the People I mean not the idle and indigent rabble, under which name the People are often understood and traduced, but all who have property, without the privileges of Nobility; so by the latter I mean such as are possessed of privileges denied to the People."

Sect. II. The Duty of a Nobleman to his Country. In Virtue and public Spirit he ought to surpass others.

Pg. 202 – FU
"Or see, without emotion and heaviness, these and the succeeding Tyrants mowing down, with settled fury, whatever was good and glorious amongst men?

If public Spirit be the duty of all men, the duty not only of the middle, but the lowest order, how much public Spirit is to be expected from the Nobility, from them upon whom their Country has…

Pg. 203 - FD
…poured its highest favours, upon whom it should rely for the last zeal and services? What can be so just, what so dear, what so noble and comprehensive, what so much a duty, as to love and maintain what gave us not only birth, but fortune, honours and distinction? It is but gratitude to a generous benefactor: and if we are ungrateful, so sovereignly ungrateful, what good quality have we? *(FD ends here)* Against Ingrates the ancient Persians had an express Law, very penal and rigorous. They considered ingratitude as the source of all enmities amongst men, and an indication of the vilest spirit, nor believed it possible for an ungrateful man to love the Gods or Men, or his Friends, Parents, or Country. Surely he that loves not the last, can love none of the rest, and ingratitude to one's Country implies universal ingratitude."

Sect. III. A Nobleman void of good Qualities, or possessed with bad, a miserable Character. The baseness and Corruption of the Roman Nobility; its fatal consequence.

Pg. 204 – FU
"They might thank themselves: Had they been just and uncorruptible, they might have saved themselves and the State. By their Corruption and Venality, by their Pride and Oppression, they had lost their power.

Whenever Government becomes corrupt and oppressive, it grows from that moment hated and…
Pg. 205 – FD

…weak. Hence ambitious men find temptation and opportunity to overturn it. They will find enough to say against it, and enow to hear them; what they say will be greedily swallowed. The lot that is disliked, is generally believed the worst that can happen, another is desired, and a remedy hoped from a change, which seldom brings one. Whenever the present Governors are hated, their Competitors are sure of being admired, though perhaps much worse. *(FD ends here)* But the evil which is immediately felt is thought heaviest, and to get rid of it, a heavier is often incurred. Besides men will venture a mischief to themselves, if by it they can afflict their enemies. The Roman Nobility had provoked the Roman People, so that both pursuing separate interests fell naturally under the dominion of one. The like happened in Denmark: All public burdens and taxes were laid upon the People, nor would the Nobility bear any part, but treated them with scorn and oppression. The injured People took bitter vengeance, made the King absolute to make the Nobility Slaves. These made once a great figure: At present a small Officer in the Army is of more account than a Nobleman of Denmark."

Sect. IV. The beginning of public Corruption generally from the Nobility: How ruinous this to the Public, and to themselves.

Pg. 206 – FU

"By money got with their consent, the Court could maintain Armies without their consent; and it was too late to defend their public privileges, when they had given away the public purse, the first and greatest privilege, the bulwark of all the rest.
(Actual FU here)
They afterwards found, by dear experience, that nothing which hurts their Country could in the issue benefit them, and that in betraying the rights of the Public, they had betrayed their own. By (Pg. 207) flattering and exalting the Crown for some present gratuity, some poor personal advantages, they brought themselves to a slavish dependence upon the Crown for all the advantages of honour and life. Neither could the Crown be blamed for giving them money, if it was true that they would not do their duty, would not serve their Country without money. By it however they gained little. Besides the meanness and disgrace of it, what they got corruptly, they wasted prodigally, and ruined their posterity without mending their own condition. It was moreover a temptation to the Crown to grasp at all, since whatever is coveted, it knew how to accomplish."

Sect. V.: The Advantages of Public Liberty to the Nobility. How Fast Tyrants Destroy Them. the Strange Degeneracy of the Roman Nobility: Contemptible, Yet Proud: Subject to Be Degraded For Base Morals Or Poverty.

Sect. VI.: Public Virtue Justly Due From the Nobility to the Public. They Ought to Be Zealous For Liberty Upon Their Own Account.

DISCOURSE XII. Of Public Teaching and Teachers.

Sect. I. Whoever is head of the State ought to be head of the Religion of the State. The force of early Impressions, with their use and abuse.

Pg. 212 – FU

"TACITUS says, that no Government was ever sufficiently powerful to repress the turbulent sallies of a people, who were once brought to sanctify and defend the evil doings and devices of men as real parts and acts of Religion.
(Actual FU here)
Never was any observation more true; and it shews of what importance it is to Government to take care how the people are nurtured, that the public education be rational and just, and that subjects be not taught to reverence any authority in the State more than the civil authority, or indeed (Pg. 213) to behold or feel any other whatsoever. Where the public Teachers depend not upon the Magistrate, his subjects will no longer depend upon him, but upon their Teachers, nor obey him when taught disobedience by them. It is dangerous to the Magistrate to have his people believe, that any man, or set of men, has more interest with God than he has, since then, the same man, or set of men, will of course have more interest with his people. Every Magistrate therefore who would rule with proper awe and in proper security, must be at the head of the Church as well as of the State. This was the just policy of the Caliphs in Arabia and Egypt, this the policy of the Sophi's of Persia, and this is the policy of the Crown of Great Britain. The great Turk assumes not the name, but he exercises the power by making and unmaking the Mufti at his pleasure."

Sect. II. The ignorance of the People no pledge of security to their Governors. The ignorant Rabble always most tumultuous.

Pg. 215 – FU

"GOVERNORS are not the less secure because their subjects have sense and discernment; I think they are much more so, and that from the stupidity and blindness of their people they have constant danger to apprehend; as blind men are apter to be misled than men that have eyes. The ignorant and foolish are eternally subject to misguidance, eternally apt to be inflamed by Incendiaries, to be deceived and drawn away by Demagogues. Such as have no understanding of their own, will be ever at the mercy and command of those who can gain their admiration and esteem, and will ever follow the man who can best seduce them.
(Actual FU here)
Thus the causeless mutinies in Armies, thus unprovoked tumults and insurrections in Cities and Countries, generally consist of the ignorant and brutal Rabble, excited and conducted by wretches often as low as themselves, only of superior craft and the bad are chiefly guided by the worst. Such was the sedition of the Legions in Pannonia, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius."

Sect. III. The untaught vulgar, how liable to be seduced. The great Power of their Teachers over them.

Pg. 217 – FU

"IT does not at all follow from the ignorance of the people, that they are thence the more likely to be peaceable subjects. The more ignorant they are, the more easily they are deceived; and such who depend, not upon reason, but upon authority and men, are the surest dupes of Ambition and Craft, the certain materials for every public combustion. A few loud, or solemn, or even senseless words artfully pronounced and applied, are sufficient to raise their passions, to present them (Pg. 218) with false objects of love and hate, to fill them with foolish pity or foolish

indignation, and to harden them against all sense and peace. It is likely they may be even so blind and bewitched, as to think all their outrages and cruelties so many acts of justice, nay, of piety and merit, especially in countries where they are wickedly taught to believe, that violence and barbarities are well pleasing to God and warranted by his will, provided that, for their justification, his name be boldly used. Whoever can persuade them, that their lawful Governors are enemies to God, has it in his power to make them enemies to their lawful Governors; and then the next step will be to rebel against their King, in order to shew their obedience to the King of Kings."

Sect. IV. The deceitfulness of Doctrines which are against Reason and Nature.

Pg. 220 – FU

"This it is to carry submission beyond reason and nature. As every thing human is limited, so of course is human patience; and what avails theory against the bent of nature? You may bring people by teaching and ghostly fascination, to say any thing be it ever so absurd, ever so hurtful, perhaps (Pg. 221) to believe it too. But there is difference between saying and bearing, between assenting and suffering. When the trial comes, passion will prove stronger than opinion."

Sect. V. The foregoing Reasoning further illustrated. How much it behoves Rulers that their Subjects be well and rationally taught.

Sect. VI. Power in the hands of the public Teachers how dangerous to Rulers; and how ill it suits with Christianity.

Pg. 226 – FU

"Christianity, which was certainly propagated without the aid of wealth or power, never has, never can receive any assistance from either. Like all other institutions civil and sacred, it must subsist upon the same principles from whence it began, or cease to subsist.
(Actual FU here)
Nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive, how Religion, which is a conviction of the soul produced by the grace of God there, and without that grace can never be produced, should result from force or gain, things which naturally cause only pride and the fear of (Pg. 227) man, and other worldly passions quite repugnant to Religion. Nor was any thing ever more evident than that, when secular authority and secular riches are contended for in behalf of Christianity, it is done not by the voice of Christ nor for any purposes of his, but by the voice of interested men, and for apparent ends of their own."

Pg. 228 - FD

Sect. VII. The absurdity of implicit belief in any set of Teachers, with its mischievous and monstrous consequences. The natural progress of Persecution.

"WHAT is said above shews the monstrous nonsense of submitting blindly to any set of Teachers, and the matchless assurance of such as claim it. The condition of the countries where this wicked point is gained, their shocking ignorance and misery, are abundant warnings to nations who yet possess the privilege of private judgment and conscience, to be zealous in

preserving a privilege so precious, the inestimable gift of God and Nature, that divine ray issuing from the Deity, and the true characteristic of a rational creature."

Sect. VIII. The Will of God Not Deposited With Any Set of Men. the Use of Public Teaching, With the Character Necessary to Public Teachers. How Much They Are Corrupted By Pomp and Great Wealth.

Sect. IX. Public Teachers have no Power, no Creation but from the State. Their Folly and ill Policy in claiming any other.

Pg. 236 – FU

In this glorious pursuit they might be of excellent use to others, and gain great esteem to themselves, by making people good and government easie, for good men will be good subjects. But it will be a great obstacle in their way to esteem, if they aim at too much, and would derive it only from their name and function, however they neglect or pervert their duty, and however worthless they be in their persons. Too great a fondness for themselves, will make others less fond of them, and by deriving their pedigree too high, many (Pg. 237) ace, when their descent is known to be ordinary, and their rise late and sudden.

Sect. X.: The Fatal and Ungodly Consequences of Allowing Force In Matters of Religion and Conscience; How Inconsistent With the Nature and End of Religious Teaching. the Contempt of Public Teachers, Whence It Arises, and the Cry of Priestcraft How Founded

Sect. XI.: Power In the Hands of Any Public Teachers, Leads Naturally to Popery, and Is Popery. How Apt They Are to Differ Amongst Themselves, Yet Claim Conformity From All Others. Persuasion and Good Example Their Only Province; the Sanctity of Their Doi

Sect. XII.: How It Is That Public Teachers Fail of Respect, Or Gain It.

Sect. XIII.: Excessive Revenues of the Public Teachers, How Pernicious to the World. a Decent and Easy Maintenance to Be Allowed Them.

Sect. XIV. An inquiry why the Christian Dispensation has, with all its advantages and excellencies, so little mended the World. Whether and how far public Teachers are chargeable with this.

Pg. 248 – FU

"WHY the world has not been more mended by the Christian Dispensation, of itself so much adapted to mend the world, is worth the inquiry of all men, especially of such as are employed to inculcate its precepts upon the minds of all. And here many other inquiries subsequent to (Pg. 249) this will naturally occur; namely, whether they have ever pursued their own worldly interest more assiduously than suited with their holy profession, and never prostituted religion to serve the pursuits of wealth and power: whether they have ever dispensed with sins, and been even partial to favourite and bountiful sinners, or discouraged and even persecuted conscience, and sincerity, and all holiness that bore not their mark: whether they

never claimed an absolving and damning power, and by it brought men to fear them more than God, to be more afraid of offending them than of committing sin, for which they could so easily pronounce pardon: whether they have always manifested that humility, gentleness and benevolence so well becoming such as spoke in the name of Christ: whether they never used the Holy Gospel to warrant their own anger and ambition or avarice, and in the stile of the Gospel enflamed the mad rage of party: whether they have been equally diligent to make their followers sincere Christians, as warm zealots, Champions for Christ as Champions for Churchmen: whether they promoted knowledge and all religious and rational inquiries without reserve, and taught truth rather than blind submission, rather than the narrow principles of particular factions: whether they have promoted the great blessings of society, civil and religious Liberty, obedience to equal and fixed Laws rather than to the lawless and unsteady will of man, and have always supported Government, when Governors observed the Laws: and whether men who have a holy profession, if in their conduct they be not holy, can be reverenced for their profession which they dishonour, or lead men into all righteousness, without being righteous themselves?"

Pg. 253 – FD

(Pg. 252) "What the King of Sardinia has lately done, in taking the education of youth out of the hands of the Jesuits, merits great attention, and is an example to other Princes and States, at least to those of the same communion. It was indeed of high moment, that the publick education should not be directed by an order of men who were continually pursuing an interest directly against the interest of the State; who taught his subjects not so much to reverence the Magistrate, as to reverence Them, not to love or consider the good of the whole, but the good of that Order; who poisoned them with party-maxims destructive of the maxims of society;…
(Actual FD here)
Pg. 253…and instead of instilling the benevolent principles of peace and mutual forbearance, without which all society must be miserable or perish, inspired virulence and eternal hate, and would rather see the State run into ruin and dissolution, than suffer the least variation from their own conceits, however fond, or ridiculous, or wicked. For, it is notorious, that this is the spirit of the Jesuits. I wish it were not the spirit of several other sects and bigots, especially where their bigotry is animated by a passion for power and riches. It seems the Court at Turin is not much disturbed at the threats of the Reverend Fathers to leave the country, but even frankly offers passports to as many as think fit to go."

Sect. XV. Of public Spirit, its use and efficacy. How little promoted by public Teachers. Some Considerations upon the importance and character of public Spirit.

Pg. 256 – FU

"The Romans began to know the value of Liberty, and to feel a passion for the Public Weal, at an age when others since are conning over words, and know little else but to fear the rod, and, without once thinking of their Country, only learn to reverence a particular set of men and names, and heartily to hate all the rest. They are for a course of many years employed about words, and no- (Pg. 257) tions, and subtleties; and when they are thus sufficiently disciplined into narrowness of mind, when their heads are well filled with absurd maxims, and unmeaning distinctions, they may be safely trusted abroad in the world, as secure against all free and rational sentiments, and possessed with false ideas of reverence and of aversion, to the end of their lives.

When, like the young Romans, they might be shining in assemblies or armies, they are engaged in Logic, and combating in Metaphysics."

Pg. 258 – FU

"It is a remark of Thucydides, that bad Laws well executed are better than good Laws not duly observed. It is not enough for a Nation to have a good Constitution, unless both the Governors and People concur in adhering to it with strictness. Abuses once suffered to creep in, so naturally gain ground, so quickly spread, that it requires constant vigilance to prevent their entrance and growth…

(Actual FU here)

…A jealousy for the Public is a commendable jealousy, and if ever the excess of any passion were justifiable, it would surely be so here. That temper of mind to which we give the name of Public Spirit, is so necessary to all societies, that it is next to impossible (Pg. 259) they should long subsist without it. Indeed, whatever difficulties particular men may find in the exercise of it, all men agree to commend it. Nor can there be better proof of the excellency of any character, than to see the very men who resolve never to deserve it, taking great pains to make the world believe that they have a right to it."

Appendix B: The Themes Beneath the Folds

Praise of Tacitus

VOL. IV
Pg. 140 – FU
"Tacitus is a fine Gentleman, who suffers nothing pedantic or low, nothing that is trifling or indecent to fall from his pen. He is also a man of wit; not such a one as is fond of conceits and the quaintness of words, (*actual FU here*) but a wit that is grave, majestic, and sublime; one that blends the solemnity of truth with the fire of imagination, and touches the heard rather than the fancy; yet for better reception of truth, pleases and awakens the fancy."

Liberty & Popular Sovereignty

VOL. I.
Pg. 308 – FU
"For the sovereignty of the People is an establishment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the unchecked lust of simple Monarchy."

VOL. III.
Pg. xvii – FU
"He will perceive the unspeakable advantages of public Liberty (pg xviii) the singular prosperity of Free States, how superior to such as are not free, in Strength, People, and Wealth; that all these advantages accrue to the Prince, whenever he wants them for public ends; that no other ends can he have, if he consult his duty and glory, since in promoting the felicity of his State both his glory and his duty are found: That he who separates himself from his People, can only earn insecurity and reproach; nor aught else can he expect but reproach, and the severest, if he strive against the happiness of his Subjects, and bring misery upon those whom he is bound to cherish and protect."

VOL. III.
Pg. xix – FU
"Your Royal Highness is born to govern a People the most free upon earth, a People always free, yet always obedient to Royal Authority tempered by Laws, but ever impatient of encroachments and oppression. This is the character given them by Tacitus sixteen hundred years ago, 'That they chearfully complied with the levies of men, with the imposition of Tribute, and with all the duties of Government, provided they received no illegal treatment or insults from their Governors: for, those they bore with impatience; nor had they been any further subdued by the Romans, than only to obey just Laws [ACUTAL FOLD HERE], but never to submit to be Slaves'"

VOL. III.
Pg. 271 – FU
"Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal City of Terracina within the first precinct of Italy, the son of Cluvius who had sustained the rank of a principal Centurion. His bright and sign parts he wholly applied, whilst yet very young, to studies of the more noble kind; not as many

do, to disguise spiritless under a pompous name, but, in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all contingencies and disasters. He adhered to such Philosophers as maintain that only things just are good, that nought is evil save what is dishonest, and in the ranks of things neither evil nor good, place nobility, power, and all other acquirements which depend not upon the foul."

VOL. III.
Pg. 282 – FU
"Liberty was a blessing bestowed by the bounty of nature, even upon dumb beasts: fortitude and prowess was a felicity peculiar to man, to the most intrepid and brave the Gods were always sure to be aiding."

VOL. IV.
Pg.243 – NF
"Mischief is prolific; violence in him begets resentment in them; the People murmur and exclaim; the Prince is thence provoked, and studies vengeance; when one act of vengeance is resented and exposed, as it ever will be, more will follow. Thus things go on. Affection is not only lost, but irrecoverable on either side; hatred is begun on both; and Prince and People consider themselves no longer as Magistrate and Subjects, but one another as Enemies. Hence perhaps Caligula'S inhuman wish, that he could murder all his People at a blow. The sequel of all this is easy to be guessed; he is continually destroying them; they are continually wishing him destroyed."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 294 – FU
"Monarchy, according to Plato, is the best Government, or the worst: to which opinion I subscribe; as I do that of Philip De Comines, that England is the place in the world, where the Public is most equally administered, and where (pg 295) the people suffer the least violence. We are blessed with that form of Government which Tacitus mentions as the most perfect, and thinks the hardest to be framed; that happy ballance and mixture of interests which comprehends every interest."
Pg. 295 – NF
"An English Monarch has one advantage which sets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth; he obliges his subjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; so they, by supporting him, enable him to do it: while they give by choice, and not by force, they give chearfully. *(actual NF here)* Princes who take all themselves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people. If it be true that we hate those whom we have hurt, it is equally true, that we are apt to love those whom we have obliged. Hence God is said, not only to love doing good, but to love the good that he does."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 303 – NF
"Affection can never accompany a submission which is forced, nor men submit willingly to a Power which they think they have themselves a right to exercise. Hence the compliments and praises of these eminent Romans towards the Emperors, are generally by Tacitus derived from Flattery; though sometimes necessary, and sometimes well intended; necessary, when used for

their own preservation; and well intended, when employed to instil into the Prince virtuous lessons of Government."

VOL. V.
Pg. 8 - FD

(Pg. 7) "The following Discourses, like the former, were composed for the interest of public Liberty, against public violence and the iniquities of power. Nor can one who reads Tacitus attentively, fail of start (Pg 8) ing a thousand reflections, such as must fill his heart with anguish for the deplorable lot of a people enslaved and oppressed, and with bitterness against their tyrants and oppressors. *(Actual fold here)* Unless he have hardened his heart against all the impulses of humanity and compassion, unless he have lost all regard for right and wrong, all sense of liberty and truth, he must be struck with the sad scenes before him, innocence suffering, cruelty devouring, iniquity exalted and powerful, virtue persecuted and perishing. He must rejoice in his own happier lot and that of his country; must abhor all practices and principles repugnant to liberty, and productive of servitude, abhor the men who broach such principles, and advance such practices. He must find proportionable delight from seeing the cause of Liberty flourish, from seeing it well explained, asserted and recommended."

VOL. V.
Pg. 70 – FU
"What is it that gives a Prince a right to power? Not his bare will, for then every man who has force, has a right to power, a right to all that downright brutal force can bring him. *(Actual FU here)* As the public good is the general rule of Laws, these Laws are the rule and boundaries of the Prince's power. To these all men are and ought to be subject, he especially who is intrusted with their execution and the care of all men. If the Laws are for the security of the State, why should not the Prince observe them, he to whom the guardianship of the State is committed? The Roman Emperors, even in their acts of Tyranny pretended to observe Law, and under the name of some Law most of their cruelties were perpetrated."

VOL. V.
Pg. 95 - FU

"Neither is the Virtue and Morality of a Prince of greater advantage to his People than to himself. Virtuous Subjects are always peaceable, nor will they fail to honour a virtuous Governor. *(Actual FU here)* It is the debauched, the riotous, the idle, who are prone (Pg. 96) to sedition, love public changes, and promote them. Whatsoever particular points a Prince may carry by debauching his People, it cannot be the stability of his Throne, whatever he may think. A People who have abandoned their Virtue will readily abandon their King; nor does he deserve any other, if it was he who first corrupted them. From a vicious People it is madness to hope for virtuous Principles, such as those of just allegiance and fidelity. Where no integrity is left, no honour can be expected; and when they are corrupted so far as to sell or throw away their Liberties, which is the highest degree of corruption, what other or lesser degree will they be ashamed of? Nor can one who has made them universally vile, complain, with a good grace, that they prove vile to him. It is but a part of what he taught them."

VOL. V.
Pg. 258 – FU

"It is a remark of Thucydides, that bad Laws well executed are better than good Laws not duly observed. It is not enough for a Nation to have a good Constitution, unless both the Governors and People concur in adhering to it with strictness. Abuses once suffered to creep in, so naturally gain ground, so quickly spread, that it requires constant vigilance to prevent their entrance and growth…
(Actual FU here)
…A jealousy for the Public is a commendable jealousy, and if ever the excess of any passion were justifiable, it would surely be so here. That temper of mind to which we give the name of Public Spirit, is so necessary to all societies, that it is next to impossible (Pg. 259) they should long subsist without it. Indeed, whatever difficulties particular men may find in the exercise of it, all men agree to commend it. Nor can there be better proof of the excellency of any character, than to see the very men who resolve never to deserve it, taking great pains to make the world believe that they have a right to it."

"The genius of the commonalty" & the Evils of Factions

VOL. I.
Pg. 224 – FU:
"For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rules. The frame of a state chosen and compacted out of all these three, is easier applauded than accomplished, or if accomplished, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the Republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the Senate bore the chief sway; it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be humoured and refrained; and such too who were thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of the Senate and leading men came to be esteemed skilful in the times, and men of prowess: so now, when that establishment is changed, and the present situation such, that one rules all;

VOL. III.
Pg. xiv – FU
Pg. xiii "He will find the noblest designs for the Public Good often marred by malignant spirits, through private pique, and the gratification of a particular passion; find one man, or party of men, fre- [Pg. xiv] quently combining to distress, perhaps to destroy their Country, because another man, or party of men, was employed to serve it or to save it. He will find personal and domestic feuds often producing popular factions, and even convulsions in the State, such as have threatened its downfal [*downfall misspelled*]; like the first quarrel between Livius Drufus and Servilius Cæpio at Rome, in the time of the Commonwealth, a quarrel that rent all the City into angry Parties. Yet from what mighty cause did it begin? From no other than that the two families happened to bid upon one another for a Cold Ring at an Auction. [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] Hence he will learn to stifle betimes the beginning of faction in the State."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 46 – FD
"A temper wholesome to the State: because to a free nation animosities and faction are always more menacing and perilous."

VOL. V.

Pg. 168 – FU

"THE Roman Commonalty quarrelled not with the Nobility, until the Nobility insulted and oppressed them; nay, they bore it a good while without complaining, complained long before they proceeded to an insurrection, even their insurrections were without blood, and they grew calm and content upon every appearance of redress; for, their redress was seldom complete, and what was undertaken seldom made good. In the struggle, particularly about the Agrarian Law, a Law so necessary to the State, so necessary to preserve equality (Pg. 169) amongst Citizens, without which they could not be long free, they were perpetually injured, disappointed and abused. The Law was eternally violated, they eternally the sufferers. (Pg. 169 –NF) Was it any wonder that a grievance so notorious and heavy, so much affecting the Public and the People, was felt and resented by the People; any wonder that they contended for its removal, or, that when it was not removed, they had recourse to violence to procure justice, and were guided by their Tribunes, who sometimes, under the name of that Law and a colour of espousing the Populace, pursued very ambitious and dangerous designs?"

VOL. V.

Pg. 188 – FU

"I Know not in the world very many Governments that do not make a shift, and some of them use not very good shifts, to supply themselves with as much power as they well want, and as much revenue as the People can spare.

(Actual FU here)

Nor do the People usually refuse or envy them a competent portion of either, nor even some excesses and extravagance in both. But when nothing will suffice less than a power to destroy as well as to protect, nothing less than beggaring the Subjects instead of taxing (Pg. 189) them; when the Laws are annulled or despised, and their birth-right seized; are they unconstant and ungovernable, because they feel wrong, and seek right? Who can be easy under distress, or thankful for barbarous usage? When men are made great in order to do great good, those who made them so, and for whose sake they are so, will murmur, if they are disappointed, especially when instead of great good, they are repaid with great evil."

VOL. V.

Pg. 198 – FD

AFTER so much said about the People, it may not be improper to add something concerning the Nobility. As by the People I mean not the idle and indigent rabble, under which name the People are often understood and traduced, but all who have property, without the privileges of Nobility; so by the latter I mean such as are possessed of privileges denied to the People.

The Evils of Tyranny

VOL. I.

Pg. 160 – FU

"At length, Augustus Caesar, in his sixth Consulship, then confirmed in power without a rival, abolished the orders which during the Triumvirate he had established, and gave us laws proper for peace and a single ruler."

"These laws had sanctions severer than any heretofore known; as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea [pg. 161…sentence continues, though no fold on next page] were encouraged with rewards, to watch such as neglected the privileges annexed to marriage and fatherhood, and consequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the same, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people, who were the public parent."

VOL. III.
Pg. ix – FU
"He will see that, in the nature and ordinary course of things, evil counsels are followed by painful consequences, and that no pursuits whatever which are not worthy and upright, [actual fold] can secure rest and comfort to the human soul: That the most successful conquerors, the most fortunate wicked men, have by their wicked counsels been bereft of all calmness and internal felicity (for, other than…
Pg. x – FD
…internal there is none) and lived under perpetual insecurity, or perpetual struggles and anxiety. That the great, the able and the accomplished Caesar was often pressed by distress and despair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a Public Criminal, ready to fall upon his own sword; and that after a restless life, full of hurry and perplexity, full of fears and cares, he perished just as he had established his Tyranny, though with it he could not establish his own happiness: That whoever makes numbers unhappy and discontented, cannot expect to be easy and happy himself: That happy, truly happy, is he who does good to all men, who causes whole Nations to rejoice and to bless him: That had Caesar, in order to preserve and secure Public Liberty, done what he did to destroy it, had he for this glorious end exerted the same industry and admirable talents, what an amiable character he had been, in what security he might have lived ! or that he had certainly died in renown, however he had died."

VOL. III.
Pg. xiv – FU
"He will find that a Prince trusting to flattery and surrounded with flatterers, is often long hated before he knows that he is not beloved, nay, whilst he is persuaded that he is. Hence he will resolve to beware of such as are always soothing him, resolve in order to gain the love of his People, to do things which shall [pg xv] convince them that he loves them, as the surest way of making them love him, and of knowing that they do."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 99 – FD
"To spoil, to butcher, and to commit every kind of violence, they stile by a lying name, *Government*, and, when they have spread a general desolation, call it *Peace*."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 143 – FU
"Yee see madmen bear rule, these mad rulers governed and made worse by slaves, villains and harlots; yet all these monsters adored, their persons, wickedness, and even their fury sanctified; iniquity exalted, virtue trod under foot, laws perverted, righteousness and truth depressed and banished; every worthy man doomed to (pg. 144 – FD) scaffolds, rocks, and dungeons; the basest of all men pronouncing that doom, and making a prey or sacrifice of the best; fear and

distrust and treachery prevailing; the destroyers themselves haunted with the perpetual dread of destruction, at last overtaken by it, yet seldom leaving better in their room."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 191 – FU

"The accomplishments of Caesar, the mildness of his administration, and mercy to his enemies, have been much magnified. It is certain he had exquisite abilities and address; but how did he apply them? Was it not to be the Master of mankind? and was not this, interest and self-love? What could be more interested, what more selfish, than to take the world to himself? Caesar had good sense and experience; he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even more odious than the slaughter of thousands, under the title of war and conquest, however unprovoked and unjust: (*actual FU here)* So much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, though the former is often the more mischievous passion. He knew, that, while general acts of blood would pass for Heroism, fit to be distinguished with praise and laurels, a particular life, taken away in anger, would pass for barbarity."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 198
"I cannot admire Caesar's ambition; he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village, than the second man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, especially of the greatest State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggest Lord."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 209 – FU

"He frequently entertained them with Shews and Spectacles; a notable means to produce or continue good humour in the populace, to beget kind wishes and zeal for the author of so much joy, and to make them forget Usurpation, Slavery, and every public evil. These were indeed used for the ends of corruption and servitude; (*actual FU here)* they rendred the people idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, insensible of public glory or disgrace; but the things were liked, and the ends not seen, or not minded, so that they had their thorough effect; and the Roman people, they who were wont to direct might wars, to raise and depose great Kings, to bestow or take away Empires, they who ruled the world, or directed its rule, were so sunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and shews, their ambition went no higher."
Pg. 210 – FD
There were some, too many, who, unworthy of their own happiness and Liberty, came to admire her Government and misfortune; and laboured, with the spirit of Parricides, though without their punishment, to bring ours to the model of that."
Pg. 211 – FD

"He attended business, reformed enormities, shewed high regard for the Roman name; was sparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of Citizens; preserved public peace; procured public abundance, promoted public pleasure and festivity; often appeared in person at the public diversions, and in all things studied to render himself dear to the populace. In truth, when he had done all the mischief he could, or all that he wanted, and more, he ceased his cruelty and ravages."

VOL. IV.

Pg. 288 – FU
"All the world goes well with those that are well; and before men can be brought to believe prophecies of misery, they must begin to feel it."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 290 – FD
"The Senate and the People had a venerable sound, and served as a cloak for power when they themselves had none, and the Emperor had all."
Pg. 291 - FD
"Time, however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inseparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the essence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling sounds, and swelling titles, suitable to the genius of absolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeness from grossness and bondage."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 309 - NF
"The flights of Flattery, will not then be termed fondness for the Prince, nor the efforts of Ambition miscalled public zeal. Claudius and Pallas, Tiberius and Sejanus, Nero And Tigellinus; men so caressed, applauded and worshipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praises, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with detestation, and their hearts with abhorrence."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 350 – FD
"How foolish is the reasoning of passion! It leads men to throw away strength to gain weakness. Even where these sons of violence succeed, they may be justly said to acquire nothing, beyond the praise of mischief. What is the occupation and end of Princes and Governors, but to rule men for their good, and to keep them from hurting one another? Now what Conqueror is there who mends the condition of the conquered? Alexander the Great, though he well knew the difference between a limited and a lawless Monarchy, did not pretend, that his invasion of Persia was to mend the condition of the Persians. It was a pure struggle for dominion; when he had gained it, he assumed the Throne upon the same arbitrary terms upon which their own Monarchs had held it, nor knew any Law but his will. The subject only felt the violence of the change, without any benefit or relaxation from slavery. His Glory therefore is all false and deceitful, as is all Glory which is gained by the blood of men, without mending the state of mankind. This spirit of fighting and conquering continued in his Successors, who plagued the earth as he had done, and weltered in the blood of one another, till they were almost all destroyed by the sword or poison, with the whole family (pg 351) of Alexander. It was no part of the dispute amongst them, which of them could bestow most happiness upon the afflicted world, about which they strove, but who should best exalt himself, and enslave all."

VOL. V.
Pg. 8 - FD
"The advantages and blessings of Liberty are there most palpably to be discerned, where Tyranny is most heavily felt; and from this very History the reader will see, that whatever is

good or amiable in the world is by Tyranny destroyed and extinguished; that whatever is evil, mischievous and detestable, is by Tyrants introduced, nurtured and propagated. From hence he will reason and recollect that every thing dear and desirable to society must result from a state of liberty; that there only property and life are not precarious, nor conscience and the faculties of the soul bound in chains."

VOL. V.
Pg. 108 – FU

"This was Virtue, this was Wisdom; and what Prince who knows the value, the glory and advantage of it, would be without it?...Henry the fourth held his honour so sacred, as to declare, "That he would lose his Crown rather than cause the least suspicion of breaking his Word, even to his greatest enemies."

VOL. V.
Pg. 204 – FU
They might thank themselves: Had they been just and uncorruptible, they might have saved themselves and the State. By their Corruption and Venality, by their Pride and Oppression, they had lost their power.

Whenever Government becomes corrupt and oppressive, it grows from that moment hated and…
Pg. 205 – FD
…weak. Hence ambitious men find temptation and opportunity to overturn it. They will find enough to say against it, and enow to hear them; what they say will be greedily swallowed. The lot that is disliked, is generally believed the worst that can happen, another is desired, and a remedy hoped from a change, which seldom brings one. Whenever the present Governors are hated, their Competitors are sure of being admired, though perhaps much worse. *(FD ends here)* But the evil which is immediately felt is thought heaviest, and to get rid of it, a heavier is often incurred. Besides men will venture a mischief to themselves, if by it they can afflict their enemies. The Roman Nobility had provoked the Roman People, so that both pursuing separate interests fell naturally under the dominion of one. The like happened in Denmark: All public burdens and taxes were laid upon the People, nor would the Nobility bear any part, but treated them with scorn and oppression. The injured People took bitter vengeance, made the King absolute to make the Nobility Slaves. These made once a great figure: At present a small Officer in the Army is of more account than a Nobleman of Denmark.

VOL. V.
Pg. 206 – FU

"By money got with their consent, the Court could maintain Armies without their consent; and it was too late to defend their public privileges, when they had given away the public purse, the first and greatest privilege, the bulwark of all the rest.
(Actual FU here)
They afterwards found, by dear experience, that nothing which hurts their Country could in the issue benefit them, and that in betraying the rights of the Public, they had betrayed their own. By (Pg. 207) flattering and exalting the Crown for some present gratuity, some poor personal advantages, they brought themselves to a slavish dependence upon the Crown for all the advantages of honour and life. Neither could the Crown be blamed for giving them money, if it

was true that they would not do their duty, would not serve their Country without money. By it however they gained little. Besides the meanness and disgrace of it, what they got corruptly, they wasted prodigally, and ruined their posterity without mending their own condition. It was moreover a temptation to the Crown to grasp at all, since whatever is coveted, it knew how to accomplish."

The Evils of Empire

VOL. III.
Pg. xvii – FU

"He will see much ground for approving the advice of Isocrates, not to envy Princes who possess vast territories, but only to emulate such as know how to preserve and improve their own. He will be convinced, that Princes who have the smallest Dominions, have enough to do, if they will do it well; and that vast Empires, instead of growing more flourishing and populous, grow generally Desarts."

VOL. III.
Pg. 128 – FD

"The lust of dominion, so ancient and now long since rooted in the hearts of men, increased with the growth of the State, and when the Empire was full grown, burst forth with violence. For whilst the condition of our City was but low, an equality amongst her citizens was easily maintained. But when once the world was subdued, when all competitors for power, whether the same were great Cities or great Kings, had been vanquished and overthrown, and leisure was given to pursue riches with security; then first between the Senate and People fierce broils were kindled.

VOL. IV.
Pg. 352 – FD
"What is the use of earth and water, where there are no Inhabitants for these elements to support? The strength of a Government consists in numerous subjects industrious and happy; not in extent of territory desolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle. It is incredible what a profusion of wealth and lives their attempts upon Persia have cost them, always with fatal success, even under their wisest and most warlike Princes; and at a time when their Empire flourished most. Yet these attempts are continued, at a season when their Affairs are at the lowest; their Provinces exhausted, their people and revenue decayed, their soldiery disorderly, and all things conspiring to the final dissolution of their Empire."

Freedom of Speech

VOL. I.
Pg. 227 – FD:

"Instances from the Greeks I bring none: with them not the freedom only, but even the licentiousness of speech, is unpunished; or if any corrected be returned, it is only by revenging words with words."

VOL. IV.

Pg. 72 – FU
"Liberty, so did we of Bondage, since through dread of informers and inquisitions of State, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech and attention. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent."

Religion

VOL. IV.
Pg. 169 – FU
"The Bonzes or Priests, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion; but are vicious, sordid, base, and void of every virtue private or public. Here is an instance of a Monarchy the most thriving of any upon earth, or that ever was upon earth; an Empire that contains more people than half the rest of the globe, these people full of industry and arts; yet administered by men who are of no particular Religion, or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reason and Morality; nor knows it a greater blot and disgrace than the vile lives of its Priests and Religious."

VOL. IV.
Pg. 171 – FD
"What were the people or themselves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of the principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impostor is little else but an impious bargain and composition with God for abusing men."

VOL. V.
Pg. 8 – FU
"That even Religion, in order to do good, must be left entirely free, and that in countries enslaved, it is converted, even the sacred alliance between the soul of man and its Creator, is converted, into an apparent engine of tyranny and delusion, into a manifest market and commodity for deluders, who whilst they are openly engaged in nothing but gain, and fraud and domineering, and the like selfish (Pg. 9) pursuits, all very worldly, many very wicked, have the confidence to preach up self-denial, to preach against the world, and to claim successorship to the poor, wandering, holy and disinterested Apostles. A sort of hypocrisy and assurance more insulting than all the rest of their unhallowed contradictions and doings, that such men as they, the tools of Tyranny, and themselves Tyrants, dare thus cover their pride and passions with the name and commission of the meek and merciful Jesus; dare pretend to reasoning, yet forbid all enquiry, talk of learning, and promote ignorance, demand vast reverence from the people for keeping them in a condition of savageness and slavery, and take great revenues for deceiving and oppressing them."

VOL. V.
Pg. 226 – FU
"Christianity, which was certainly propagated without the aid of wealth or power, never has, never can receive any assistance from either. Like all other institutions civil and sacred, it must subsist upon the same principles from whence it began, or cease to subsist.
(Actual FU here)

Nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive, how Religion, which is a conviction of the soul produced by the grace of God there, and without that grace can never be produced, should result from force or gain, things which naturally cause only pride and the fear of (Pg. 227) man, and other worldly passions quite repugnant to Religion. Nor was any thing ever more evident than that, when secular authority and secular riches are contended for in behalf of Christianity, it is done not by the voice of Christ nor for any purposes of his, but by the voice of interested men, and for apparent ends of their own."

VOL. V.
Pg. 228 – FD

"WHAT is said above shews the monstrous nonsense of submitting blindly to any set of Teachers, and the matchless assurance of such as claim it. The condition of the countries where this wicked point is gained, their shocking ignorance and misery, are abundant warnings to nations who yet possess the privilege of private judgment and conscience, to be zealous in preserving a privilege so precious, the inestimable gift of God and Nature, that divine ray issuing from the Deity, and the true characteristic of a rational creature."

VOL. V.
Pg. 248 – FU

"WHY the world has not been more mended by the Christian Dispensation, of itself so much adapted to mend the world, is worth the inquiry of all men, especially of such as are employed to inculcate its precepts upon the minds of all. And here many other inquiries subsequent to (Pg. 249) this will naturally occur; namely, whether they have ever pursued their own worldly interest more assiduously than suited with their holy profession, and never prostituted religion to serve the pursuits of wealth and power: whether they have ever dispensed with sins, and been even partial to favourite and bountiful sinners, or discouraged and even persecuted conscience, and sincerity, and all holiness that bore not their mark: whether they never claimed an absolving and damning power, and by it brought men to fear them more than God, to be more afraid of offending them than of committing sin, for which they could so easily pronounce pardon: whether they have always manifested that humility, gentleness and benevolence so well becoming such as spoke in the name of Christ: whether they never used the Holy Gospel to warrant their own anger and ambition or avarice, and in the stile of the Gospel enflamed the mad rage of party: whether they have been equally diligent to make their followers sincere Christians, as warm zealots, Champions for Christ as Champions for Churchmen: whether they promoted knowledge and all religious and rational inquiries without reserve, and taught truth rather than blind submission, rather than the narrow principles of particular factions: whether they have promoted the great blessings of society, civil and religious Liberty, obedience to equal and fixed Laws rather than to the lawless and unsteady will of man, and have always supported Government, when Governors observed the Laws: and whether men who have a holy profession, if in their conduct they be not holy, can be reverenced for their profession which they dishonour, or lead men into all righteousness, without being righteous themselves?"
Pg. 253 – FD

(Pg. 252) "What the King of Sardinia has lately done, in taking the education of youth out of the hands of the Jesuits, merits great attention, and is an example to other Princes and States, at least to those of the same communion. It was indeed of high moment, that the publick education should not be directed by an order of men who were continually pursuing an interest

directly against the interest of the State; who taught his subjects not so much to reverence the Magistrate, as to reverence Them, not to love or consider the good of the whole, but the good of that Order; who poisoned them with party-maxims destructive of the maxims of society;…
(Actual FD here)
Pg. 253…and instead of instilling the benevolent principles of peace and mutual forbearance, without which all society must be miserable or perish, inspired virulence and eternal hate, and would rather see the State run into ruin and dissolution, than suffer the least variation from their own conceits, however fond, or ridiculous, or wicked. For, it is notorious, that this is the spirit of the Jesuits. I wish it were not the spirit of several other sects and bigots, especially where their bigotry is animated by a passion for power and riches. It seems the Court at Turin is not much disturbed at the threats of the Reverend Fathers to leave the country, but even frankly offers passports to as many as think fit to go."

Riots and Revolution

VOL. II.
Pg. 62 – FU

"Many were the prodigies that happened this year: upon the Capitol were seen birds of evil omen, frequent concussions of the earth were felt, and by them many houses overthrown. But, as the dread was still more extensive than the calamity in the throng of the flying multitude, all the weak and decrepit were trodden to death. For a prodigy also was reckoned the barrenness of the season, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to houses and corners; they even gathered in tumultuous crowds round the Prince, then engaged in the public administration of justice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; so that, to escape their violence, he was forced with his guards to break through the incensed multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome but just provision for fifteen days, and by the signal bounty of the Gods and the mildness of the winter, it was that the public was relieved in that its urgent distress.

Vol III, THE HISTORY OF TACITUS: BOOK IV., Pg. 267 – FU

"For, in exciting public tumults and convulsions, every the worst man has the strongest sway: [ACTUAL FOLD HERE] To uphold tranquility and peace, righteous designs are required and virtuous management."

The Importance of Education, History, and Experience

VOL. IV.
Pg. 233 – FU

"To reason from experience and examples, is the best reasoning. Compare any free State with any other that is not free. Compare the former and present condition of any State formerly free; or once enslaved, and now free. Compare England with France; Holland with Denmark; or the seven Provinces under the States, with the same seven Provinces under Philip the second; you will find (pg. 234) in these and every other instance, that happiness and wretchedness are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage."

VOL. V.
Pg. 87 – FU
"Indolent Princes, such as love not business, or are kept from it, besides their being liable to be abused, scarce ever come to be men of great…
Pg. 88 – FD
sufficiency, though they may have good natural parts. It is by the continual exercise of the understanding that the understanding is enlarged. A man of much industry, with moderate parts, will be an overmatch for one who has the greatest, but never exerts them. Attention to business and the affairs of life, fills the mind with ideas and reflections, arms it against mistakes and surprizes, and uses it to judging and deciding. But to a spirit untrained and void of experience, every small matter proves a great difficulty, every small difficulty proves discouraging. *(FD ends here)* A man practised in affairs is seldom startled or at a loss, and for every emergency will be apt to find some expedient; for he is used to emergencies, and to provide for them. Every small Clerk will be apt to despise, every little Lawyer be able to outwit a man just come out of a College or a Cloister, though he may make no mean figure there. Even very silly men will acquit themselves notably in business, where it lies in a road and method, and make dispatch where a very bright man not used to it would be strangely puzzled. I have seen a man of poor natural capacity, but well trained in business, triumph over a man of extraordinary talents destitute of experience. Such as are originally weak may acquire artificial abilities, as others of great genius, applying to nothing, will be good for nothing."

VOL. V.
Pg. 168 – FD
"It is chiefly by education and the exercise of the understanding that some men come to surpass others; for by nature men are alike, all made of the same materials; nor greater difference is there between the Lord and the Slave, than that which proceeds from chance or education."

VOL. V.
Pg. 212 – FU
"TACITUS says, that no Government was ever sufficiently powerful to repress the turbulent sallies of a people, who were once brought to sanctify and defend the evil doings and devices of men as real parts and acts of Religion.
(Actual FU here)
Never was any observation more true; and it shews of what importance it is to Government to take care how the people are nurtured, that the public education be rational and just, and that subjects be not taught to reverence any authority in the State more than the civil authority, or indeed (Pg. 213) to behold or feel any other whatsoever. Where the public Teachers depend not upon the Magistrate, his subjects will no longer depend upon him, but upon their Teachers, nor obey him when taught disobedience by them. It is dangerous to the Magistrate to have his people believe, that any man, or set of men, has more interest with God than he has, since then, the same man, or set of men, will of course have more interest with his people. Every Magistrate therefore who would rule with proper awe and in proper security, must be at the head of the Church as well as of the State. This was the just policy of the Caliphs in Arabia and Egypt, this the policy of the Sophi's of Persia, and this is the policy of the Crown of Great Britain. The great Turk assumes not the name, but he exercises the power by making and unmaking the Mufti at his pleasure."

VOL. V.
Pg. 215 – FU

"GOVERNORS are not the less secure because their subjects have sense and discernment; I think they are much more so, and that from the stupidity and blindness of their people they have constant danger to apprehend; as blind men are apter to be misled than men that have eyes. The ignorant and foolish are eternally subject to misguidance, eternally apt to be inflamed by Incendiaries, to be deceived and drawn away by Demagogues. Such as have no understanding of their own, will be ever at the mercy and command of those who can gain their admiration and esteem, and will ever follow the man who can best seduce them.
(Actual FU here)
Thus the causeless mutinies in Armies, thus unprovoked tumults and insurrections in Cities and Countries, generally consist of the ignorant and brutal Rabble, excited and conducted by wretches often as low as themselves, only of superior craft and the bad are chiefly guided by the worst. Such was the sedition of the Legions in Pannonia, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius."

VOL. V.
Pg. 217 – FU

"IT does not at all follow from the ignorance of the people, that they are thence the more likely to be peaceable subjects. The more ignorant they are, the more easily they are deceived; and such who depend, not upon reason, but upon authority and men, are the surest dupes of Ambition and Craft, the certain materials for every public combustion. A few loud, or solemn, or even senseless words artfully pronounced and applied, are sufficient to raise their passions, to present them (Pg. 218) with false objects of love and hate, to fill them with foolish pity or foolish indignation, and to harden them against all sense and peace. It is likely they may be even so blind and bewitched, as to think all their outrages and cruelties so many acts of justice, nay, of piety and merit, especially in countries where they are wickedly taught to believe, that violence and barbarities are well pleasing to God and warranted by his will, provided that, for their justification, his name be boldly used. Whoever can persuade them, that their lawful Governors are enemies to God, has it in his power to make them enemies to their lawful Governors; and then the next step will be to rebel against their King, in order to shew their obedience to the King of Kings."

Caution, Patience, and the Dangers of Eagerness

VOL. I.
Pg. 189 – FU:
"Brutidius abounded in worthy accomplishments, and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the most distinguished honour; but eagerness hurried him, while he pushed to surpass first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own very hopes; a course which has overwhelmed even many virtuous men, who, scorning acquirements that came flow, but attended with security, grasped at such as were sudden, though linked to destruction."

A

NEW SONG.

To the Tune of " Hearts of Oak, *&c.*"

COME join Hand in Hand, brave AMERICANS all,
And rouſe your bold Hearts at fair LIBERTY's Call;
No *tyrannous Acts* ſhall ſuppreſs your *juſt Claim*,
Or ſtain with *Diſhonor* AMERICA's Name-------
In FREEDOM we're BORN, and in FREEDOM we'll LIVE,
Our Purſes are ready,
Steady, Friends, Steady,
Not as SLAVES, but as FREEMEN our Money we'll give.

Our worthy *Forefathers*----let's give them a Cheer----
To *Climates unknown* did courageouſly ſteer;
Thro' *Oceans* to *Deſerts* for *Freedom* they came,
And dying bequeath'd us their *Freedom* and *Fame*.----
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

Their generous Boſoms all Dangers deſpis'd,
So *highly*, ſo *wiſely*, their BIRTH-RIGHTS they priz'd;
We'll keep what they gave, we will pioufly keep,
Nor fruſtrate their Toils on the Land and the Deep.
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

The TREE their own Hands had to LIBERTY rear'd,
They liv'd to behold growing ſtrong and rever'd;
With Tranſport then cry'd, " Now our Wiſhes we gain,
For our Children ſhall gather the Fruits of our Pain."
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

* Swarms of PLACEMEN and PENSIONERS ſoon will appear,
Like Locuſts deforming the Charms of the Year;
Suns vainly will riſe, Showers vainly deſcend,
If *we* are to *drudge for* what *others* ſhall *ſpend*.
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

Then join Hand in Hand brave AMERICANS all,
By *uniting* We ſtand, by *dividing* We fall;
IN SO RIGHTEOUS A CAUSE let us hope to ſucceed,
For Heaven approves of each generous Deed----
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

All Ages ſhall ſpeak with *Amaze* and *Applauſe*,
Of the *Courage* we'll ſhew IN SUPPORT OF OUR LAWS;
To DIE we can *bear*------but, to SERVE we *diſdain*----
For SHAME is to *Freemen* more dreadful than PAIN------
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

This Bumper I crown for our SOVEREIGN's Health,
And this for BRITANNIA's Glory and Wealth;
That Wealth and that Glory immortal may be,
If *She* is but *juſt*-----and if *We* are but *Free*----
In FREEDOM we're BORN, *&c.*

* The *Miniſtry* have already began to give away in PENSIONS *the Money* THEY have *lately* taken out of OUR Pockets WITHOUT OUR CONSENT.

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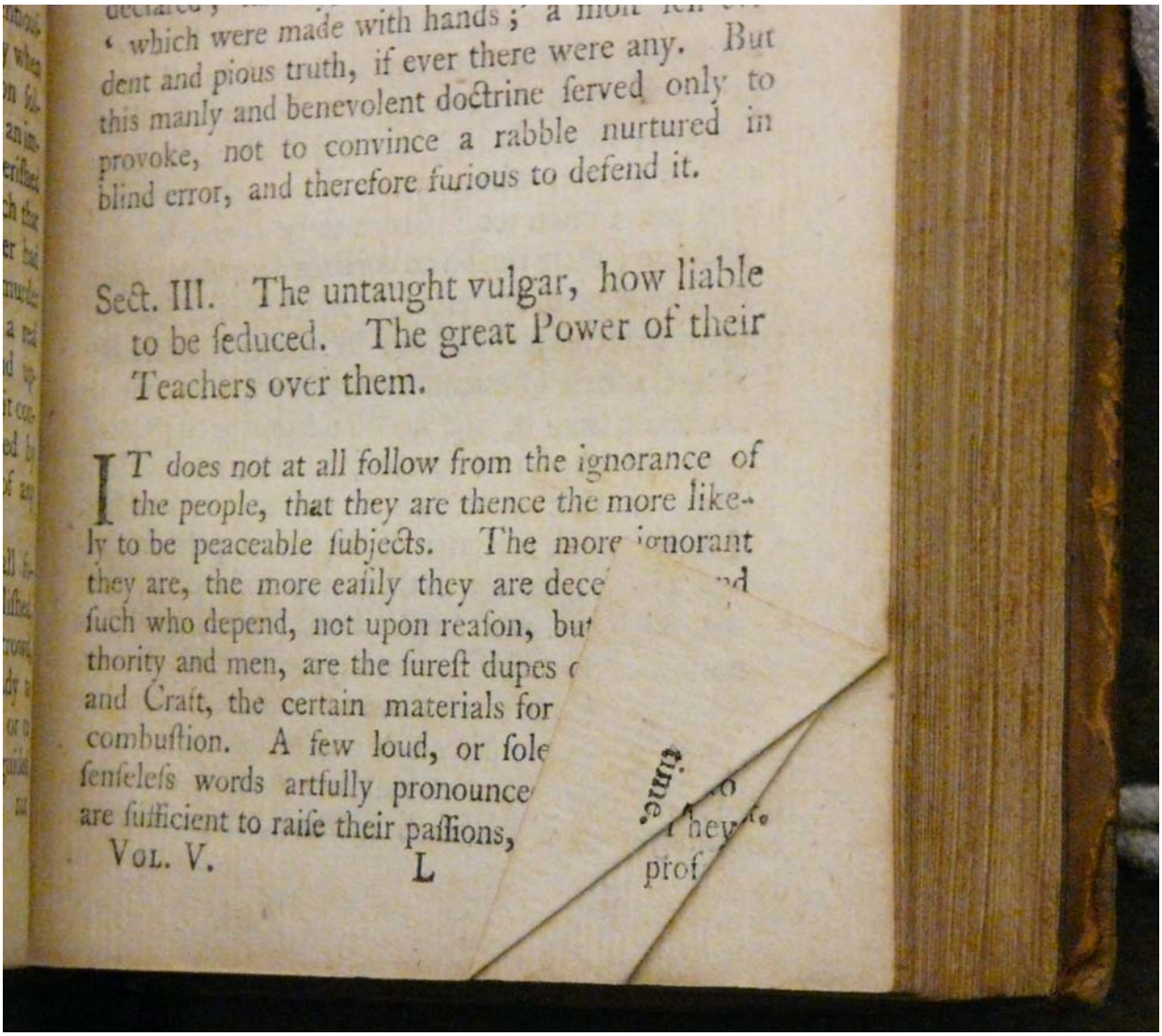

'which were made with hands;' a most ... dent and pious truth, if ever there were any. But this manly and benevolent doctrine served only to provoke, not to convince a rabble nurtured in blind error, and therefore furious to defend it.

Sect. III. The untaught vulgar, how liable to be seduced. The great Power of their Teachers over them.

IT does not at all follow from the ignorance of the people, that they are thence the more likely to be peaceable subjects. The more ignorant they are, the more easily they are dece... such who depend, not upon reason, bu... thority and men, are the surest dupes ... and Craft, the certain materials for ... combustion. A few loud, or sole... senseless words artfully pronounce... are sufficient to raise their passions, ... they ... prof...

Vol. V. L

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