ELEGANT EXTRACTS
FROM THE
MOST EMINENT
PROSE WRITERS;
BOOK THE FIFTH
ORATIONS.

LONDON
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PICCADILLY.
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ELEGANT EXTRACTS:
BEING A
COPIOUS SELECTION
OF
INSTRUCTIVE, MORAL, AND ENTERTAINING
PASSAGES,
FROM THE MOST EMINENT
PROSE WRITERS.

VOLUME III.

BOOK V. VI.

ORATIONS AND HARANGUES.—PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.

LONDON:
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CONTENTS.

BOOK V.

ORATIONS AND HARANGUES.

Page.

Oration against Philip • • • • • Demosthenes. 1
Another oration against Philip urging the succour of the Olynthians • • • • • • • • • Demosthenes. 6
A third oration on the same subject • Demosthenes. 16
A fourth oration on the same subject • Demosthenes. 28
Oration concerning the regulation of the state. Demosthenes. 37
Oration against Catiline • • • • • • • • • Cicero. 40
Oration against Verres • • • • • • • • • Cicero. 58
Oration for Archias the poet, accused by a person of obscure birth of not being a citizen of Rome. Cicero. 63
Oration spoken by Pericles at the funeral of those Athenians who had been first killed in the Peloponnesian war • • • • • • • • • Thucydides. 79
Romulus to the people of Rome, after building the city • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • Livy. 90
Junius Brutus over the dead body of Lucretia. Livy. 91
Hannibal to his soldiers • • • • • • • • • • • Livy. 93
Sophonisba to Massinissa • • • • • • • • • • Livy. 97
Scipio to the Romans • • • • • • • • • • • • Livy. 98
Manlius to his son • • • • • • • • • • • Livy. 98
Mucius Scævola to king Porsena • • • • • Livy. 99
C. Marius to the Romans, on their hesitating to appoint him general in the expedition against Jugurtha, merely on account of his extraction. Sallust. 100
Micipsa to Jugurtha • • • • • • • • • • • Sallust. 104
Adherbal to the Roman senate, imploring their protection against Jugurtha • • • • • • • • • • Sallust. 106
Calisthenes's reproof of Cleon's flattery to Alexander. Quintus Curtius. 110

VOL. III.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS.</th>
<th>Page.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Scythian ambassadors to Alexander.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintus Curtius. 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Charidemus, an Athenian exile at the court of Darius, on being asked his opinion of the warlike preparations making by that prince against Alexander</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintus Curtius. 115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galgacus, the general of the Caledonii, to his army, to incite them to action against the Romans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacitus. 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Canuleius, a Roman tribune, to the consuls; in which he demands that the plebeians may be admitted into the consulship, and that the law prohibiting patricians and plebeians from intermarrying, may be repealed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hooke. 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibal’s address to Scipio Africanus, at their interview preceding the battle of Zama.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hooke. 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scipio’s reply</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hooke. 126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Titus Quintius to the Romans, when the Æqui and Volsci, taking advantage of their intestine commotions, ravaged their country to the gates of Rome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hooke. 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Publius Scipio to the Roman army, before the battle of the Ticin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Hooke. 131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutus’s speech in vindication of Cæsar’s murder.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakespeare. 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca’s address to the emperor Nero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacitus. 136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The defence of Socrates before his judges. Goldsmith. 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS.

BOOK VI.

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.

Page.

Speech of Mr. Creskeld, on the Detention of some Members of the House of Commons. 1626. 145
Speech of Sir Robert Philips on Public Grievances. 1627. 148
Speech of the Earl of Warwick, on the Right of the Crown to imprison the Subject arbitrarily. 1628. 151
Speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, in the Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Religion. 1628. 156
Speech of Edmund Waller, on the question, whether Episcopacy ought to be abolished. 1640. 160
Conclusion of the Earl of Stafford's defence of himself before the House of Lords. 1641. 163
Speech of the Earl of Caernarvon, on the Impeachment of Lord Danby. 1678. 165
Speech of Sir Francis Winnington, on the Pension Bill. 1680. 166
Speech of the Earl of Stafford, on the Mutiny Bill. 1731. 169
Speech of Mr. Pulteney, on the Motion for reducing the Army. 1731. 171
Speech of Sir G. Heathcote, on the Establishment of Excise Officers. 1732. 175
Sir Robert Walpole's speech on the same occasion. 173
Speech of Sir John St. Aubin for Repealing the Septennial Act. 1733. 181
Sir Robert Walpole's reply 183
Speech of Lord Lyttelton, on the repeal of the Act for the Naturalization of the Jews. 1753. 195
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) on American Taxation. 1765.</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Mr. Grenville, on the same subject</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Grenville</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Lord Mansfield, on the bill for preventing the Delays of Justice by claiming the Privilege of Parliament. 1770.</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Lord Mansfield, on the subject of Mr. Evans, who refused the Office of Sheriff on the plea of being a Dissenter</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Sir W. Meredith, on the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver being committed to the Tower. 1771.</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Sir W. Meredith, on frequent Executions. 1777.</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of the Earl of Chatham, on the subject of employing Indians to fight against the Americans. 1777.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Sir George Saville, on the American War. 1782.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of Mr. Fox's speech on his bill for the better Government of India. 1783.</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of a speech of Mr. Burke on the same occasion. 1783.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of a speech of Mr. Burke, on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot. 1785.</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal altercation between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan. 1785.</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal invective between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Mr. Curran, on the bill to limit the Amount of Pensions. 1786.</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech of Mr. Wilberforce on the Slave Trade. 1789.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Had we been convened, Athenians! on some new subject of debate, I had waited until most of the usual persons had declared their opinions. If I had approved of any thing proposed by them, I should have continued silent: if not, I had then attempted to speak my sentiments. But since those very points, on which these speakers have oftentimes been heard already, are, at this time, to be considered; though I have risen first, I presume I may expect your pardon; for if they on former occasions had advised the necessary measures, you would not have found it needful to consult at present.

First then, Athenians! these our affairs must not be thought desperate; no, though their situa-
tion seems entirely deplorable. For the most shocking circumstance of all our past conduct is really the most favourable to our future expectations. And what is this? That our own total idleness hath been the cause of all our present difficulties. For were we thus distressed, in spite of every vigorous effort which the honour of our state demanded, there were then no hope of a recovery.

In the next place reflect (you who have been informed by others, and you who can yourselves remember) how great a power the Lacedemonians not long since possessed; and with what resolution, with what dignity, you disdained to act unworthy of the state, but maintained the war against them for the rights of Greece. Why do I mention these things? That you may know, that you may see, Athenians! that if duly vigilant, you cannot have any thing to fear; that if once remiss, not any thing can happen agreeable to your desires: witness the then powerful arms of Lacedemon, which a just attention to your interests enabled you to vanquish: and this man’s late insolent attempt, which our insensibility to all our great concerns hath made the cause of this confusion.

If there be a man in this assembly who thinks that we must find a formidable enemy in Philip, while he views, on one hand, the numerous armies which attend him; and, on the other, the weakness of the state thus despoiled of its dominions; he thinks justly. Yet let him reflect on this: there was a time, Athenians! when we possessed Pydna, and Pontidaea, and Methone, and all that
country round: when many of those states now subjected to him were free and independent; and more inclined to our alliance than to his. Had then Philip reasoned in the same manner, 'How shall I dare to attack the Athenians, whose garrisons command my territory, while I am destitute of all assistance?' he would not have engaged in those enterprises which are now crowned with success; nor could he have raised himself to this pitch of greatness. No, Athenians! he knew this well, that all these places are but prizes, laid between the combatants, and ready for the conqueror: that the dominions of the absent devolve naturally to those who are in the field; the possessions of the supine, to the active and intrepid. Animated by these sentiments, he overturns whole countries; he holds all people in subjection; some, as by the right of conquest; others, under the title of allies and confederates: for all are willing to confederate with those whom they see prepared and resolved to exert themselves as they ought.

And if you, my countrymen! will now at length be persuaded to entertain the like sentiments; if each of you, renouncing all evasions, will be ready to approve himself an useful citizen, to the utmost that his station and abilities demand; if the rich will be ready to contribute, and the young to take the field; in one word, if you will be yourselves, and banish those vain hopes which every single person entertains, while so many others are engaged in public business, his service will not be required; you then, if heaven so pleases! shall regain your dominions, recall those opportunities
your supineness hath neglected, and chastise the insolence of this man. For you are not to imagine, that, like a god, he is to enjoy his present greatness for ever fixed and unchangeable. No, Athenians! there are, who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most attached to his cause. These are passions common to mankind; nor must we think that his friends only are exempted from them. It is true they lie concealed at present, as our indolence deprives them of all resource. But let us shake off this indolence! for you see how we are situated; you see the outrageous arrogance of this man, who does not leave it to your choice whether you shall act or remain quiet; but braves you with his menaces; and talks (as we are informed) in a strain of the highest extravagance: and is not able to rest satisfied with his present acquisitions, but is ever in pursuit of further conquests: and while we sit down, inactive and irresolute, encloses us on all sides with his toils.

When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? When roused by some event? When forced by some necessity? What then are we to think of our present condition? To freemen, the disgrace attending on misconduct is, in my opinion, the most urgent necessity. Or, say, is it your sole ambition to wander through the public places, each inquiring of the other, 'What new advices?' Can any thing be more new, than that a man of Macedon should conquer the Athenians, and give law to Greece? 'Is Philip dead?' 'No, but in great danger.' How are you concerned in those rumours? Suppose he should
meet some fatal stroke: you would soon raise up another Philip, if your interests are thus regarded. For it is not to his own strength that he so much owes his elevation, as to our supineness. And should some accident affect him; should fortune, who hath ever been more careful of the state than we ourselves, now repeat her favours (and may she thus crown them!) be assured of this, that by being on the spot, ready to take advantage of the confusion, you will everywhere be absolute masters; but in your present disposition, even if a favourable juncture should present you with Amphipolis, you could not take possession of it, while this suspense prevails in your designs and in your councils.

Some wander about, crying, Philip hath joined with the Lacedemonians, and they are concerting the destruction of Thebes, and the dissolution of some free states. Others assure us he hath sent an embassy to the king; others, that he is fortifying places in Illyria. Thus we all go about framing our several tales. I do believe indeed, Athenians! he is intoxicated with his greatness, entertains his imagination with many such visionary prospects, as he sees no power rising to oppose him, and is elated with his success. But I cannot be persuaded that he hath so taken his measures, that the weakest among us know what he is next to do: (for it is the weakest among us who spread these rumours)—Let us disregard them: let us be persuaded of this, that he is our enemy, that he hath spoiled us of our dominions, that we have long been subject to his insolence, that whatever we expected to be done for us by others,
hath proved against us, that all the resource left is in ourselves, that if we are not inclined to carry our arms abroad, we may be forced to engage here—let us be persuaded of this, and then we shall come to a proper determination, then shall we be freed from those idle tales. For we are not to be so solicitous to know what particular events will happen; we need but be convinced nothing good can happen, unless you grant the due attention to affairs, and be ready to act as becomes Athenians.

Demosthenes.

ANOTHER ORATION AGAINST PHILIP, URGING THE SUCCOUR OF THE OLYNTHIANS.

In many instances, Athenians! have the gods, in my opinion, manifestly declared their favour to this state: nor is it least observable in this present juncture. For that an enemy should arise against Philip, on the very confines of his kingdom, of no inconsiderable power, and, what is of most importance, so determined upon the war, that they consider any accommodation with him, first, as insidious, next, as the downfall of their country: this seems no less than the gracious interposition of heaven itself. It must, therefore, be our care, Athenians! that we ourselves may not frustrate this goodness. For it must reflect disgrace, nay, the foulest infamy upon us, if we appear to have thrown away not those states and territories only which we once commanded, but those alliances and favourable incidents, which fortune hath provided for us.
To begin on this occasion with a display of Philip's power, or to press you to exert your vigour, by motives drawn from hence, is, in my opinion, quite improper. And why? Because whatever may be offered upon such a subject, sets him in an honourable view, but seems to me, as a reproach to our conduct. For the higher his exploits have arisen above his former estimation, the more must the world admire him: while your disgrace hath been the greater, the more your conduct hath proved unworthy of your state. These things therefore I shall pass over. He, indeed, who examines justly, must find the source of all his greatness here, not in himself. But the services he hath here received, from those whose public administration hath been devoted to his interest; those services which you must punish, I do not think it reasonable to display. There are other points of more moment for you all to hear; and which must excite the greatest abhorrence of him, in every reasonable mind. These I shall lay before you.

And now, should I call him perjured and perfidious, and not point out the instances of this his guilt, it might be deemed the mere virulence of malice, and with justice. Nor will it engage too much of your attention to hear him fully and clearly convicted, from a full and clear detail of all his actions. And this I think useful upon two accounts: first, that he may appear, as he really is, treacherous and false; and then, that they who are struck with terour, as if Philip was something more than human, may see that he hath exhausted all those artifices to which he owes his
present elevation, and that his affairs are now ready to decline. For I myself, Athenians! should think Philip really to be dreaded and admired, if I saw him raised by honourable means. But I find, upon reflection, that, at the time when certain persons drove out the Olynthians from this assembly, when desirous of conferring with you, he began with abusing our simplicity by his promise of surrendering Amphipolis, and executing the secret article of his treaty, then so much spoken of: that, after this, he courted the friendship of the Olynthians by seizing Potidæa, where we were rightful sovereigns, despoothing us, his former allies, and giving them possession: that, but just now, he gained the Thessalians, by promising to give up Magnesia; and, for their ease, to take the whole conduct of the Phocian war upon himself. In a word, there are no people who ever made the least use of him, but have suffered by his subtlety: his present greatness being wholly owing to his deceiving those who were unacquainted with him, and making them the instruments of his success. As these states therefore raised him, while each imagined he was promoting some interest of theirs; these states must also reduce him to his former meanness; as it now appears that his own private interest was the end of all his actions.

Thus then, Athenians! is Philip circumstanced. If not, let the man stand forth, who can prove to me, I should have said to this assembly, that I have asserted these things falsely; or that they whom he hath deceived in former instances, will confide in him for the future; or that the Thes-
saliens, who have been so basely, so undeservedly enslaved, would not gladly embrace their freedom.—If there be any one among you, who acknowledges all this, yet thinks that Philip will support his power, as he hath secured places of strength, convenient ports, and other like advantages, he is deceived. For when forces join in harmony and affection, and one common interest unites the confederating powers, then they share the toils with alacrity, they endure the distresses, they persevere. But when extravagant ambition, and lawless power, as in his case, have aggrandized a single person; the first pretence, the slightest accident, overthrows him, and all his greatness is dashed at once to the ground. For it is not, no, Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury, and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once; and borrow for awhile, from hope, a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness; and they fall into ruin of themselves. For, as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true. But these advantages are not found in the actions of Philip.

I say then that you should dispatch succours to the Olynthians: and the more honourably and expeditiously this is proposed to be done, the more agreeably to my sentiments: and send an embassy to the Thessalians, to inform some, and to enliven that spirit already raised in others: for it hath actually been resolved to demand the restitution of Pagasæ, and to assert their claim
to Magnesia. And let it be your care, Athenians, that our ambassadors may not depend only upon words, but give them some action to display, by taking the field in a manner worthy of the state, and engaging in the war with vigour. For words, if not accompanied by actions, must ever appear vain and contemptible; and particularly when they come from us, whose prompt abilities, and well-known eminence in speaking, make us to be always heard with the greater suspicion.

Would you indeed regain attention and confidence, your measures must be greatly changed, your conduct totally reformed; your fortunes, your persons, must appear devoted to the common cause; your utmost efforts must be exerted. If you will act thus, as your honour and your interest require; then, Athenians! you will not only discover the weakness and insincerity of the confederates of Philip, but the ruinous condition of his own kingdom will also be laid open. The power and sovereignty of Macedon may have some weight indeed, when joined with others. Thus, when you marched against the Olynthians, under the conduct of Timotheus, it proved an useful ally; when united with the Olynthians against Potidæa, it added something to their force; just now, when the Thessalians were in the midst of disorder, sedition, and confusion, it aided them against the family of their tyrants: and in every case, any, even a small accession of strength, is, in my opinion, of considerable effect. But of itself, unsupported, it is infirm, it is totally distempered: for by all those glaring exploits, which have given him this apparent great-
ness, his wars, his expeditions, he hath rendered it yet weaker than it was naturally. For you are not to imagine that the inclinations of his subjects are the same with those of Philip. He thirsts for glory: this is his object, this he eagerly pursues, through toils and dangers of every kind; despising safety and life, when compared with the honour of achieving such actions as no other prince of Macedon could ever boast of. But his subjects have no part in this ambition. Harassed by those various excursions he is ever making, they groan under perpetual calamity; torn from their business, and their families, and without opportunity to dispose of that pittance which their toils have earned; as all commerce is shut out of the coast of Macedon by the war.

Hence we may perceive how his subjects in general are affected to Philip. But then his auxiliaries, and the soldiers of his phalanx, have the character of wonderful forces, trained completely to war. And yet I can affirm, upon the credit of a person from that country, incapable of falsehood, that they have no such superiority. For, as he assures me, if any man of experience in military affairs should be found among them, he dismisses all such, from an ambition of having every great action ascribed wholly to himself: for, besides his other passions, the man hath this ambition in the highest degree. And if any person, from a sense of decency, or other virtuous principles, betrays a dislike of his daily intemperance, and riotings, and obscenities, he loses all favour and regard; so that none are left about him, but wretches, who subsist on rapine and flat-
ttery, and who, when heated with wine, do not scruple to descend to such instances of revelry, as it would shock you to repeat. Nor can the truth of this be doubted: for they whom we all conspired to drive from hence, as infamous and abandoned, Callias the public servant, and others of the same stamp; buffoons, composers of lewd songs, in which they ridicule their companions: these are the persons whom he entertains and caresses. And these things, Athenians! trifling as they may appear to some, are to men of just discernment great indications of the weakness both of his mind and fortune. At present, his successes cast a shade over them; for prosperity hath great power to veil such baseness from observation. But let his arms meet with the least disgrace, and all his actions will be exposed. This is a truth, of which he himself, Athenians! will, in my opinion, soon convince you, if the gods favour us, and you exert your vigour. For as in our bodies, while a man is in health he feels no effect of any inward weakness, but, when disease attacks him, every thing becomes sensible in the vessels, in the joints, or in whatever other part his frame may be disordered; so in states and monarchies, while they carry on a war abroad, their defects escape the general eye; but when once it approaches their own territory, then they are all detected.

If there be any one among you, who, from Philip's good fortune, concludes that he must prove a formidable enemy; such reasoning is not unworthy a man of prudence. Fortune hath great influence, nay, the whole influence, in all human affairs: but then, were I to choose, I should prefer the fortune
of Athens, if you yourselves will assert your own cause, with the least degree of vigour, to this man's fortune. For we have many better reasons to depend upon the favour of heaven, than he has. But our present state is, in my opinion, a state of total inactivity; and he who will not exert his own strength, cannot apply for aid, either to his friends or to the gods. It is not then surprising, that he, who is himself ever amidst the dangers and labours of the field; who is every where; whom no opportunity escapes; to whom no season is unfavourable; should be superior to you, who are wholly engaged in contriving delays, and framing decrees, and inquiring after news. I am not surprised at this, for the contrary must have been surprising, if we, who never act in any single instance as becomes a state engaged in war, should conquer him, who, in every instance, acts with an indefatigable vigilance. This indeed surprises me; that you, who fought the cause of Greece against Lacedemon, and generously declined all the favourable opportunities of aggrandizing yourselves; who, to secure their property to others, parted with your own, by your contributions, and bravely exposed yourselves in battle; should now decline the service of the field, and delay the necessary supplies, when called to the defence of your own rights: that you, in whom Greece in general, and each particular state, hath often found protection, should sit down quiet spectators of your own private wrongs. This, I say surprises me: and one thing more; that not a man among you can reflect how long a time we have been at war with Philip, and
in what measures this time hath all been wasted. You are not to be informed, that, in delaying, in hoping that others would assert our cause, in accusing each other, in impeaching, then again entertaining hopes, in such measures as are now pursued, that time hath been entirely wasted. And are you so devoid of apprehension, as to imagine, when our state hath been reduced from greatness to wretchedness, that the very same conduct will raise us from wretchedness to greatness? No! this is not reasonable, it is not natural; for it is much easier to defend, than to acquire dominions. But, now, the war hath left us nothing to defend: we must acquire. And to this work you yourselves alone are equal.

This, then, is my opinion. You should raise supplies; you should take the field with alacrity. Prosecutions should be all suspended until you have recovered your affairs; let each man's sentence be determined by his actions; honour those who have deserved applause; let the iniquitous meet their punishment: let there be no pretences, no deficiencies on your part; for you cannot bring the actions of others to a severe scrutiny, unless you have first been careful of your own duty. What indeed can be the reason, think you, that every man whom we have sent out at the head of an army, has deserted your service, and sought out some private expedition? (if we must speak ingenuously of these our generals also,) the reason is this: when engaged in the service of the state, the prize for which they fight is yours. Thus, should Amphipolis be now taken, you instantly possess yourselves of it: the commanders have all
the danger, the rewards they do not share. But, in their private enterprises, the dangers are less; the acquisitions are all shared by the generals and soldiers; as were Lampsacus, Sigæum, and those vessels which they plundered. Thus are they all determined by their private interest. And, when you turn your eyes to the wretched state of your affairs, you bring your generals to a trial; you grant them leave to speak; you hear the necessities they plead; and then acquit them. Nothing then remains for us, but to be distracted with endless contests and divisions (some urging these, some those measures), and to feel the public calamity. For in former times, Athenians! you divided into classes, to raise supplies. Now the business of these classes is to govern; each hath an orator at its head, and a general, who is his creature; the three hundred are assistants to these, and the rest of you divide, some to this, some to that party. You must rectify these disorders: you must appear yourselves: you must leave the power of speaking, of advising, and of acting, open to every citizen. But if you suffer some persons to issue out their mandates, as with a royal authority; if one set of men be forced to fit out ships, to raise supplies, to take up arms; while others are only to make decrees against them, without any charge, any employment besides; it is not possible that any thing can be effected seasonably and successfully: for the injured party ever will desert you; and then your sole resource will be to make them feel your resentment instead of your enemies.

Demosthenes.
A THIRD ORATION ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

I am by no means affected in the same manner, Athenians! when I review the state of our affairs, and when I attend to those speakers who have now declared their sentiments. They insist, that we should punish Philip; but our affairs, situated as they now appear, warn us to guard against the dangers with which we ourselves are threatened. Thus far therefore I must differ from these speakers, that I apprehend they have not proposed the proper object of your attention. There was a time indeed, I know it well, when the state could have possessed her own dominions in security, and sent out her armies to inflict chastisement on Philip. I myself have seen the time when we enjoyed such power. But now I am persuaded we should confine ourselves to the protection of our allies. When this is once effected, then we may consider the punishment his outrages have merited. But, till the first great point be well secured, it is weakness to debate about our more remote concerns.

And now, Athenians! if ever we stood in need of mature deliberation and counsel, the present juncture calls loudly for them. To point out the course to be pursued on this emergency, I do not think the greatest difficulty: but I am in doubt in what manner to propose my sentiments; for all that I have observed, and all that I have heard, convinces me, that most of your misfortunes have proceeded from a want of inclination to pursue the necessary measures, not from ignorance of them. — Let me entreat you, if I now speak
with unusual boldness, to bear it: considering only, whether I speak truth, and with a sincere intention to advance your future interests: for you now see, that by some orators who study but to gain your favour, our affairs have been reduced to the extremity of distress.

I think it necessary, in the first place, to recall some late transactions to your thoughts.—You may remember, Athenians, that, about three or four years since, you received advice that Philip was in Thrace, and had laid siege to the fortress of Heræa. It was then the month of November, Great commotions and debates arose. It was resolved to send out forty galleys; that all citizens, under the age of five-and-forty, should themselves embark; and that sixty talents should be raised. Thus it was agreed. That year passed away; then came in the months of July, August, September. In this last month, with great difficulty, when the mysteries had first been celebrated, you sent out Charidemus, with just ten vessels unmanned, and five talents of silver. For when reports came of the sickness, and the death of Philip (both of these were affirmed), you laid aside your intended armament, imagining, that at such a juncture, there was no need of succours. And yet this was the very critical moment; for, had they been dispatched with the same alacrity with which they were granted, Philip would not have then escaped, to become that formidable enemy he now appears.

But what was then done, cannot be amended. Now we have the opportunity of another war: that war I mean, which hath induced me to bring
These transactions into view, that you may not once more fall into the same errors. How then shall we improve this opportunity? This is the only question. For if you are not resolved to assist with all the force you can command, you are really serving under Philip, you are fighting on his side. The Olynthians are a people, whose power was thought considerable. Thus were the circumstances of affairs: Philip could not confide in them; they looked with equal suspicion upon Philip. We and they then entered into mutual engagements of peace and alliance: this was a grievous embarrassment to Philip, that we should have a powerful state confederated with us, spies upon the incident of his fortune. It was agreed, that we should, by all means, engage this people in a war with him: and now, what we all so earnestly desired, is effected: the manner is of no moment. What then remains for us, Athenians, but to send immediate and effectual succours, I cannot see. For besides the disgrace that must attend us, if any of our interests are supinely disregarded, I have no small apprehensions of the consequence (the Thebans affected as they are towards us, and the Phocians exhausted of their treasures), if Philip be left at full liberty to lead his armies into these territories, when his present enterprises are accomplished. If any one among you can be so far immersed in indolence as to suffer this, he must choose to be witness to the misery of his own country, rather than to hear of that which strangers suffer; and to seek assistance for himself, when it is now in his power to grant assistance to others, That this must be the consequence, if we do not
exert ourselves on the present occasion, there can scarcely remain the least doubt among us.

But, as to the necessity of sending succours, this, it may be said, we are agreed in; this is our resolution. But how shall we be enabled? that is the point to be explained. Be not surprised, Athenians, if my sentiments on this occasion seem repugnant to the general sense of this assembly. Appoint magistrates for the inspection of your laws: not in order to enact any new laws; you have already a sufficient number; but to repeal those, whose ill effect you now experience. I mean the laws relating to the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and some about the soldiery. By the first, the soldier's pay goes as theatrical expenses to the useless and inactive; the others screen those from justice, who decline the service of the field, and thus damp the ardour of those disposed to serve us. When you have repealed these, and rendered it consistent with safety to advise you justly, then seek for some person to propose that decree, which you all are sensible the common good requires. But, till this be done, expect not that any man will urge your true interest, when, for urging your true interest, you repay him with destruction. You will never find such zeal; especially since the consequence can be only this; he who offers his opinion, and moves for your concurrence, suffers some unmerited calamity; but your affairs are not in the least advanced: nay, this additional inconvenience must arise, that for the future it will appear more dangerous to advise you, than even at present. And the authors of these laws should also be the
authors of their repeal. For it is not just that the public favour should be bestowed on the persons who, in framing these laws, have greatly injured the community; and that the odium should fall on him, whose freedom and sincerity are of important service to us all. Until these regulations be made, you are not to think any man so great that he may violate these laws with impunity; or so devoid of reason, as to plunge himself into open and foreseen destruction.

And be not ignorant of this, Athenians, that a decree is of no significance, unless attended with resolution and alacrity to execute it. For were decrees of themselves sufficient to engage you to perform your duty, could they even execute the things which they enact; so many would not have been made to so little, or rather to no good purpose; nor would the insolence of Philip have had so long a date. For, if decrees can punish, he hath long since felt all their fury. But they have no such power; for, though proposing and resolving be first in order, yet, in force and efficacy, action is superior. Let this then be your principal concern; the others you cannot want; for you have men among you capable of advising, and you are of all people most acute in apprehending: now, let your interest direct you, and it will be in your power to be as remarkable for acting. What season indeed, what opportunity do you wait for, more favourable than the present? Or when will you exert your vigour, if not now, my countrymen? Hath not this man seized all those places that were ours? Should he become master of this country too, must we not sink into the
lowest state of infamy? Are not they whom we have promised to assist, whenever they are engaged in war, now attacked themselves? Is he not our enemy? Is he not in possession of our dominions? Is he not a barbarian? Is he not every base thing words can express? If we are insensible to all this, if we almost aid his designs; heavens! can we then ask to whom the consequences are owing? Yes, I know full well, we never will impute them to ourselves. Just as in the dangers of the field: not one of those who fly will accuse himself; he will rather blame the general, or his fellow soldiers: yet every single man that fled was accessory to the defeat. He who blames others might have maintained his own post; and had every man maintained his, success might have ensued. Thus, then, in the present case, is there a man whose counsel seems liable to objection? Let the next rise, and not inveigh against him, but declare his own opinion. Doth another offer some more salutary counsel? Pursue it, in the name of heaven. 'But then it is not pleasing.' This is not the fault of the speaker, unless in that he hath neglected to express his affection in prayers and wishes. To pray is easy, Athenians; and in one petition may be collected as many instances of good fortune as we please. To determine justly, when affairs are to be considered, is not so easy. But what is most useful should ever be preferred to that which is agreeable, where both cannot be obtained.

But if there be a man who will leave us the theatrical funds, and propose other subsidies for the service of the war, are we not rather to attend
to him? I grant it, Athenians! if that man can be found. But I should account it wonderful, if it ever did, if it ever can happen to any man on earth, that while he lavishes his present possessions on unnecessary occasions, some future funds should be procured to supply his real necessities. But such proposals find a powerful advocate in the breast of every hearer. So that nothing is so easy as to deceive one’s self; for what we wish, that we readily believe; but such expectations are oftentimes inconsistent with our affairs. On this occasion, therefore, let your affairs direct you; then will you be enabled to take the field; then will you have your full pay. And men, whose judgments are well directed, and whose souls are great, could not support the infamy which must attend them, if obliged to desert any of the operations of a war from the want of money. They could not, after snatching up their arms, and marching against the Corinthians and Mегareans, suffer Philip to enslave the states of Greece, through the want of provisions for their forces. I say not this wantonly, to raise the resentment of some among you. No; I am not so unhappily perverse as to study to be hated, when no good purpose can be answered by it: but it is my opinion, that every honest speaker should prefer the interest of the state to the favour of his hearers. This (I am assured, and perhaps you need not be informed) was the principle which actuated the public conduct of those of our ancestors who spoke in this assembly; men, whom the present set of orators are ever ready to applaud, but whose example they by no means im-
tate: such were Aristides, Nicias, the former Demosthenes, and Pericles. But since we have had speakers, who, before their public appearance, ask you, 'What do you desire? What shall I propose? How can I oblige you?' The interest of our country has been sacrificed to momentary pleasure and popular favour. Thus have we been distressed; thus have these men risen to greatness, and you sunk into disgrace.

And here let me entreat your attention to a summary account of the conduct of your ancestors, and of your own. I shall mention but a few things, and these well known: for, if you would pursue the way to happiness, you need not look abroad for leaders; our own countrymen point it out. These our ancestors, therefore, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence with which you are flattered, held the sovereignty of Greece with general consent, five-and-forty years; deposited above ten thousand talents in our public treasury; kept the king of this country in that subjection, which a barbarian owes to Greeks; erected monuments of many and illustrious actions, which they themselves achieved by land and sea; in a word, are the only persons who have transmitted to posterity such glory as is superior to envy. Thus great do they appear in the affairs of Greece. Let us now view them within the city, both in their public and private conduct. And, first, the edifices which their administrations have given us, their decorations of our temples, and the offerings deposited by them, are so numerous and so magnificent, that all the
efforts of posterity cannot exceed them. Then, in private life, so exemplary was their moderation, their adherence to the ancient manners so scrupulously exact, that if any of you ever discovered the house of Aristides, or Miltiades, or any of the illustrious men of those times, he must know that it was not distinguished by the least extraordinary splendour. For they did not so conduct the public business as to aggrandize themselves: their sole great object was to exalt the state. And thus by their faithful attachment to Greece, by their piety to the gods, and by that equality which they maintained among themselves, they were raised (and no wonder) to the summit of prosperity.

Such was the state of Athens at that time, when the men I have mentioned were in power. But what is your condition under these indulgent ministers, who now direct us? Is it the same, or nearly the same? Other things I shall pass over, though I might expatiate on them. Let it only be observed, that we are now, as you all see, left without competitors; the Lacedemonians lost; the Thebans engaged at home; and not one of all the other states of consequence sufficient to dispute the sovereignty with us. Yet, at a time when we might have enjoyed our own dominions in security, and been the umpires in all disputes abroad; our territories have been wrested from us; we have expended above one thousand five hundred talents to no purpose: the allies which we gained in war have been lost in time of peace; and to this degree of power have we raised an
enemy against ourselves. (For let the man stand forth who can show, whence Philip hath derived his greatness, if not from us.)

'Well! if these affairs have but an unfavourable aspect, yet those within the city are much more flourishing than ever.' Where are the proofs of this? The walls which have been whitened? the ways we have repaired? the supplies of water, and such trifles? Turn your eyes to the men, of whose administrations these are the fruits. Some of whom, from the lowest state of poverty, have arisen suddenly to affluence; some from meanness to renown: others have made their own private houses much more magnificent than the public edifices. Just as the state hath fallen, their private fortunes have been raised.

And what cause can we assign for this? How is it that our affairs were once so flourishing, and now in such disorder? Because formerly, the people dared to take up arms themselves; were themselves masters of those in employment, disposers themselves of all emoluments; so that every citizen thought himself happy to derive honours and authority, and all advantages whatever from the people. But now, on the contrary, favours are all dispensed, affairs all transacted, by the ministers; while you, quite enervated, robbed of your riches, your allies, stand in the mean rank of servants and assistants: happy if these men grant you the theatrical appointments, and send you scraps of the public meal. And, what is of all most sordid, you hold yourselves obliged to them for that which is your own, while they confine...
you within these walls, lead you on gently to their purposes, and soothe and tame you to obedience. Nor is it possible that they, who are engaged in low and grovelling pursuits, can entertain great and generous sentiments. No! such as their employments are, so must their dispositions prove.—And now I call heaven to witness, that it will not surprise me, if I suffer more by mentioning this your condition, than they who have involved you in it! Freedom of speech you do not allow on all occasions; and that you have now admitted it, excites my wonder.

But if you will at length be prevailed on to change your conduct; if you will take the field, and act worthy of Athenians; if these redundant sums which you receive at home be applied to the advancement of your affairs abroad; perhaps, my countrymen! perhaps some instance of consummate good fortune may attend you, and you may become so happy as to despise those pittances, which are like the morsels that a physician allows his patient. For these do not restore his vigour, but just keep him from dying. So your distributions cannot serve any valuable purpose, but are just sufficient to divert your attention from all other things, and thus increase the indolence of every one among you.

But I shall be asked, 'What then! is it your opinion that these sums should pay our army?'—Yes: and besides this, that the state should be regulated in such a manner, that every one may have his share of public business, and approve himself an useful citizen, on what occasion soever his aid
may be required. Is it in his power to live in peace? He will live here with greater dignity, while these supplies prevent him from being tempted by indigence to any thing dishonourable. Is he called forth by an emergency like the present? Let him discharge that sacred duty which he owes to his country, by applying these sums to his support in the field. Is there a man among you past the age of service? Let him, by inspecting and conducting the public business, regularly merit his share of the distributions which he now receives, without any duty enjoined, or any return made to the community. And thus, with scarcely any alteration, either of abolishing or innovating, all irregularities are removed, and the state completely settled; by appointing one general regulation, which shall entitle our citizens to receive, and at the same time oblige them to take arms, to administer justice, to act in all cases as their time of life, and our affairs require. But it never hath, nor could it have been moved by me, that the rewards of the diligent and active should be bestowed on the useless citizen: or that you should sit here, supine, languid, and irresolute, listening to the exploits of some general's foreign troops; for thus it is at present—not that I would reflect on him who serves you in any instance—but you yourselves, Athenians, should perform those services, for which you heap honours upon others, and not recede from that illustrious rank of virtue, the price of all the glorious toils of your ancestors, and by them bequeathed to you.

Thus have I laid before you the chief points in
which I think you interested. It is your part to embrace that opinion, which the welfare of the state in general, and that of every single member, recommends to your acceptance. 

Demosthenes.

A FOURTH ORATION, ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

I am persuaded, Athenians! that you would account it less valuable to possess the greatest riches, than to have the true interest of the state on this emergency clearly laid before you. It is your part, therefore, readily and cheerfully to attend to all who are disposed to offer their opinions. For your regards need not be confined to those, whose counsels are the effect of premeditation: it is your good fortune to have men among you, who can at once suggest many points of moment. From opinions, therefore, of every kind, you may easily choose that most conducive to your interest.

And now, Athenians, the present juncture calls upon us: we almost hear its voice, declaring loudly, that you yourselves must engage in these affairs, if you have the least attention to your own security. You entertain I know not what sentiments on this occasion; my opinion is, that the reinforcements should be instantly decreed; that they should be raised with all possible expedition; that so our succours may be sent from this city, and all former inconveniences be avoided; and that you should send ambassadors to notify these things, and to secure our interests by their pre-
sence. For as he is a man of consummate policy, complete in the art of turning every incident to his own advantage, there is the utmost reason to fear, that partly by concessions, where they may be seasonable, partly by menaces (and his menaces may be believed), and partly by rendering us and our absence suspected; he may tear from us something of the last importance, and force it into his own service.

Those very circumstances, however, which contribute to the power of Philip, are happily the most favourable to us. For that uncontrolled command, with which he governs all transactions public and secret; his entire direction of his army, as their leader, their sovereign, and their treasurer; and his diligence, in giving life to every part of it, by his presence; these things greatly contribute to carrying on a war with expedition and success, but are powerful obstacles to that accommodation which he would gladly make with the Olynthians. For the Olynthians see plainly, that they do not now fight for glory, or for part of their territory but to defend their state from dissolution and slavery. They know how he rewarded those traitors of Amphipolis, who made him master of that city; and those of Pydna, who opened their gates to him. In a word, free states, I think, must ever look with suspicion on an absolute monarchy: but a neighbouring monarchy must double their apprehensions.

Convinced of what hath now been offered, and possessed with every other just and worthy sentiment; you must be resolved, Athenians! you
must exert your spirit; you must apply to the war, now, if ever: your fortunes, your persons, your whole powers, are now demanded. There is no excuse, no pretence left, for declining the performance of your duty. For that which you were all ever urging loudly, that the Olynthians should be engaged in a war with Philip, hath now happened of itself; and this in a manner most agreeable to our interest. For, if they had entered into this war at our persuasion, they must have been precarious allies, without steadiness or resolution: but, as their private injuries have made them enemies to Philip, it is probable that enmity will be lasting, both on account of what they fear, and what they have already suffered. My countrymen! let not so favourable an opportunity escape you: do not repeat that error which hath been so often fatal to you. For when, at our return from assisting the Eubœans, Hierax, and Strato- cles, citizens of Amphipolis, mounted this gallery, and pressed you to send out your navy, and to take their city under your protection; had we discovered that resolution in our own cause, which we exerted for the safety of Eubœa; then had Amphipolis been yours; and all those difficulties had been avoided, in which you have been since involved. Again, when we received advice of the sieges of Pydna, Potidæa, Methonè, Pegasæ, and other places (for I would not detain you with a particular recital), had we ourselves marched with a due spirit and alacrity to the relief of the first of these cities, we should now find much more compliance, much more humility in Philip. But by still neglecting the present, and imagining our
future interests will not demand our care, we have aggrandized our enemy, we have raised him to a degree of eminence, greater than any king of Macedon hath ever yet enjoyed.—Now we have another opportunity. That which the Olynthians, of themselves, present to the state: one no less considerable than any of the former.

And, in my opinion, Athenians! if a man were to bring the dealings of the gods towards us to a fair account, though many things might appear not quite agreeable to our wishes, yet he would acknowledge that we had been highly favoured by them: and with great reason: for that many places have been lost in the course of war, is truly to be charged to our own weak conduct. But that the difficulties, arisen from hence, have not long affected us; and that an alliance now presents itself to remove them, if we are disposed to make the just use of it: this I cannot but ascribe to the divine goodness. But the same thing happens in this case, as in the use of riches: if a man be careful to save those he hath acquired, he readily acknowledges the kindness of fortune: but if by his imprudence they be once lost, with them he also loses the sense of gratitude. So in political affairs, they who neglect to improve their opportunities, forget the favours which the gods have bestowed; for it is the ultimate event which generally determines men's judgment of every thing precedent. And therefore, all affairs hereafter should engage your strictest care; that by correcting our errors, we may wipe off the inglorious stain of past actions. But should we be deaf to these men too, and should he be suf-
ferred to subvert Olynthus; say, what can prevent him from marching his forces into whatever territory he pleases?

Is there not a man among you, Athenians! who reflects by what steps Philip, from a beginning so inconsiderable, hath mounted to his height of power? First, he took Amphipolis: then he became master of Pydna: then Potidæa fell: then Methone: then came his inroad into Thessaly: after this, having disposed affairs at Pheræ, at Pegase, at Magnesia, entirely as he pleased, he marched into Thrace. Here, while engaged in repelling some, and establishing other princes, he fell sick. Again, recovering, he never turned a moment from his course to ease or indulgence, but instantly attacked the Olynthians. His expeditions against the Illyrians, the Pæonians, against Arymbas, I pass all over.—But I may be asked, why this recital, now? That you may know and see your own error, in ever neglecting some part of your affairs, as if beneath your regard; and that active spirit with which Philip pursueth his designs; which ever fires him; and which never can permit him to rest satisfied with those things he hath already accomplished. If then he determines firmly and invariably to pursue his conquests: and if we are obstinately resolved against every vigorous and effectual measure; think, what consequences may we expect! In the name of heaven, can any man be so weak, as not to know, that by neglecting this war, we are transferring it from that country to our own! And should this happen, I fear, Athenians, that as they who inconsiderately borrow money upon high
interest after a short-lived affluence, are deprived of their own fortunes; so we, by this continued indolence, by consulting only our ease and pleasure, may be reduced to the grievous necessity of engaging in affairs the most shocking and disagreeable, and of exposing ourselves in the defence of this our native territory.

To censure, some one may tell me, is easy, and in the power of every man: but the true counsellor should point out that conduct which the present exigence demands.—Sensible as I am, Athenians, that when your expectations have in any instance been disappointed, your resentment, frequently falls not on those who merit it, but on him who hath spoken last; yet I cannot, from a regard to my own safety, suppress what I deem of moment to lay before you. I say then, this occasion calls for a twofold armament. First, we are to defend the cities of the Olynthians, and for this purpose to detach a body of forces: in the next place, in order to infest his kingdom, we are to send out our navy manned with other levies. If you neglect either of these, I fear your expedition will be fruitless. For, if you content yourselves with infesting his dominions, this he will endure, until he is master of Olynthus, and then he can with ease repel the invasion; or, if you only send succours to the Olynthians, when he sees his own kingdom free from danger, he will apply with constancy and vigilance to the war, and at length weary out the besieged to a submission. Your levies therefore must be considerable enough to serve both purposes.—These are my sentiments with respect to our armament.
And now, as to the expense of these preparations. You are already provided for the payment of your forces better than any other people. This provision is distributed among yourselves in the manner most agreeable; but if you restore it to the army, the supplies will be complete without any addition; if not, an addition will be necessary, or the whole, rather, will remain to be raised. 'How then,' I may be asked, 'do you move for a decree to apply those funds to the military service?' By no means! it is my opinion indeed, that an army must be raised; that this money really belongs to the army; and that the same regulation which entitles our citizens to receive, should oblige them also to act. At present you expend these sums on entertainments, without regard to your affairs. It remains then that a general contribution be raised: a great one, if a great one be required: a small one, if such may be sufficient. Money must be found; without it nothing can be effected: various schemes are proposed by various persons: do you make that choice which you think most advantageous; and while you have an opportunity, exert yourselves in the care of your interests.

It is worthy your attention to consider, how the affairs of Philip are at this time circumstanced. For they are by no means so well disposed, so very flourishing, as an inattentive observer would pronounce. Nor would he have engaged in this war at all, had he thought he should have been obliged to maintain it. He hoped that the moment he appeared, all things would fall before him. But these hopes were vain. And this disappointment,
in the first place, troubles and dispirits him. Then the Thessalians alarm him; a people remarkable for their perfidy on all occasions, and to all persons. And just as they have ever proved, even so he finds them now. For they have resolved in council to demand the restitution of Pegasæ, and have opposed his attempt to fortify Magnesia: and I am informed, that for the future he is to be excluded from their ports and markets, as these conveniencies belong to the states of Thessaly, and are not to be intercepted by Philip. And should he be deprived of such a fund of wealth, he must be greatly straitened to support his foreign troops. Besides this, we must suppose that the Pæonian and the Illyrian, and all the others, would prefer freedom and independency to a state of slavery. They are not accustomed to subjection, and the insolence of this man, it is said, knows no bounds; nor is this improbable: for great and un-expected success is apt to hurry weak minds into extravagances. Hence it often proves much more difficult to maintain acquisitions, than to acquire. It is your part, therefore, to regard the time of his distress as your most favourable opportunity: improve it to the utmost; send out your embassies; take the field yourselves, and excite a general ardour abroad: ever considering how readily Philip would attack us, if he were favoured by any incident like this, if a war had broken out on our borders. And would it not be shameful to want the resolution to bring that distress on him, which, had it been equally in his power, he certainly would have made you feel?

This too demands your attention, Athenians!
that you are now to determine whether it be most expedient to carry the war into his country, or to fight him here. If Olynthus be defended, Macedonia will be the seat of war: you may harass his kingdom, and enjoy your own territories free from apprehensions. But should that nation be subdued by Philip, who will oppose his marching hither? Will the Thebans? let it not be thought severe when I affirm, that they will join readily in the invasion. Will the Phocians? a people scarcely able to defend their own country, without your assistance. Will any others?—'But, sir,' cries some one, 'he would make no such attempt.'—This would be the greatest of absurdities; not to execute those threats, when he hath full power, which, now when they appear so idle and extravagant, he yet dares to utter. And I think you are not yet to learn how great would be the difference between our engaging him here and there. Were we to be only thirty days abroad, and to draw all the necessaries of the camp from our own lands, even were there no enemy to ravage them, the damage would, in my opinion, amount to more than the whole expense of the late war. Add then the presence of an enemy, and how greatly must the calamity be increased, but, further, add the infamy; and to those who judge rightly, no distress can be more grievous than the scandal of misconduct.

It is incumbent, therefore, upon us all (justly influenced by these considerations) to unite vigorously in the common cause, and repel the danger that threatens this territory. Let the rich exert themselves on this occasion; that, by contributing
a small portion of their affluence, they may secure the peaceful possession of the rest. Let those who are of the age for military duty; that, by learning the art of war in Philip's dominions, they may become formidable defenders of their native land. Let our orators; that they may safely submit their conduct to the public inspection. For your judgment of their administrations will ever be determined by the event of things. And may we all contribute to render that favourable!

Demosthenes.

ORATION CONCERNING THE REGULATION OF THE STATE.

You ask, Athenians! 'What real advantage have we derived from the speeches of Demosthenes? He rises when he thinks proper: he deafens us with his harangues: he declaims against the degeneracy of present times: he tells us of the virtues of our ancestors: he transports us by his airy extravagance: he puffs up our vanity: and then sits down.'—But, could these my speeches once gain an effectual influence upon your minds, so great would be the advantage conferred upon my country, that were I to attempt to speak them, they would appear to many as visionary. Yet still I must assume the merit of doing some service, by accustoming you to hear salutary truths. And if your counsellors be solicitous for any point of moment to their country, let them first cure your ears; for they are distempered: and this, from the inveterate habit of listening to falsehoods, to every thing, rather than your real interests.
Thus it lately happened (let no man interrupt me: let me have a patient hearing) that some persons broke into the treasury. The speakers all instantly exclaimed, ‘Our free constitution is overturned: our laws are no more!’ And now, ye men of Athens! judge, if I speak with reason. They who are guilty of this crime, justly deserve to die; but by such offenders our constitution is not overturned. Again, some oars have been stolen from our arsenal.—‘Stripes and tortures for the villain! our constitution is subverted!’ This is the general cry. But what is my opinion? This criminal, like the others, hath deserved to die: but, if some are criminal, our constitution is not therefore subverted. There is no man who dares openly and boldly to declare, in what case our constitution is subverted. But I shall declare it. When you, Athenians! become a helpless rabble, without conduct, without property, without arms, without order, without unanimity; when neither general, nor any other person, hath the least respect for your decrees; when no man dares to inform you of this your condition, to urge the necessary reformation, much less, to exert his efforts to effect it: then is your constitution subverted. And this is now the case.

But, O my fellow-citizens? a language of a different nature hath poured in upon us; false, and highly dangerous to the state. Such is that assertion, that in your tribunals is your great security; that your right of suffrage is the real bulwark of the constitution. That these tribunals are our common resource in all private contests, I acknowledge. But, it is by arms we are to subdue
our enemies, by arms we are to defend our state. It is not by our decrees that we can conquer. To those, on the contrary, who fight our battles with success, to those we owe the power of decreeing, of transacting all our affairs, without control or danger. In arms, then, let us be terrible; in our judicial transactions, humane.

If it be observed, that these sentiments are more elevated than might be expected from my character, the observation, I confess, is just. Whatever is said about a state of such dignity, upon affairs of such importance, should appear more elevated than any character. To your worth should it correspond, not to that of the speaker.

And now I shall inform you, why none of those who stand high in your esteem, speak in the same manner. The candidates for office and employment go about soliciting your voices, the slaves of popular favour. To gain the rank of general, is each man's great concern; not to fill this station with true manlike intrepidity. Courage, if he possesses it, he deems unnecessary: for, thus he reasons: he has the honour, the renown of this city to support him; he finds himself free from oppression and control: he needs but to amuse you with fair hopes; and, thus, he secures a kind of inheritance in your emoluments. And he reasons truly. But, do you yourselves, once, assume the conduct of your own affairs; and then, as you take an equal share of duty, so shall you acquire an equal share of glory. Now, your ministers and public speakers, without one thought of directing you faithfully to your true interests, resign themselves entirely to these generals. Formerly you
divided into classes, in order to raise the supplies; now the business of the classes is to gain the management of public affairs. The orator is the leader; the general seconds his attempts; the Three Hundred are the assistants on each side; and all others take their parties, and serve to fill up the several factions. And you see the consequences: this man gains a statue; this amasses a fortune; one or two command the state; while you sit down unconcerned witnesses of their success; and, for an uninterrupted course of ease and indolence, give them up those great and glorious advantages which really belong to you. 

Demosthenes.

ORATION AGAINST CATILINE.

How far, O Catiline, wilt thou abuse our patience? How long shall thy frantic rage baffle the efforts of justice? To what height meanest thou to carry thy daring insolence? Art thou nothing daunted by the nocturnal watch posted to secure the Palatium? nothing by the city guards? nothing by the consternation of the people? nothing by the union of all the wise and worthy citizens? nothing by the senate’s assembling in this place of strength? nothing by the looks and countenances of all here present? Seest thou not that all thy designs are brought to light? that the senators are thoroughly apprized of thy conspiracy? that they are acquainted with thy last night’s practises; with the practises of the night before; with the place
of meeting, the company summoned together, and the measures concerted? Alas for our degeneracy! alas for the depravity of the times! the senate is apprized of all this; the consul beholds it; yet the traitor lives. Lives! did I say? he even comes into the senate; he shares in the public deliberations; he marks us out with his eye for destruction. While we, bold in our country’s cause, think we have sufficiently discharged our duty to the state, if we can but escape his rage and deadly darts. Long since, O Catiline, ought the consul to have ordered thee for execution; and pointed upon thy own head that ruin thou hast been long meditating against us all. Could that illustrious citizen, Publius Scipio, sovereign pontiff, but invested with no public magistracy, kill Tiberius Gracchus for raising some slight commotions in the commonwealth; and shall we consuls suffer Catiline to live, who aims at laying waste the world with fire and sword? I omit, as too remote, the example of Q. Servilius Ahala, who with his own hand slew Spurius Melius, for plotting a revolution in the state. Such, such was the virtue of this republic in former times, that her brave sons punished more severely a factious citizen, than the most inveterate public enemy. We have a weighty and vigorous decree of the senate against you, Catiline: the commonwealth wants not wisdom, nor this house authority: but we, the consuls, I speak it openly, are wanting in our duty.

A decree once passed in the senate, enjoining the consul L. Opimius to take care that the commonwealth received no detriment. The very same
day Cains Gracchus was killed for some slight suspicions of treason, though descended of a father, grandfather, and ancestors, all eminent for their services to the state. Marcus Fulvius too, a man of consular dignity, with his children, underwent the same fate. By a like decree of the senate, the care of the commonwealth was committed to the consuls C. Marins and L. Valerius. Was a single day permitted to pass, before L. Saturninus, tribune of the people, and C. Servilius the praetor, satisfied by their death the justice of their country? But we, for these twenty days, have suffered the authority of the senate to languish in our hands. For we too have a like decree, but it rests among our records like a sword in the scabbard; a decree, O Catiline, by which you ought to have suffered immediate death. Yet still you live; nay more, you live, not to lay aside, but to harden yourself in your audacious guilt. I could wish, conscript fathers, to be merciful; I could wish too not to appear remiss when my country is threatened with danger; but I now begin to reproach myself with negligence and want of courage. A camp is formed in Italy, upon the very borders of Etruria, against the commonwealth. The enemy increase daily in number. At the same time we behold their general and leader within our walls; nay, in the senate-house itself, plotting daily some intestine mischief against the state. Should I order you, Catiline, to be instantly seized and put to death, I have reason to believe, good men would rather reproach me with slowness than cruelty. But at present certain reasons restrain me from this step, which indeed ought to
have been taken long ago. Thou shalt then suffer
death, when not a man is to be found, so wicked,
so desperate, so like thyself, as not to own it was
done justly. As long as there is one who dares to
defend thee, thou shalt live; and live so as thou
now dost, surrounded by the numerous and power-
ful guards which I have placed about thee, so as
not to suffer thee to stir a foot against the repub-
lic; whilst the eyes and ears of many shall watch
thee, as they have hitherto done, when thou little
thoughtest of it.

But what is it, Catiline, thou canst now have
in view, if neither the obscurity of night can con-
ceal thy traitorous assemblies, nor the walls of a
private house prevent the voice of thy treason
from reaching our ear? If all thy projects are
discovered and burst into public view? Quit then
your detestable purpose, and think no more of
massacres and conflagrations. You are beset on
all hands; your most secret counsels are clear as
noon-day; as you may easily gather, from the
detail I am now to give you. You may remem-
ber that on the nineteenth of October last, I said
publicly in the senate, that before the twenty-fifth
of the same month, C. Manlius, the confederate
and creature of your guilt, would appear in arms
Was I deceived, Catiline, I say not as to this
enormous, this detestable, this improbable at-
tempt: but, which is still more surprising, as to
the very day on which it happened? I said like-
wise, in the senate, that you had fixed the twenty-
sixth of the same month for the massacre of our
nobles, which induced many citizens of the first
rank to retire from Rome, not so much on ac-
count of their own preservation, as with a view to baffle your designs. Can you deny, that on that very day you was so beset by my vigilance, and the gaurds I placed about you, that you found it impossible to attempt any thing against the state; though you had given out, after the departure of the rest, that you would nevertheless content yourself with the blood of those who remained Nay, when on the first of November you confidently hoped to surprise Præneste by night, did you not find that colony secured by my order, and the guards, officers, and garrison I had appointed? There is nothing you either think, contrive, or attempt, but what I both hear, see, and plainly understand.

Call to mind only in conjunction with me, the transactions of last night. You will soon perceive, that I am much more active in watching over the preservation, than you in plotting the destruction of the state. I say then, and say it openly, that last night you went to the house of M. Lecca, in the street called the Gladiators: that you were met there by numbers of your associates in guilt and madness. Dare you deny this? Why are you silent? If you disown the charge I will prove it: for I see some in this very assembly, who were of your confederacy. Immortal gods! what country do we inhabit? what city do we belong to? what government do we live under? Here, here, conscript fathers, within these walls, and in this assembly, the most awful and venerable upon earth, there are men who meditate my ruin and yours, the destruction of this city, and consequently of the world itself. Myself, your consul, behold these
men, and ask their opinions on public affairs; and instead of dooming them to immediate execution, do not so much as wound them with my tongue. You went then that night, Catiline, to the house of Lecca; you cantoned out all Italy; you appointed the place to which every one was to repair: you singled out those who were to be left at Rome, and those who were to accompany you in person: you marked out the parts of the city destined to conflagration; you declared your purpose of leaving it soon, and said you only waited a little to see me taken off. Two Roman knights undertook to ease you of that care, and assassinate me the same night in bed before day-break. Scarce was your assembly dismissed, when I was informed of all this: I ordered an additional guard to attend, to secure my house from assault; I refused admittance to those whom you sent to compliment me in the morning; and declared to many worthy persons beforehand who they were, and at what time I expected them.

Since then, Catiline, such is the state of your affairs, finish what you have begun; quit the city; the gates are open; nobody opposes your retreat. The troops in Manlius's camp long to put themselves under your command. Carry with you all your confederates; if not all, at least as many as possible. Purge the city. It will take greatly from my fears, to be divided from you by a wall. You cannot pretend to stay any longer with us: I will not bear, will not suffer, will not allow of it. Great thanks are due to the immortal gods, and chiefly to thee, Jupiter Stator, the ancient protector of this city, for having already so often pre-
served us from this dangerous, this destructive, this pestilent scourge of his country. The supreme safety of the commonwealth ought not to be again and again exposed to danger for the sake of a single man. While I was only consul elect, Catiline, I contented myself with guarding against your many plots, not by a public guard, but by my private vigilance. When at the last election of consuls, you had resolved to assassinate me, and your competitors in the field of Mars, I defeated your wicked purpose by the aid of my friends, without disturbing the public peace. In a word, as often as you attempted my life, I singly opposed your fury; though I well saw, that my death would necessarily be attended with many signal calamities to the state. But now you openly strike at the very being of the republic. The temples of the immortal gods, the mansions of Rome, the lives of her citizens, and all the provinces of Italy, are doomed to slaughter and devastation. Since, therefore, I dare not pursue that course, which is most agreeable to ancient discipline, and the genius of the commonwealth, I will follow another, less severe indeed, as to the criminal, but more useful in its consequences to the public. For should I order you to be immediately put to death, the commonwealth would still harbour in its bosom the other conspirators; but by driving you from the city, I shall clear Rome at once of the whole baneful tribe of thy accomplices. How, Cataline! Do you hesitate to do at my command, what you were so lately about to do of your own accord? The consul orders a public enemy to depart the city. You ask whether this be a
real banishment? I say not expressly so; but were I to advise in the case, it is the best course you can take.

For what is there, Catiline, that can now give you pleasure in this city? wherein, if we except the profligate crew of your accomplices, there is not a man but dreads and abhors you? Is there a domestic stain from which your character is exempted? Have you not rendered yourself infamous by every vice that can brand private life? What scenes of lust have not your eyes beheld? What guilt has not stained your hands? What pollution has not defiled your whole body? What youth, entangled by thee in the allurements of debauchery, hast thou not prompted by arms to deeds of violence, or seduced by incentives into the snares of sensuality? And lately, when by procuring the death of your former wife, you had made room in your house for another, did you not add to the enormity of that crime, by a new and unparalleled measure of guilt? But I pass over this, and choose to let it remain in silence, that the memory of so monstrous a piece of wickedness, or at least of its having been committed with impunity, may not descend to posterity. I pass over too the entire ruin of your fortunes, which you are sensible must befall you the very next month: and shall proceed to the mention of such particulars as regard not the infamy of your private character, nor the distresses and turpitude of your domestic life; but such as concern the very being of the republic, and the lives and safety of us all. Can the light of life, or the air you breathe, be grateful to you, Catiline; when you are conscious there
is not a man here present but knows, that on the last of December, in the consulship of Lepidus and Tullus, you appeared in the Comitium with a dagger! That you had got together a band of ruffians, to assassinate the consuls, and the most considerable men in Rome? and that this execrable and frantic design was defeated, not by any awe or remorse in you, but by the prevailing good fortune of the people of Rome. But I pass over those things, as being already well known: there are others of a later date. How many attempts have you made upon my life, since I was nominated consul, and since I entered upon the actual execution of that office? How many thrusts of thine, so well aimed that they seemed unavoidable, have I parried by an artful evasion; and, as they term it, a gentle deflection of body? You attempt, you contrive, you set on foot nothing of which I have not timely information. Yet you cease not to concert, and enterprise. How often has that dagger been wrested out of thy hands? How often, by some accident, has it dropped before the moment of execution! yet you cannot resolve to lay it aside. How, or with what rites you have consecrated it, is hard to say, that you think yourself thus obliged to lodge it in the bosom of a consul!

What are we to think of your present situation and conduct? For I will now address you, not with the detestation your actions deserve, but with a compassion to which you have no just claim. You came some time ago into the senate. Did a single person of this numerous assembly, not excepting your most intimate relations and friends, deign to salute you? If there be no in-
stance of this kind in the memory of man, do you expect that I should embitter with reproaches, a doom confirmed by the silent detestation of all present?—Were not the benches where you sit forsaken, as soon as you was observed to approach them? Did not all the consular senators, whose destruction you have so often plotted, quit immediately the part of the house where you thought proper to place yourself? How are you able to bear all this treatment? For my own part, were my slaves to discover such a dread of me, as your fellow-citizens express of you, I should think it necessary to abandon my own house. And do you hesitate about leaving the city? Was I even wrongfully suspected, and thereby rendered obnoxious to my countrymen, I would sooner withdraw myself from public view, than be beheld with looks full of reproach and indignation. And do you, whose conscience tells you that you are the object of an universal, a just, and a long-merited hatred, delay a moment to escape from the looks and presence of a people, whose eyes and senses can no longer endure you among them? Should your parents dread and hate you, and be obstinate to all your endeavours to appease them, you would doubtless withdraw somewhere from their sight. But now your country, the common parent of us all, hates and dreads you, and has long regarded you as a parricide, intent upon the design of destroying her. And will you neither respect her authority, submit to her advice, nor stand in awe of her power? Thus does she reason with you, Catiline; and thus does she, in some measure, address you by her silence. Not an enor-
mity has happened these many years, but has had thee for its author: not a crime has been perpetrated without thee: the murder of so many of our citizens, the oppression and plunder of our allies, have through thee alone escaped punishment, and been exercised with unrestrained violence: thou hast found means not only to trample upon law and justice, but even to subvert and destroy them. Though this past behaviour of thine was beyond all patience, yet have I borne with it as I could. But now, to be in continual apprehension from thee alone; on every alarm to tremble at the name of Catiline; to see no designs formed against me that speak not thee for their author, is altogether insupportable. Be gone, then, and rid me of my present terror; that, if just, I may avoid ruin; if groundless, I may at length cease to fear.

Should your country, as I said, address you in these terms, ought she not to find obedience, even supposing her unable to compel you to such a step? But did you not even offer to become a prisoner? Did you not say, that, to avoid suspicion, you would submit to be confined in the house of M. Lepidus? When he declined receiving you, you had the assurance to come to me, and request you might be secured at my house. When I likewise told you, that I could never think myself safe in the same house, when I judged it even dangerous to be in the same city with you, you applied to Q. Metellus the praetor. Being repulsed here too, you went to the excellent M. Marcellus, your companion; who, no doubt, you imagined would be very watchful in confining you, very quick in discerning your secret
practices, and very resolute in bringing you to justice. How justly may we pronounce him worthy of iron and a jail, who own conscience condemns him to restraint? If it be so then, Catiline, and you cannot submit to the thought of dying here, do you hesitate to retire to some other country, and commit to flight and solitude a life, so often and so justly forfeited to thy country? But, say you, put the question to the senate (for so you affect to talk), and if it be their pleasure that I go into banishment, I am ready to obey. I will put no such question; it is contrary to my temper: yet will I give you an opportunity of knowing the sentiments of the senate with regard to you. Leave the city, Catiline; deliver the republic from its fears; go, if you wait only for that word, into banishment. Observe now, Catiline; mark the silence and composure of the assembly. Does a single senator remonstrate, or so much as offer to speak? Is it needful they should confirm by their voice, what they so expressly declare by their silence? But had I addressed myself in this manner to that excellent youth P. Sextius, or to the brave M. Marcellus, the senate would ere now have risen up against me, and laid violent hands upon their consul in this very temple; and justly too. But with regard to you, Catiline, their silence declares their approbation, their acquiescence amounts to a decree, and by saying nothing they proclaim their consent. Nor is this true of the senators alone, whose authority you affect to prize, while you make no account of their lives: but of these brave and worthy Roman knights, and other illustrious citi-
zens, who guard the avenues of the senate; whose numbers you might have seen, whose sentiments you might have known, whose voices a little while ago you might have heard, and whose swords and hands I have for some time with difficulty restrained from your person: yet all these will I easily engage to attend you to the very gates, if you but consent to leave this city, which you have so long devoted to destruction.

But why do I talk, as if your resolution was to be shaken, or there was any room to hope you would reform? Can we expect you will ever think of flight, or entertain the design of going into banishment? May the immortal gods inspire you with that resolution! Though I clearly perceive, should my threats frighten you into exile, what a storm of envy will light upon my own head; if not at present, whilst the memory of thy crimes is fresh, yet surely in future times. But I little regard that thought, provided the calamity falls on myself alone, and is not attended with any danger to my country. But to feel the stings of remorse, to dread the rigour of the laws, to yield to the exigences of the state, are things not to be expected from thee. Thou, O Catiline, art none of those, whom shame reclains from dishonourable pursuits, fear from danger, or reason from madness. Be gone then, as I have already often said: and if you would swell the measure of popular odium against me, for being, as you give out, your enemy, depart directly into banishment. By this step you will bring upon me an insupportable load of censure: nor shall I be able to sustain the weight of the public indignation, shouldst thou,
by order of the consul, retire into exile. But if you mean to advance my reputation and glory, march off with your abandoned crew of ruffians; repair to Manlius; rouse every desperate citizen to rebel; separate yourself from the worthy; declare war against your country; triumph in your impious depredations; that it may appear you were not forced by me into a foreign treason, but voluntary joined your associates. But why should I urge you to this step, when I know you have already sent forward a body of armed men, to wait you at the Forum Aurelium? When I know you have concerted and fixed a day with Manlius? When I know you have sent off a silver eagle, that domestic shrine of your impieties, which I doubt not will bring ruin upon you and your accomplices? Can you absent yourself longer from an idol to which you had recourse in every bloody attempt, and from whose altars that impious right-hand was frequently transferred to the murder of your countrymen?

Thus will you at length repair, whither your frantic and unbridled rage has long been hurrying you. Nor does this issue of thy plots give thee pain; but, on the contrary, fills thee with inexpressible delight. Nature has formed you, inclination trained you, and fate reserved you, for this desperate enterprise. You never took delight either in peace or war, unless when they were flagitious or destructive. You have got together a band of ruffians and profligates, not only utterly abandoned of fortune, but even without hope. With what pleasure will you enjoy yourself? how will you exult? how will you triumph? when
among so great a number of your associates, you shall neither hear nor see an honest man? To attain the enjoyment of such a life, have you exercised yourself in all those toils, which are emphatically styled yours: your lying on the ground, not only in pursuit of lewd amours, but of bold and hardy enterprises; your treacherous watchfulness, not only to take advantage of the husband's slumber, but to spoil the murdered citizen. Here may you exert all that boasted patience of hunger, cold, and want, by which, however, you will shortly find yourself undone. So much have I gained by excluding you from the consulship, that you can only attack your country as an exile, not oppress her as a consul; and your impious treason will be deemed the efforts, not of an enemy, but of a robber.

And now, conscript fathers, that I may obviate and remove a complaint, which my country might with some appearance of justice urge against me, attend diligently to what I am about to say, and treasure it up in your minds and hearts. For should my country, which is to me much dearer than life, should all Italy, should the whole state thus accost me: 'What are you about, Marcus Tullius? Will you suffer a man to escape out of Rome, whom you have discovered to be a public enemy? whom you see ready to enter upon a war against the state? whose arrival the conspirators wait with impatience, that they may put themselves under his conduct? the prime author of the treason; the contriver and manager of the revolt; the man who enlists all the slaves and ruined citizens he can find? will you suffer him, I
say, to escape; and appear as one rather sent against the city, than driven from it? Will you not order him to be put in irons, to be dragged to execution, and to atone for his guilt by the most rigorous punishment? What restrains you on this occasion? Is it the custom of our ancestors? But it is well known in this commonwealth, that even persons in a private station have often put pestilent citizens to death. Do the laws relating to the punishment of Roman citizens hold you in awe? Certainly traitors against their country can have no claim to the privileges of citizens. Are you afraid of the reproaches of posterity? A noble proof indeed of your gratitude to the Roman people, that you, a new man, who without any recommendation from your ancestors, have been raised by them through all the degrees of honour, to sovereign dignity, should, for the sake of any danger to yourself, neglect the care of the public safety. But if censure be that whereof you are afraid, think which is to be most apprehended, the censure incurred for having acted with firmness and courage, or that for having acted with sloth and pusillanimity? When Italy shall be laid desolate with war, her cities plundered, her dwellings on fire; can you then hope to escape the flames of public indignation?

To this most sacred voice of my country, and to all those who blame me after the same manner, I shall make this short reply: That if I had thought it the most advisable to put Catiline to death, I would not have allowed that gladiator the use of one moment's life. For if, in former days, our greatest men, and most illustrious citi-
zens, instead of sullying, have done honour to their memories, by the destruction of Saturninus, the Gracchi, Flaccus, and many others; there is no ground to fear, that by killing this parricide, any envy would lie upon me with posterity. Yet if the greatest was sure to befall me, it was always my persuasion, that envy acquired by virtue was really glory, not envy. But there are some of this very order, who do not either see the dangers which hang over us, or else dissemble what they see; who, by the softness of their votes, cherish Catiline's hopes, and add strength to the conspiracy by not believing it; whose authority influences many, not only of the wicked, but the weak; who, if I had punished this man as he deserved, would not have failed to charge me with acting cruelly and tyrannically. Now I am persuaded, that when he is once gone into Manlius's camp, whither he actually designs to go, none can be so silly, as not to see that there is a plot; none so wicked, as not to acknowledge it: whereas by taking off him alone, though this pestilence would be somewhat checked, it could not be suppressed: but when he has thrown himself into rebellion, and carried out his friends along with him, and drawn together the profligate and desperate from all parts of the empire, not only this ripened plague of the republic, but the very root and seed of all our evils, will be extirpated with him at once.

It is now a long time, conscript fathers, that we have trod amidst the dangers and machinations of this conspiracy: but I know not how it comes to pass, the full maturity of all those crimes, and of this long ripening rage and insolence, has now
broke out during the period of my consulship. Should he alone be removed from this powerful band of traitors, it may abate, perhaps, our fears and anxieties for awhile; but the danger will still remain, and continue lurking in the veins and vitals of the republic. For as men oppressed with a severe fit of illness, and labouring under the raging heat of a fever, are often at first seemingly relieved by a draught of cold water, but afterwards find the disease return upon them with redoubled fury; in like manner, this distemper which has seized the commonwealth, eased a little by the punishment of this traitor, will from his surviving associates soon assume new force. Wherefore, conscript fathers, let the wicked retire, let them separate themselves from the honest, let them rendezvous in one place. In fine, as I have often said, let a wall be between them and us: let them cease to lay snares for the consul in his own house, to beset the tribunal of the city praetor, to invest the senate-house with armed ruffians, and to prepare fire-balls and torches for burning the city: in short, let every man's sentiments with regard to the public be inscribed on his forehead. This I engage for and promise, conscript fathers, that by the diligence of the consuls, the weight of your authority, the courage and firmness of the Roman knights, and the unanimity of all the honest, Catiline being driven from the city, you shall behold all his treasons detected, exposed, crushed, and punished. With these omens, Catiline, of all prosperity to the republic, but of destruction to thyself, and all those who have joined themselves with thee in all kinds of parricide, go thy way.
then to this impious and abominable war: whilst thou, Jupiter, whose religion was established with the foundation of this city, whom we truly call Stator, the stay and prop of this empire, will drive this man and his accomplices from thy altars and temples, from the houses and walls of the city, from the lives and fortunes of us all; and wilt destroy with eternal punishments, both living and dead, all the haters of good men, the enemies of their country, the plunderers of Italy, now confederated in this detestable league and partnership of villany.

_Cicero._

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**ORATION AGAINST VERRES.**

The time is come, fathers, when that which has long been wished for, towards allaying the envy your order has been subject to, and removing the imputations against trials, is (not by human contrivance but superior direction) effectually put in our power. An opinion has long prevailed, not only here at home, but likewise in foreign countries, both dangerous to you, and pernicious to the state, viz. that in prosecutions, men of wealth are always safe, however clearly convicted. There is now to be brought upon his trial before you, to the confusion, I hope, of the propagators of this slanderous imputation, one whose life and actions condemn him in the opinion of all impartial persons, but who, according to his own reckoning, and declared dependence upon his riches, is already acquitted; I mean Cains Verres. If that sentence is passed upon him which his crimes deserve, your
authority, fathers, will be venerable and sacred in the eyes of the public: but if his great riches should bias you in his favour, I shall still gain one point, viz. to make it apparent to all the world, that what was wanting in this case was not a criminal nor a prosecutor, but justice and adequate punishment.

To pass over the shameful irregularities of his youth, what does his quaestorship, the first public employment he held, what does it exhibit, but one continued scene of villainies? Cneius Carbo plundered of the public money by his own treasurer, a consul stripped and betrayed, an army deserted and reduced to want, a province robbed, the civil and religious rights of a people violated. The employment he held in Asia Minor and Pamphilia what did it produce but the ruin of those countries? in which houses, cities, and temples, were robbed by him. What was his conduct in his praetorship here at home? Let the plundered temples, and public works neglected, that he might embezzle the money intended for carrying them on, bear witness. But his praetorship in Sicily crowns all his works of wickedness, and finishes a lasting monument to his infamy. The mischiefs done by him in that country during the three years of his iniquitous administration, are such, that many years, under the wisest and best of praetors, will not be sufficient to restore things to the condition in which he found them. For it is notorious, that during the time of his tyranny, the Sicilians neither enjoyed the protection of their own original laws, of the regulations made for their benefit by the Roman senate upon their com-
ing under the protection of the commonwealth, nor of the natural and unalienable rights of men. His nod has decided all causes in Sicily for these three years; and his decisions have broke all law, all precedent, all right. The sums he has, by arbitrary taxes and unheard of impositions, extorted from the industrious poor, are not to be computed. The most faithful allies of the commonwealth have been treated as enemies. Roman citizens have, like slaves, been put to death with tortures. The most atrocious criminals, for money, have been exempted from the deserved punishments; and men of the most unexceptionable characters condemned and banished, unheard. The harbours, though sufficiently fortified, and the gates of strong towns, opened to pirates and ravagers; the soldiers and sailors belonging to a province under the protection of the commonwealth, starved to death; whole fleets, to the great detriment of the province, suffered to perish; the ancient monuments of either Sicilian or Roman greatness, the statues of heroes and princes, carried off; and the temples stripped of the images. The infamy of his lewdness has been such as decency forbids to describe; nor will I, by mentioning particulars, put those unfortunate persons to fresh pain who have not been able to save their wives and daughters from his impurity. And these his atrocious crimes have been committed in so public a manner, that there is no one who has heard of his name, but could reckon up his actions. Having, by his iniquitous sentences, filled the prisons with the most industrious and deserving of the people, he then proceeded to order numbers of Roman
citizens to be strangled in the gaols; so that the exclamation, 'I am a citizen of Rome!' which has often in the most distant regions, and among the most barbarous people, been a protection, was of no service to them; but, on the contrary, brought a speedier and more severe punishment upon them.

I ask now, Verres, what you have to advance against this charge? Will you pretend to deny it? Will you pretend that any thing false, that even any thing aggravated, is alleged against you? Had any prince, or any state, committed the same outrage against the privilege of Roman citizens, should we not think we had sufficient ground for declaring immediate war against them? What punishment ought then to be inflicted upon a tyrannical and wicked praetor, who dared, at no greater distance than Sicily, within sight of the Italian coast, to put to the infamous death of crucifixion that unfortunate and innocent citizen Publius Gavius Cosanus, only for his having asserted his privilege of citizenship, and declared his intention of appealing to the justice of his country against a cruel oppressor, who had unjustly confined him in a prison at Syracuse, from whence he had just made his escape? The unhappy man, arrested as he was going to embark for his native country, is brought before the wicked praetor. With eyes darting fury, and a countenance distorted with cruelty, he orders the helpless victim of his rage to be stripped, and rods to be brought; accusing him, but without the least shadow of evidence, or even of suspicion, of having come to Sicily as a spy. It was in vain that the unhappy man cried
out, 'I am a Roman citizen; I have served under Lucius Pretius, who is now at Panormus, and will attest my innocence.' The blood-thirty praetor, deaf to all he could urge in his own defence, ordered the infamous punishment to be inflicted. Thus, fathers, was an innocent Roman citizen publicly mangled with scourging; whilst the only words he uttered amidst his cruel sufferings were, 'I am a Roman citizen!' With these he hoped to defend himself from violence and infamy; but of so little service was this privilege to him, that while he was thus asserting his citizenship, the order was given for his execution—for his execution upon the cross!

O liberty!—O sound once delightful to every Roman ear!—O sacred privilege of Roman citizenship!—once sacred!—now trampled upon!—But what then? Is it come to this! Shall an inferior magistrate, a governor who holds his whole power of the Roman people, in a Roman province, within sight of Italy, bind, scourge, torture with fire and red-hot plates of iron, and at last put to the infamous death of the cross, a Roman citizen? Shall neither the cries of innocence expiring in agony, nor the tears of pitying spectators, nor the majesty of the Roman commonwealth, nor the fear of the justice of his country, restrain the licentious and wanton cruelty of a monster, who, in confidence of his riches, strikes at the root of liberty, and sets mankind at defiance?

I conclude with expressing my hopes, that your wisdom and justice, fathers, will not, by suffering the atrocious and unexampled insolence of Caius Verres to escape the due punishment, leave room
to apprehend the danger of a total subversion of authority, and introduction of general anarchy and confusion.

*Cicero.*

**Oration for Archias the Poet, Accused by a Person of Obscure Birth of Not Being a Citizen of Rome.**

If, my lord, I have any abilities, and I am sensible they are but small; if, by speaking often, I have acquired any merit as a speaker; if I have derived any knowledge from the study of the liberal arts, which have ever been my delight, A. Licinius may justly claim the fruit of all. For looking back upon past scenes, and calling to remembrance the earliest part of my life, I find it was he who prompted me first to engage in a course of study, and directed me in it. If my tongue, then, formed and animated by him, has ever been the means of saving any, I am certainly bound by all the ties of gratitude to employ it in the defence of him, who has taught it to assist and defend others. And though his genius and course of study are very different from mine, let no one be surprised at what I advance: for I have not bestowed the whole of my time on the study of eloquence, and besides, all the liberal arts are nearly allied to each other, and have, as it were, one common bond of union.

But lest it should appear strange, that in a legal proceeding, and a public cause, before an excellent praetor, the most impartial judges, and so crowded an assembly, I lay aside the usual style
of trials, and introduce one very different from that of the bar; I must beg to be indulged in this liberty, which, I hope, will not be disagreeable to you, and which seems indeed to be due to the defendant: that whilst I am pleading for an excellent poet, and a man of great erudition, before so learned an audience, such distinguished patrons of the liberal arts, and so eminent a prætor, you would allow me to enlarge with some freedom on learning and liberal studies; and to employ an almost unprecedented language for one, who, by reason of a studious and unactive life, has been little conversant in dangers and public trials. If this, my lords, is granted me, I shall not only prove that A. Licinus ought not, as he is a citizen, to be deprived of his privileges, but that, if he were not, he ought to be admitted.

For no sooner had Archias got beyond the years of childhood, and applied himself to poetry, after finishing those studies by which the minds of youth are usually formed to a taste for polite learning, than his genius showed itself supérieur to any at Antioch, the place where he was born, of a noble family; once indeed a rich and renowned city, but still famous for liberal arts, and fertile in learned men. He was afterwards received with such applause in the other cities of Asia, and all over Greece, that though they expected more than fame had promised concerning him, even these expectations were exceeded, and their admiration of him greatly increased. Italy was, at that time, full of the arts and sciences of Greece, which were then cultivated with more care among the Latins than now they are, and were not even
neglected at Rome, the public tranquillity being favourable to them. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples, made him free of their respective cities, and conferred other honours upon him; and all those who had any taste, reckoned him worthy of their acquaintance and friendship. But thus known by fame to those who were strangers to his person, he came to Rome in the consulship of Marius and Catulus; the first of whom had, by his glorious deeds, furnished out a noble subject for a poet; and the other, besides his memorable actions, was both a judge and a lover of poetry. Though he had not yet reached his seventeenth year, yet no sooner was he arrived than the Luculli took him into their family; which, as it was the first that received him in his youth, so it afforded him freedom of access even in old age; nor was this owing to his great genius and learning alone, but likewise to his amiable temper and virtuous disposition. At that time, too, Q. Metellus Numidicus, and his son Pius, were delighted with his conversation; M. Æmilius was one of his hearers; Q. Catulus, both the elder and younger, honoured him with their intimacy; L. Crassus courted him; and being united by the greatest familiarity to the Luculli, Drusus, the Octavii, Cato, and the whole Hortensian family; it was no small honour to him to receive marks of the highest regard, not only from those who were really desirous of hearing him, and of being instructed by him, but even from those who affected to be so.

A considerable time after, he went with L. Lucullus into Sicily, and, leaving that province in
company with the same Lucullus, came to Heraclea, which being joined with Rome by the closest bonds of alliance, he was desirous of being made free of it: and obtained his request, both on account of his own merit, and the interest and authority of Lucullus. Strangers were admitted to the freedom of Rome, according to the law of Silvanus and Carbo, upon the following conditions: 'if they were enrolled by free cities; if they had a dwelling in Italy, when the law passed; and if they declared their enrolment before the praetor within the space of sixty days.' Agreeable to this law, Archias, who had resided at Rome for many years, made his declaration before the praetor, Q. Metellus, who was his intimate friend. If the right of citizenship and the law is all I have to prove, I have done; the cause is ended. For which of these things, Gracchus, can you deny? Will you say that he was not made a citizen of Heraclea at that time? Why, here is Lucullus, a man of the greatest credit, honour, and integrity, who affirms it; and that not as a thing he believes, but as what he knows; not as what he heard of, but as what he saw; not as what he was present at, but as what he transacted. Here are likewise deputies from Heraclea, who affirm the same; men of the greatest quality come hither on purpose to give public testimony in this cause. But here you will desire to see the public register of Heraclea, which we all know was burnt in the Italian war, together with the office wherein it was kept. Now, is it not ridiculous to say nothing to the evidences which we have, and to desire those which we cannot have; to be silent as to the tes-
timony of men, and to demand the testimony of
registers; to pay no regard to what is affirmed by
a person of great dignity, nor to the oath and in-
tegrity of a free city of the strictest honour, evi-
dences which are incapable of being corrupted,
and to require those of registers, which you allow
to be frequently vitiated. But he did not reside
at Rome: what he, who for so many years before
Silvanus's law made Rome the seat of all his hopes
and fortune. But he did not declare: so far is
this from being true, that his declaration is to be
seen in that register, which, by that very act, and
its being in the custody of the college of prætors,
is the only authentic one.

For the negligence of Appius, the corruption of
Gabinius before his condemnation, and his dis-
grace after, having destroyed the credit of public
records; Metellus, a man of the greatest honour
and modesty, was so very exact, that he came be-
fore Lentulus the prætor and the other judges,
and declared that he was uneasy at the erasure of
a single name. The name of A. Licinius there-
fore is still to be seen; and as this is the case,
why should you doubt of his being a citizen of
Rome, especially as he was enrolled likewise in
other free cities? For when Greece bestowed the
freedom of its cities, without the recommendation
of merit, upon persons of little consideration, and
those who had either no employment at all, or
very mean ones, is it to be imagined that the in-
habitants of Rhegium, Locris, Naples, or Taren-
tum, would deny to a man so highly celebrated
for his genius what they conferred even upon co-
medians? When others, not only after Silvanus's
law, but even after the Papian law, shall have found means to creep into the registers of the municipal cities, shall he be rejected, who, because he was always desirous of passing for an Heraclean, never availed himself of his being enrolled in other cities? But you desire to see the enrolment of our estate; as if it were not well known; that under the last censorship the defendant was with the army commanded by that renowned general L. Lucullus; that under the censorship immediately preceding, he was with the same Lucullus then quæstor in Asia; and that, when Julius and Crassus were censors, there was no enrolment made? But, as an enrolment in the censors' books does not confirm the right of citizenship, and only shows that the person enrolled assumed the character of a citizen, I must tell you that Archias made a will according to our laws, succeeded to the estates of Roman citizens, and was recommended to the treasury by L. Lucullus, both when prætor and consul, as one who deserved well of the state, at the very time when you allege that, by his own confession, he had no right to the freedom of Rome.

Find out whatever arguments you can, Archias will never be convicted for his own conduct, nor that of his friends. But you will no doubt ask the reason, Gracchus, of my being so highly delighted with this man? Why, it is because he furnishes me with what relieves my mind, and charms my ears, after the fatigue and noise of the forum. Do you imagine that I could possibly plead every day on such a variety of subjects, if my mind was not cultivated with science; or that it could bear
being stretched to such a degree, if it were not sometimes unbent by the amusements of learning. I am fond of these studies, I own: let those be ashamed who have buried themselves in learning so as to be of no use to society, nor able to produce any thing to public view; but why should I be ashamed, who for so many years, my lords, have never been prevented by indolence, seduced by pleasure, nor diverted by sleep, from doing good offices to others? Who then can censure me, or in justice be angry with me, if those hours which others employ in business, in pleasures, in celebrating public solemnities, in refreshing the body and unbending the mind; if the time which is spent by some in midnight banquetings, in diversions, and in gaming, I employ in reviewing these studies? And this application is the more excusable, as I derive no small advantages from it in my profession, in which, whatever abilities I possess, they have always been employed when the dangers of my friends called for their assistance. If they should appear to any to be but small, there are still other advantages of a much higher nature, and I am very sensible whence I derive them. For had I not been convinced from my youth, by much instruction and much study, that nothing is greatly desirable in life but glory and virtue, and that, in the pursuit of these, all bodily tortures, and the perils of death and exile, are to be slighted and despised, never should I have exposed myself to so many and so great conflicts for your preservation, nor to the daily rage and violence of the most worthless of men. But on this head books are full, the voice of the wise is
full, antiquity is full; all which, were it not for the lamp of learning, would be involved in thick obscurity. How many pictures of the bravest of men have the Greek and Latin writers left us, not only to contemplate, but likewise to imitate? These illustrious models I always set before me in the government of the state, and formed my conduct by contemplating their virtues.

But were those great men, it will be asked, who are celebrated in history, distinguished for that kind of learning, which you extol so highly? It were difficult, indeed, to prove this of them all; but what I shall answer is, however, very certain. I own, then, that there have been many men of excellent dispositions and distinguished virtue, who, without learning, and by the almost divine force of nature herself, have been wise and moderate; nay, further, that nature without learning is of greater efficacy towards the attainment of glory and virtue, than learning without nature; but then, I affirm, that when to an excellent natural disposition the embellishments of learning are added, there results from this union something great and extraordinary. Such was that divine man Africanus, whom our fathers saw; such were C. Lælius and L. Furius, persons of the greatest temperance and moderation; such was old Cato, a man of great bravery, and, for the times, of great learning: who, surely, would never have applied to the study of learning, had they thought it of no service towards the acquisition and improvement of virtue. But were pleasure only to be derived from learning, without the advantages we have mentioned, you must still, I imagine, al-
low it to be a very liberal and polite amusement. For other studies are not suited to every time, to every age, and to every place; but these give strength in youth, and joy in old age; adorn prosperity, and are the support and consolation of adversity; at home they are delightful, and abroad they are easy; at night they are company to us: when we travel they attend us; and, in our rural retirements, they do not forsake us. Though we ourselves were incapable of them, and had no relish for their charms, still we should admire them when we see them in others.

Was there any one of us so void of taste, and of so unfeeling a temper, as not to be affected lately with the death of Roscius? For though he died in an advanced age, yet such was the excellence and inimitable beauty of his art, that we thought him worthy of living for ever. Was he then so great a favourite with us all on account of the graceful motions of his body; and shall we be insensible to the surprising energy of the mind, and the sprightly sallies of genius? How often have I seen this Archias, my lords (for I will presume on your goodness, as you are pleased to favour me with so much attention in this unusual manner of pleading), how often, I say, have I seen him, without using his pen, and without any labour of study, make a great number of excellent verses on occasional subjects? How often, when a subject was resumed, have I heard him give it a different turn of thought and expression, whilst those compositions which he finished with care and exactness were as highly approved as the most cele-
brated writers of antiquity. And shall not I love this man? Shall I not admire him? Shall I not defend him to the utmost of my power? For men of the greatest eminence and learning have taught us, that other branches of science require education, art, and precept; but that a poet is formed by the plastic hand of nature herself, is quickened by the native fire of genius, and animated as it were by a kind of divine enthusiasm. It is with justice, therefore, that our Ennius bestows upon poets the epithet of venerable, because they seem to have some peculiar gifts of the gods to recommend them to us. Let the name of poet then, which the most barbarous nations have never profaned, be revered by you, my lords, who are so great admirers of polite learning. Rocks and deserts re-echo sounds; savage beasts are often soothed by music, and listen to its charms; and shall we, with all the advantages of the best education, be unaffected with the voice of poetry? The Salophonians give out that Homer is their countryman, the Chians declare that he is theirs, the Salaminians lay claim to him, the people of Smyrna affirm that Smyrna gave him breath, and have accordingly dedicated a temple to him in their city: besides these, many other nations contend warmly for this honour.

Do they then lay claim to a stranger even after his death, on account of his being a poet; and shall we reject this living poet, who is a Roman both by inclination and the laws of Rome; especially as he has employed the utmost efforts of his genius to celebrate the glory and grandeur of
the Roman people? For, in his youth, he sung the triumphs of C. Marius over the Cimbri, and even pleased that great general, who had but little elish for the charms of poetry. Nor is there any person so great an enemy to the Muses, as not readily to allow the poet to blazon his fame, and consecrate his actions to immortality. Themistocles, that celebrated Athenian, upon being asked what music, or whose voice was most agreeable to him, is reported to have answered, 'that man's who could best celebrate his virtues.' The same Marius too had a very high regard for L Plotius, whose genius, he thought, was capable of doing justice to his actions. But Archias has described the whole Mithridatic war; a war of such danger and importance, and so very memorable for the great variety of its events both by sea and land. Nor does his poem reflect honour only on L. Lucullus, that very brave and renowned man, but likewise adds lustre to the Roman name. For, under Lucullus, the Roman people penetrated into Pontus, impregnable till then by means of its situation and the arms of its monarchs; under him, the Romans, with no very considerable force, routed the numberless troops of the Armenians; under his conduct too, Rome has the glory of delivering Cyzicum, the city of our faithful allies, from the rage of a monarch, and rescuing it from the devouring jaws of a mighty war. The praises of our fleet shall ever be recorded and celebrated, for the wonders performed at Tenedos, where the enemy's ships were sunk, and their commanders slain: such are our trophies, such our monuments, such our triumphs,
Those, therefore, whose genius describes these exploits, celebrate likewise the praises of the Roman name. Our Ennius was greatly beloved by the elder Africanus, and accordingly he is thought to have a marble statue amongst the monuments of the Scipios. But those praises are not appropriated to the immediate subjects of them; the whole Roman people have a share in them. Cato, the ancestor of the judge here present, is highly celebrated for his virtues, and from this the Romans themselves derive great honour: in a word, the Maximi, the Marcelli, the Fulvii, cannot be praised without praising every Roman.

Did our ancestors then confer the freedom of Rome on him who sung the praises of her heroes, on a native of Rudiae; and shall we thrust this Heraclean out of Rome, who has been courted by many cities, and whom our laws have made a Roman? For if any one imagines that less glory is derived from the Greek, than from the Latin poet, he is greatly mistaken; the Greek language is understood in almost every nation, whereas the Latin is confined to Latin territories, territories extremely narrow. If our exploits, therefore, have reached the utmost limits of the earth, we ought to be desirous that our glory and fame shall extend as far as our arms; for as these operate powerfully on the people whose actions are recorded; so to those who expose their lives for the sake of glory, they are the grand motives to toils and dangers. How many persons is Alexander the Great reported to have carried along with him, to write his history! And yet, when he
stood by the tomb of Achilles at Sigæum, 'Happy youth,' he cried, 'who could find a Homer to blazon thy fame?' And what he said was true; for had it not been for the Iliad, his ashes and fame had been buried in the same tomb. Did not Pompey the Great, whose virtues were equal to his fortune, confer the freedom of Rome, in the presence of a military assembly, upon Theophanes of Mitylene, who sung his triumphs? And these Romans of ours, men brave indeed, but unpolished and mere soldiers, moved with the charms of glory, gave shouts of applause, as if they had shared in the honour of their leader. Is it to be supposed then, that Archias, if our laws had not made him a citizen of Rome, could not have obtained his freedom from some general? Would Sylla, who conferred the rights of citizenship on Gauls and Spaniards, have refused the suit of Archias? That Scylla, whom we saw in an assembly, when a bad poet, of obscure birth, presented him a petition upon the merit of having written an epigram in his praise of unequal hobbling verses, order him to be instantly rewarded out of an estate he was selling at the time, on condition he should write no more verses. Would he, who even thought the industry of a bad poet worthy of some reward, not have been fond of the genius, the spirit, and eloquence of Archias? Could our poet, neither by his own interest, nor that of the Luculli, have obtained from his intimate friend Q. Metellus Pius the freedom of Rome, which he bestowed so frequently upon others? Especially as Metellus was so very desirous of having his actions celebrated, that he was even somewha
pleased with the dull and barbarous verses of the poets born at Corduba.

Nor ought we to dissemble this truth, which cannot be concealed, but declare it openly; we are all influenced by the love of praise, and the greatest minds have the greatest passion for glory. The philosophers themselves prefix their names to those books which they write upon the contempt of glory; by which they show that they are desirous of praise and fame, while they affect to despise them. Decimus Brutus, that great commander and excellent man, adorned the monuments of his family and the gates of his temples, with the verses of his intimate friend Attius: and Fulvius, who made war with the Ætolians attended by Ennius, did not scruple to consecrate the spoils of Mars to the Muses. In that city, therefore, where generals, with their arms almost in their hands, have reverenced the shrines of the Muses and the name of poets, surely magistrates in their robes, and in times of peace, ought not to be averse to honouring the one, or protecting the other. And to engage you the more readily to this, my lords, I will lay open the very sentiments of my heart before you, and freely confess my passion for glory, which, though too keen, perhaps is, however, virtuous. For what I did in conjunction with you during my consulship, for the safety of this city and empire, for the lives of my fellow-citizens, and for the interests of the state, Archias intends to celebrate in verse, and has actually begun his poem. Upon reading what he has written, it appeared to me so sublime, and gave me so much pleasure, that I encouraged
him to go on with it. For virtue desires no other reward for her toils and dangers, but praise and glory: take but this away, my lords, but what is there left in this short, this scanty career of human life, that can tempt us to engage in so many and so great labours? Surely, if the mind had no thought of futurity, if she confined all her views within those limits which bound our present existence, she would neither waste her strength in so great toils, nor harass herself with so many cares and watchings, nor struggle so often for life itself: but there is a certain principle in the breast of every good man, which, both day and night, quickens him to the pursuit of glory, and puts him in mind that his fame is not to be measured by the extent of his present life, but that it runs parallel with the line of posterity.

Can we, who are engaged in the affairs of the state, and in so many toils and dangers, think so meanly as to imagine that, after a life of uninterrupted care and trouble, nothing shall remain of us after death? If many of the greatest men have been careful to leave their statues and pictures, these representations not of their minds but of their bodies; ought not we to be much more desirous of leaving the portraits of our enterprises and virtues, drawn and finished by the most eminent artists? As for me, I have always imagined, whilst I was engaged in doing whatever I have done, that I was spreading my actions over the whole earth, and that they would be held in eternal remembrance. But whether I shall lose my consciousness of this at death, or whether, as the wisest men have thought, I shall retain it after, at
present the thought delights me, and my mind is filled with pleasing hopes. Do not then deprive us, my lords, of a man, whom modesty, a graceful manner, engaging behaviour, and the affections of his friends, so strongly recommended; the greatness of whose genius may be estimated from this, that he is courted by the most eminent men of Rome; and whose plea is such, that it has the law in its favour, the authority of a municipal town, the testimony of Lucullus, and the register of Metellus. This being the case, we beg of you, my lords, since in matters of such importance, not only the intercession of men, but of gods, is necessary, that the man, who has always celebrated your virtues, those of your generals, and the victories of the Roman people; who declares that he will raise eternal monuments of your praise and mine, for our conduct in our late domestic dangers: and who is of the number of those that have ever been accounted and pronounced divine, may be so protected by you, as to have greater reason to applaud your generosity, than to complain of your rigour. What I have said, my lords, concerning this cause, with my usual brevity and simplicity, is, I am confident, approved by all: what I have advanced upon poetry in general, and the genius of the defendant, contrary to the usage of the forum and the bar, will, I hope, be taken in good part by you; by him who presides upon the bench, I am convinced it will.

Cicero.
ORATION SPOKEN BY PERICLES, AT THE FUNERAL OF THOSE ATHENIANS, WHO HAD BEEN FIRST KILLED IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

Many of those who have spoken before me on occasions of this kind, have commended the author of that law which we are now obeying, for having instituted an oration to the honour of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient for men who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and that the virtues of many ought not to be endangered by the management of any one person, when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good, and may be bad. Difficult indeed it is, judiciously to handle a subject, where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affections, may quickly pronounce everything unfavourably expressed, in respect to what he wishes and what he knows; whilst the stranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of those deeds which he is conscious are above his own achievement. For the praises bestowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats they hear to have been done; they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity has received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law, and to
endeavour to procure, so far as I am able, the
good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I shall therefore begin first with our fore-fa-
thers, since both justice and decency require we
should, on this occasion, bestow on them an ho-

nourable remembrance. In this our country they
kept themselves always firmly settled; and,

through their valour, handed it down free to
every since succeeding generation.—Worthy, in-

deed, of praise are they, and yet more worthy are
our immediate fathers; since, enlarging their own
inheritance into the extensive empire which we
now possess, they bequeathed that, their work of
toil, to us their sons. Yet even these successes,
we ourselves, here present, we who are yet in the
strength and vigour of our days, have nobly im-
proved, and have made such provisions for this
our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to
answer every exigence of war and of peace. I
mean not here to recite those martial exploits by
which these ends were accomplished, or the reso-
lute defences we ourselves and our forefathers
have made against the formidable invasions of
Barbarians and Greeks. Your own knowledge of
these will excuse the long detail. But by what
methods we have risen to this height of glory and
power? by what polity, and by what conduct, we
are thus aggrandized; I shall first endeavour to
show, and then proceed to the praise of the de-
ceased. These, in my opinion, can be no imper-
tinent topics on this occasion; the discussion of
them must be beneficial to this numerous com-
pany of Athenians and of strangers.
We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours; for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general equality our laws are fitted to preserve; and superior honours, just as we excel. The public administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hinderance, since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from its first obscurity. The offices of the state we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains, though it cannot punish; so that in private life we converse together without diffidence or damage, whilst we dare not, on any account, offend against the public, through the reverence we bear to the magistrates and the laws, chiefly to those enacted for redress of the injured and to those unwritten, a breach of which is allowed disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with a peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causes the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by
which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of
the delicacies of our own growth, than of those of
other nations.

In the affairs of war we excel those of our ene-
mies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own;
for we lay open Athens to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us, whom either im-
provement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is
never concealed; we place not so great a con-
fidence in the preparatives and artifices of war as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us
to action. In point of education, the youth of
some people are inured by a course of laborious
exercise, to support toil and hardship like men;
but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way
of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as
they. This may be proved by facts, since the La-
cedemonians never invade our territories, barely
with their own, but with the united strength of all
their confederates. But when we invade the do-
ominions of our neighbours, for the most part we
conquer without difficulty, in an enemy’s country,
those who fight in defence of their own habita-
tions. The strength of our whole force, no enemy
hath yet ever experienced, because it is divided
by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the dif-
ferent quarters of our service by land. But if any
where they engage and defeat a small party of our
forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat;
and, if they are beat, they were certainly over-
powered by our united strength. What though
from a state of inactivity, rather than laborious
exercise, or with a natural, rather than an ac-
quired valour, we learn to encounter danger; this good at least we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects, our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

In our manner of living we show an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philosophy without enervating the mind. We display our wealth in the season of beneficence, and not in the vanity of discourse. A confession of poverty is disgrace to no man; no effort to avoid it, is disgrace indeed. There is visibly, in the same persons, an attention to their own private concerns, and those of the public; and, in others, enraged in the labours of life, there is a competent skill in the affairs of government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in state affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we pass the soundest judgment and are quick at catching the right apprehensions of things, not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions; but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein consists our distinguishing excellence, that in the hour of action we show the greatest courage, and yet debate beforehand the expediency of our measures. The courage of others is the result of ignorance; deliberation makes them cowards. And those undoubtedly must be owned to have the greatest souls, who, most acutely sensible of the miseries of
war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger.

In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preserve friends, not by receiving, but by conferring obligations. For he who does a kindness, hath the advantage over him who, by the law of gratitude, becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment, and not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains, by only adding, that our Athens, in general, is the school of Greece: and that every single Athenian among us is excellently formed, by his personal qualifications, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanour, and a most ready habit of dispatch.

That I have not, on this occasion, made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height to which, by such a conduct, this state hath risen, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world, who are found by experience to be greater than in report; the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries no discontent, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest; we have great and signal proofs of this, which entitle us to the admiration of the present and of future ages. We want no
Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to
deck off a history with the charms of verse, where
the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict rela-
tion. Every sea hath been opened by our fleets,
and every land been penetrated by our armies,
which have every where left behind them eternal
monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

In the just defence of such a state, these vic-
tims of their own valour, scorning the ruin threat-
ened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely
died. And every one of those who survive is
ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a
cause. And for this reason have I enlarged so
much on national points, to give the clearest
proof, that in the present war we have more at
stake than men whose public advantages are not
so valuable; and to illustrate by actual evidence,
how great a commendation is due to them who
are now my subjects, and the greatest part of
which they have already received. For the enco-
miums with which I have celebrated the state,
have been earned for it by the bravery of these,
and of men like these. And such compliments
might be thought too high and exaggerated, if
passed on any Grecians, but them alone. The
fatal period to which these gallant souls are now
reduced, is the surest evidence of their merit—an
evidence begun in their lives, and completed by
their deaths: for it is a debt of justice to pay su-
perior honours to men, who have devoted their
lives in fighting for their country, though inferior
to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their
last service effaceth all former demerits—it ex-
tends to the public; their private demeanours
reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was at all induced to shrink from danger, through fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows; not one was the less lavish of his life, though that flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these, the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honourable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark, to seek revenge, and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event they had already secured in hope; what their eyes showed plainly must be done, they trusted their own valour to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves, and die in the attempt than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice, indeed, they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly drop; and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for you, who now survive them, it is your business to pray for a better fate—but to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies; not judging the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man, indulging a flow of words, may tell you, what you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies—but rather making the daily increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and grow-
ing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonourable their country should stand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and so made it the most glorious present. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulchre that will be most illustrious.—Not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is it the inscription on the columns in their native soil that alone shows their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, reposited more durably in universal remembrance than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be lavish of life is not so noble in those whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence, and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords, by an unsuccessful enterprise. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit, than the stroke
of death insensibly received in the vigour of life and public hope.

For this reason, the parents of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail:—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have who are to you the source of sorrow; those, whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task to fix comfort in those breasts which will have frequent remembrances, in seeing the happiness of others, of what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from the absence of those good things we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They, who are not yet by age exempted from issue, should be comforted in the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some, in causing them to forget such as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country, in preventing its desolation, and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expose to danger for its safety. But you, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves the remainder will be but
short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by these. It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honour.

To you, the sons and brothers of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For, him who no longer is, every one is ready to commend, so that to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor whilst life remains; but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

If, after this, it be expected from me to say any thing to you, who are now reduced to a state of widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition:—it is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give the men as little handle as possible to talk of your behaviour, whether well or ill.

I have now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children, from this day till they arrive at manhood, shall be educated at the public expense of the state*, which hath appointed so beneficial a meed

* The law was, that they should be instructed at the public expense, and when come to age presented with a complete suit of armour, and honoured with the first seats in all public places.
for these and all future relics of the public contests. For wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best of patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one respectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire. *Thucydides.*

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**ROMULUS TO THE PEOPLE OF ROME, AFTER BUILDING THE CITY.**

If all the strength of cities lay in the height of their ramparts, or the depth of their ditches, we should have great reason to be in fear for that which we have now built. But are there in reality any walls too high to be scaled by a valiant enemy? and of what use are ramparts in intestine divisions? They may serve for a defence against sudden incursions from abroad; but it is by courage and prudence chiefly, that the invasions of foreign enemies are repelled; and by unanimity, sobriety, and justice, that domestic seditions are prevented. Cities fortified by the strongest bulwarks have been often seen to yield to force from without, or to tumults from within. An exact military discipline, and a steady observance of civil polity, are the surest barriers against these evils.

But there is still another point of great importance to be considered. The prosperity of some rising colonies, and the speedy ruin of others, have in a great measure been owing to their form of government. Were there but one manner of ruling states and cities that could make them happy, the choice would not be difficult; but I have
learnt that of the various forms of government among the Greeks and Barbarians, there are three which are highly extolled by those who have experienced them: and yet, that no one of these is in all respects perfect, but each of them has some innate and incurable defect. Choose you, then, in what manner this city shall be governed. Shall it be by one man? shall it be by a select number of the wisest among us? or shall the legislative power be in the people? As for me, I shall submit to whatever form of administration you shall please to establish. As I think myself not unworthy to command, so neither am I unwilling to obey. Your having chosen me to be the leader of this colony, and your calling the city after my name, are honours sufficient to content me: honours of which, living or dead, I never can be deprived.

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JUNIUS BRUTUS OVER THE DEAD BODY OF LU-CRETIA.

Yes, noble lady, I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but royal villany could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword: nor will I ever suffer any of that family, or of any other whatsoever, to be king in Rome. Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath!—There, Romans, turn your eyes to that sad spectacle—the daughter of Lucretius, Collatinus's wife—she died by her own hand. See there, a noble lady, whom the lust of
a Tarquin reduced to the necessity of being her own executioner, to attest her innocence. Hospitably entertained by her as a kinsman of her husband's, Sextus, the perfidious guest, became her brutal ravisher. The chaste, the generous Lucretia could not survive the insult. Glorious woman! But once only treated as a slave, she thought life no longer to be endured. Lucretia, a woman, disdained a life that depended on a tyrant's will; and shall we, shall men, with such an example before our eyes, and after five-and-twenty years of ignominious servitude, shall we, through a fear of dying, defer one single instant to assert our liberty? No, Romans, now is the time; the favourable moment we have so long waited for is come. Tarquin is not at Rome. The Patricians are at the head of the enterprise. The city is abundantly provided with men, arms, and all things necessary. There is nothing wanting to secure the success, if our own courage does not fail us. And shall those warriors, who have ever been so brave when foreign enemies were to be subdued, or when conquests were to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of Tarquin, be then only cowards, when they are to deliver themselves from slavery? Some of you are perhaps intimidated by the army which Tarquin now commands. The soldiers, you imagine, will take the part of their general. Banish so groundless a fear. The love of liberty is natural to all men. Your fellow-citizens in the camp feel the weight of oppression with as quick a sense as you that are in Rome; they will as eagerly seize the occasion of throwing off the yoke. But let us grant there
may be some among them, who, through baseness of spirit or a bad education, will be disposed to favour the tyrant. The number of these can be but small, and we have means sufficient in our hands to reduce them to reason. They have left us hostages more dear to them than life. Their wives, their children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in the city. Courage, Romans, the gods are for us: those gods, whose temples and altars the impious Tarquin has profaned by sacrifices and libations made with polluted hands, polluted with blood, and with numberless unexpiated crimes committed against his subjects. Ye gods, who protected our forefathers; ye genii, who watch for the preservation and glory of Rome, do you inspire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cause, and we will to our last breath defend your worship from all profanation.

Livy.

HANNIBAL TO HIS SOLDIERS.

I know not, soldiers, whether you or your prisoners be encompassed by fortune with the stricter bonds and necessities. Two seas enclose you on the right and left;—not a ship to flee to for escaping. Before you is the Po, a river broader and more rapid than the Rhone; behind you are the Alps, over which, even when your numbers were undiminished, you were hardly able to force a passage. Here then, soldiers, you must either conquer or die, the very first hour you meet the enemy. But the same fortune which has thus
laid you under the necessity of fighting, has set before your eyes those rewards of victory, than which no men are ever wont to wish for greater from the immortal gods. Should we by our valour recover only Sicily and Sardinia, which were ravished from our fathers, those would be no inconsiderable prizes. Yet, what are these? The wealth of Rome, whatever riches she has heaped together in the spoils of nations, all these, with the masters of them will be yours. You have been long enough employed in driving the cattle upon the vast mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia; you have hitherto met with no reward worthy of the labours and dangers you have undergone. The time is now come to reap the full recompense of your toilsome marches over so many mountains and rivers, and through so many nations, all of them in arms. This is the place which fortune has appointed to be the limits of your labours; it is here that you will finish your glorious warfare, and receive an ample recompense of your completed service. For I would not have you imagine, that victory will be as difficult as the name of a Roman war is great and sounding. It has often happened that a despised enemy has given a bloody battle, and the most renowned kings and nations have by a small force been overthrown. And if you but take away the glitter of the Roman name, what is there, wherein they may stand in competition with you! For (to say nothing of your service in war for twenty years together with so much valour and success) from the very pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through so
many warlike nations of Spain and Gaul, are you not come hither-victorious; And with whom are you now to fight; With raw soldiers, an undisciplined army, beaten, vanquished, besieged by the Gauls the very last summer, an army unknown to their leader, and unacquainted with him.

Or shall I, who was born I might almost say, but certainly brought up, in the tent of my father, that most excellent general, shall I, the conqueror of Spain and Gaul, and not only of the Alpine nations, but, which is greater yet, of the Alps themselves, shall I compare myself with this half-year captain? A captain before whom should one place the two armies without their ensigns, I am persuaded he would not know to which of them he is consul? I esteem it no small advantage, soldiers, that there is not one among you, who has not often been an eye-witness of my exploits in war; not one of whose valour I myself have not been a spectator, so as to be able to name the times and places of his noble achievements; that with soldiers, whom I have a thousand times praised and rewarded, and whose pupil I was, before I became their general, I shall march against an army of men, strangers to one another.

On what side soever I turn my eyes, I behold all full of courage and strength; a veteran infantry; a most gallant cavalry; you, my allies, most faithful and valiant; you, Carthaginians, whom not only your country's cause, but the justest anger impels to battle. The hope, the courage of assailants, is always greater than of those who act upon the defensive. With hostile banners displayed, you are come down upon Italy; you bring
the war. Grief, injuries, indignities fire your minds, and spur you forward to revenge.—First they demanded me; that I, your general, should be delivered up to them; next, all of you, who had fought at the siege of Saguntum; and we were to be put to death by the extremest tortures. Proud and cruel nation! Every thing must be yours, and at your disposal! You are to prescribe to us with whom we shall make war, with whom we shall make peace! You are to set us bounds; to shut us up within hills and rivers; but you—you are not to observe the limits which yourselves have fixed! Pass not the Iberus. What next? Touch not the Saguntines; Saguntum is upon the Iberus, move not a step towards that city. Is it a small matter then, that you have deprived us of our ancient possessions, Sicily and Sardinia; you would have Spain too? Well, we shall yield Spain; and then—you will pass into Africa. Will pass, did I say?—This very year they ordered one of their consuls into Africa, the other into Spain. No, soldiers, there is nothing left for us but what we can vindicate with our swords. Come on, then. Be men. The Romans may with more safety be cowards; they have their own country behind them, have places of refuge to flee to, and are secure from danger in the roads thither; but for you there is no middle fortune between death and victory. Let this be but well fixed in your minds, and once again, I say, you are conquerors.

Livy.
SOPHONISBA TO MASSINISSA.

The will of the gods, your valour, and good fortune, have this day put us entirely in your power. But if it be permitted a captive to lift up a supplicating voice to the lord of her life, to embrace his knees, and touch his conquering hand, I beg and entreat, by the regal dignity which we, too, lately possessed; by the Numidian name, which Syphax shared with you; by the deities of this royal mansion, (may they prove more propitiious to you than they have to him!) that you would grant this one favour to a wretched suppliant:—not to subject me to the cruel and imperious dominion of a Roman; but to determine the fate of your prisoner according to your own pleasure. Had I been no other than the wife of Syphax, I would rather commit myself to the faith of a Numidian, and, like myself, a native of Africa, than to that of a stranger and a foreigner. What a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Asdrubal has to apprehend from a Roman, yourself may judge! Oh! if it be no otherwise possible, deliver me, I beseech and implore you, from the Roman power, by death.

Livy.

SCIPIO TO THE ROMANS.

On this day, tribunes and Roman citizens! I gained a signal victory in Africa over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Since, then, such a day ought to be free from strife and litigation, I shall immediately go from hence to the Capitol to
pay my adorations to the highest Jove, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities who preside over the sacred citadel; and I shall return them thanks, that both on this day, and many times beside, they have inspired me with the spirit and ability of doing essential service to the republic. Let such of you, too, as have leisure, accompany me; and pray the gods that you may ever have leaders like myself. For as, from the term of seventeen years to the decline of life, you have always outgone my age by the honours conferred on me, so I have anticipated your honours by my actions. 

Livy.

MANLIUS TO HIS SON.

Since you, Titus Manlius! forgetful of the reverence due to the consular and paternal authority, have fought with the enemy out of your rank, contrary to our express command, and thereby, as far as in you lay, have dissolved that military discipline which has hitherto supported the Roman state, and have reduced me to the necessity of disregarding either the public or my own family; it is just that we should suffer for our own crime, rather than that the commonwealth should pay the forfeit for us, to its own great detriment. We shall afford a sad but salutary example to the youth of future times. I cannot but be moved on this occasion, not only on account of the natural affection which every man bears to his children, but through regard to that specimen of early valor you have exhibited, though deceived by a false appearance of glory. Yet since the consular
authority is either to receive a perpetual sanction by your death, or to be for ever abrogated by your impunity; I cannot suppose that even yourself, if any of my blood flows in your veins, would refuse to repair by your punishment that breach in military discipline which your fault has made. Go, lictor, bind him to the stake. "Livy.

MUCIUS SCÆVOLA TO KING PORSENA.

I am a Roman citizen—my name Mucius. My purpose was to kill an enemy. Nor am I less prepared to undergo the punishment, than I was to perpetrate the deed. To do and to suffer bravely is a Roman's part. Neither am I the only person thus affected towards you. There is a long list of competitors for the same honour. If, therefore, you choose to confront the danger of setting your life every hour at hazard, prepare yourself—you will have the foe in the very porch of your palace. This is the kind of war that the Roman youth declare against you. You have nothing to fear in the field. The combat is against you alone, and every individual is your antagonist. "Livy."
C. MARIUS TO THE ROMANS, ON THEIR HESITATING TO APPOINT HIM GENERAL IN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST JUGURTHA, MERELY ON ACCOUNT OF HIS EXTRACTION.

It is but too common, my countrymen, to observe a material difference between the behaviour of those, who stand candidates for places of power and trust, before and after their obtaining them. They solicit them in one manner, and execute them in another. They set out with a great appearance of activity, humility, and moderation; and they quickly fall into sloth, pride, and avarice. It is, undoubtedly, no easy matter to discharge, to the general satisfaction, the duty of a supreme commander in troublesome times. I am, I hope, duly sensible of the importance of the office I propose to take upon me, for the service of my country. To carry on, with effect, an expensive war, and yet be frugal of the public money; to oblige those to serve, whom it may be delicate to offend; to conduct, at the same time, a complicated variety of operations; to concert measures at home, answerable to the state of things abroad; and to gain every valuable end, in spite of opposition from the envious, the factious, and the disaffected; to do all this, my countrymen, is more difficult, than is generally thought. And, besides the disadvantages, which are common to me with all others in eminent stations, my case is, in this respect, peculiarly hard; that, whereas a commander of patrician rank, if he is guilty of a neglect, or breach of duty, has
his great connexions, the antiquity of his family, the important service of his ancestors, and the multitudes he has by power engaged in his interest, to screen him from condign punishment; my whole safety depends upon myself; which renders it the more indispensably necessary for me to take care, that my conduct be clear and unexceptionable. Besides, I am well aware, my countrymen, that the eye of the public is upon me; and that, though the impartial, who prefer the real advantage of the commonwealth to all other considerations favour my pretensions, the patricians want nothing so much, as an occasion against me. It is, therefore, my fixed resolution, to use my best endeavours, that you be not disappointed in me, and that their indirect designs against me may be defeated. I have, from my youth, been familiar with toils, and with dangers. I was faithful to your interest, my countrymen, when I served you for no reward, but that of honour. It is not my design to betray you, now that you have conferred upon me a place of profit. You have committed to my conduct the war against Jugurtha. The patricians are offended at this. But where would be the wisdom of giving such a command to one of their honourable body, a person of illustrious birth, of ancient family, of innumerable statues, but—of no experience? What service would his long line of dead ancestors, or his multitude of motionless statues, do his country in the day of battle? What could such a general do, but, in his trepidation and inexperience, have recourse to some inferior commander, for direction in difficulties, to which he was not himself equal? Thus,
your patrician general would, in fact, have a general over him; so that, the acting commander would still be a plebeian. So true is this, my countrymen, that I have myself known those, who have been chosen consuls, begin then to read the history of their own country, of which, till that time, they were totally ignorant; that is, they first obtained the employment, and then bethought themselves of the qualifications necessary for the proper discharge of it. I submit to your judgment, Romans, on which side the advantage lies, when a comparison is made between patrician haughtiness, and plebeian experience. The very actions which they have only read, I have partly seen, and partly myself achieved. What they know by reading, I know by action. They are pleased to slight my mean birth: I despise their mean characters. Want of birth and fortune is the objection against me: want of personal worth against them. But are not all men of the same species? What can make a difference between one man and another, but the endowments of the mind? For my part, I shall always look upon the bravest man as the noblest man. Suppose it were inquired of the fathers of such patricians as Albinius and Bestia, whether, if they had their choice, they would desire sons of their character, or of mine; what would they answer; but that they should wish the worthiest to be their sons? If the patricians have reason to despise me, let them likewise despise their ancestors, whose nobility was the fruit of their virtue. Do they envy the honours bestowed upon me? Let them envy likewise my labours, my abstinence, and the dangers
I have undergone for my country; by which I have acquired them. But those worthless men lead such a life of inactivity, as if they despised any honours you can bestow; whilst they aspire to honours, as if they had deserved them by the most industrious virtue. They arrogate the rewards of activity for their having enjoyed the pleasures of luxury. Yet none can be more lavish, than they are, in praise of their ancestors. And they imagine they honour themselves by celebrating their forefathers. Whereas they do the very contrary. For, as much as their ancestors were distinguished for their virtues, so much are they disgraced by their vices. The glory of ancestors casts a light, indeed, upon their posterity; but it only serves to show what the descendants are. It alike exhibits to public view their degeneracy, and their worth. I own, I cannot boast of the deeds of my forefathers: but I hope I may answer the cavils of the patricians by standing up in defence of what I have myself done. Observe, now, my countrymen, the injustice of the patricians. They arrogate to themselves honours on account of the exploits done by their forefathers, whilst they will not allow me the due praise for performing the very same sort of actions in my own person. He has no statues, they cry, of his family. He can trace no venerable line of ancestors.—What then? Is it matter of more praise to disgrace one's illustrious ancestors, than to become illustrious by his own good behaviour? What if I can show no statues of my family? I can show the standards, the armour, and the trappings, which I have myself taken from the vanquished: I can show the
scars of those wounds, which I have received by facing the enemies of my country. These are my statues. These are the honours I boast of; not left me by inheritance, as theirs; but earned by toil, by abstinence, by valour, amidst clouds of dust, and seas of blood; scenes of action, where those effeminate patricians, who endeavour, by indirect means, to depreciate me in your esteem, have never dared to show their faces. 

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MICIPSA TO JUGURTHA.

You know, Jugurtha! that I received you under my protection in your early youth, when left a helpless and hopeless orphan. I advanced you to high honours in my kingdom; in the full assurance that you would prove grateful for my kindness to you; and that, if I came to have children of my own, you would study to repay to them what you owed to me. Hitherto I have had no reason to repent of my favours to you. For, to omit all former instances of your extraordinary merit, your late behaviour in the Numantian war has reflected upon me, and my kingdom, a new and distinguished glory. You have, by your valour, rendered the Roman commonwealth, which before was well affected to our interest, much more friendly. In Spain, you have raised the honour of my name and crown. And you have surmounted what is justly reckoned one of the greatest difficulties; having, by your merit, silenced envy. My dissolution seems now to be fast approaching. I therefore beseech and conjure you, my dear Ju-
gurtha, by this right hand; by the remembrance of my past kindness to you; by the honour of my kingdom, and by the majesty of the gods; be kind to my two sons whom my favour to you has made your brothers; and do not think of forming a connexion with any stranger to the prejudice of your relations. It is not by arms, nor by treasures, that a kingdom is secured, but by well affected subjects and allies. And it is by faithful and important services, that friendship (which neither gold will purchase, nor arms extort) is secured. But what friendship is more perfect than that which ought to obtain between brothers? What fidelity can be expected among strangers, if it is wanting among relations? The kingdom, I leave you, is in good condition, if you govern it properly; if otherwise, it is weak. For by agreement a small state increases: by division a great one falls into ruin. It will lie upon you, Jugurtha, who are come to riper years than your brothers, to provide that no misconduct produce any bad effect. And, if any difference should arise between you and your brothers (which may the gods avert!) the public will charge you, however innocent you may be, as the aggressor, because your years and abilities give you the superiority. But I firmly persuade myself, that you will treat them with kindness, and that they will honour and esteem you, as your distinguished virtue deserves.

Sallust
ADHERBAL TO THE ROMAN SENATE, IMPLORING THEIR PROTECTION AGAINST JUGURTHA.

It is known to you, that king Micipsa, my father, on his death-bed, left in charge, to Jugurtha, his adopted son, conjointly with my unfortunate brother Hiempsal, and myself, the children of his own body, the administration of the kingdom of Numidia; directing us, to consider the senate and people of Rome as proprietors of it. He charged us to use our best endeavours, to be serviceable to the Roman commonwealth, in peace and war: assuring us, that your protection would prove to us a defence against all enemies, and would be instead of armies, fortifications, and treasures.

While my brother and I were thinking of nothing but how we should regulate ourselves according to the direction of our deceased father, Jugurtha, the most infamous of mankind! breaking through all ties of gratitude and of common humanity, and trampling on the authority of the Roman commonwealth, procured the murder of my unfortunate brother, and has driven me from my throne, and native country; though he knows I inherit, from my grandfather Massinissa, and my father Micipsa, the friendship and alliance of the Romans.

For a prince to be reduced, by villany, to my distressful circumstance, is calamity enough; but my misfortunes are heightened, by the consideration, that I find myself obliged to solicit your assistance, fathers, for the services done you by my ancestors, not for any I have been able to render
you in my own person. Jugurtha has put it out of my power to deserve any thing at your hands; and has forced me to be burdensome, before I could be useful to you. And yet, if I had no plea, but my undeserved misery—a once powerful prince, the descendant of a race of illustrious monarchs, now, without any fault of my own, destitute of every support, and reduced to the necessity of begging foreign assistance, against an enemy, who has seized my throne and my kingdom---if my unequalled distresses were all I had to plead; it would become the greatness of the Roman commonwealth, the arbiter of the world, to protect the injured, and to check the triumph of daring wickedness over helpless innocence. But to provoke your vengeance to the utmost, Jugurtha has driven me from the very dominions, which the senate and people of Rome gave to my ancestors; and from which my grandfather and my father, under your protection, expelled Syphax and the Carthaginians. Thus, fathers, your kindness to our family is defeated; and Jugurtha, in injuring me, throws contempt on you.

O wretched prince! O cruel reverse of fortune! O father Micipsa! is this the consequence of your generosity; that he, whom your goodness raised to an equality with your own children, should be the murderer of your children? Must, then, the royal house of Numidia always be a scene of havoc and blood? While Carthage remained, we suffered as was to be expected, all sorts of hardships from their hostile attacks: our enemy near; our only powerful ally, the Roman commonwealth, at a
distance. While we were so circumstanced, we were always in arms, and in action. When that scourge of Africa was no more, we congratulated ourselves on the prospect of established peace. But, instead of peace, behold the kingdom of Numidia, drenched with royal blood! and the only surviving son of its late king, flying from an adopted murderer, and seeking that safety in foreign parts, which he cannot command in his own kingdom!

Whither—oh! whether shall I fly? If I return to the royal palace of my ancestors, my father's throne is seized by the murderer of my brother. What can I there expect, but that Jugurtha should hasten to imbrue, in my blood, those hands which are now reeking with my brother's? If I were to fly for refuge, or for assistance, to any other court; from what prince can I hope for protection, if the Roman commonwealth give me up? From my own family or friends, I have no expectations. My royal father is no more. He is beyond the reach of violence, and out of hearing of the complaints of his unhappy son. Were my brother alive, our mutual sympathy would be some alleviation. But he is hurried out of life, in his early youth, by the very hand which should have been the last to injure any of the royal family of Numidia. The bloody Jugurtha has butchered all whom he suspected to be in my interest. Some have been destroyed by the lingering torment of the cross. Others have been given a prey to wild beasts; and their anguish made the sport of men, more cruel than wild beasts. If
there be any yet alive, they are shut up in dungeons; there to drag out a life, more intolerable than death itself.

Look down, illustrious senators of Rome! from that height of power, to which you are raised, on the unexampled distresses of a prince, who is, by the cruelty of a wicked intruder, become an outcast from all mankind. Let not the crafty insinuations of him, who returns murder for adoption, prejudice your judgment. Do not listen to the wretch, who has butchered the son and relations of a king, who gave him power to sit on the same throne with his own children.—I have been informed, that he labours, by his emissaries, to prevent your determining any thing against him, in his absence; pretending, that I magnify my distress; and that I might, for him, have staid in peace in my own kingdom. But, if ever the time come, when the due vengeance from above shall overtake him, he will then dissemble in the very same manner as I do. Then he, who, now, hardened in wickedness, triumphs over those whom his violence has laid low, will, in his turn, feel distress; and suffer for his impious ingratitude to my father, and his blood-thirsty cruelty to my brother.

O murdered, butchered brother! O dearest to my heart! now gone for ever from my sight! But, why should I lament his death? He is, indeed, deprived of the blessed light of heaven, of life and kingdom, at once, by the very person, who ought to have been the first to hazard his own life in defence of any one of Micipsa's family: but, as things now are, my brother is not so much de-
prived of these comforts, as delivered from terror, from flight, from exile, and the endless train of miseries which render life to me a burden. He lies full low, gored with wounds, and festering in his own blood. But he lies in peace. He feels none of the miseries which rend my soul with agony and distraction; whilst I am set up a spectacle, to all mankind, of the uncertainty of human affairs. So far from having it in my power to revenge his death, I am not master of the means of securing my own life. So far from being in a condition to defend my kingdom from the violence of the usurper, I am obliged to apply for foreign protection for my own person.

Fathers! senators of Rome! the arbiters of the world! to you I fly, for refuge, from the murderous fury of Jugurtha. By your affection for your children; by your love for your country; by your own virtues; by the majesty of the Roman commonwealth; by all that is sacred; and all that is dear to you! deliver a wretched prince, from undeserved, unprovoked injury: and save the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own property, from being the prey of violence, usurpation, and cruelty.

Sallust.

CALISTHENES'S REPROOF OF CLEON'S FLATTERY TO ALEXANDER.

If the king were present, Cleon, there would be no need of my answering to what you have just proposed. He would himself reprove you for endeavouring to draw him into an imitation of
foreign absurdities, and for bringing envy upon him by such unmanly flattery. As he is absent, I take upon me to tell you in his name, that no praise is lasting, but what is rational; and that you do what you can to lessen his glory, instead of adding to it. Heroes have never, among us, been deified, till after their death. And whatever may be your way of thinking, Cleon, for my part, I wish the king may not for many years to come, obtain that honour. You have mentioned, as precedents of what you propose, Hercules and Bacchus. Do you imagine, Cleon, that they were deified over a cup of wine? And are you and I qualified to make gods? Is the king, our sovereign, to receive his divinity from you and me, who are his subjects? First try your power, whether you can make a king. It is, surely, easier to make a king, than a god; to give an earthly dominion, than a throne in Heaven. I only wish, that the gods may have heard, without offence, the arrogant proposal you have made, of adding one to their number; and that they may still be propitious to us, as to grant the continuance of that success to our affairs, with which they have hitherto favoured us. For my part, I am not ashamed of my country; nor do I approve of our adopting the rites of foreign nations, or learning from them how we ought to reverence our kings. To receive laws, or rules of conduct from them, what is it, but to confess ourselves inferior to them? Quintus Curtius.
THE SCYTHIAN AMBASSADORS TO ALEXANDER.

If your person were as gigantic as your desires, the world would not contain you. Your right hand would touch the east, and your left the west, at the same time. You grasp at more than you are equal to. From Europe you reach Asia: from Asia you lay hold on Europe. And if you should conquer all mankind, you seem disposed to wage war with woods and snows, with rivers and wild beasts, and to attempt to subdue nature. But have you considered the usual course of things? Have you reflected, that great trees are many years in growing to their height, and are cut down in an hour. It is foolish to think of the fruit only without considering the height you have to climb, to come at it. Take care lest, while you strive to reach the top, you fall to the ground with the branches you have laid hold on. The lion when dead is devoured by ravens; and rust consumes the hardness of iron. There is nothing so strong, but it is in danger from what is weak. It will, therefore, be your wisdom, to take care how you venture beyond your reach. Besides, what have you to do with the Scythians, or the Scythians with you? We have never invaded Macedon: why should you attack Scythia? We inhabit vast deserts, and pathless woods, where we do not want to hear of the name of Alexander. We are not disposed to submit to slavery; and we have no ambition to tyrannize over any nation. That you may understand the genius of the Scythians, we present you with a yoke of oxen, an arrow, and a goblet. We use these respectively in our commerce with
friends, and with foes. We give to our friends the corn which we raise by the labour of our oxen. With the goblet we join with them in pouring drink offerings to the gods; and with arrows we attack our enemies. We have conquered those, who have attempted to tyrannize over us in our own country, and likewise the kings of the Medes and Persians, when they made unjust war upon us; and we have opened to ourselves a way into Egypt. You pretend to be the punisher of robbers; and are yourself the general robber of mankind. You have taken Lydia: you have seized Syria: you are master of Persia: you have subdued the Bactrians; and attacked India. All this will not satisfy you, unless you lay your greedy and insatiable hands upon our flocks and our herds. How imprudent is your conduct! You grasp at riches, the possession of which only increases your avarice. You increase your hunger by what should produce satiety; so that the more you have, the more you desire. But have you forgot how long the conquest of the Bactrians detained you? While you were subduing them, the Sogdians revolted. Your victories serve no other purpose, than to find you employment by producing new wars. For the business of every conquest is twofold; to win, and to preserve. And though you may be the greatest of warriors, you must expect, that the nations you conquer will endeavour to shake off the yoke as fast as possible. For what people chooses to be under foreign dominions? If you will cross the Tanais, you may travel over Scythia, and observe how extensive a territory we inhabit. But to conquer us is quite
another business. Your army is loaded with the cumbrous spoils of many nations. You will find the poverty of the Scythians, at one time, too nimble for your pursuit; and, at another time, when you think we are fled far enough from you, you will have us surprise you in your camp. For the Scythians attack with no less vigour than they fly. Why should we put you in mind of the vastness of the country you will have to conquer? The deserts of Scythia are commonly talked of in Greece; and all the world knows, that our delight is to dwell at large, and not in towns or plantations. It will therefore be your wisdom to keep with strict attention what you have gained. Catching at more, you may lose what you have. We have a proverbial saying in Scythia, that fortune has no feet, and is furnished only with hands, to distribute her capricious favours, and with fins to elude the grasp of those, to whom she has been bountiful. You give yourself out to be a god, the son of Jupiter Hammon. It suits the character of a god, to bestow favours on mortals; not to deprive them of what they have. But if you are no god, reflect on the precarious condition of humanity. You will thus show more wisdom, than by dwelling on those subjects which have puffed up your pride, and made you forget yourself. You see how little you are likely to gain by attempting the conquest of Scythia. On the other hand, you may, if you please, have in us a valuable alliance. We command the borders of both Europe and Asia. There is nothing between us and Bactria, but the river Tanais: and our territory extends to Thrace, which, as we have
heard, borders on Macedon. If you decline attacking us in a hostile manner, you may have our friendship. Nations, which have never been at war, are on an equal footing. But it is in vain, that confidence is reposed in a conquered people. There can be no sincere friendship between the oppressors and the oppressed. Even in peace, the latter think themselves entitled to the rights of war against the former. We will, if you think good, enter into a treaty with you, according to our manner, which is, not by signing, sealing, and taking the gods to witness, as is the Grecian custom; but by doing actual services. The Scythians are not used to promise; but to perform without promising. And they think an appeal to the gods superfluous; for that those, who have no regard for the esteem of men, will not hesitate to offend the gods by perjury. You may therefore consider with yourself, whether you had better have a people of such a character, and so situated as to have it in their power either to serve you, or to annoy you, according as you treat them, for allies, or for enemies. Quintus Curtius.

SPEECH OF CHARIDEMUS, AN ATHENIAN EXILE AT THE COURT OF DARIUS, ON BEING ASKED HIS OPINION OF THE WARLIKE PREPARATIONS MAKING BY THAT PRINCE AGAINST ALEXANDER.

Perhaps your majesty may not hear the truth from the mouth of a Grecian, and an exile: and if I do not declare it now, I never will; perhaps
I may never have another opportunity. Your majesty’s numerous army, drawn from various nations, and which unpeoples the east, may seem formidable to the neighbouring countries. The gold, the purple, and the splendour of arms, which strike the eyes of beholders, make a show which surpasses the imagination of all who have not seen it. The Macedonian army, with which your majesty’s forces are going to contend, is, on the contrary, grim, and horrid of aspect, and clad in iron. The irresistible phalanx is a body of men who, in the field of battle, fear no onset, being practised to hold together, man to man, shield to shield, and spear to spear; so that a brazen wall might as soon be broken through. In advancing, in wheeling to right or left, in attacking, in every exercise of arms, they act as one man. They answer the slightest sign from the commander, as if his soul animated the whole army. Every soldier has a knowledge of war sufficient for a general. And this discipline, by which the Macedonian army is become so formidable, was first established, and has been all along kept up, by a fixed contempt of what your majesty’s troops are so vain of, I mean gold and silver. The bare earth serves them for beds. Whatever will satisfy nature, is their luxury. Their repose is always shorter than the night. Your majesty may, therefore, judge, whether the Thessalian, Acarnanian, and Etolian cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx—an army that has, in spite of all opposition, overrun half the world—are to be repelled by a multitude (however numerous) armed with slings, and stakes hardened at the points by fire. To be upon equal
terms with Alexander, your majesty ought to have an army composed of the same sort of troops; and they are no where to be had, but in the same countries which produced those conquerors of the world.—It is therefore my opinion, that, if your majesty were to apply the gold and silver, which now so superfluously adorns your men, to the purpose of hiring an army from Greece, to contend with Greeks, you might have some chance for success; otherwise I see no reason to expect any thing else, than that your army should be defeated, as all the others have been who have encountered the irresistible Macedonians.

Quintus Curtius.

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GALGACUS, THE GENERAL OF THE CALEDONII, TO HIS ARMY, TO INCITE THEM TO ACTION AGAINST THE ROMANS.

When I reflect on the causes of the war, and the circumstances of our situation, I feel a strong persuasion that our united efforts on the present day will prove the beginning of universal liberty to Britain. For none of us are hitherto debased by slavery; and we have no prospect of a secure retreat behind us, either by land or sea, whilst the Roman fleet hovers around. Thus the use of arms, which is at all times honourable to the brave, here offers the only safety even to cowards. In all the battles which have yet been fought with various success against the Romans, the resources of hope and aid were in our hands; for we, the noblest inhabitants of Britain, and therefore stationed in its
deepest recesses, far from the view of servile shores, have preserved even our eyes unpolluted by the contact of subjection. We, at the furthest limits both of land and liberty, have been defended to this day by the obscurity of our situation and of our fame. The extremity of Britain is now disclosed; and whatever is unknown becomes an object of importance. But there is no nation beyond us; nothing but waves and rocks; and the romans are before us. The arrogance of these invaders it will be in vain to encounter by obsequiousness and submission. These plunderers of the world, after exhausting the land by their devastations, are rifling the ocean: stimulated by avarice, if their enemy be rich; by ambition, if poor: unsatiated by the east and by the west: the only people who behold wealth and indigence with equal avidity. To ravage, to slaughter, to usurp under false titles, they call empire; and when they make a desert, they call it peace.

Our children and relations are by the appointment of nature rendered the dearest of all things to us. These are torn away by levies to foreign servitude. Our wives and sisters, though they should escape the violation of hostile force, are polluted under the names of friendship and hospitality. Our estates and possessions are consumed in tributes; our grain in contributions. Even the powers of our bodies are worn down, amidst stripes and insults, in clearing woods and draining marshes. Wretches born to slavery are first bought, and afterwards fed by their masters: Britain continually buys, continually feeds her own servitude. And as among domestic slaves every
new comer serves for the scorn and derision of his fellows; so, in this ancient household of the world, we, as the last and vilest, are sought out to destruction. For we have neither cultivated lands, nor mines, nor harbours, which can induce them to preserve us for our labours; and our valour and unsubmitting spirit will only render us more obnoxious to our imperious masters; while the very remoteness and secrecy of our situation, in proportion as it conduces to security, will tend to inspire suspicion. Since then all hopes of forgiveness are vain, let those at length assume courage, to whom glory, to whom safety is dear. The Brigantines, even under a female leader, had force enough to burn the enemy’s settlements, to storm their camps; and, if success has not introduced negligence and inactivity, would have been able entirely to throw off the yoke: and shall not we, untonched, unsubdued, and struggling not for the acquisition, but the continuance of liberty, declare at the very first onset what kind of men Caledonia has reserved for her defence?

Can you imagine that the Romans are as brave in war as they are insolent in peace? Acquiring renown from our discords and dissentions, they convert the errors of their enemies to the glory of their own army; an army compounded of the most different nations; which, as success alone has kept together, misfortune will certainly dissipate. Unless, indeed, you can suppose that Gauls, and Germans, and (I blush to say it) even Britons, lavishing their blood for a foreign state, to which they have been longer foes than subjects, will be retained by loyalty and affection! Terour and
dread alone, weak bonds of attachment, are the ties by which they are restrained; and when these are once broken, those who cease to fear will begin to hate. Every incitement to victory is on our side. The Romans have no wives to animate them; no parents to upbraid their flight. Most of them have either no habitation, or a distant one. Few in number, ignorant of the country, looking around in silent horror at the woods, seas, and a haven itself unknown to them, they are delivered by the gods, as it were imprisoned and bound, into our hands. Be not terrified with an idle show, and the glitter of silver and gold, which can neither protect nor wound. In the very ranks of the enemy we shall find our own bands. The Britons will acknowledge their own cause. The Gaols will recollect their former liberty. The Germans will desert them, as the Usipii have lately done. Nor is there any thing formidable behind them: ungarrisoned forts; colonies of invalids; municipal towns distempered, and distracted between unjust masters, and ill-obeying subjects. Here is your general; here your army. There, tributes, mines, and all the train of servile punishments; which whether to bear eternally, or instantly to revenge, this field must determine. March then to battle, and think of your ancestors and your posterity. 

Tacitus.
SPEECH OF CANULEIUS, A ROMAN TRIBUNE, TO THE CONSULS; IN WHICH HE DEMANDS THAT THE PLEBEIANS MAY BE ADMITTED INTO THE CONSULSHIP, AND THAT THE LAW, PROHIBITING PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS FROM INTERMARRYING, MAY BE REPEALED.

What an insult upon us is this! If we are not so rich as the patricians, are we not citizens of Rome as well as they? inhabitants of the same country? members of the same community? The nations bordering upon Rome, and even strangers more remote, are admitted not only to marriages with us, but to what is of much greater importance, the freedom of the city. Are we, because we are commoners, to be worse treated than strangers?—And, when we demand that the people may be free to bestow their offices and dignities on whom they please, do we ask any thing unreasonable or new? do we claim more than their original inherent right? What occasion then for all this uproar, as if the universe were falling to ruin!—They were just going to lay violent hands upon me in the senate-house.

What! must this empire then be unavoidably overturned? Must Rome of necessity sink at once, if a plebeian, worthy of the office, should be raised to the consulship? The patricians, I am persuaded, if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly offends them that you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shapes of men. Nay, but to make a commoner a consul, would be, say they, a most enormous thing. Numa Pompilius, however, without being so much as a
Roman citizen, was made king of Rome: the elder Tarquin, by birth not even an Italian, was nevertheless placed upon the throne: Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman (nobody knows who his father was), obtained the kingdom as the reward of his wisdom and virtue. In those days, no man in whom virtue shone conspicuous was rejected, or despised, on account of his race and descent. And did the state prosper less for that? were not these strangers the very best of all our kings? And supposing now, that a plebeian should have their talents and merit, must not he be suffered to govern us?

But, 'we find that, upon the abolition of the regal power, no commoner was chosen to the consulate.' And what of that? Before Numa's time there were no pontiffs in Rome. Before Servius Tullius's days there was no census, no division of the people into classes and centuries. Who ever heard of consuls before the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud? Dictators, we all know, are of modern invention; and so are the offices of tribunes, ædiles, questors. Within those ten years we have made decemvirs, and we have unmade them. Is nothing to be done but what has been done before? That very law forbidding marriages of patricians with plebeians, is not that a new thing? was there any such law before the decemvirs enacted it? and a most shameful one it is in a free estate. Such marriages, it seems, will taint the pure blood of the nobility! Why, if they think so, let them take care to match their sisters and daughters with men of their own sort. No plebeian will do violence to the daughter of a patrician; those are
exploits for our prime nobles. There is no need to fear, that we shall force any body into a contract of marriage. But, to make an express law to prohibit marriages of patricians with plebeians, what is this but to show the utmost contempt of us, and to declare one part of the community to be impure and unclean?

They talk to us of the confusion there will be in families, if this statute should be repealed. I wonder they do not make a law against a commoner's living near a nobleman, or going the same road that he is going, or being present at the same feast, or appearing in the same market-place: they might as well pretend, that these things make confusion in families, as that intermarriages will do it. Does not every one know, that the child will be ranked according to the quality of his father, let him be a patrician or a plebeian? In short, it is manifest enough, that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and citizens; nor can they, who oppose our demand, have any motive to do it, but the love of domineering. I would fain know of you, consuls and patricians, is the sovereign power in the people of Rome, or in you? I hope you will allow, that the people can, at their pleasure, either make a law or repeal one. And will you then, as soon as any law is proposed to them, pretend to list them immediately for the war, and hinder them from giving their suffrages, by leading them into the field?

Hear me, consuls: whether the news of the war you talk of be true, or whether it be only a false rumour, spread abroad for nothing but a colour to send the people out of the city, I declare, as tri-
bune, that this people, who have already so often spilt their blood in our country's cause, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they may be restored to their natural rights, and you will no longer treat us like strangers in our own country: but if you account us unworthy of your alliance by intermarriages: if you will not suffer the entrance to the chief offices in the state to be open to all persons of merit indifferently, but will confine your choice of magistrates to the senate alone—talk of wars as much as ever you please; paint, in your ordinary discourses, the league and power of our enemies ten times more dreadful than you do now—I declare that this people, whom you so much despise, and to whom you are nevertheless indebted for all your victories, shall never more enlist themselves; not a man of them shall take arms; not a man of them shall expose his life for imperious lords, with whom he can neither share the dignities of the state, nor in private life have any alliance by marriage.

From Hooke.

HANNIBAL'S ADDRESS TO SCIPIO AFRICANUS, AT THEIR INTERVIEW PRECEDING THE BATTLE OF ZAMA.

Since fate has so ordained it, that I, who begun the war, and who have been so often on the point of ending it by a complete conquest, should now come of my own motion to ask a peace: I am glad that it is of you, Scipio, I have the fortune to ask it. Nor will this be among the least of your
glories, that Hannibal, victorious over so many Roman generals, submitted at last to you.

I could wish, that our fathers and we had confined our ambition within the limits which nature seems to have prescribed to it; the shores of Africa, and the shores of Italy. The gods did not give us that mind. On both sides we have been so eager after foreign possessions, as to put our own to the hazard of war. Rome and Carthage have had, each in her turn, the enemy at her gates. But since errors past may be more easily blamed than corrected, let it now be the work of you and me to put an end, if possible, to the obstinate contention. For my own part, my years, and the experience I have had of the instability of fortune, inclines me to leave nothing to her determination, which reason can decide. But much I fear Scipio, that your youth, your want of the like experience, your uninterrupted success, may render you averse from the thoughts of peace. He whom fortune has never failed, rarely reflects upon her inconstancy. Yet, without recurring to former examples, my own may perhaps suffice to teach you moderation. I am that same Hannibal, who, after my victory at Cannæ, became master of the greatest part of your country, and deliberated with myself what fate I should decree to Italy and Rome. And now—see the change: Here, in Africa, I am come to treat with a Roman, for my own preservation and my country's. Such are the sports of fortune? Is she then to be trusted because she smiles? An advantageous peace is preferable to the hope of victory. The one is in your own power, the other at the pleasure of the gods.
Should you prove victorious, it would add little to your own glory, or the glory of your country; if vanquished, you lose in one hour all the honour and reputation you have been so many years acquiring. But what is my aim in all this—that you should content yourself with our cession of Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and all the islands between Italy and Africa. A peace on these conditions will, in my opinion, not only secure the future tranquillity of Carthage, but be sufficiently glorious for you, and for the Roman name. And do not tell me, that some of our citizens dealt fraudently with you in the late treaty—it is I, Hannibal, that now ask a peace: I ask it, because I think it expedient for my country; and, thinking it expedient, I will inviolably maintain it.

From Hooke.

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Scipio’s Reply.

I knew very well, Hannibal, that it was the hope of your return which emboldened the Carthaginians to break the truce with us, and to lay aside all thoughts of a peace, when it was just upon the point of being concluded; and your present proposal is a proof of it. You retrench from their concessions every thing but what we are, and have been long, possessed of. But as it is your care that your fellow citizens should have the obligations to you, of being eased from a great part of their burden, so it ought to be mine that they draw no advantage from their perfidiousness. Nobody is more sensible than I am of the weakness
of man, and the power of fortune, and that whatever we enterprise is subject to a thousand chances. If, before the Romans passed into Africa, you had of your own accord quitted Italy, and made the offers you now make, I believe they would not have been rejected. But as you have been forced out of Italy, and we are masters here of the open country, the situation of things is much altered. And, what is chiefly to be considered, the Carthaginians, by the late treaty, which we entered into at their request, were, over and above what you offer, to have restored to us our prisoners without ransom, delivered up their ships of war, paid us five thousand talents, and to have given hostages for the performance of all. The senate accepted these conditions, but Carthage failed on her part; Carthage deceived us. What then is to be done? Are the Carthaginians to be released from the most important articles of the treaty, as a reward of their breach of faith? No, certainly. If, to the conditions before agreed upon, you had added some new articles to our advantage, there would have been matter of reference to the Roman people; but when, instead of adding, you retrench, there is no room for deliberation. The Carthaginians therefore must submit to us at discretion, or must vanquish us in battle. From Hooke.
SPEECH OF TITUS QUINCTIUS TO THE ROMANS,
WHEN THE ÆQUI AND VOLSCI, TAKING ADVAN-
TAGE OF THEIR INTESTINE COMMOTIONS RA-
VAGED THEIR COUNTRY TO THE GATES OF
ROME.

THOUGH I am not conscious, O Romans, of any
crime by me committed, it is yet with the utmost
shame and confusion that I appear in your assem-
bly. You have seen it—posterity will know it!—
in the fourth consulship of Titus Quinctius, the
Æqui and Volsci (scarce a match for the Hernici
alone) came in arms to the very gates of Rome,
and went away again unchastised! The course of
our manners, indeed, and the state of our affairs,
have long been such, that I had no reason to pre-
sage much good; but, could I have imagined that
so great an ignominy would have befallen me this
year, I would, by banishment or death, (if all other
means had failed, (have avoided the station I am
now in. What! might Rome then have been
taken, if those men who were at our gates had not
wanted courage for the attempt?—Rome taken
whilst I was consul!—Of honours I had sufficient—
of life enough—more than enough—I should have
died in my third consulate.

But who are they that our dastardly enemies
thus despise?—the consuls, or you, Romans? If
we are in fault, depose us, or punish us yet more
severely. If you are to blame—may neither gods
nor men punish your faults! only may you repent!
No, Romans, the confidence of our enemies is not
owing to their courage, or to their belief of your
cowardice; they have been too often vanquished,
not to know both themselves and you. Discord, discord, is the ruin of this city! The eternal disputes between the senate and the people are the sole cause of our misfortunes. While we will set no bounds to our dominion, nor you to your liberty; while you impatiently endure patrician magistrates, and we plebeian; our enemies take heart, grow elated and presumptuous. In the name of the immortal gods, what is it, Romans, you would have? You desired tribunes; for the sake of peace, we granted them. You were eager to have decemvirs; we consented to their creation. You grew weary of these decemvirs; we obliged them to abdicate. Your hatred pursued them when reduced to private men; and we suffered you to put to death, or banish, patricians of the first rank in the republic. You insisted upon the restoration of the tribuneship; we yielded: we quietly saw consuls of your own faction elected. You have the protection of your tribunes, and the privilege of appeal: the patricians are subjected to the decrees of the commons. Under pretence of equal and impartial laws, you have invaded our rights; and we have suffered it, and we still suffer it. When shall we see an end of discord? When shall we have one interest, and one common country? Victorious and triumphant, you show less temper than we under defeat. When you are to contend with us, you can seize the Aventine hill, you can possess yourselves of the Mons Sacer.

The enemy is at our gates, the Æsquiline is near being taken, and nobody stirs to hinder it. But against us you are valiant, against us you can arm with diligence. Come on then, besiege the...
nate-house, make a camp of the forum, fill the jails with our chief nobles; and when you have achieved these glorious exploits, then, at last, sally out at the Aesquiline gate, with the same fierce spirits, against the enemy. Does your resolution fail you for this? Go then, and behold from our walls your lands ravaged, your houses plundered and in flames, the whole country laid waste with fire and sword. Have you any thing here to repair these damages? Will the tribunes make up your losses to you? They will give you words as many as you please; bring impeachments in abundance against the prime men in the state; heap laws upon laws; assemblies you shall have without end: but will any of you return the richer from those assemblies? Extinguish, O Romans, these fatal divisions; generously break this cursed enchantment, which keeps you buried in a scandalous inaction. Open your eyes, and consider the management of those ambitious men, who, to make themselves powerful in their party, study nothing but how they may foment divisions in the commonwealth.—If you can but summon up your former courage, if you will now march out of Rome with your consuls, there is no punishment you can inflict which I will not submit to, if I do not in a few days drive those pillagers out of our territory. This terror of war, with which you seem so grievously struck, shall quickly be removed from Rome to their own cities.

From Hooke.
BOOK V. ORATIONS AND HARANGUES. 131

SPEECH OF PUBLIUS SCIPIO TO THE ROMAN ARMY, BEFORE THE BATTLE OF THE TICIN.

Were you, soldiers, the same army which I had with me in Gaul, I might well forbear saying any thing to you at this time: for what occasion could there be to use exhortation to a cavalry that had so signally vanquished the squadrons of the enemy upon the Rhone; or to legions, by whom that same enemy, flying before them to avoid a battle, did in effect confess themselves conquered? But, as these troops, having been enrolled for Spain, are there with my brother Cneius, making war under my auspices (as was the will of the senate and people of Rome), I, that you might have a consul for your captain, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have freely offered myself for this war. You, then, have a new general; and I a new army. On this account, a few words from me to you will be neither improper nor unseasonable.

That you may not be unapprized of what sort of enemies you are going to encounter, or of what is to be feared from them, they are the very same whom, in a former war, you vanquished both by land and sea; the same from whom you took Sicily and Sardinia, and who have been these twenty years your tributaries. You will not, I presume, march against these men, with only that courage with which you are wont to face other enemies; but with a certain anger and indignation, such as you would feel if you saw your slaves on a sudden rise up in arms against you. Conquered and enslaved, it is not boldness, but neces-
sity, that urges them to battle, unless you can believe that those who avoided fighting when their army was entire, have acquired better hope by the loss of two-thirds of their horse and foot in the passage of the Alps.

But you have heard, perhaps, that, though they are few in number, they are men of stout hearts and robust bodies; heroes of such strength and vigour, as nothing is able to resist.—Mere effigies! nay, shadows of men! wretches, emaciated with hunger and benumbed with cold! bruised and battered to pieces among the rocks and craggy cliffs! their weapons broken, and their horses weak and foundered! Such are the cavalry, and such the infantry, with which you are going to contend; not enemies, but the fragments of enemies. There is nothing which I more apprehend, than that it will be thought Hannibal was vanquished by the Alps, before we had any conflict with him. But, perhaps, it was fitting it should be so; and that, with a people and a leader who had violated leagues and covenants, the gods themselves, without man’s help, should begin the war, and bring it to a near conclusion: and that we, who, next to the gods, have been injured and offended, should happily finish what they have begun.

I need not be in any fear that you should suspect me of saying these things merely to encourage you, while inwardly I have different sentiments. What hindered me from going into Spain? That was my province, where I should have had the less dreaded Asdrubal, not Hannibal, to deal with. But hearing, as I passed along the coast of Gaul,
of this enemy's march, I landed my troops, sent the horse forward, and pitched my camp upon the Rhone. A part of my cavalry encountered, and defeated that of the enemy. My infantry not being able to overtake theirs, which fled before us, I returned to my fleet: and, with all the expedition I could use in so long a voyage by sea and land, am come to meet them at the foot of the Alps. Was it, then, my inclination to avoid a contest with this tremendous Hannibal? and have I met with him only by accident and unawares? or am I come on purpose to challenge him to the combat? I would gladly try whether the earth, within these twenty years, has brought forth a new kind of Cartaginians; or whether they be the same sort of men who fought at the Ægates, and whom, at Eryx, you suffered to redeem themselves at eighteen denarii per head: whether this Hannibal, for labours and journeys, be, as he would be thought, the rival of Hercules; or, whether he be, what his father left him, a tributary, a vassal, a slave to the Roman people. Did not the consciousness of his wicked deed at Saguntum torment him and make him desperate, he would have some regard, if not to his conquered country, yet surely to his own family, to his father's memory, to the treaty written with Hamilcar's own hand. We might have starved him in Eryx; we might have passed into Africa with our victorious fleet; and, in a few days, have destroyed Carthage. At their humble supplication, we pardoned them; we released them, when they were closely shut up, without a possibility of escaping; we made peace with them, when they were conquered. When
they were distressed by the African war, we con-
sidered them, we treated them as a people under
our protection. And what is the return they
make us for all these favours? Under the conduct
of a hair-brained young man, they come hither to
overturn our state, and lay waste our country. I
could wish, indeed, that it were not so; and that
the war we are now engaged in concerned only our
own glory, and not our preservation. But the
contest at present is not for the possession of
Sicily and Sardinia, but of Italy itself: nor is
there behind us another army, which, if we should
not prove the conquerors, may make head against
our victorious enemies. There are no more Alps
for them to pass, which might give us leisure to
raise new forces. No, soldiers; here you must
make your stand, as if you were just now before
the walls of Rome. Let every one reflect, that he
is now to defend, not his own person only, but
his wife, his children, his helpless infants. Yet,
let not private considerations alone possess our
minds: let us remember that the eyes of the se-
nate and people of Rome are upon us; and that,
as our force and courage shall now prove, such
will be the fortune of that city, and of the Roman
empire.

From Hooke.

BRUTUS'S SPEECH IN VINDICATION OF CAESAR'S
MURDER.

ROMANS, countrymen, and lovers!—Hear me, for
my cause; and be silent that you may hear. Be-
lieve me, for mine honour; and have respect to
mine honour that you may believe. Censure me, in your wisdom; and awake your senses, that you may the better judge.

If there be any in this assembly, any dear friend of Cæsar’s, to him I say, that Brutus’s love to Cæsar was no less than his. If, then, that friend demand, why Brutus rose against Cæsar? this is my answer—Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more. Had you rather Cæsar were living and die all slaves; than that Cæsar were dead, to live all freemen! As Cæsar loved me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoice at it; as he was valiant, I honour him; but as he was ambitious, I slew him. There are tears for his love, joy for his fortune, honour for his valour, and death for his ambition. Who’s here so base, that would be a bond-man?—If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who’s here so rude, that would not be a Roman?—If any, speak; for him have I offended. Who’s here so vile, that will not love his country?—If any, speak; for him have I offended.—I pause for a reply.—

None?—Then none have I offended. I have done no more to Cæsar, than you should do to Brutus. The question of his death is enrolled in the Capitol; his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy; nor his offences enforced, for which he suffered death.

Here comes his body mourned by Mark Anthony; who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the commonwealth; as, which of you shall not? With this I depart—That, as I slew my best lover
for the good of Rome, I have the same dagger for myself, when it shall please my country to need my death.  

Shakspeare.

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SENECA'S ADDRESS TO THE EMPEROR NERO.

May it please the imperial majesty of Cæsar, favourably to accept the humble submissions and grateful acknowledgements of the weak though faithful guide of his youth.

It is now a great many years since I first had the honour of attending your imperial majesty as preceptor. And your bounty has rewarded my labours with such affluence, as has drawn upon me, what I had reason to expect, the envy of many of those persons, who are always ready to prescribe to their prince where to bestow, and where to withhold his favours. It is well known, that your illustrious ancestor, Augustus, bestowed on his deserving favourites, Agrippa and Mæcenas, honours and emoluments, suitable to the dignity of the benefactor, and to the services of the receivers: nor has his conduct been blamed. My employment about your imperial majesty has, indeed, been purely domestic: I have neither headed your armies, nor assisted at your councils. But you know, sir (though there are some who do not seem to attend to it), that a prince may be served in different ways, some more, others less conspicuous; and that the latter may be to him as valuable as the former.

'But what!' say my enemies, 'shall a private
person, of equestrian rank, and a provincial by
birth, be advanced to an equality with the patri-
cians? Shall an upstart, of no name nor family,
rank with those who can, by the statues which
make the ornament of their palaces, reckon back-
ward a line of ancestors, long enough to tire out
the fasti? Shall a philosopher who has written
for others precepts of moderation, and contempt
of all that is external, himself live in affluence
and luxury? Shall he purchase estates and lay out
money at interest? Shall he build palaces, plant
gardens, and adorn a country at his own expense,
and for his own pleasure?

Caesar has given royally, as became imperial
magnificence. Seneca has received what his
prince bestowed; nor did he ever ask: he is only
guilty of—not refusing. Caesar's rank places him
above the reach of invidious malignity. Seneca
is not, nor can be, high enough to despise the en-
vious. As the overloaded soldier, or traveller,
would be glad to be relieved of his burden, so I, in
this last stage of the journey of life, now that I
find myself unequal to the lightest cares, beg, that
Caesar would kindly ease me of the trouble of my
unwieldy wealth. I beseech him to restore to the
imperial treasury, from whence it came, what is to
me superfluous and cumbrous. The time and the
attention, which I am now obliged to bestow
upon my villa and my gardens, I shall be glad to
apply to the regulation of my mind. Caesar is
in the flower of life; long may he be equal to the

* The fasti, or calendars, of the ancients, had, as our
almanacs, tables of kings, consuls, &c.
toils of government! His goodness will grant to his worn-out servant leave to retire. It will not be derogatory from Cæsar’s greatness to have it said, that he bestowed favours on some, who so far from being intoxicated with them, showed— that they could be happy, when (at their own request) divested of them. Tacitus.

THE DEFENCE OF SOCRATES BEFORE HIS JUDGES.

Socrates, in his defence, employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence. He had not recourse either to solicitation or entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour, by their sighs and tears. But though he firmly refused to make use of any other voice than his own, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal: it was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the consciousness of his truth and innocence. His defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament than that of truth, and brightened universally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions, composed from it the work, which he calls the Apology of Socrates, one of the most consummate masterpieces of antiquity. The following is an extract from it.
I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into their minds, as well in regard to divine worship, as to the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach: nor can envy, however violent, reproach me with having ever sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty. I am always equally ready to communicate my thoughts both to the rich and the poor, and to give them opportunity to question or answer me. I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous; and if, amongst those who hear me, there are any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole employment is to counsel the young and the old against too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatever nature they be; and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection. For I incessantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches; but, on the contrary, riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of falsehood. I see here a great number of my disciples: they have only to come forward. It will perhaps be said, that the regard and veneration due to a master
who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me: but their fathers, brothers, and uncles, cannot, as good relations and good citizens, excuse themselves for not standing forth to demand vengeance against the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and nephews. These are, however, the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

"Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians; I can neither repent nor alter my conduct. I must not abandon or suspend a function which God himself has imposed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of instructing my fellow citizens. If after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that in which the divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy for the instruction of myself and others; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal, as an impious man who does not believe in the gods. Should you resolve to acquit me, I should not, Athenians, hesitate to say, I honour and love you; but I shall choose rather to obey God than you; and to my latest breath shall never renounce my philosophy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you according to my custom, by saying to each of you occasionally; "My good friend and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom and valour, are you not ashamed to have no other thoughts than those of
amassing wealth and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities; neglecting the treasures of prudence, truth, and wisdom, and taking no pains to render your soul as good and perfect as it is capable of being?"

"I am reproached with abject fear, and meanness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided to be present in your assemblies to give my counsels to my country. I think I have sufficiently proved my courage and fortitude, both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the senate, where I alone opposed the unjust sentence you pronounced against the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of those who were killed and drowned in the sea-fight near the island Arginusæ; and when, upon more than one occasion, I opposed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that voice divine, which you have so often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken so much pains to ridicule. That spirit has attached itself to me from my infancy. It is a voice which I never hear but when it would prevent me from persisting in something I have resolved; for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the same being that has always opposed me when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic, and that with the greatest reason: for I should have been amongst the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the measures of the state, without effecting any thing to the advan-
tage of myself or our country. Do not take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak my thoughts without disguise, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generously oppose a whole people, either amongst us or elsewhere, and who inflexibly applies himself to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do so long with impunity. It is absolutely necessary for a man of this disposition, if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private station, and never to have any share in public affairs.

'For the rest, Athenians, if, in my present extreme danger, I do not imitate the behaviour of those, who, upon less emergencies, have implored and supplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends; it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You should know, that there are amongst our citizens those who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or false which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie, in my last action, all the principles and sentiments of my past life?

'But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be absolved by supplications. He ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit
upon the bench to show favour, by violating the laws, but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear to discharge with impunity whom he pleases, but to do justice where it is due. We ought not, therefore, to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it; for, in so doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

‘Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse amongst you to means which I believe neither honest nor lawful, especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus: for, if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident that I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts: I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers are; and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves and me.’

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his visage, expressed nothing of the accused. He seemed to be the master of his judges, from the greatness of soul with which he spoke, without however losing any of the modesty natural to him. But how slight soever the proofs were against him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty. There was the form of a process against him, and
his irreligion was the pretence upon which it was grounded; but his death was certainly a concerted thing. His steady uninterrupted course of obstinate virtue, which had made him in many cases appear singular, and oppose whatever he thought illegal or unjust, without any regard to times or persons, had procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will. After his sentence, he continued with the same serene and intrepid aspect with which he had long enforced virtue, and held tyrants in awe. When he entered his prison, which then became the residence of virtue and probity, his friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during the interval between his condemnation and his death. 

Goldsmith.

END OF BOOK V.
ELEGANT EXTRACTS
FROM THE
MOST EMINENT
PROSE WRITERS;
BOOK THE SIXTH:
SPEECHES.

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BOOK VI.

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.

SPEECH OF MR. CRESEKED ON THE DETENTION
OF SOME MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COM-
MONS, 1626.

I stand up to speak somewhat concerning the
point of the subjects' grievances, by imprisonment
of their persons, without any declaration of the
cause, contrary to, and in derogation of, the funda-
mental laws and liberties of this kingdom.

I think I am one of the puisnes of our profession,
that are members of this house; but howsoever,
sure I am, that, in respect of my own inabilities, I
am the puisne of the whole house: therefore, ac-
cording to the usual course of students in our pro-
fession, I may, as the puisne, speak first in time,
because I can speak least in matter.

VOL. III.
In pursuance of which course I shall rather put the case, than argue it; and therefore I shall humbly desire, first of all, of this honourable house in general, that the goodness of the cause may receive no prejudice, by the weakness of my argument; and next, of my masters here of the same profession, in particular, that they, by their learned judgments, will supply the great defects I shall discover, by declaring of my unlearned opinion.

Before I speak of the question, give me leave, as an entrance thereunto, to speak first of the occasion.

Ye all know that justice is the life and the heart's blood of the commonwealth; and if the commonwealth bleed in that master vein, all the balm in Gilead is but in vain to preserve this our body of policy from ruin and destruction. Justice is both columna et corona reipublicae; she is both the column and the pillar, the crown and the glory, of the commonwealth. This is made good in scripture, by the judgment of Solomon, the wisest king that ever reigned on earth. For first, she is the pillar; for he saith, That by justice the throne is established. Secondly, she is the crown; for he saith, That by justice a nation shall be exalted.

Our laws, which are the rules of justice, are the ne plus ultra to both the king and the subject; and, as they are Hercules's pillars, so are they the pillars of Hercules to every prince, which he must not pass.

Give me leave to resemble justice to Nebuchadnezzar's tree: for she is so great, that she doth shade, not only the palace of the king, and the
house of nobles, but doth also shelter the cottage of the poorest beggar.

Wherefore, if either now the blasts of indignation, or the unresistible violator of laws, necessity, hath so bruised any of the branches of this tree, that either our persons, or goods, or possessions, have not the same shelter as before, yet, let us not therefore neglect the root of this great tree; but rather, with all our possible means, endeavours, and unfeigned duties, both apply fresh and fertile mould under it, and also water it even with our own tears; that so these bruised branches may be recovered, and the whole tree again prosper and flourish. For this I have learned from an ancient father of the church, that though \textit{preces regum sunt armatae}, yet \textit{arma subditorum} are but only \textit{preces et lachrymae}.

I know well that \textit{cor regis inscrutabile}, and that kings, although they are but men before God, yet they are gods before men; and therefore, to my gracious and dread sovereign (whose virtues are true qualities ingenerate, both in his judgment and nature), let my arm be cut off, nay, let my soul not live that day, that I shall dare to lift up my arm to touch that forbidden fruit, those flowers of his princely crown and diadem.

But yet in our Eden, in this garden of the commonwealth, as there are the flowers of the sun, which are so glorious, that they are to be handled only by royal majesty; so are there also some daisies and wholesome herbs, which every common hand, that lives and labours in this garden, may pick and gather up, and take comfort and
repast in them. Amongst all which, this *oculus diei*, this *bona libertas*, of which I am now to speak, is not one only, but the chief.

**SPEECH OF SIR ROBERT PHILIPS ON PUBLIC GRIEVANCES, 1627.**

I read of a custom amongst the old Romans, that once every year they had a solemn feast for their slaves, at which they had liberty, without exception, to speak what they would, thereby to ease their afflicted minds; which being finished, they severally returned to their former servitude.

This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state, where now, after the revolution of some time, and grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have, as those slaves had, a day of liberty of speech; but shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves, for we are free. Yet what new illegal proceedings our states and persons have suffered under, my heart yearns to think, my tongue falters to utter. They have been well represented by divers worthy gentlemen before me; yet one grievance, and the main one, as I conceive, hath not been touched, which is our religion;—religion, Mr. Speaker, made vendible by commission; and men, for pecuniary annual rates, dispensed withal, whereby papists may, without fear of law, practise idolatry.

For the oppressions under which we groan, I draw them under two heads: acts of power
against law, and judgments of law against our liberty.

Of the first sort are, strange instructions, violent exactions of money thereupon, imprisonment of the persons of such who (to deliver over to their posterity the liberty they received from their forefathers, and lawfully were in possession of) refused so to lend; and this aggravated by the remediless continuance and length thereof; and chiefly the strange, vast, and unlimited power of our lieutenants and their deputies, in billeting of soldiers, in making rates, in granting warrants for taxes as their discretions shall guide them. And all this against the law.

These last are the most insupportable burdens that at this present afflict our poor country, and the most cruel oppression that ever yet the kingdom of England endured. These upstart deputy lieutenants (of whom perhaps in some cases and times there may be good use, being regulated by law) are the worst of grievances, and the most forward and zealous executioners of those violent and unlawful courses which have been commended unto them; of whose proceedings, and for the qualifying of whose unruly power, it is more than time to consult and determine.

Judgments of law against our liberty there have been three, each latter stepping forwarder than the former upon the right of the subject, aiming in the end to tread and trample under foot our law, and that even in the form of law.

The first was the judgment of the postnati, whereby a nation (which I heartily love for their singular good zeal in our religion, and their free
spirits to preserve our liberties far beyond many of us) is made capable of any the like favours, privileges, and immunities, as ourselves enjoy; and this especially argued in the exchequer chamber by all the judges of England. The second was, the judgment upon impositions in the exchequer court, by the barons, which hath been the source and fountain of many bitter waters of affliction unto our merchants. The third was, that fatal late judgment against the liberty of the subject imprisoned by the king, argued and pronounced but by one judge alone.

I can live, although another who has no right, be put to live with me; nay, I can live, although I pay excises and impositions more than I do; but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power, and to have my body pent up in a gaol, without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged! O improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our laws and the liberties of parliament, and to neglect our persons and bodies, and let them lie in prison, and that durante bene placito, remediless? If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why do we trouble ourselves with a dispute about law, franchises, property of goods, and the like? what may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?

I am weary of treading these ways, and therefore conclude to have a select committee deputed, to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of these things; which being read, examined, and approved by the house, may be delivered to the
king, of whose gracious answer we have no cause to doubt, our desires being so reasonable, our intentions so loyal, and the manner so humble: neither need we fear this to be the critical parliament, as was insinuated, or this a way to distraction; but assure ourselves of a happy issue: then shall the king, as he calls us his great council, find us his good council, and own us as his good council—which God grant.

SPEECH OF THE EARL OF WARWICK, ON THE RIGHT OF THE CROWN TO IMPRISON THE SUBJECT ARBITRARILY, 1628.

MY LORDS,
I will observe something out of the laws, wherein this liberty of the subject's person is founded, and something out of the precedents which have been alleged; as to magnā charta, and the rest concerning these points, they are acknowledged by all to be now in force; that they were made to secure the subjects from wrongful imprisonment; and that they concern the king as much, or rather more, than the subject. Well then, besides magnā charta, and those six other acts of parliament in the very point, we know that magnā charta itself has been at least thirty times confirmed, so that now, at this time, we have thirty-six or thirty-seven acts of parliament to confirm this liberty, although it was made a matter of derision the other day in this house.

One is that of 36 Edward III. No. 9, and another in the same year, No. 20, not printed, but
yet as good as those that are; and that of 42 Edward III, cap. 3, so express in the point (especially the petition of the commons that year, which was read by Mr. Littleton, with the king's answer, so full and free from all exception, to which I refer your lordships), that I know not how any thing in the world can be more plain.

Now, therefore, if in parliament we shall make any doubt of that which is so fully confirmed by parliament, and in a case so clear, go about by new glosses to alter these old and good laws, we shall not only forsake the steps of our ancestors, who, in cases even of small importance, would answer *nolumus leges Angliae mutari*, but we shall yield up and betray our right in the greatest inheritance the subjects of England have; and that is the laws of England.

Truly, I wonder how any man can think that this house (though no lawyers) can admit of such a gloss upon a plain text, as should overthrow the very end and design of the law; for whereas the law of *magna charta* is, That no freeman shall be imprisoned, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; it has been insisted on by some, that by these words, the law of the land, it is to be understood, that the king hath power to commit without showing any cause; which is an exposition, not only expressly contrary to other acts of parliament, and those expressly before cited, but against common sense.

Mr. Attorney confesseth this law concerns the king. Why then, where the law saith, the king shall not commit but by the law of the land, the meaning must be (as Mr. Attorney would have it)
that the king must not commit, but at his own pleasure! and shall we think that our ancestors were so foolish as to hazard their persons and estates, and labour so much to get a law, and have it thirty times confirmed, that the king might not commit his subjects but at his own pleasure? and that if he did commit any of his subjects without a cause shown, that then the party must lie in prison during the king's pleasure? Nothing can be imagined more ridiculous, or more contrary to reason and common sense.

From the precedents I observe, that many committed by the king or his council have been delivered upon *habeas corpus*, and that constantly. It is true that some precedents were brought on the king's part, that when some of these persons desired to be delivered by *habeas corpus*, the king, or his council, signified his majesty's pleasure that they should be delivered; or the king's attorney hath come into court and released them by the king's command. But this seems to make for the subject; for, it being in his majesty's power to deliver them, who, by his special commandment, and without any cause shown, were imprisoned, may we not think that his majesty, at that time, would rather have staid their deliverance by law, than furthered it by his letters, and so make the prisoners rather beholden to him for his great mercy, than to the judges for justice, had not his majesty known that, at that time, they ought to have been delivered by law?

I think no man would imagine a wise king would have suffered his grace and prerogative (if any prerogative there were) to be so continually ques-
tioned; or his majesty and his council to be so far from commanding the judges not to proceed to deliver the prisoners by them committed, without cause shown, as that on the other side (which is all the force of these precedents), the king and council should signify to the judges, that they should proceed to deliver the parties!

Certainly, if the king had challenged any such prerogative, that a person committed, without any cause shown, might not be delivered by the judges without his consent, it would have appeared, by one precedent or other, amongst all that have been produced, that his majesty would have made some claim to such a prerogative; but it appears, on the contrary, that in many of these cases the king nor his council did ever interpose; and where they did, it was always in affirmation and encouragement to that court to proceed. And besides, the writing of letters from the king to the judges to do justice to his majesty's subjects, may, with as great reason, be interpreted, that without those letters they might not do justice; as this, that the king signified his willingness that such and such persons, which were committed by him without cause shown, should be delivered, therefore they could not be delivered without him; which is a strange reason. So that finding the laws so full, so many, and so plain in the point; and that whenever any committed without cause shown, brought their habeas corpus, they were delivered, and no command ever given to the contrary, nor no claim made on the king's part to any such prerogative; I may safely conclude, as the house of commons have done: and if any one precedent or two, of late,
can be shown, that the judges have not delivered the prisoners so committed, I think it is their fault, and ought to be inquired of: but contrarily, it seems to me to be an undoubted right of the subject, that if he be committed without cause, or without cause shown, yet he may have some speedy course to bring himself to trial, either to justify his own innocency, or to receive punishment according to his fault; for God forbid that an innocent man, by the laws of England, should be put in worse case than the most grievous malefactors are, as must needs be, if, when a cause is shown, he may have his trial; but if none, he must lie and pine in prison during the king's pleasure.

Mr. sergeant Ashley, the other day, told your lordships of the emblem of a king; but, by his leave, he made a wrong use of it; for the king holds in one hand the globe, and in the other the sceptre, the types of sovereignty and mercy; but his sword of justice is ever carried before him by a minister of justice, which shows that subjects may have their remedies for injustice done, and that appeals lie to higher powers; for the laws of England are so favourable to their princes, as to declare that they themselves can do no injustice.

Therefore I will conclude, as all disputes should do, *magna est veritas et prævalebit*; and I make no doubt, we living under so good and just a prince as we do, when this is represented unto him, he will answer us, *magna est charta et prævalebit*. 
MR. Pym, I did not think to have spoken to this bill, because I was willing to believe that the forwardness of this committee would have prevented me; but now I hold myself bound to speak, and to speak in earnest.

In the first year of the king, and the second convention, I first moved for the increase and enlargement of poor ministers' livings. I showed how necessary it was, though it had been neglected; this was also commended to the house by his majesty. There being then, as now, many accusations on foot against scandalous ministers, I was bold to tell the house, that there was also scandalous livings, which were much the cause of the other; livings of five pounds, nay, even five marks a year; that men of worth and parts would not be muzzled up to such pittances; that there were some such places in England, as were scarce in all Christendom beside, where God was little better known than amongst the Indians. I exampled it in the utmost skirts of the north, where the prayers of the common people are more like spells and charms than devotions. The same blindness and ignorance is in the divers parts of Wales, which many in that country do both know and lament.

I also declared, that to plant good ministers was the strongest and surest means to establish true religion; that it would prevail more against papistry, than the making of new laws, or executing
of old; that it would counterwork court connivance and lukewarm accommodation; that though the calling of ministers be never so glorious within, the outward poverty will bring contempt upon them, especially among those who measure them by the ounce, and weigh them by the pound, which indeed is the greatest part of men.

Mr. Pym, I cannot but testify how, being in Germany, I was exceedingly scandalized to see the poor stipendiary ministers of the reformed churches there, despised and neglected by reason of their poverty, being otherwise very grave and learned men. I am afraid this is a part of the burden of Germany which ought to be a warning to us.

I have heard many objections and difficulties, even to impossibilities against this bill. To him that is unwilling to go, there is ever a bear or a lion in the way. First, let us make ourselves willing, then will the way be easy and safe enough.

I have observed, that we are always very eager and fierce against papistry, against scandalous ministers, and against things which are not so much in our power. I should be glad to see that we did delight as well in rewarding as in punishing, and in undertaking matters within our reach, as this is absolutely within our power. Our own duties are next us, other men’s further off. I do not speak this, that I do dislike the destroying and pulling down of that which is ill, but then let us be as earnest to plant and build up that which is good in the room of it. The best and the greatest way to dispel darkness, and the deeds thereof, is to
let in light; we say that day breaks, but no man can ever hear the noise of it; God comes in the still voice; let us quickly mend our candlesticks, and we shall not want lights.

I am afraid this backwardness of ours will give the adversary occasion to say, that we chose our religion because it is the cheaper of the two, and that we would willingly serve God with somewhat that costs us nought; believe it, Mr. Pym, he that thinks to save any thing by his religion, but his soul, will be a terrible loser in the end. We sow so sparingly, and that is the reason we reap so sparingly, and have no more fruit. Methinks, whosoever hates papistry, should, by the same rule, hate covetousness, for that is idolatry too. I never liked hot professions and cold actions; such a heat is rather the heat of a distemper and disease, than of life and saving health.

For scandalous ministers, there is no man shall be more forward to have them severely punished than I will be: when salt has lost its savour, fit it is to be cast on that unsavoury place, the dunghill. But, sir, let us deal with them as God hath dealt with us: God, before he made man, made the world, a handsome place for him to dwell in; so let us provide them some convenient living, and then punish them in God’s name; but till then, scandalous livings cannot but have scandalous ministers. It shall ever be a rule to me, that when the church and commonwealth are both of one religion, it is comely and decent that the outward splendour of the church should hold a proportion, and participate with the prosperity of the temporal state; for why should we dwell in houses of
cedar, and suffer God to dwell in tin. It was a glorious and religious work of king James, and I speak it to his unspeakable honour, and to the praise of that nation, who (though that country be not so rich as ours, yet are they richer in their affections to religion) within the space of one year caused churches to be planted through all Scotland, the highlands and borders, worth thirty pounds a year apiece, with a house and some glebe belonging to them; which thirty pounds a year, considering the cheapness of the country, and the modest fashion of ministers living there, is worth double as much as any where within a hundred miles of London. The printed act and commission whereby it may be executed, I have here in my hand, delivered unto me by a noble gentleman of that nation, and a worthy member of this house, sir Francis Stuart.

To conclude, although Christianity and religion be established generally throughout this kingdom, yet, until it be planted more particularly, I shall scarce think this a Christian commonwealth; seeing it hath been moved in parliament, it will lie heavy upon parliaments, until it be effected.

Let us do something for God here of our own, and no doubt God will bless our proceedings in this place the better for ever hereafter; and for my own part, I will never give over soliciting this cause, as long as parliaments and I shall live together.
SPEECH OF EDMUND WALLER, ON THE QUESTION WHETHER EPISCOPACY OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED. 1640.

There is no doubt but the sense of what this nation hath suffered from the present bishops, hath produced these complaints; and the apprehensions men have of suffering the like, in time to come, make so many desire the taking away of episcopacy: but I conceive it is possible that we may not, now, take a right measure of the minds of the people by their petitions; for, when they subscribed them, the bishops were armed with a dangerous commission of making new canons, imposing new oaths, and the like; but now we have disarmed them of that power. These petitioners, lately, did look upon episcopacy as a beast armed with horns and claws; but now that we have cut and pared them (and may, if we see cause, yet reduce it into narrower bounds), it may, perhaps, be more agreeable. Howsoever, if they be still in passion, it becomes us soberly to consider the right use and antiquity thereof; and not to comply further with a general desire, than may stand with a general good.

We have already showed that episcopacy, and the evils thereof, are mingled like water and oil; we have also, in part, severed them; but I believe you will find that our laws and the present government of the church are mingled like wine and water; so inseparable, that the abrogation of, at least, a hundred of our laws is desired in these petitions. I have often heard a noble answer of the lords commended in this house to a proposition
of like nature, but of less consequence; they gave no other reason of their refusal but this, \textit{Nolumus mutare leges Anglice}: it was the bishops who so answered them; and it would become the dignity and wisdom of this house to answer the people now with a \textit{Nolumus mutare}.

I see some are moved with a number of hands against the bishops; which, I confess, rather inclines me to their defence: for I look upon episcopacy as a counterscarp, or outwork; which if it be taken by this assault of the people, and, withal, this mystery once revealed, That we must deny them nothing when they ask it thus in troops, we may, in the next place, have as hard a task to defend our property, as we have lately had to recover it from the prerogative. If, by multiplying hands and petitions, they prevail for an equality in things ecclesiastical, the next demand perhaps may be \textit{lex agraria}, the like equality in things temporal.

The Roman story tells us, that when the people began to flock round the senate, and were more curious to direct and to know what was done, than to obey, that commonwealth soon came to ruin: their \textit{legem rogare} grew quickly to be a \textit{legem ferre}; and after, when their legions had found that they could make a dictator, they never suffered the senate to have a voice any more in such election.

If these great innovations proceed, I shall expect a flat and level in learning too, as well as in church preferments: \textit{honos alit artes}. And though it be true, that grave and pious men do study for learning-sake, and embrace virtue for itself, yet it

\textbf{VOL. III.}
is true, that youth, which is the season when learning is gotten, is not without ambition; nor ever will take pains to excel in any thing when there is not some hope of excelling others in re-
ward and dignity.

There are two reasons chiefly alleged against our church-government.

First, scripture, which, as some men think, points out another form.

Second, the abuses of the present superiors.

For scripture, I will not dispute it in this place; but I am confident that, whenever an equal divi-
sion of lands and goods shall be desired, there will be as many places in scripture found out, which seem to favour that, as there are now alleged against the prelacy or preferment in the church. And, as for abuses, where you are now, in the remonstrance, told, what this and that poor man hath suffered by the bishops, you may be presented with a thousand instances of poor men that have received hard measure from their landlords; and of worldly goods abused, to the injury of others and disadvantage of the owners.

And therefore, Mr. Speaker, my humble motion is, That we may settle men’s minds herein; and, by a question, declare our resolution, to reform, that is not to abolish, episcopacy.
CONCLUSION OF THE EARL OF STAFFORD'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS. 1641.

MY LORDS,

It is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children?

That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard. What man can be safe if this be admitted?

My lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence; no admonition by which we should avoid it. If the man pass the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who owneth the anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now, where is the mark, where is the token upon this crime, to declare it to be high treason?

My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law: if there must be a trial of wits, let the subject matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers.

It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and be-
take yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers.

It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself. Let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destruction, by taking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected.

May your lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; let not a precedent be derived from me so disadvantageous as this will be, in its consequence, to the whole kingdom. Do not, through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth; and howsoever these gentlemen say, they speak for the commonwealth; yet, in this particular, I indeed speak for it, and show the inconvenience and mischiefs that will fall upon it; for, as it is said in the statute of 1 Henry IV. no one will know what to do or say, for fear of such penalties.

Do not put, my lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public. If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste; no man will meddle with them, who hath any thing to lose.

My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me.

[At this word he stopped awhile, letting fall some tears to her memory; then he went on]—
What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul!

You will pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass.

Now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter.

And so, my lords, even so with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, te Deum laudamus.

SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CAERNARVON ON THE IMPEACHMENT OF LORD DANBY.* 1678.

MY LORDS,

I UNDERSTAND but little of Latin, but a good deal of English, and not a little of the English

* The following account has been given of this speech.

Among the speakers on the impeachment of Lord Danby was the earl of Caernarvon, who is said never to have spoken before; but having been heated with wine, and rallied by the duke of Buckingham on his never speaking, he said he would speak that very afternoon, and this having produced some wager between them, he went into the house with a resolution to speak on any subject that should offer itself. He accordingly stood up and delivered this speech, which being pronounced with a remarkable humour and tone, the duke of Buckingham cried out, "The man is inspired, and claret has done the business."
history; from which I have learned the mischiefs of such kind of prosecutions as these, and the ill fate of the prosecutors. I could bring many instances, and those very ancient; but, my lords, I shall go no further back than the latter end of queen Elizabeth’s reign: at which time the earl of Essex was run down by sir Walter Raleigh. My lord Bacon, he ran down sir Walter Raleigh; and your lordships know what became of my lord Bacon. The duke of Buckingham, he ran down my lord Bacon; and your lordships know what happened to the duke of Buckingham. Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, ran down the duke of Buckingham; and you all know what became of him. Sir Henry Vane, he ran down the earl of Strafford; and your lordships know what became of sir Henry Vane. Chancellor Hyde, he ran down sir Henry Vane; and your lordships know what became of the chancellor. Sir Thomas Osborn, now earl of Danby, ran down chancellor Hyde; but what will become of the earl of Danby, your lordships best can tell. But let me see that man that dare run the earl of Danby down, and we shall soon see what will become of him.

SPEECH OF SIR FRANCIS WINNINGTON ON THE PENSION BILL. 1680.

MR. SPEAKER,

SIR, the last house of commons, being sensible how narrowly this nation escaped being ruined by a sort of monsters, called pensioners, which sat
in the late long parliament, had entered into a consideration how to prevent the like from coming into future parliaments; and in order thereto, resolved, that they would severely chastise some of those that had been guilty, and make the best laws they could to prevent the like for the future; and for that purpose a committee was appointed, of which Mr. sergeant Gregory, now judge Gregory, was chairman, by which many papers relating to that affair came to his hands. Sir, I think it a business of so great importance, that it never ought to be forgotten, nor the prosecution of it deferred. I have often heard that England can never be destroyed but by itself: to have such parliaments was the most likely way that ever yet was invented. I remember a great lawyer said in this house, when it was debated in the last parliament, that it was treason; and he gave many learned arguments to make it out. Whether it be so or no, I will not now offer to debate; but I think, that for those that are the legislators of the nation to take bribes to undermine the laws and government of this nation, that they ought to be chastised as traitors. It was my fortune to sit here a little while in the long parliament. I did observe that all those that had pensions, and most of those that had offices, voted all of a side, as they were directed by some great officer, as exactly as if their business in this house had been to preserve their pensions and offices, and not to make laws for the good of them that sent them here. How such persons could any way be useful for the support of the government, by preserving a fair understanding between the king
and his people; but on the contrary, how dangerous to bring in arbitrary power and popery, I leave to every man's judgment; they were so far from being the true representatives of the people, that they were a distinct middle interest between the king and the people, and their chief business was to serve the end of some great minister of state, though never so opposite to the true interest of the nation. Sir, this business ought never to fall, though there should be never so many prorogations and dissolutions of parliaments, before any thing be done in it. I think it is the interest of the nation, that it should be prosecuted from parliament to parliament, as if there were an impeachment against them; and therefore, sir, I would humbly move you to send some members of this house to judge Gregory, for the papers he hath taken in his custody relating to this affair, that so you may, in convenient time, proceed further herein, as you shall think good: and, sir, hearing there is a report that some of this house have now made a bargain at court for great offices, in order to vitiate and corrupt their votes in this house; which, though but a project to cast a reflection on such members, however, to satisfy the world, I pray, sir, let there be a vote passed, that no member of this house shall accept of any office under the crown, during such time as he continues a member of this house.
MY LORDS,

It is certainly very necessary for us upon occasion of this bill to take the army under our consideration, and to determine what number of troops ought to be kept up; because, my lords, this is the only opportunity we can have of reducing the number allowed of, in case we happen to think it too great; and in case this bill goes the length of a committee, I shall then take the liberty to declare my sentiments upon that head. But, my lords, I now rise up to declare, that I am entirely against this bill, or any mutiny bill; because I always looked upon it as setting up a constitution within a constitution; or rather, indeed, it is the turning of our civil government into a military government. This, it is true, my lords, we may do by a law, and that law, when passed, will be a part of our constitution; yet I hope it will not be said, that such an extraordinary law would make no alteration in our constitution. I cannot be of opinion, that the keeping up of any regular troops in this kingdom is absolutely necessary; but granting that it were, I am certain, that in order to keep such troops under proper discipline, it is not absolutely necessary to have a law against mutiny and desertion. I had, my lords, the honour to command a regiment of dragoons in the reign of king William, which was given to me at the time of the siege of Namur; and I very well remember, that there was not at that time in England any such law, as what is now by this bill to be
enacted. We had then no such thing as mutiny bills yearly brought in, nor any such bill passed into a law, and yet in those days, we found means to keep our regiments in good order enough; and I believe there was as exact discipline observed in the regiments then quartered in England, as has been observed at any time since. If any of the soldiers committed any crime, they were sure to be punished; but then they were punished according to the ancient laws of the kingdom. The officers took care to deliver them up to the civil power, and to see them convicted and punished as severely as the laws of their country would admit of; which we always found was sufficient for keeping the men in good order, and for making them observe the most exact discipline.

If I were to enter into a particular examination of this bill, I could make strong objections against several clauses thereof; I shall only mention that of desertion: how unnecessary, how cruel is it, now in time of peace, to punish that crime with death! In the time of war, such a severe punishment was necessary; it was then just to punish it with death, because the deserters were generally at the same time guilty of the most heinous treachery; they generally ran in to the enemy, and turned those arms against their country, which their country had put into their hands for its defence. But now, in time of peace, desertion has nothing in it of such a heinous nature; if a poor fellow deserts, he runs but from one of our own regiments to another; and the cruel treatment he meets with from some of the officers, may often afford him an excuse, if his case be examin-
ed by men of humanity and candour. How many poor country fellows, either out of a frolic, or because they have been disobliged or slighted by their mistress, go and list themselves for soldiers! When such a fellow begins to cool, he perhaps repents of what he has done, and deserts without any other view or design but that of returning home, and following some industrious and laborious way of living in his own country. Is it not hard, that such a poor fellow should be shot for such a trifling crime? The law perhaps may not be executed with rigour; that, my lords, may be an excuse for the judge, but none for the lawgiver; considering that the officers are the sufferers by desertion, and also the judges in all trials of that crime, I think, my lords, that their not executing the law with rigour, is a convincing argument, that the pains are too severe; but, my lords, as I am against the bill itself, as well as every clause thereof, I am therefore against giving it a second reading, or entering into the consideration of the several clauses of it.

SPEECH OF MR. PULTENNEY, ON THE MOTION FOR REDUCING THE ARMY. 1731.

We have heard a great deal about parliamentary armies, and about an army continued from year to year. I have always been, sir, and shall be, against a standing army of any kind. To me it is a terrible thing, whether under that of parliament, or any other designation; a standing army is still a standing army, whatever name it be called by;
they are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws: blind obedience, and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer, is their only principle. The nations around us are already enslaved, and have been enslaved by those very means: by means of their standing armies, they have every one lost their liberties. It is, indeed, impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up. Shall we then take any of our measures from the examples of our neighbours? No, sir; on the contrary, from their misfortunes we ought to learn to avoid those rocks upon which they have split.

It signifies nothing to tell me, that our army is commanded by such gentlemen as cannot be supposed to join in any measures for enslaving their country; it may be so, I hope it is so; I have a very good opinion of many gentlemen now in the army; I believe they would not join in any such measures; but their lives are uncertain, nor can we be sure how long they may be continued in command; that they may not be all dismissed in a moment, and proper tools of power put in their room. Besides, sir, we know the passions of men; we know how dangerous it is to trust the best of men with too much power. Where was there a braver army than that under Julius Cæsar? where was there ever an army that had served their country more faithfully? That army was commanded generally by the best citizens of Rome; by men of great fortune and figure in their country; yet that army enslaved their country; the affections
of the soldiers towards their country, the honour and integrity of the under officers, are not to be depended on. By the military law, the administration of justice is so quick, and the punishment so severe, that neither officer or soldier dares to dispute the orders of his supreme commander; he must not consult his own inclinations. If an officer were commanded to pull his own father out of this house, he must do it; he dares not disobey; immediate death would be the sure consequence of the least grumbling; and if an officer were sent to the court of requests, accompanied by a body of musketeers with screwed bayonets, and with orders to tell us what we ought to do, and how we were to vote, I know what would be the duty of this house; I know it would be our duty to order the officer to be taken and hanged up at the door of the lobby. But, sir, I doubt much, if such a spirit could be found in the house, or in any house of commons that will ever be in England.

Sir, I talk not of imaginary things; I talk of what has happened to an English house of commons, and from an English army; not only from an English army, but an army that was raised by that very house of commons; an army that was paid by them, and an army that was commanded by generals appointed by them: therefore do not let us vainly imagine that an army raised and maintained by authority of parliament, will always be submissive to them. If an army be so numerous as to have it in their power to overawe the parliament, they will be submissive as long as the parliament does nothing to disoblige their favourite general; but when that case happens, I am
afraid, that instead of the parliament’s dismissing the army, the army will dismiss the parliament, as they have done heretofore. Nor does the legality or illegality of that parliament, or of that army, alter the case: for with respect to that army, and according to their way of thinking, the parliament dismissed by them was a legal parliament; they were an army raised and maintained according to law; and at first they were raised, as they imagined, for the preservation of those liberties, which they afterwards destroyed.

It has been urged, sir, that whoever is for the Protestant succession must be for continuing the army. For that very reason, sir, I am against continuing the army. I know that neither the Protestant succession in his majesty’s most illustrious house, nor any succession, can ever be safe, as long as there is a standing army in the country. Armies, sir, have no regard to hereditary successions. The first two Caesars at Rome did pretty well, and found means to keep their armies in tolerable subjection, because the generals and officers were all their own creatures; but how did it fare with their successors? Was not every one of them named by the army, without any regard to hereditary right, or to any right? a cobler, a gardener, or any man who happened to raise himself in the army, and could gain their affections, was made emperor of the world. Was not every succeeding emperor raised to the throne, or tumbled headlong into the dust, according to the mere whim or mad frenzy of the soldiers?

We are told, “Oh! gentlemen, but this army is desired to be continued but for one year longer, it
is not desired to be continued for any term of years." How absurd is this distinction! Is there any army in the world continued for any term of years? Does the most absolute monarch tell his army, that he is to continue them for any number of years, or any number of months? How long have we already continued our army from year to year? And if it thus continues, wherein will it differ from the standing armies of those countries which have already submitted their necks to the yoke? We are now come to the Rubicon; our army is now to be reduced, or it never will. From his majesty's own mouth we are assured of a profound tranquillity abroad—we know there is one at home. If this is not a proper time, if these circumstances do not afford us a safe opportunity for reducing at least a part of our regular forces, we never can expect to see any reduction; and this nation, already overloaded with debts and taxes, must be loaded with the heavy charge of perpetually supporting a numerous standing army, and remain for ever exposed to the danger of having its liberties and privileges trampled upon, by any future king or ministry who shall take it in their heads to do so, and shall take a proper care to model the army for that purpose.

SPEECH OF SIR G. HEATHCOTE, ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EXCISE OFFICERS. 1732.

SIR,

Other gentlemen have already fully explained and set forth the great inconveniences which must
he brought on the trade of this nation, by the scheme now proposed to us; those have been made very apparent, and from them arises a very strong objection against what is now proposed: but the greatest objection arises from the danger to which this scheme will most certainly expose the liberties of our country; those liberties, for which our ancestors have so often ventured their lives and fortunes; those liberties, which have cost this nation so much blood and treasure, seem already to be greatly retrenched. I am sorry to say it, but what is now in dispute, seems to me to be the last branch of liberty we have to contend for: we have already established a standing army, and have made it, in a manner, a part of our constitution; we have already subjected great numbers of the people of this nation to the arbitrary laws of excise; and this scheme is so wide a step towards subjecting all the rest of the people of England to those arbitrary laws, that it will be impossible for us to recover, or prevent, the fatal consequences of such a scheme.

We are told that his majesty is a good and a wise prince: we all believe him to be so; but I hope no man will pretend to draw any argument from thence for our surrendering those liberties and privileges, which have been handed down to us by our ancestors. We have, indeed, nothing to fear from his present majesty: he never will make a bad use of that power which we have put into his hands; but if we once grant to the crown too great an extent of power, we cannot recall that grant when we have a mind; and though his majesty should never make a bad use of it, some
of his successors may: the being governed by a wise and good king, does not make the people a free people; the Romans were as great slaves under the few good emperors they had to reign over them, as they were under the most cruel of their tyrants. After the people have once given up their liberties, their governors have all the same power of oppressing them, though they may not perhaps all make the same wicked use of the power lodged in their hands; but a slave that has the good fortune to meet with a good-natured and a humane master, is no less a slave than he that meets with a cruel and barbarous one. Our liberties are too valuable, and have been purchased at too high a price, to be sported with, or wantonly given up even to the best of kings: we have before now had some good, some wise and gracious sovereigns to reign over us, but we find, that under them our ancestors were as jealous of their liberties, as they were under the worst of our kings. It is to be hoped that we have still the same value for our liberties: if we have, we certainly shall use all peaceable methods to preserve and secure them: and if such methods should prove ineffectual, I hope there is no Englishman but has spirit enough to use those methods for the preservation of our liberties, which were used by our ancestors for the defence of theirs, and for transmitting them down to us in that glorious condition in which we found them. There are some still alive who bravely ventured their lives and fortunes in defence of the liberties of their country; there are many, whose fathers were embarked in the same glorious cause; let it never be
said that the sons of such men wantonly gave up those liberties for which their fathers had risked so much, and that for the poor pretence of suppressing a few frauds in the collecting of the public revenues, which might easily have been suppressed without entering into any such dangerous measures. This is all I shall trouble you with at present; but so much I thought it was incumbent upon me to say, in order that I might enter my protest against the question now before us.

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SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S SPEECH ON THE SAME OCCASION.

SIR,

As I was obliged, when I opened the affair now before you, to take up a great deal of your time, I then imagined that I should not have been under a necessity of giving you any further trouble; but when such things are thrown out, things which in my opinion are quite foreign to the debate; when the ancient histories, not only of this but other countries, are ransacked for characters of wicked ministers, in order to adapt them to the present times, and to draw parallels between them and some modern characters, to which they bear no other resemblance than that they were ministers, it is impossible for one to sit still. Of late years I have dealt but little in the study of history; but I have a very good prompter by me (meaning sir Philip Yorke), and by his means, I can recollect that the case of Empson and Dudley, mentioned by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, was
so very different from any thing that can possibly be presumed from the scheme now before us, that I wonder how it was possible to lug them into the debate. The case as to them was, that they had, by virtue of old and obsolete laws, most unjustly extorted great sums of money from people, who, as was pretended, had become liable to great pains and penalties, by having been guilty of breaches of those obsolete laws, which, for many years before, had gone entirely into disuse. I must say, and I hope most of those that hear me think, that it is very unjust and unfair to draw any parallel between the character of those two ministers and mine, which was, I suppose, what the honourable gentleman meant to do, when he brought that piece of history into the debate. If I ever endeavour to raise money from the people, or from any man whatever, by oppressive or illegal means, if my character should ever come to be in any respect like theirs, I shall deserve their fate. But while I know myself to be innocent, I shall depend upon the protection of the laws of my country. As long as they can protect me, I am safe; and if that protection should fail, I am prepared to submit to the worst that can happen. I know that my political and ministerial life has by some gentlemen been long wished at an end; but they may ask their own disappointed hearts, how vain their wishes have been; and as for my natural life, I have lived long enough to learn to be as easy about parting with it, as any man can well be.

As to those clamours which have been raised without doors, and which are now so much insist-
ed on, it is very well known by whom and by what methods they were raised, and it is no difficult matter to guess with what views; but I am very far from taking them to be the sense of the nation, or believing that the sentiments of the generality of the people were thereby expressed. The most part of the people concerned in those clamours did not speak their own sentiments. They were played upon by others, like so many puppets; it was not the puppets that spoke, it was those behind the curtain that played them, and made them speak whatever they had a mind.

There is now a most extraordinary concourse of people at our door. I hope it will not be said that all those people came there of themselves naturally, and without any instigation from others, for to my certain knowledge some very odd methods were used to bring such multitudes hither. Circular letters were wrote, and sent by the beadles, in the most public and unprecedented manner, round almost every ward in the city, summoning them upon their peril to come down this day to the house of commons. This I am certain of, because I have now one of those letters in my pocket, signed by a deputy of one of the greatest wards in the city of London, and sent by the beadle to one of the inhabitants of that ward; and I know that such letters were sent in the same manner almost to every liveryman and tradesman in that ward; and by the same sort of unwarrantable methods have the clamours been raised almost in every other part of the nation.

Gentlemen may say what they please of the multitudes now at our door, and in all the avenues
leading to this house; they may call them a modest multitude, if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited so long at our door. It may be a very easy matter for some designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them: and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end. He is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could with the same ease appease them. For this reason I must think, that it was neither prudent nor regular to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit; it may be said, that they came hither as humble suppliants; but I know whom the law calls sturdy beggars, and those who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the same manner.

SPEECH OF SIR JOHN ST. AUBIN, FOR REPEALING THE SEPTENNIAL ACT. 1733.

MR. SPEAKER,

The subject matter of this debate is of such importance, that I should be ashamed to return to my electors, without endeavouring, in the best manner I am able, to declare publicly the reasons which induced me to give my most ready assent to this question.

The people have an unquestionable right to frequent new parliaments by ancient usage; and
his usage has been confirmed by several laws, which have been progressively made by our an-
cestors, as often as they found it necessary to in-
sist on this essential privilege.

Parliaments were generally annual, but never
continued longer than three years, till the remark-
able reign of Henry VIII. He, sir, was a prince
of unruly appetites, and of an arbitrary will; he
was impatient of every restraint; the laws of God
and man fell equally a sacrifice, as they stood in the
way of his avarice, or disappointed his ambition:
he therefore introduced long parliaments, because
he very well knew that they would become the
proper instruments of both; and what a slavish
obedience they paid to all his measures is suffi-
ciently known.

If we come to the reign of king Charles the
First, we must acknowledge him to be a prince
of a contrary temper; he had certainly an innate
love for religion and virtue. But here lay the
misfortune—-he was led from his natural dispo-
sition by sycophants and flatterers; they advised
him to neglect the calling of frequent new par-
liaments, and therefore by not taking the constant
sense of his people in what he did, he was worked
up into so high a notion of prerogative, that the
commons (in order to restrain it) obtained that
independent fatal power, which at last unhappily
brought him to his most tragical end, and at the
same time subverted the whole constitution. And
I hope we shall learn this lesson from it, never to
compliment the crown with any new or extrava-
gant powers, nor to deny the people those rights,
which by ancient usage they are entitled; but
to preserve the just and equal balance, from which they will both derive mutual security, and which, if duly observed, will render our constitution the envy and admiration of all the world.

King Charles the Second naturally took a surfeit of parliaments in his father's time, and was therefore extremely desirous to lay them aside. But this was a scheme impracticable. However, in effect, he did so: for he obtained a parliament, which, by its long duration, like an army of veterans, became so exactly disciplined to his own measures, that they knew no other command but from that person who gave them their pay.

This was a safe and most ingenious way of enslaving a nation. It was very well known, that arbitrary power, if it was open and avowed, would never prevail here. The people were therefore amused with the specious form of their ancient constitution: it existed, indeed, in their fancy; but, like a mere phantom, had no substance nor reality in it; for the power, the authority, the dignity of parliaments were wholly lost. This was that remarkable parliament which so justly obtained the opprobrious name of the 'Pension Parliament;' and was the model from which, I believe, some later parliaments have been exactly copied.

At the time of the Revolution, the people made a fresh claim of their ancient privileges; and as they had so lately experienced the misfortune of long and servile parliaments, it was then declared, that they should be held frequently. But, it seems, their full meaning was not understood by this declaration; and therefore, as in every new
settlement, the intention of all parties should be specifically manifested, the parliament never ceased struggling with the crown, till the triennial law was obtained: the preamble of it is extremely full and strong; and in the body of the bill you will find the word declared before enacted, by which I apprehend, that though this law did not immediately take place at the time of the Revolution, it was certainly intended as declaratory of their first meaning, and therefore stands a part of that original contract under which the constitution was then settled. His majesty's title to the crown is primarily derived from that contract; and if, upon a review, there shall appear to be any deviations from it, we ought to treat them as so many injuries done to that title. And I dare say, that this house, which has gone through so long a series of services to his majesty, will at last be willing to revert to those original stated measures of government, to renew and strengthen that title.

But, sir, I think the manner in which the septennial law was first introduced, is a very strong reason why it should be repealed. People, in their fears, have very often recourse to desperate expedients, which, if not cancelled in season, will themselves prove fatal to that constitution, which they were meant to secure. Such is the nature of the septennial law; it was intended only as a preservative against a temporary inconvenience: the inconvenience is removed, but the mischievous effects still continue; for it not only altered the constitution of parliaments, but it extended that same parliament beyond its natural duration;
and therefore carries this most unjust implication with it, that you may at any time usurp the most indubitable, the most essential privilege of the people, I mean that of choosing their own representatives. A precedent of such a dangerous consequence, of so fatal a tendency, that I think it would be a reproach to our statute-book, if that law was any longer to subsist, which might record it to posterity.

This is a season of virtue and public spirit. Let us take advantage of it to repeal those laws which infringe our liberties, and introduce such as may restore the vigour of our ancient constitution.

Human nature is so very corrupt, that all obligations lose their force, unless they are frequently renewed. Long parliaments become therefore independent of the people, and when they do so, there always happens a most dangerous dependence elsewhere.

Long parliaments give the minister an opportunity of getting acquaintance with members, of practising his several arts to win them into his schemes. This must be the work of time. Corruption is of so base a nature, that at first sight it is extremely shocking. Hardly any one has submitted to it all at once. His disposition must be previously understood, the particular bait must be found out with which he is allured, and after all, it is not without many struggles that he surrenders his virtue. Indeed, there are some, who will at once plunge themselves into any base action; but the generality of mankind are of a more cautious nature, and will proceed only by leisurely degrees. One or two perhaps
have deserted their colours the first campaign, some have done it a second; but a great many, who have not that eager disposition to vice, will wait till a third.

For this reason, short parliaments have been less corrupt than long ones; they are observed, like streams of water always to grow more impure the greater distance they run from the fountain-head.

I am aware, it may be said, that frequent new parliaments will produce frequent new expenses; but I think quite the contrary. I am really of opinion, that it will be a proper remedy against the evil of bribery at elections, especially as you have provided so wholesome a law to co-operate upon these occasions.

Bribery at elections, whence did it arise? Not from country gentlemen, for they are sure of being chosen without it; it was, sir, the invention of wicked and corrupt ministers, who have, from time to time, led weak princes into such destructive measures, that they did not dare to rely upon the natural representation of the people.—Long parliaments, sir, first introduced bribery, because they were worth purchasing at any rate.—Country gentlemen, who have only their private fortunes to rely upon, and have no mercenary ends to serve, are unable to oppose it, especially if at any time the public treasure shall be unfaithfully squandered away to corrupt their boroughs. —Country gentlemen, indeed, may make some weak efforts; but as they generally prove unsuccessful, and the time of a fresh struggle is at so great a distance, they at last grow faint in the
dispute, give up their country for lost, and retire in despair.—Despair naturally produces indolence and that is the proper disposition for slavery. Ministers of state understand this very well, and are therefore unwilling to awaken the nation out of its lethargy, by frequent elections. They know that the spirit of liberty, like every other virtue of the mind, is to be kept alive only by constant action; that it is impossible to enslave this nation, while it is perpetually upon its guard. —Let country gentlemen then, by having frequent opportunities of exerting themselves, be kept warm and active in their contention for the public good: this will raise that zeal and spirit, which will at last get the better of those undue influences, by which the officers of the crown, though unknown to the several boroughs, have been able to supplant country gentleman of great characters and fortune, who live in their neighbourhood.—I do not say this upon idle speculation only. I live in a country where it is too well known, and I appeal to many gentlemen in the house, to more out of it (and who are so for this very reason) for the truth of my assertion. Sir, it is a sore which has been long eating into the most vital part of our constitution, and I hope the time will come when you will probe it to the bottom. For if a minister should ever gain a corrupt familiarity with our boroughs, if he should keep a register of them in his closet, and, by sending down his treasury-mandates, should procure a spurious representative of the people, the offspring of his corruption, who will be at all times ready to reconcile and justify the most con-
tradictory measures of his administration, and even to vote every crude indigested dream of their patron into a law; if the maintenance of his power should become the sole object of their attention, and they should be guilty of the most violent breach of parliamentary trust, by giving the king a discretionary liberty of taxing the people without limitation or control; the last fatal compliment they can pay to the crown:— if this should ever be the unhappy condition of this nation, the people indeed may complain; but the doors of that place, where their complaints should be heard, will for ever be shut against them.

Our disease, I fear, is of a complicated nature, and I think that this motion is wisely intended to remove the first and principal disorder. Give the people their ancient right of frequent new elections; they will restore the decayed authority of parliaments, and will put our constitution into a natural condition of working out her own cure.

Sir, upon the whole, I am of opinion, that I cannot express a greater zeal for his majesty, for the liberties of the people, or the honour and dignity of this house, than by seconding the motion which the honourable gentlemen has made you.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S REPLY.

MR. CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

Though the question has been already so fully opposed, that there is no great occasion to say any thing further against it. Yet, I hope, the house
will indulge me the liberty of giving some of those reasons, which induce me to be against the motion. In general I must take notice, that the nature of our constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this motion. It is certain, that ours is a mixed government, and the perfection of our constitution consists in this, that the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical forms of government, are mixed and interwoven in ours, so as to give us all the advantages of each, without subjecting us to the dangers and inconveniences of either. The democratical form of government, which is the only one I have now occasion to take notice of, is liable to these inconveniences: that they are generally too tedious in their coming to any resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough in carrying their resolutions into execution; that they are always wavering in their resolutions, and never steady in any of the measures they resolve to pursue; and that they are often involved in factions, seditions, and insurrections, which exposes them to be made the tools, if not the prey of their neighbours: therefore in all the regulations we make, with respect to our constitution, we are to guard against running too much into that form of government which is properly called democratical: this was, in my opinion, the effect of the triennial law, and will again be the effect, if ever it should be restored.

That triennial elections would make our government too tedious in all their resolves, is evident: because, in such case, no prudent administration would ever resolve upon any measure of conse-
quence, till they had felt not only the pulse of the parliament, but the pulse of the people; and the ministers of state would always labour under this disadvantage, that as secrets of state must not be immediately divulged, their enemies (and enemies they will always have) would have a handle for exposing their measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the people, and thereby carrying perhaps a new election against them, before they could have an opportunity of justifying their measures, by divulging those facts and circumstances, from whence the justice and the wisdom of their measures would clearly appear.

Then, sir, it is by experience well known, that what is called the populace of every country, are apt to be too much elated with success, and too much dejected with every misfortune; this makes them wavering in their opinions about affairs of state, and never long of the same mind; and as the house is chosen by the free and unbiassed voice of the people in general, if this choice were so often renewed, we might expect, that this house would be as wavering, and as unsteady as the people usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the public affairs of the nation, without the concurrence of this house, the ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently, would be obliged to change their measures, as often as the people changed their minds.

With septennial parliaments, sir, we are not exposed to either of these misfortunes, because, if the ministers, after having felt the pulse of the parliament, which they can always soon do, resolve upon any measures, they have generally time
enough, before the new elections come on, to give the people a proper information, in order to show them the justice and the wisdom of the measures they have pursued; and if the people should at any time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or should without a cause change their minds, those at the helm of affairs have time to set them right before a new election comes on.

As to faction and sedition, sir, I will grant, that in monarchical and aristocratical governments, it generally arises from violence and oppression; but in democratical governments, it always arises from the people's having too great a share in the government; for in all countries, and in all governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet spirits, who can never be at rest either in power or out of power: when in power, they are never easy, unless every man submits entirely to their direction, and when out of power, they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any regard to justice, or to the interest of their country; in popular governments such men have too much game, they have too many opportunities for working upon and corrupting the minds of the people, in order to give them a bad impression of, and to raise discontents against, those that have the management of the public affairs for the time; and these discontents often break out into seditions and insurrections. This, sir, would in my opinion be our misfortune if our parliaments were either annual or triennial: by such frequent elections, there would be so much power thrown into the hands of the people, as would destroy that equal mix-
ture, which is the beauty of our constitution: in short, our government would really become a democratical government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical one. Therefore, in order to preserve our constitution, in order to prevent our falling under tyranny and arbitrary power, we ought to preserve that law, which I really think has brought our constitution to a more equal mixture, and consequently to a greater perfection than it was ever in, before that law took place.

As to bribery and corruption, sir, if it were possible to influence, by such base means, the majority of the electors of Great Britain, to choose such men as would probably give up their liberties; if it were possible to influence, by such means, a majority of the members of this house, to consent to the establishment of arbitrary power, I would readily allow, that the calculations made by the gentlemen of the other side were just, and their inference true; but I am persuaded that neither of these is possible. As the members of this house generally are, and must always be, gentlemen of fortune and figure in their country; is it possible to suppose, that any of them could, by a pension, or a post, be influenced to consent to the overthrow of our constitution; by which the enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious? I will allow, sir, that with respect to bribery, the price must be higher or lower, generally, in proportion to the virtue of the man who is to be bribed; but it must likewise be granted, that the humour he happens to be in at the time,
the spirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his virtue. When no encroachments are made upon the rights of the people, when the people do not think themselves in any danger, there may be many of the electors, who by a bribe of ten guineas, might be induced to vote for one candidate rather than another; but if the court were making any encroachments upon the rights of the people, a proper spirit would, without doubt, arise in the nation; and, in such a case, I am persuaded, that none, or very few, even of such electors, could be induced to vote for a court candidate: no, not for ten times the sum.

There may, sir, be some bribery and corruption in the nation; I am afraid there will always be some; but it is no proof of it, that strangers are sometimes chosen; for a gentleman may have so much natural influence over a borough in his neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail with them to choose any person he pleases to recommend; and if upon such recommendation they choose one or two of his friends, who are perhaps strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred that the two strangers were chosen their representatives by the means of bribery and corruption.

To insinuate, sir, that money may be issued from the public treasury for bribing elections, is really something very extraordinary, especially in those gentlemen who know how many checks are upon every shilling that can be issued from thence; and how regularly the money granted in one year, for the public service of the nation, must always be accounted for, the very next session, in this house, and likewise in the other, if they have
a mind to call for any such account. And as to the gentlemen in offices, if they have any advantage over country gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private fortunes, they have likewise many disadvantages: they are obliged to live here at London with their families, by which they are put to a much greater expense, than gentlemen of equal fortunes who live in the country: this lays them under a very great disadvantage, with respect to the supporting their interest in the country. The country gentleman, by living among the electors, and purchasing the necessaries for his family from them, keeps up an acquaintance and correspondence with them, without putting himself to an extraordinary charge; whereas a gentleman who lives in London, has no other way of keeping up an acquaintance or correspondence among his friends in the country, but by going down once or twice a year at a very extraordinary charge, and often without any other business; so that we may conclude, a gentleman in office cannot, even in seven years, save much for distributing in ready money, at the time of an election; and I really believe, if the fact were narrowly inquired into, it would appear, that the gentlemen in office are as little guilty of bribing their electors with ready money, as any other set of gentlemen in the kingdom.

That there are ferments often raising among the people without any just cause, is what I am surprised to hear controverted, since very late experience may convince us of the contrary: do not we know what a ferment was raised in the nation, towards the latter end of the late queen’s reign?
And it is well known, what a fatal change in the affairs of this nation was introduced, or at least confirmed, by an election's coming on while the nation was in that ferment. Do not we know what a ferment was raised in the nation, soon after his late majesty's accession? And if an election had then been allowed to come on, while the nation was in that ferment, it might perhaps have had as fatal effects as the former; but, thank God, this was wisely provided against, by the very law which is now wanted to be repeated.

As such ferment may hereafter often happen, I must think that frequent elections will always be dangerous; for which reason, as far as I can see at present, I shall, I believe, at all times, think it a very dangerous experiment to repeal the septennial bill.


MR. SPEAKER,

I see no occasion to enter at present into the merits of the bill we passed the last session for the naturalization of Jews; because I am convinced, that, in the present temper of the nation, not a single foreign Jew will think it expedient to take any benefit of that act; and, therefore, the repealing of it is giving up nothing. I assented to it last year in hopes it might induce some wealthy Jews to come and settle among us. In that light I saw enough of utility in it, to make me
incline rather to approve than dislike it; but that any man alive could be zealous either for or against it, I confess I had no idea. What affects our religion is indeed of the highest and most serious importance. God forbid we should be ever indifferent about that! but I thought this had no more to do with religion, than any turnpike act we passed in that session; and, after all the divinity that has been preached on the subject, I think so still.

Resolution and steadiness are excellent qualities; but it is the application of them upon which their value depends. A wise government, Mr. Speaker, will know where to yield, as well as where to resist; and there is no surer mark of littleness of mind in administration, than obstinacy in trifles. Public wisdom on some occasions must condescend to give way to popular folly, especially in a free country, where the humour of the people must be considered as attentively, as the humour of a king in an absolute monarchy. Under both forms of government, a prudent and honest ministry will indulge a small folly, and will resist a great one. Not to vouchsafe now and then a kind indulgence to the former, would discover an ignorance of human nature; not to resist the latter at all times, would be meanness and servility.

Sir, I look on the bill we are at present debating, not as a sacrifice made to popularity (for it sacrifices nothing), but as a prudent regard to some consequences arising from the nature of the clamour raised against the late act of naturalizing Jews, which seem to require a particular consideration.

It has been hitherto the rare and envied felicity
of his majesty's reign, that his subjects have enjoyed such a settled tranquility, such a freedom from angry religious disputes, as is not to be paralleled in any former times. The true christian spirit of moderation, of charity, of universal benevolence, has prevailed in the people, has prevailed in the clergy of all ranks and degrees, instead of those narrow principles, those bigotted prejudices, that furious, that implacable, that ignorant zeal, which had often done so much hurt both to the church and the state. But from the ill-understood, insignificant act of parliament you are now moved to repeal, occasion has been taken to deprive us of this inestimable advantage. It is a pretence to disturb the peace of the church, to infuse idle fears into the minds of the people, and make religion itself an engine of sedition. It behoves the piety as well as the wisdom, of parliament, to disappoint these endeavours. Sir, the very worst mischief that can be done to religion, is to pervert it to the purposes of faction. Heaven and hell are not more distant, than the benevolent spirit of the gospel and the malignant spirit of party. The most impious wars ever made were those called Holy Wars. He who hates another man for not being a Christian is himself not a Christian. Christianity, sir, breathes love, and peace, and good-will to man. A temper conformable to the dictates of that holy religion has lately distinguished this nation; and a glorious distinction it was! but there is latent at all times, in the minds of the vulgar, a spark of enthusiasm; which, if blown by the breath of party, may, even when it seems quite extinguished, be suddenly revived and
raised to a flame. The act of last session, for naturalizing Jews, has very unexpectedly administered fuel to feed that flame. To what a height it may rise, if it should continue much longer, one cannot easily tell; but take away the fuel, and it will die of itself.

It is the misfortune of all the Roman Catholic countries, that there the church and the state, the civil power and the hierarchy, have separate interests, and are continually at variance one with the other. It is our happiness, that here they form but one system. While this harmony lasts, whatever hurts the church, hurts the state; whatever weakens the credit of the governors of the church, takes away from the civil power a part of its strength, and shakes the whole constitution.

Sir, I trust and believe, that, by speedily passing this bill, we shall silence that obloquy, which has so unjustly been cast upon our reverend prelates (some of the most respectable that ever adorned our church), for the part they took in the act which this repeals. And it greatly concerns the whole community, that they should not lose that respect, which is so justly due to them, by popular clamour, kept up in opposition to a matter of no importance in itself. But if the departing from that measure should not remove the prejudice so maliciously raised, I am certain, that no further step you can take will be able to remove it; and therefore I hope you will stop here. This appears to be a reasonable and safe condescension, by which nobody will be hurt; but all beyond this would be dangerous weakness in government. It might open a door to the wildest enthusiasm, and
to the most mischievous attacks of political disaffection working upon that enthusiasm. If you encourage and authorize it to fall on the synagogue, it will go thence to the meeting-house, and in the end to the palace. But let us be careful to check its further progress. The more zealous we are to support Christianity, the more vigilant should we be in maintaining toleration. If we bring back persecution, we bring back the antichristian spirit of popery; and when the spirit is here, the whole system will soon follow. Toleration is the basis of all public quiet. It is a character of freedom given to the mind, more valuable, I think, than that which secures our persons and estates. Indeed they are inseparably connected together; for where the mind is not free, where the conscience is enthralled, there is no freedom. Spiritual tyranny puts on the galling chains; but civil tyranny is called in to rivet and fix them. We see it in Spain, and many other countries; we have formerly both seen and felt it in England. By the blessings of God, we are now delivered from all kinds of oppression. Let us take care that they may never return.

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SPEECH OF MR. PITT (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CHATHAM), ON AMERICAN TAXATION. 1765.

Mr. Pitt at beginning was rather low, and as every one was in agitation at his first rising, his introduction was not heard, till he said:

I came to town but to-day; I was a stranger to
the tenor of his majesty's speech, and the proposed address, till I heard them read in this house. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address.

The address being read, he went on; he commended the king's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of: 'early' is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry have given to parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been immediate: I speak not with respect to parties, I stand up in this place singly and unconnected. As to the late ministry (turning himself to Mr. Grenville), every capital measure they have taken has been entirely wrong. As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye (looking at the bench where Mr. Conway sat, with the lords of the treasury), I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion, before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage; but, notwithstanding, I love to be explicit; I cannot give them my confidence. Pardon me, gentlemen (bowing to the ministry), confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth
is the season of credulity: by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence.

There is a clause in the act of settlement, to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his sovereign. Would it were observed! I have had the honour to serve the crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found.—It is my boast, that I was the first minister that looked for it, and I found it, in the mountains of the North. I called forth, and drew into your service, a hardy and intrepid race of men! men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state, in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved, but the man of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.

It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was
taken in the house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequence, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have born my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed; I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom.

I hope a day may soon be appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires: a subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this house, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bound or free.

In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act, to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. Nugent) seem to have considered it as a point of honour. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies, to be sovereign and su-
prime in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen.

Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country, the Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrency of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law.

The gift and grant is of the commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy, possessed the lands. In those days the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The crown has divested itself of its great estates. The church (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this house represents these commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants.

When, therefore, in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and
grant to your majesty, what? our own property?  
—No, we give and grant to your majesty the property of the commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms.

The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation; the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough,—a borough which, perhaps, no man ever saw? That is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man.—It does not deserve a serious consideration.

The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme
governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures, in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here I would draw the line.

Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

He concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so slow that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. Pitt had done speaking.

SPEECH OF MR. GREENVILLE ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

He began with censuring the ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the disturbances in America. He said they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences; they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults, and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of a revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and differ only in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign
power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised, over these who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India Company, the merchants of London, and the proprietors of the stocks, and over great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the county palatine of Chester, and the bishopric of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives; one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II. He then quoted the acts, and desired they might be read; which being done, he said: When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America, America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them this protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, in open rebellion.

The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.
We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with expectation of support from hence? let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances for this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I desire a West India merchant, well known in this city (Mr. Long), a gentleman of character, may be admitted. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place, it becomes me to wipe off the aspersio.
SPEECH OF MR. PITT, IN-reply TO MR. GRENVILLE.

I do not apprehend I am speaking twice; I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this house, but I am compelled to proceed in it. I do not speak twice; I only mean to finish what I designedly left imperfect. But if the house is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression against order. (Here he paused, the house resounding with, "Go on, go on"—he proceeded)

Gentlemen, sir, have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise.

No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it—it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited, by which he ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend
the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham: I would have cited them, to have shown, that even under the most arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentlemen: I know his abilities: I have been obliged by his diligent researches. But for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground upon which I stand firm; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented. The India Company, merchants, stock-holders, manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. But they are all inhabitants, and, as such, are virtually represented. Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connexions with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stock-holders. I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation a part of the national estate. Since the accession of king William, many ministers, some of great, other of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government. He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till it came to himself, giving a short sketch
of the characters of each of them. None of these, he said, thought or even dreamed of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the era of the late administration: not that there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous, an unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America, I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America.

Our legislative power over the colonies is supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. Where two countries are connected together like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the
subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter. The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when were they made slaves? but I dwell upon your words. When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office. I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are at three thousand at present. Those estates sold then for from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may be now sold for thirty.

You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer, to the loss of a million to the nation! I dare not say, how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the migration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged; you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the
islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

Does the gentleman complain he has been misrepresented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair of the last war, I was abused in all the newspapers, for having advised his majesty to violate the laws of nations with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated even in handbills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, administration never contradicted it. It will not say what advice I did give to the king. My advice is in writing, signed by myself, in the possession of the crown. But I will say what advice I did not give to the king: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations.

As to the report of the gentleman's preventing in some way the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently that I own I am one of those who did believe it to be true. The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house which does not choose to contradict a minister. Even your chair, sir, looks too often towards St. James's. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty: if they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its re-
spect to the representative. Lord Bacon has told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that at the proper season, the German war:—my German war they called it. Every sessions I called out, Has any body any objection to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the upper house by succession to an ancient barony, (meaning lord Le Despencer, formerly sir Francis Dashwood.) He told me, 'He did not like a German war.' I honoured the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post.

A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops; I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the stamp act, which so many here will think a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace—not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you, while France disturbs your
fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ranson for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer: a gentleman (colonel Draper) whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper; they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies that I cannot help repeating them:

Be to her faults a little blind
Be to her virtues very kind.

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.
SPEECH OF LORD MANSFIELD, ON THE BILL FOR PREVENTING THE DELAYS OF JUSTICE BY CLAIMING THE PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT.

1770.

MY LORDS,

When I consider the importance of this bill to your lordships, I am not surprised it has taken up so much of your consideration. It is a bill, indeed of no common magnitude; it is no less than to take away from two-thirds of the legislative body of this great kingdom, certain privileges and immunities, of which they have long been possessed. Perhaps there is no situation which the human mind can be placed in, that is so difficult and so trying, as where it is made a judge in its own cause. There is something implanted in the breast of man, so attached to itself, so tenacious of privileges once obtained, that in such a situation, either to discuss with impartiality, or decide with justice, has ever been held as the summit of all human virtue. The bill now in question puts your lordships in this very predicament; and I doubt not but the wisdom of your decision will convince the world, that where self-interest and justice are in opposite scales, the latter will ever preponderate with your lordships.

Privileges have been granted to legislators in all ages, and in all countries. The practice is founded in wisdom; and indeed, it is peculiarly essential to the constitution of this country, that the members of both houses should be free in their persons in cases of civil suits; for there may come a time when the safety and welfare of this
whole empire may depend upon their attendance in parliament. God forbid that I should advise any measure that would in future endanger the state; but the bill before you lordships has, I am confident, no such tendency, for it expressly secures the persons of members of either house in all civil suits. This being the case, I confess, when I see many noble lords, for whose judgment I have a very great respect, standing up to oppose a bill which is calculated merely to facilitate the recovery of just and legal debts, I am astonished and amazed. They, I doubt not, oppose the bill upon public principles; I would not wish to insinuate that private interest has the least weight in their determinations.

This bill has been frequently proposed, and as frequently miscarried; but it was always lost in the lower house. Little did I think when it had passed the commons, that it possibly could have met with such opposition here. Shall it be said, that you, my lords, the grand council of the nation, the highest judicial and legislative body of the realm, endeavour to evade, by privilege, those very laws which you enforce on your fellow-subjects? Forbid it justice!—I am sure, were the noble lords as well acquainted as I am with but half the difficulties and delays, that are every day occasioned in the courts of justice, under pretence of privilege, they would not, nay, they could not, oppose this bill.

I have waited with patience to hear what arguments might be urged against the bill; but I have waited in vain. The truth is, there is no argument that can weigh against it. The justice, the expediency of this bill is such, as renders it self-evident,
It is a proposition of that nature that can neither be weakened by argument, nor entangled with sophistry. Much, indeed, has been said by some noble lords on the wisdom of our ancestors, and how differently they thought from us.

They not only decreed that privilege should prevent all civil suits from proceeding during the sitting of parliament, but likewise granted protection to the very servants of members. I shall say nothing on the wisdom of our ancestors; it might perhaps appear invidious, and is not necessary in the present case.

I shall only say, that the noble lords that flatter themselves with the weight of that reflection, should remember, that as circumstances alter, things themselves should alter. Formerly, it was not so fashionable, either for masters or servants, to run in debt, as it is at present; nor, formerly, were merchants and manufacturers members of parliament, as at present. The case now is very different; both merchants and manufacturers are, with great propriety, elected members of the lower house. Commerce having thus got into the legislative body of the kingdom, privileges must be done away.

We all know that the very soul and essence of trade are regular payments; and sad experience teaches us, that there are men, who will not make their regular payments without the compressive power of the laws. The law, then, ought to be equally open to all; any exemption to particular men, or particular ranks of men, is, in a free and commercial country, a solecism of the grossest nature.
But I will not trouble your lordships with arguments for that, which is sufficiently evident without any. I shall only say a few words to some noble lords, who foresee much inconvenience from the persons of their servants being liable to be arrested. One noble lord observes, that the coachman of a peer may be arrested while he is driving his master to the house, and consequently, he will not be able to attend his duty in parliament. If this was actually to happen, there are so many methods by which the member might still get to the house, I can hardly think the noble lord is serious in his objection. Another noble peer said, that by this bill they might lose their most valuable and honest servants. This I hold to be a contradiction in terms: for he can neither be a valuable servant, nor an honest man, who gets into debt, which he is neither able nor willing to pay, until compelled by law. If my servant, by unforeseen accidents, has got in debt, and I still wish to retain him, I certainly would pay the debt. But upon no principle of liberal legislation whatever, can my servant have a title to set his creditors at defiance, while, for forty shillings only, the honest tradesman may be torn from his family, and locked up in gaol. It is monstrous injustice! I flatter myself, however, the determination of this day will entirely put an end to all such partial proceedings for the future, by passing into a law the bill now under your lordships' consideration.

I now come to speak upon what, indeed, I would have gladly avoided, had I not been particularly pointed at for the part I have taken in this bill. It has been said by a noble lord on my left
hand, that I likewise am running the race of popularity. If the noble lord means by popularity, that applause bestowed by after-ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been struggling in that race—to what purpose, all-trying time can alone determine; but if that noble lord means that mushroom popularity, which is raised without merit, and lost without a crime, he is much mistaken in his opinion. I defy the noble lord to point out a single action in my life, where the popularity of the times ever had the smallest influence on my determinations. I thank God I have a more permanent and steady rule for my conduct—the dictates of my own breast. Those that have forgone that pleasing adviser, and given up their mind to be the slave of every popular impulse, I sincerely pity: I pity them still more if their vanity leads them to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame. Experience might inform them, that many, who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next: and many, who by the popularity of the times have been held up as spotless patriots, have, nevertheless, appeared upon the historian's page, where truth has triumphed over delusion, the assassins of liberty. Why, then, the noble lord can think I am ambitious of present popularity, that echo of folly and shadow of renown, I am at a loss to determine. Besides, I do not know that the bill now before your lordships will be popular; it depends much upon the caprice of the day. It may not be popular, to compel people to pay their debts; and in that case the present must be a very unpopular bill.
It may not be popular, neither, to take away any of the privileges of parliament; for I very well remember, and many of your lordships may remember, that not long ago, the popular cry was for the extension of privileges; and so far did they carry it at that time, that it was said, that privilege protected members even in criminal actions: nay, such was the power of popular prejudices over weak minds, that the very decisions of some of the courts were tinctured with this doctrine. It was undoubtedly an abominable doctrine: I thought so then, and think so still; but, nevertheless, it was a popular doctrine, and came immediately from those who are called the friends of liberty—how deservedly, time will show. True liberty, in my opinion, can only exist when justice is equally administered to all—to the king and to the beggar. Where is the justice, then, or where is the law, that protects a member of parliament more than any other man from the punishment due to his crimes? The laws of this country allow of no place nor employment to be a sanctuary for crimes; and where I have the honour to sit as a judge, neither royal favour nor popular applause shall ever protect the guilty. I have now only to beg pardon for having employed so much of your lordships' time; and am sorry a bill, fraught with so good consequences, has not met with an abler advocate; but I doubt not your lordships' determination will convince the world, that a bill, calculated to contribute so much to the equal distribution of justice as the present, requires with your lordships but very little support.
SPEECH OF LORD MANSFIELD, ON THE MATTER OF MR. EVANS, WHO REFUSED THE OFFICE OF SHERIFF, ON THE PLEA OF BEING A DIS-SENDER.

MY LORDS,

I APPREHEND the action brought against the defendant is not well grounded, and I shall show that it must fail in every view of it. If they ground it on the corporation act, by the literal and express provision of that act, no person can be elected who hath not within a year, taken the sacrament in the church of England. The defendant hath not taken the sacrament within a year. He is not therefore elected; here they fail. If they ground it on the general design of the legislature in passing the corporation act—the design was to exclude dissenters from office, and disable them from serving; for in those times, when persecuting principles and arbitrary measures were pursued, the dissenters were reputed and treated as persons ill-afflicted and dangerous to the government. The defendant therefore, a dissenter, and in the eye of this law a person dangerous and ill-afflicted, is excluded from office, and disabled from serving. Here too they fail. If they ground the action on their own bye-law, since that bye-law was professedly made to procure fit and able persons to serve the office, and the defendant is not fit and able, being expressly disabled by statute law—Here too they fail.

If they ground it on his disability being owing to a neglect of taking the sacrament at church,
when he ought to have done it—the toleration act having freed the dissenters from all obligations to take the sacrament at church—the defendant is guilty of no neglect, no criminal neglect; there therefore they fail.

The defendant, in the present case, my lords, pleads that he is a dissenter within the description of the toleration act; that he hath not taken the sacrament in the Church of England, within one year preceding the time of his supposed election, nor ever in his whole life, and that he cannot in conscience do it. Conscience, my lords, is not controllable by human laws, nor amenable to human tribunals; persecution, or attempts to force conscience, will never produce conviction, and are only calculated to make hypocrites or martyrs.

My lords, there never was a single instance, from the Saxon times down to our times, in which a man was ever punished for erroneous opinions, concerning rites or modes of worship, but upon some positive law. The common law of England, which is only common reason or usage, knows of no prosecution for opinions; only for atheism, blasphemy, and reviling the Christian religion; and there have been instances of persons being punished for these upon the common law; but non-conformity, my lords, is no sin by the common law, and all positive laws inflicting any pains or penalties for non-conformity to the established rites and modes, are repealed by the act of toleration, and dissenters are thereby exempted from all ecclesiastical censures. My lords, what blood and confusion have been occasioned from the
reign of Henry the Fourth, when the first penal statutes were enacted, down to the Revolution in these kingdoms, by laws made to force conscience. There is nothing certainly more unreasonable, more inconsistent with the rights of human nature, more contrary to the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion, more iniquitous and unjust, more impolitic, than persecution: my lords, it is against natural religion, revealed religion, and sound policy.

As to the great impolicy of it, any man, who peruses the admirable things which the president de Thou, then a papist, hath advanced (and which I never read without rapture) in the dedication of his History to Henry the Fourth of France, will meet with the fullest conviction. I am only sorry, my lords, that his countrymen, the French have so far profited by the sentiments he hath there delivered, as now to see their errour. I profess I am one of those who should not have broke my heart (I hope I shall not be thought uncharitable in saying it), if they had banished the Hugonots and kept the Jesuits; in a political view, I had much rather they had retained the Jesuits and banished the Hugonots. And, my lords, to ruin the Hugonots, a more jesuitical advice could not have been given than what hath been followed in the present case; make a law to render them incapable of office, make another law for not serving. If they accept, punish them (for it is admitted on all hands that the defendant is prosecutable for taking the office upon him); if they accept, punish them; if they refuse, punish them; if they say yes, punish them; if they say
no, punish them. My lords, this is a most exquisite dilemma, from which there is no escaping; it is a trap a man cannot get out of, it is as bad a persecution as that of Procrustes—if they are too short, stretch them; if they are too long, lop them; and, my lords, this bye-law, by which the dissenters are to be reduced to this wretched dilemma, is a bye-law of the city, a local corporation, contrary to an act of parliament, which is the law of the land; a modern bye-law, of very modern date, made long since the corporation act, long since the toleration act, in the face of them, and in direct opposition to them, for they knew these laws were in being. It was made in some year of the reign of the late king. I forget which; but, my lords, it was made about the time of building the mansion-house. Now, my lords, if it could be supposed the city have a power of making such a bye-law, it would entirely subvert the toleration act, the design of which was to exempt the dissenters from all penalties. For by such a bye-law they have it in their power to make every dissenter pay a fine of six hundred pounds, or any sum they please; for it amounts to that.

The professed design of making this bye-law, was to get fit and able persons to serve the office; and the plaintiff sets forth in his declaration, that if the dissenters are excluded, they shall want fit and able persons to serve the office. But, my lords, were I to deliver my own suspicion, it would be, that they did not so much wish for their services as their fines.

My lords, dissenters have been appointed to this
office; one who was blind, another who was bedridden, not I suppose on account of their being fit and able to serve the office; no, they were disabled both by nature and by law. My lords, we had a case lately in the courts below, of a person chosen mayor of a corporation while he was beyond the seas with his majesty's troops in America, and they knew him to be so. Did they want him to serve the office? No, it was impossible; but they had a mind to continue the former mayor a year longer, and to have a pretence for setting aside him who was now chosen on all future elections, as having been elected before; and, my lords, in the cause before your lordships, the defendant was by law incapable at the time of his election, and it is my firm opinion that he was chosen because he was incapable. If he had been capable he had not been chosen, for they did not want him to serve the office; they chose him, because, without a breach of the law, and a usurpation upon the crown, he could not serve the office. They chose him, that he might fall under the penalty of their bye-law, made to serve a particular purpose; in opposition to which, and to avoid the fine thereby imposed, he hath pleaded a legal disability, grounded on two acts of parliament. And as I am of opinion that his plea is good, I conclude with moving your lordships, that the judgment be affirmed.
I find myself under a great difficulty, either to agree to this amendment, or to differ from it; for, by agreeing to a censure, I may seem to adopt an opinion of the worthy alderman's guilt, which I have no right to entertain. Did I even think him guilty, I durst not condemn him unheard. As a judge, I am bound to think the man whom I try innocent, till he has been fairly heard, and till his guilt results out of conviction. It is speaking too well of this proceeding to say, that this magistrate was not allowed counsel. He was allowed counsel, so far as to let us see the faces of counsel at the bar; but clogged with a condition, that gagged their mouths from speaking what was necessary for their client's defence. It is an aggravation of injustice, to commit it under a false colour and insidious affectation of justice. The honourable gentleman must therefore pardon me, if I cannot vote for his amendment as a measure of kindness to Mr. Oliver; for if you, Mr. Speaker, are ordered to reprimand that gentleman, we all know your ability to do it to some purpose; nor can human nature be exposed to a more humiliating state, or to sharper feelings, than by submitting to such a reprimand as you will give. But in going to the Tower, there is nothing to afflict him; on the contrary, he will carry in his own bosom the blessings of a good conscience, and be followed by the general applause of his fellow citi-
zens, whilst his judges and prosecutors will be pur- sued by the curses of the people, scorned by those who hate, and pitied by those who think moderately of them. But if there was no reason for this amendment, I should think, sir, the feelings of gentlemen would incline them to adopt it, merely to get rid of a matter, of which we are all so sick and weary. I consent to it for the sake of peace, even at the expense of justice. With this view to peace, I have opposed every part of this wretched business, in every stage. They who now differ, may live to applaud me for it. I see that many gentlemen of the highest rank and character, some of whom, by their doubts, gave a sanction, and others who added vigour and impulse to this prosecution, are now withdrawn. Several gentlemen, who uniformly opposed this motion, have turned their backs upon the house, with many bitter expressions of the indignation which they felt. With what temper and opinion I may ever return to this unpleasant seat, I know not; but I will not leave it, as long as there is a twig to catch at, by which I can hope to keep the peace of this unfortunate country. Mr. Speaker, it is natural for men to complain of what they hear from the report of others; but it is what they see and feel that provokes them to action. Here then lies the difference betwixt commitment and reprimand. The people without doors will only hear the one—they will see the other; and every hour of his imprisonment will add fresh discontent to their minds, and raise some new spirit of commotion. We have now sat many hours past mid-
night; the daylight is advancing upon us: let not the Sun rise upon our shame! But let us close this miserable scene under the cover of the darkness which suits with it, and under the shelter of our own walls.

Strongly as I think the public ought to know what passes here, I wish to God I could bind you, myself, the whole house, with every clerk, sergeant, messenger, and attendant, to secrecy on this occasion. But that would be impossible. Still, sir, may a great deal of mischief be avoided, if we keep ourselves to ourselves; if we do not send our judgment to be executed abroad, to create riot, tumult, and sedition. Most sincerely therefore, do I call upon the noble lord who sits on the treasury bench; he has neither my ill thoughts, nor my ill wishes; and, if his lordship is truly spoken of, he can never approve of this business. Let him then permit me to conjure him, for his own honour, for the ease and dignity of his sovereign, and, above all, for his country's peace, to lay hold on the opportunity given by the worthy general, to close this scene of mischief here.

The main object of those who are charged with the cares of government, is peace. Great kings, and wise ministers, have thought it not beneath them to give up points of the greatest moment for the sake of peace. Ministers must govern accidents, not be governed by them. But when ministers themselves endanger public peace for trifles, and raise discord out of atoms, then is government itself in a state of anarchy.

The storm that now hangs over us was raised by
government: and whatever consequences may follow, they who began, and who have countenanced this proceeding, are answerable to their king, their country, and their God.

SPEECH OF SIR WILLIAM MEREDITH, ON FREQUENT EXECUTIONS. 1777.

I agree with my honourable friend (Mr. Combe), that no greater crime can be committed than the wilful setting fire to merchant ships, which may endanger not only lives and properties, but public safety. I should think this crime, above all others, fit to be punished with death, if I could suppose the infliction of death at all useful in the prevention of crimes.

But in subjects of this nature, we are to consider, not what the individual is, nor what he may have done; we are to consider only what is right for public example, and private safety.

Whether hanging ever did, or can, answer any good purpose, I doubt: but the cruel exhibition of every execution day, is a proof that hanging carries no terror with it. And I am confident, that every new sanguinary law operates as an encouragement to commit capital offences; for it is not the mode, but the certainty of punishment, that creates terror. What men know they must endure, they fear; what they think they can escape, they despise. The multiplicity of our hanging laws has produced these two things; frequency of condemnation, and frequent pardons.
As hope is the first and greatest spring of action, if it was so, that out of twenty convicts one only was to be pardoned, the thief would say, 'Why may not I be that one?' But since, as our laws are actually administered, not one in twenty is executed, the thief acts on the chance of twenty to one in his favour; he acts on a fair and reasonable presumption of indemnity; and I verily believe, that the confident hope of indemnity is the cause of nineteen in twenty robberies that are committed.

But if we look to the executions themselves, what example do they give? The thief dies either hardened or penitent. We are not to consider such reflections as occur to reasonable and good men, but such impressions as are made on the thoughtless, the desperate, and the wicked. These men look on the hardened villain with envy and admiration. All that animation and contempt of death with which heroes and martyrs inspire good men in a good cause, the abandoned villain feels in seeing a desperado like himself meet death with intrepidity. The penitent thief, on the other hand, often makes the sober villain think in this way: himself oppressed with poverty and want, he sees a man die with that penitence which promises pardon for his sins here, and happiness hereafter; straight he thinks, that by robbery, forgery, or murder, he can relieve all his wants; and if he be brought to justice, the punishment will be short and trifling, and the reward eternal.

Even in crimes which are seldom or never pardoned, death is no prevention. House-breakers, forgers, and coiners, are sure to be hanged: yet
house-breaking, forgery, and coining, are the very crimes which are the oftenest committed. Strange it is, that in the case of blood, of which we ought to be most tender, we should still go on, against reason and against experience, to make unavailing slaughter of our fellow creatures. A recent event has proved, that policy will do what blood cannot do. I mean the late regulation of the coinage. For thirty years together men were continually hanged for coining: still it went on: but, on the new regulation of the gold coin, ceased. This event proves these two things: the efficacy of police, and the inefficacy of hanging. But is it not very extraordinary, that since the regulation of the gold coin, an act has passed, making it treason to coin silver? But has it stopped the coinage of silver? On the contrary, do you not hear of it more than ever? It seems as if the law and the crime bore the same date. I do not know what the honourable member thinks who brought in the bill; but perhaps some feelings may come across his own mind, when he sees how many lives he is taking away for no purpose. Had it been fairly stated, and specifically pointed out, what the mischief of coining silver in the utmost extent is, that hanging bill might not have been so readily adopted: under the name of treason it found an easy passage. I indeed have always understood treason to be nothing less than some act or conspiracy against the life or honour of the king, and the safety of the state: but what the king or state can suffer by my taking now and then a bad sixpence or a bad shilling, I cannot imagine.

By this nickname of treason, however, there
lies at this moment in Newgate, under sentence to be burnt alive, a girl just turned of fourteen; at her master's bidding, she hid some white-washed farthings behind her stays, on which the jury found her guilty, as an accomplice with her master in the treason. The master was hanged last Wednesday; and the faggots all lay ready—no reprieve came, till just as the cart was setting out, and the girl would have been burned alive on the same day, had it not been for the humane but casual interference of lord Weymouth. Good God! sir, are we taught to execrate the fires of Smithfield, and are we lighting them now to burn a poor harmless child for hiding a white-washed farthing! And yet, this barbarous sentence, which ought to make men shudder at the thought of shedding blood for such trivial causes, is brought as a reason for more hanging and burning. It was recommended to me, not many days ago, to bring in a bill to make it treason to coin copper, as well as gold and silver. Yet, in the formation of these sanguinary laws, humanity, religion, and policy, are thrown out of the question. This one wise argument is always sufficient; if you hang for one fault, why not for another? if for stealing a sheep, why not for a cow or a horse? If for a shilling, why not for a handkerchief that is worth eighteen-pence?—and so on. We therefore ought to oppose the increase of these new laws: the more, because every fresh one begets twenty others.

When a member of parliament brings in a new hanging law, he begins with mentioning some injury that may be done to private property, for
which a man is not yet liable to be hanged; and then proposes the gallows as the specific and infallible means of cure and prevention. But the bill, in progress of time, makes crimes capital, that scarce deserve whipping. For instance, the shop-lifting act was to prevent bankers' and silversmiths', and other shops, where there are commonly goods of great value, from being robbed; but it goes so far as to make it death to lift any thing off a counter with intent to steal.

Under this act, one Mary Jones was executed, whose case I shall just mention: it was at the time when press-warrants were issued, on the alarm about Falkland Islands. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for some debts of his, and she, with two small children, turned into the streets a-begging. It is a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young (under nineteen), and most remarkably handsome. She went to a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak; the shopman saw her, and she laid it down: for this she was hanged. Her defence was (I have the trial in my pocket), 'that she had lived in credit, and wanted for nothing, till a press-gang came and stole her husband from her; but, since then, she had no bed to lie on; nothing to give her children to eat; and they were almost naked; and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she hardly knew what she did.' The parish officers testified the truth of this story; but it seems, there had been a good deal of shop-lifting about Ludgate; an example was thought necessary; and this woman was hanged for the
comfort and satisfaction of shopkeepers in Ludgate-street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner, as proved her mind to be in a distracted and desponding state; and the child was sucking at her breast when she set out for Tyburn.

Let us reflect a little on this woman's fate. The poet says, 'an honest man's the noblest work of God.' He might have said with equal truth, that a beauteous woman's the noblest work of God.

But for what cause was God's creation robbed of this its noblest work? It was for no injury; but for a mere attempt to clothe two naked children by unlawful means. Compare this with what the state did, and with what the law did. The state bereaved the woman of her husband, and the child of a father, who was all their support; the law deprived the woman of her life, and the children of their remaining parent, exposing them to every danger, insult, and merciless treatment, that destitute and helpless orphans suffer. Take all the circumstances together, I do not believe that a fouler murder was ever committed against law, than the murder of this woman by law. Some who hear me are perhaps blaming the judges, the jury, and the hangman; but neither judge, jury, nor hangman, are to blame; they are but ministerial agents: the true hangman is the member of parliament; he who frames the bloody law is answerable for all the blood that is shed under it. But there is a further consideration still. Dying as these unhappy wretches often do, who knews what their future lot may be! Perhaps, my honourable friend, who moves this bill, has not
yet considered himself in the light of an executioner; no man has more humanity, no man a stronger sense of religion than himself; and I verily believe, that at this moment he wishes as little success to this hanging law as I do. His nature must recoil at making himself the cause, not only of shedding the blood, but perhaps destroying the soul of his fellow creature.

But the wretches who die are not the only sufferers; there are more and greater objects of compassion still;—I mean the surviving relations and friends. Who knows how many innocent children we may be dooming to ignominy and wretchedness? Who knows how many widows' hearts we may break with grief, how many grey hairs of parents we may bring with sorrow to the grave?

The Mosaic law ordained, that for a sheep or an ox, four and five fold should be restored; and for robbing a house, double; that is one fold for reparation, the rest for example; and the forfeiture was greater, as the property was more exposed. If the thief came by night, it was lawful to kill him; but if he came by day, he was only to make restitution; and if he had nothing, he was to be sold for his theft. This is all that God required in felonies, nor can I find in history any sample of such laws as ours, except a code that was framed at Athens by Draco. He made every offence capital, upon this modern way of reasoning: 'That petty crimes deserved death, and he knew nothing worse for the greatest.' His laws, it was said, were written, not with ink, but with blood; but they were of short duration, being all repealed by Solon, except one, for murder.
An attempt was made some years ago by my honourable friend, sir Charles Banbury, to repeal some of the most absurd and cruel of our capital laws. The bill passed this house, but was rejected by the lords, for this reason: 'It was an innovation,' they said, 'and subversion of law.' The very reverse is truth. These hanging laws are themselves innovations. No less than three-and-thirty of them passed during the last reign. I believe, I myself was the first person who checked the progress of them. When the great Alfred came to the throne, he found the kingdom overrun with robbers; but the silly expedient of hanging never came into his head: he instituted a police, which was, to make every township answerable for the felonies committed in it. Thus property became the guardian of property; and all robbery was so effectually stopped, that (the historians tell us) in a very short time a man might travel through the kingdom, unarmed, with his purse in his hand.

Treason, murder, rape and burning a dwelling-house, were all the crimes that were liable to be punished with death by our good old common law. And such was the tenderness, such the reluctance to shed blood, that if recompense could possibly be made, life was not to be touched. Treason being against the king, the remission of that crime was in the crown. In case of murder itself, if compensation could be made, the next of kin might discharge the prosecution, which if once discharged, could never be revived. If a ravisher could make the injured woman satisfaction, the law had no power over him; she might
marry the man under the gallows, if she pleased, and take him from the jaws of death to the lips of matrimony. But so fatally are we deviated from the benignity of our ancient laws, that there is now under sentence of death an unfortunate clergyman, who made satisfaction for the injury he attempted: the satisfaction was accepted: and yet the acceptance of the satisfaction, and the prosecution bear the same date.

There does not occur to my thoughts a proposition more abhorrent from nature, and from reason, than that in a matter of property, when restitution is made, blood should still be required. But in regard to our whole system of criminal law, and much more to our habits of thinking and reasoning upon it, there is a sentence of the great Roman orator, which I wish those who hear me to remark. Exhorting the senate to put a stop to executions, he says, 'Nolite, quirites, hanc saevitiam diutius pati; quæ non modotot cives atrociissime sustulit, sed humanitatem ipsam ademit consuetudine in-commodorum.'

Having said so much on the general principles of our criminal laws, I have only a short word or two to add, on the two propositions now before us: one, as moved by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Combe), to hang persons that wilfully set fire to ships; the other, moved as an amendment by my honourable friend, (sir Charles Banbury), is, to compel such offenders to work seven years on the Thames.

The question arises from the alarming events of the late fires at Portsmouth and Bristol; for which the incendiary is put to death. But, will
an act of parliament prevent such men as John the Painter from coming into the world, or control them when they are in it? You might as well bring in a bill to prevent the appearance, or regulate the motions of, a comet. John the Painter was so far from fearing death, that he courted it; was so far from concealing his act, that he told full as much as was true, to his own conviction. When once a villain turns enthusiast, he is above all law. Punishment is his reward, and death his glory. But, though this law will be useless against villains, it is dangerous, and may be fatal to many an innocent person. There is not an honest industrious carpenter or sailor, who may not be endangered in the course of his daily labour: they are constantly using fire and combustible matter about shipping, tarring, and pitching, and caulking: accidents are continually happening; and who knows how many of these accidents may be attributed to design? Indeed, the act says, the firing must be done wilfully and maliciously; but judges and juries do not always distinguish right between the fact and the intention. It is the province of a jury only to try the fact by the intention; but they are too apt to judge of the intention by the fact. Justices of peace, however, are not famed for accurate and nice distinctions; and all the horrors of an ignominious death would be too much to threaten every honest shipwright with, for what may happen in the necessary work of his calling.

But, as I think punishment necessary for so heinous an offence, and, as the end of all punishment is example; of the two modes of punishment,
I shall prefer that which is most profitable in point of example. Allowing then the punishment of death its utmost force, it is only short and momentary; that of labour, permanent; and so much example is gained in him who is reserved for labour, more than in him who is put to death, as there are hours in the life of the one, beyond the short moment of the other's death.

SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM, ON THE SUBJECT OF EMPLOYING INDIANS TO FIGHT AGAINST THE AMERICANS. 1777.

MY LORDS,

It has been usual, on similar occasions of public difficulty and distress, for the crown to make application to this house, the great hereditary council of the nation, for advice and assistance. As it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it. But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on your counsels; no advice is asked of parliament; but the crown, from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue its own preconcerted measures; measures which have produced hitherto nothing but disappointments and defeats.

I cannot, my lords, I will not, join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment: it is not a time for adulation; the smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the
language of truth. We must, if possible, dispel the delusion and darkness which envelop it; and display, in its full danger and genuine colours, the ruin which is brought to our doors. Can ministers still presume to expect support in their infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and duty, as to give their support to measures thus obtruded and forced upon them? measures, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to scorn and contempt? But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world; now, none so poor as to do her reverence! The people, whom we at first despised as rebels, but whom we now acknowledge as enemies, are abetted against us, supplied with every military store, their interest consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by our inveterate enemy;—and ministers do not, and dare not, interpose with dignity or effect. The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known. No man more highly esteems and honours the English troops than I do: I know their virtues and their valour: I know they can achieve any thing but impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, my lords, you cannot conquer America. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst: but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. You may swell every expense, accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic to the shambles of every German despot; your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent;—doubly so, indeed, from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it
irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your adversaries, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never.

But, my lords, who is the man, that, in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of the war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms, the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage?—to call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman inhabitants of the woods?—to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. But, my lords, this barbarous measure has been defended, not only on the principles of policy and necessity, but also on those of morality; 'for it is perfectly allowable,' says lord Suffolk, 'to use all the means which God and nature have put into our hands.' I am astonished, I am shocked, to hear such principles confessed; to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country. My lords, I did not intend to encroach so much on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled to speak. My lords, we are called upon, as members of this house, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity!—'That God and nature have put into our hands!' What ideas of God and nature, that noble lord may entertain, I know not; but I know, that
such detestable principles are equally abhorren
to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the
sacred sanction of God and nature to the mas-
sacres of the Indian scalping knife!—to the can-
nibal-savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, 
drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such
notions shock every precept of morality, every
feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honour.
These abominable principles, and this more
abominable avowal of them, demand the most de-
cisive indignation. I call upon that right revere-
dend, and this most learned bench, to vindicate
the religion of their God, to support the justice of
their country. I call upon the bishops, to inter-
pose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn—upon
the judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine,
to save us from this pollution. I call upon the
honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity
of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I
call upon the spirit and humanity of my country,
to vindicate the national character. I invoke the
genius of the constitution. From the tapestry
that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of
this noble lord frowns with indignation at the
disgrace of his country. In vain did he defend
the liberty, and establish the religion of Britain,
against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than
popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are
endured among us. To send forth the merciless
cannibal, thirsting for blood! against whom?—
your Protestant brethren!—to lay waste their
country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate
their race and name, by the aid and instrumenta-
ty of these horrible savages!—Spain can no
longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with bloodhounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; we, more ruthless, loose those brutal warriors against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie that can sanctify humanity. I solemnly call upon your lordships, and upon every order of men in the state, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly, I call upon the venerable prelates of our religion, to do away this iniquity; let them perform a lustration to purify the country from this deep and deadly sin.

My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have allowed me to say less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor even reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving vent to my stedfast abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles.

SPEECH OF SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, ON THE AMERICAN WAR. 1782.

He had not been in town, he said, when the king's speech was delivered, nor when the address in answer to it was agreed upon, having been prevented by ill-health. But when he read the royal speech in the country, it filled him with honour; because it announced a continuance of the destructive war with the Americans. As to the answer to the speech, experience had convinced him, that the address of that house was avowed
to mean nothing; that it was an empty form, and generally nothing more than a mere echo to the words in the speech from the throne, which was also the speech of the minister. This echo had always been, and this echo would perpetually continue; and in so ridiculous a degree, that were the speech from the throne a repetition of the line,

What beauties does Flora disclose!

the echo from that house would fill up the couplet, and reply,

How sweet are her smiles upon Tweed!

In fact, the crown and the two houses danced a minuet together, to a tune of the minister's composing. The crown led off one way; the two houses in a similar step to the opposite corner; then they joined hands, and, at length, finished, just as the dance began.

Sir George then adverted to the intimation which had been given by the ministry, that a change was to be made in the mode of conducting the American war. This, he said, was in fact telling the house, that they were determined to prosecute the war with all the feeble efforts of which they were yet capable. They did not intend to prosecute it in the same manner as before! Why? Because they could not, if they would. This disability reminded him of a story which he must beg leave to relate to the house. A La- cedemonian, during the time of action, having plunged into the sea, laid hold of an Athenian galley with his right hand. It was immediately chopped off. He then caught at the vessel with
his left hand, and that likewise was cut off. The persons who were in sight, and who perceived these circumstances, immediately exclaimed, 'You will not, sure, once more attempt to fasten on that galley?' Like the British ministry, he answered, 'No: not in the same manner.' What was the consequence? He seized the vessel with his teeth, and kept his hold until the enemy struck off his head. Thus it was with the minister and his colleagues. They had lost the two hands of the British empire; and they wanted to risk its head upon the prosecution of the same frantic and ineffectual war. Every unprejudiced and sensible observer must perceive, that so extraordinary a conduct resembled, if it did not indicate, the violence of insanity. And could that house so far forget their firmness, their dignity, and their wisdom, as not effectually to resist its influence? Would they madly entrust lunatics with the management of the public purse? Would they place the sword within their hands, and bid them use it at their own discretion?

PART OF MR. FOX'S SPEECH, ON HIS BILL FOR THE BETTER GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. 1783.

The honourable gentleman who opened the debate (Mr. Powis) charges me with abandoning that cause, which, he says, in terms of flattery, I had once so successfully asserted. I tell him, in reply, that if he were to search the history of my life, he would find, that the period in it in which I struggled most for the real, substantial
cause of liberty, is this very moment that I am addressing you. Freedom, according to my conception of it, consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property, governed by laws defined and certain: with many personal privileges, natural, civil, and religious, which he cannot surrender without ruin to himself; and of which to be deprived by any other power, is despotism. This bill, instead of subverting, is destined to stabilitate these principles; instead of narrowing the basis of freedom, it tends to enlarge it; instead of suppressing, its object is to infuse and circulate the spirit of liberty.

What is the most odious species of tyranny? Precisely that which this bill is meant to annihilate. That a handful of men, free themselves, should execute the most base and abominable despotism over millions of their fellow creatures; that innocence should be the victim of oppression; that industry should toil for rapine; that the harmless labourer should sweat, not for his own benefit, but for the luxury and rapacity of tyrannic depredation; in a word, that thirty millions of men, gifted by Providence with the ordinary endowments of humanity, should groan under a system of despotism, unmatched in all the histories of the world.

What is the end of all government? Certainly the happiness of the governed. Others may hold other opinions; but this is mine, and I proclaim it. What are we to think of a government, whose good fortune is to spring from the calamities of its subjects; whose aggrandizement grows out of the miseries of mankind? This is the government ex-
ercised under the East India Company upon the natives of Indostan; and the subversion of that infamous government is the main object of the bill in question. But in the progress of accomplishing this end, it is objected that the charter of the company should not be violated; and upon this point, sir, I shall deliver my opinion without disguise. A charter is a trust to one or more persons for some given benefit. If this trust be abused; if the benefit be not obtained, and that its failure arises from palpable guilt, or, what, in this case, is full as bad, from palpable ignorance or mismanagement; will any man gravely say, that trust should not be resumed, and delivered to other hands; more especially in the case of the East India Company, whose manner of executing this trust, whose laxity and langour produced, and tend to produce, consequences diametrically opposite to the ends of confiding that trust, and of the institution for which it was granted! I beg of gentlemen to be aware of the lengths to which their arguments upon the intangibility of this charter may be carried. Every syllable virtually impeaches the establishment by which we sit in this house, in the enjoyment of this freedom, and of every other blessing of our government. These kind of arguments are batteries against the main pillar of the British constitution. Some men are consistent with their own private opinions, and discover the inheritance of family maxims, when they question the principles of the Revolution; but I have no scruple in subscribing to the articles of that creed which produced it. Sovereigns are sacred, and reverence is due to every king; yet,
with all my attachments to the person of a first
magistrate, had I lived in the reign of James the
Second, I should most certainly have contributed
my efforts, and borne part in those illustrious strug-
gles, which vindicated an empire from hereditary
servitude, and recorded this valuable doctrine,
that 'trust abused was revocable.'

No man will tell me that a trust to a company
of merchants stands upon the solemn and sanctified
ground, by which a trust is committed to a mo-
narch; and I am at a loss to reconcile the conduct
of men, who approve that resumption of violated
trust, which rescued and re-established our un-
paralleled and admirable constitution, with a
thousand valuable improvements and advantages,
at the Revolution; and who, at this moment, rise
up the champions of the East India Company's
charter, although the incapacity and incompetence
of that company to a due and adequate discharge
of the trust deposited in them by charter, are
themes of ridicule and contempt to all the world;
and although, in consequence of their mismanage-
ment, connivance, and imbecility, combined with
the wickedness of their servants, the very name of
an Englishman is detested, even to a proverb,
through all Asia; and the national character is be-
come degraded and dishonoured. To rescue that
name from odium, and redeem this character from
disgrace, are some of the objects of the present
bill; and gentlemen should indeed gravely weigh
their opposition to a measure, which, with a thou-
sand other points not less valuable, aims at the
attainment of these objects.

Those who condemn the present bill, as a vio-
lation of the chartered rights of the East India Company, condemn on the same ground, I say again, the Revolution, as a violation of the chartered rights of king James the Second. He, with as much reason, might have claimed the property of dominion. But what was the language of the people? 'No, you have no property in dominion: dominion was vested in you, as it is in every chief magistrate, for the benefit of the community to be governed; it was a sacred trust delegated by compact; you have abused the trust; you have exercised dominion for the purposes of vexation and tyranny—not of comfort, protection, and good order; and we therefore resume the power which was originally ours; we recur to the first principles of all government, the will of the many; and it is our will that you shall no longer abuse your dominion.' The case is the same with the East India Company's government over a territory (as it has been said by Mr. Burke) of two hundred and eighty thousand square miles in extent, nearly equal to all Christian Europe, and containing thirty millions of the human race. It matters not whether dominion arises from conquest or from compact. Conquest gives no right to the conqueror to be a tyrant; and it is no violation of right, to abolish the authority which is misused.
The several irruptions of Arabs, Tartars, and Persians into India were, for the greater part, ferocious and bloody, and wasteful in the extreme: our entrance into the dominion of that country, was, as generally, with small comparative effusion of blood, being introduced by various frauds and delusions, and by taking advantage of the incurable, blind, and senseless animosity, which the several country powers bear towards each other, rather than by open force. But the difference in favour of the first conquerors is this: the Asiatic conquerors very soon abated of their ferocity, because they made the conquered country their own. They rose or fell with the rise or fall of the territory they lived in. Fathers there deposited the hopes of their posterity, and children there beheld the monuments of their fathers. Here their lot was finally cast, and it is the natural wish of all, that their lot should not be cast in a bad land. Poverty, sterility, and desolation, are not a recreating prospect to the eye of man, and there are very few who can bear to grow old among the curses of a whole people. If their passion or their avarice drove the Tartar lords to acts of rapacity or tyranny, there was time enough, even in the short life of man, to bring round the ill effects of an abuse of power upon the power itself. If hoards were made by violence and tyranny, they were still domestic hoards; and domestic profusion, or the rapine of a more powerful and prodigal hand, restored them to the people. With
many disorders, and with few political checks upon power, nature had still fair play; the sources of acquisition were not dried up, and therefore the trade, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country flourished. Even avarice and usury itself operated both for the preservation and the employment of national wealth. The husbandman and manufacturer paid heavy interest, but then they augmented the fund from whence they were again to borrow. Their resources were dearly bought, but they were sure, and the general stock of the community grew by the general effort.

But under the English government all this order is reversed. The Tartar invasion was mischievous; but it is our protection that destroys India. It was their enmity, but it is our friendship: our conquest there, after twenty years, is as crude as it was the first day. The natives scarcely know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman. Young men (boys almost) govern there without society, and without sympathy with the natives. They have no more social habits with the people, than if they still resided in England, nor indeed any species of intercourse, but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune, with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave, and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. Every rupee of profit made by an Englishman is lost for ever to India. With us are no retributory
superstitions, by which a foundation of charity compensates, through ages, to the poor, for the rapine and injustice of a day. With us no pride erects stately monuments, which repair the mischief which pride had produced, and which adorn a country out of its own spoils. England has erected no churches, no hospitals, no palaces, no schools. England has built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description has left some monument, either of state or beneficence, behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ouran-outang, or the tiger.

There is nothing in the boys we send to India worse than the boys whom we are whipping at school, or that we see trailing a pike or bending over a desk at home. But as English youth in India, drink the intoxicating draught of authority and dominion before their heads are able to bear it, and as they are full grown in fortune long before they are ripe in principle, neither nature nor reason have any opportunity to exert themselves for remedy of the excesses of their premature power. The consequences of their conduct, which in good minds (and many of theirs are probably such) might produce penitence or amendment, are unable to pursue the rapidity of their flight. Their prey is lodged in England, and the cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about in every breaking up of the monsoon, over a remote and unhearing ocean. In India all the vices
operate by which sudden fortune is acquired; in England are often displayed, by the same persons, the virtues which dispense hereditary wealth. Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom, will find the best company in this nation, at a board of elegance and hospitality. Here the manufacturer and husbandman will bless the just and punctual hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasant of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium in which he forgot his oppressions and his oppressor. They marry into your families, they enter into your senate, they ease your estates by loans, they raise their value by demand, they cherish and protect your relations, which lie heavy on your patronage; and there is scarcely a house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern and interest, that makes all reform of our eastern government appear officious and disgusting, and on the whole a most discouraging attempt. In such an attempt you hurt those who are able to return kindness or to resent injury. If you succeed, you save those who cannot so much as give you thanks. All these things show the difficulty of the work we have on hand: but they show its necessity too. Our Indian government is, in its best state, a grievance; it is necessary that the correctives should be uncommonly vigorous, and the work of men, sanguine, warm, and even impassioned in the cause. But it is an arduous thing to plead against abuses of a power which originates from our own country, and affects those whom we are used to consider as strangers.
PART OF A SPEECH OF MR. BURKE, ON THE DEBTS OF THE NABOB OF ARCOT. 1785.

You have all heard, and he has made himself to be well remembered, of an Indian chief called Hyder Ali Khan. This man possessed the western, as the company, under the name of the nabob of Arcot, does the eastern divisions of the Carnatic. It was among the leading measures in the designs of this cabal (according to their own emphatic language) to extirpate this Hyder Ali. They declared the nabob of Arcot to be his sovereign, and himself to be a rebel, and publicly invested their instrument with the sovereignty of the kingdom of Mysore. But their victim was not of the passive kind. They were soon obliged to conclude a treaty of peace and close alliance at the gates of Madras. Both before and since that treaty, every principle of policy pointed out this power as a natural alliance; and on his part, it was courted by every sort of amicable office. But the cabinet council of English creditors would not suffer their nabob of Arcot to sign the treaty, nor even to give to a prince, at least his equal, the ordinary titles of respect and courtesy. From that time forward, a continued plot was carried on within the divan, black and white, of the nabob of Arcot, for the destruction of Hyder Ali. As to the outward members of the double, or rather treble government of Madras, which had signed the treaty, they were always prevented by some overruling influence, which they do not describe, but which cannot be misunderstood, from performing
what justice, and interest combined so evidently to enforce.

When at length Hyder Ali found, that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty, and no signature, could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance; and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the art of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into one black cloud, he hung for awhile on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue
can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

The alms of the settlement, in this dreadful exigency, were certainly liberal; and all was done by charity, that private charity could do: but it was a people in beggary; it was a nation which stretched out its hands for food. For months together these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a day in the streets of Madras; every day seventy at least laid their bodies in the streets, or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India. I was going to awake your justice towards this unhappy part of our fellow citizens, by bringing before you some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities which beset and waylay the
life of man, this comes the nearest to our heart, and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is; but I find myself unable to manage it with decorum; these details are of a species of horror so nauseous and disgusting; they are so degrading to the sufferers and to the hearers; they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that, on better thoughts, I find it more advisable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conceptions.

For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore; and so completely did these masters in their art, Hyder Ali, and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves of their impious vow, that when the British armies traversed, as they did, the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead uniform silence reigned over the whole region. With the inconsiderable exceptions of the narrow vicinage of some few forts, I wish to be understood as speaking literally. I mean to produce to you more than three witnesses, above all exception, who will support this assertion in its full extent. That hurricane of war passed through every part of the central provinces of the Carnatic. Six or seven districts to the north and to the south (and those not wholly untouched) escaped the general ravage.

The Carnatic is a country not much inferior in extent to England. Figure to yourself, Mr.
Speaker, the land in whose representative chair you sit; figure to yourself the form and fashion of your sweet and cheerful country from Thames to Trent, north and south, and from the Irish to the German sea, east and west, emptied and embowelled (may God avert the omen of our crimes!) by so accomplished a desolation. Extend your imagination a little further, and then suppose your ministers taking a survey of this scene of waste and desolation; what would be your thoughts if you should be informed, that they were computing how much had been the amount of the excises, how much the customs, how much the land and malt-tax, in order that they should charge upon the relics of the satiated vengeance of relentless enemies, the whole of what England had yielded in the most exuberant seasons of peace and abundance? What would you call it? To call it tyranny, sublimed into madness, would be too faint an image; yet this very madness is the principle upon which the ministers at your right hand have proceeded in their estimate of the revenues of the Carnatic, when they were providing, not supply for the establishments of its protection, but rewards for the authors of its ruin.

PERSONAL ALTERCATION BETWEEN MR. FLOOD AND MR. GRATAN. 1785.

Mr. Flood in reply to Mr. Grattan.

To the invective of Mr. Grattan, it was replied by his antagonist, that every member of the house could bear witness to the infirmity he had men-
tioned, and that it showed little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity. But he was not afraid to meet the right honourable member at any time, or upon any ground. He would stand poorly in his own estimation, and in his country's opinion, if he did not stand far above him. He did not come there dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people. He was not one who had promised to bring in a bill of rights, yet neither brought in the bill, nor permitted any other person to do it. He was not one who had threatened to impeach the chief justice of the king's bench for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business. He was not the author of the simple repeal. He had not come at midnight, and attempted, by a vote of that house, to arrest the progress of reason, and stifle the voice of the people. He was not the mendicant patriot, who was bought by his country for a sum of money, and then sold his country for prompt payment. A man of warm imagination and a brilliant fancy might sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and for a moment fall into errour; but a man of a sound head could not have made so egregious a mistake, and a man of an honest heart would not have persisted in it after it was discovered. For himself, the whole force of what had been said against him rested upon this, that he once accepted an office. But was a man the less a patriot for being an honest servant to the crown? He had taken as great a part, with the first office of the state at his back, as ever the right honourable gentleman did with mendicancy behind him.
Mr. Grattan

Replied particularly to several of the charges made upon him by Mr. Flood. But it was not the slander of the bad tongue of a bad character that could defame him. He maintained his reputation in public and in private life. No man, who was not himself dishonoured, could say he ever deceived him; no country had ever called him a cheat. But he could suppose a man of different character, a man, not now in that house, but who formerly might have been there. He would suppose it his constant practice to abuse every man who differed from him, and to betray every man who trusted him. He would suppose him active, and he would divide his life into three stages. In the first he was intemperate, in the second corrupt, and in the third seditious. Suppose him a great egotist, his honour equal to his oath, and he would stop him, and say, 'Sir, your talents are not so great as your life is infamous. You were silent for years, and you were silent for money. When affairs of consequence to the nation were debating, you might be seen passing by these doors, like a guilty spirit, just waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might drop in and give your venal vote. Or you might be seen hovering over the dome, like an ill-omened bird of night, with sepulchral notes, a cadaverous aspect, and a broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your prey. You can be trusted by no man. The people cannot trust you; the ministers cannot trust you. You deal out the most impartial treachery to both. You tell the
nation it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you. You fled from the embargo; you fled from the sugar bill; you fled from the mutiny bill. I therefore tell you, in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, your are not an honest man.'

PERSONAL INVECTIVE OF MR. PITT AND MR. FOX, IN THE DEBATE ON THE IRISH PROPOSITIONS. 1785.

Mr. Pitt

Replied to Mr. Sheridan in a style considerably marked with invective. He charged that gentleman with inconsistency, and with having for many weeks concealed his intentions so effectually, as to leave it a doubt whether he were friendly or inimical to the proposed arrangement. But the conduct of Mr. Sheridan was not to be wondered at, when it was remembered how inconsistent all the measures of the party, of which he was the mouth, were in themselves, and how inconsistent the persons who composed that party were with each other. Still their pursuits, however various and contradictory, had one uniform tendency. Whether they reprobated on this day what they had approved on the preceding, or whether one individual differed from or coincided with the rest of his associates, still the effects of all their efforts, of the artful silence of one man, and the prolix declamations of another, were to be the same; to embarrass and confound the measures of administration, to embroil and disunite the
affections of their fellow-subjects; to excite groundless alarms, and foment the most dangerous discontents. Mr. Pitt enlarged with some humour on the pains which gentlemen had taken to depreciate in their speeches any imputation of inflammatory or dangerous intentions. It was not for him to determine whether their intentions were really so bad as they seemed apprehensive they should appear. On the present occasion, however, he predicted they would have no occasion to exult. The proposition, which so much pains had been taken to wrest, instead of being insidious with respect to Ireland, was a virtual recognition of her complete emancipation. With respect to the light in which the system would be regarded in that country, he would answer with the boldness which became him, and he would not scruple to say, that as far as probability would go on such an occasion, it certainly would be received with gratitude and joy. An enlightened and liberal nation would not suffer itself to become a dupe to the designs of a set of men, who having exerted all their industry for the space of five months in alarming every interest in this country against the original propositions, were now, with equal diligence, employing the same violent methods for creating a similar opposition in Ireland, against the modification applied by the British house of commons. Their conduct was not in reality dictated by a friendship to one country or to the other, but by a desire to embroil the legislatures of both, and to defeat a measure which was necessary to the public tranquillity and permanent welfare of the empire. To
illustrate the spirit of the fourth proposition, Mr. Pitt referred to the negotiations of states independent and unconnected with each other; and asserted, that provisions exactly similar to that in question were frequently adopted on such occasions. He instanced in the late treaty with France, in which that kingdom bound herself to publish certain edicts, as soon as other acts stipulated on her part were performed by this country; and he defied opposition to produce a single collection of treaties, in which there was not, in almost every page, a contract of a similar tendency.

Mr. Fox.

If Mr. Pitt employed invective on this occasion, Mr. Fox was roused in his reply to a language, perhaps more pointed, and scarcely less severe. In the personal and political character of the chancellor of the exchequer, there were many qualities and habits which had often surprised him, and which he believed confounded the speculations of every man who had ever much considered or analyzed his disposition. But his conduct on that night had reduced all that was accountable, incoherent, and contradictory in his character in times past, to a mere nothing. He shone out in a new light, surpassing even himself, and leaving his hearers wrapped in amazement, uncertain whether most to wonder at the extraordinary speech they had heard, or the frontless confidence with which that speech had been delivered. Such a farrago of idle and arrogant de-
clamation, uttered in any other place, or by any other person on the subject in question, would naturally have filled the hearers with astonishment; but spoken by that gentleman, within those walls, in the presence of men who were witnesses of all the proceedings of the business, it was an act of boldness, a species of parliamentary hardihood, not to be accounted for upon any known and received rules of common sense or common reason.

Mr. Fox remarked upon the vast disparity in the tone of temper, and the style of expression, exhibited by Mr. Pitt upon this occasion, from those which he had employed upon the first introduction of the twenty propositions. In that debate he had observed, that the *ampullæ* and the *sesquipedalia verba*, his magnificent terms, his verbose periods and bombastic sentiments, were for once relinquished in exchange for a language and manners better accommodated to his disastrous condition. Then they saw that preposterous ambition, that gaudy pride and vaulting vanity, which glared beyond all the other features of Mr. Pitt, and which prompted him to look down with contempt upon his political coadjutors, melt away. Then they saw him descend to a curious and most affecting sympathy with the other supporters of the system, as well as into something like a modest and civil demeanour towards those who opposed it. But the change was transient and temporary. Mr. Pitt had relapsed into his favourite and darling habits. Nerved with new rancour, and impelled with fresh vehemence, he rushed blindly forward. Mr. Fox, however, in-
ferred, from this conduct, that he was reduced to
the last extremity. Finding it impossible to say
one word in favour of his deformed and miserable
system, he was obliged to throw out a series of
invectives, and by exhibiting a list of charges—
charges which, at the moment he gave them ut-
terance, he knew to be absolutely and entirely
destitute of every vestige of truth, to engage the
attention and divert the notice of the house from
his own wretched and contemptible schemes.

Mr. Fox took notice of Mr. Pitt's having re-
lected on Mr. Sheridan for the length of his
declamation. Such a charge came with peculiar
ill grace from that gentleman, who, like himself,
was under the necessity of troubling the house
much oftener, and for a much longer time than
might be agreeable. Grateful for the indulgence
with which they were favoured, and thankful for
the patience and politeness with which they were
honoured, they should certainly be the last to
condemn that, in which themselves were the
greatest transgressors. Mr. Fox added, that if an
almost uniform deviation from the immediate sub-
ject in discussion, if abandoning fair argument
for illiberal declamation, if frequently quitting
sound sense for indecent sarcasms, and preferring
to rouse the passions and to inflame the prejudices
of his auditory, to convincing their understandings
and informing their judgments, tended to diminish
the title of any member of that house to a more
than common portion of its temper and endurance,
he did not know any man who would have so ill-
founded a claim upon such favours as Mr. Pitt
himself.
The charge of shifting their ground and playing a double game, which Mr. Pitt had made upon the opposition, Mr. Fox considered as particularly unguarded and unfortunate. — He — he to talk of their shifting their ground! he, who had shifted his ground till in truth he had no ground to stand upon! he, who had assumed so many shapes, colours, and characters, in the progress of this extraordinary undertaking! he, who had proclaimed determinations only to recede from them, and asserted principles only to renounce them! he, whose whole conduct, from the first moment the system had been proposed, was one continued chain of tricks, quibbles, subterfuges, and turgiversations, uniform alone in contradiction and inconsistencies! he, who had played a double game with England, and a double game with Ireland, and juggled both nations by a train of unparalleled subtlety! Let the house reflect upon these circumstances, and then let them judge whether a grosser piece of insanity was ever heard of, than that the author of all this miserable foolery should charge others with turgiversation and duplicity.

But it was not in retorting these silly charges that they rested their defence upon these points. It were indeed a hardship and injustice, that, because they combated the defects of a new scheme, they should be liable to the charge of shifting their ground against an old one no longer the object of discussion. Mr. Fox added, that if it was true that ingratitude was the worst of sins, he could see no other light in which Mr. Pitt appeared, but that of the worst of sinners. What a pernicious scheme would this have been, un-
purged by their amendments! and now what a return did he make them? But there were proud and sullen souls in the world, enveloped in a fastidious admiration of themselves, and an austere and haughty contempt for the rest of the world; upon whom obligation had only the effect of enmity, and whose hatred was best secured by redeeming them from danger and dishonour.

SPEECH OF MR. CURRAN, ON THE BILL TO LIMIT THE AMOUNT OF PENSIONS. 1786.

I object to adjourning this bill to the first of August, because I perceive, in the present disposition of the house, that a proper decision will be made upon it this night. We have set out upon our inquiry in a manner so honourable, and so consistent, that we have reason to expect the happiest success, which I would not wish to see baffled by delay.

We began with giving the full affirmative of this house, that no grievance exists at all; we considered a simple matter of fact, and adjourned our opinion, or rather we gave sentence on the conclusion, after having adjourned the premises. But I do begin to see a great deal of argument in what the learned baronet has said*, and I beg gentlemen will acquit me of apostacy, if I offer some reasons why the bill should not be admitted to a second reading.

* Sir Boyle Roche, who opposed the bill, said, he would not stop the fountain of royal favour, but let it flow freely, spontaneously, and abundantly, as Holywell in Wales, that turns so many mills.
I am surprised that gentlemen have taken up such a foolish opinion, as that our constitution is maintained by its different component parts, mutually checking and controlling each other: they seem to think with Hobbes, that a state of nature is a state of warfare, and that, like Mahomet's coffin, the constitution is suspended between the attraction of different powers. My friends seem to think that the crown should be restrained from doing wrong by a physical necessity, forgetting that if you take away from a man all power to do wrong, you at the same time take away from him all merit of doing right, and by making it impossible for men to run into slavery, you enslave them most effectually. But if instead of the three different parts of our constitution drawing forcibly in right lines, at opposite directions, they were to unite their power, and draw all one way, in one right line, how great would be the effect of their force, how happy the direction of this union. The present system is not only contrary to mathematical rectitude, but to public harmony; but if instead of privilege setting up his back to oppose prerogative, he was to saddle his back and invite prerogative to ride, how comfortably might they both jog along; and therefore it delights me to hear the advocates for the royal bounty flowing freely, and spontaneously, and abundantly, as Holywell in Wales. If the crown grants double the amount of the revenue in pensions, they approve of their royal master, for he is the breath of their nostrils.

But we will find that this complaisance, this gentleness between the crown and its true servants, is not confined at home, it extends its in-
fluence to foreign powers. Our merchants have been insulted in Portugal, our commerce interdicted; what did the British lion do? Did he whet his tusks? Did he bristle up and shake his mane? Did he roar? No; no such thing—the gentle creature wagged his tail for six years at the court of Lisbon, and now we hear from the Delphic oracle on the treasury bench, that he is wagging his tail in London to chevalier Pinto, who he hopes soon to be able to tell us will allow his lady to entertain him as a lap-dog; and when she does, no doubt the British factory will furnish some of their softest woollens to make a cushion for him to lie upon. But though the gentle beast has continued so long fawning and crouching, I believe his vengeance will be great as it is slow, and that posterity, whose ancestors are yet unborn, will be surprised at the vengeance he will take.

This polyglot of wealth, this museum of curiosities, the pension list, embraces every link in the human chain, every description of men, women, and children, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney, to the debased situation of the lady who humbleth herself that she may be exalted. But the lessons it inculcates form its greatest perfection:—it teacheth, that sloth and vice may eat that bread which virtue and honesty may starve for after they had earned it. It teaches the idle and dissolute to look up for that support which they are too proud to stoop and earn. It directs the minds of men to an entire reliance on the ruling power of the state, who feeds the ravens of the royal aviary, that cry continually for food.
It teaches them to imitate those saints on the pension list that are like the lilies of the field—they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed like Solomon in his glory. In fine, it teaches a lesson which indeed they might have learned from Epictetus—that it is sometimes good not to be over virtuous: it shows, that in proportion as our distresses increase, the munificence of the crown increases also—in proportion as our clothes are rent, the royal mantle is extended over us.

But, notwithstanding the pension list, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, give me leave to consider it as coming home to the members of this house—give me leave to say, that the crown, in extending its charity, its liberality, its profusion, is laying a foundation for the independence of parliament; for hereafter, instead of orators or patriots accounting for their conduct to such mean and unworthy persons as freeholders, they will learn to despise them, and look to the first man in the state, and they will by so doing have this security for their independence, that while any man in the kingdom has a shilling they will not want one.

Suppose at any future period of time the boroughs of Ireland should decline from their present flourishing and prosperous state—suppose they should fall into the hands of men who would wish to drive a profitable commerce, by having members of parliament to hire or let; in such a case a secretary would find great difficulty, if the proprietors of members should enter into a combination to form a monopoly; to prevent which in time, the wisest way is to purchase up the raw
material, young members of parliament, just rough from the grass, and when they are a little bitted, and he has got a pretty stud, perhaps of seventy, he may laugh at the slave merchant; some of them he may teach to sound through the nose, like a barrel organ; some, in the course of a few months, might be taught to cry hear! hear! some, chair! chair! upon occasion, though, those latter might create a little confusion, if they were to forget whether they were calling inside or outside of these doors. Again, he might have some so trained that he need only pull a string, and up gets a repeating member; and if they were so dull that they could neither speak nor make orations, (for they are different things) he might have them taught to dance, pedibus ire in setentia—This improvement might be extended; he might have them dressed in coats and shirts all of one colour, and of a Sunday he might march them to church two and two, to the great edification of the people and the honour of the Christian religion; afterwards, like the ancient Spartans, or the fraternity at Kilmainham, they might dine all together in a large hall. Good heaven! what a sight to see them feeding in public upon public viands, and talking of public subjects for the benefit of the public. It is a pity they are not immortal; but I hope they will flourish as a corporation, and that pensioners will beget pensioners to the end of the chapter.
He began with observing, that he did not mean to appeal to the passions of the house, but to their cool and impartial reason. He did not mean to accuse any one, but to take shame to himself, in common indeed with the whole parliament of Great Britain, for having suffered so odious a trade to be carried on under their authority. He deprecated every kind of reflection against the various descriptions of persons who were most immediately involved in this wretched transaction. It was necessary for him to state in the outset, that he did not conceive the witnesses, who were examined, and particularly interested witnesses, to be judges of the argument. In the matters of fact that were related by them, he admitted their competency; but confident assertions, not of facts, but of supposed consequences of facts, went for nothing in his estimation. Mr. Wilberforce divided his subject into three parts; the nature of the trade as it affected Africa itself, the appearance it assumed in the transportation of the slaves, and the considerations that were suggested by their actual state in the West Indies. With respect to the first, it was found by experience to be just such as every man who used his reason would infallibly have concluded it to be. What must be the natural consequence of a slave trade with Africa, with a country vast in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very small degree? Was it not plain, that she must suffer from it; that her savage manners must be ren-
dered still more ferocious, and that a slave trade carried on round her coasts must extend violence and desolation to her very centre? Such were precisely the circumstances proved by the evidence before the privy council, particularly by those who had been most conversant with the subject, Mr. Wadstrom, captain Hill, and doctor Sparrman. From them it appeared, that the kings of Africa were never induced to engage in war by public principles, by national glory, and, least of all, by the love of their people. They had conversed with these princes, and had learned from their own mouths, that to procure slaves was the object of their hostilities. Indeed, there was scarcely a single person examined before the privy council, who did not prove that the slave trade was the source of the tragedies continually acted upon that extensive continent. Some had endeavoured to palliate this circumstance: but there was not one that did not more or less admit it to be true. By one it was called the concurrent cause, by the majority it was acknowledged to be the principal motive of the African wars.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to describe the mode in which the slaves were transported from Africa to the West Indies. This he confessed was the most wretched part of the whole subject. So much misery condensed in so little room, was more than the human imagination had ever before conceived. He would not accuse the Liverpool traders; he verily believed, that if the wretchedness of any one of the many hundred negroes stowed in each ship could be brought before the view, and remain in the sight of the African merchants,
there was not one among them whose heart would be strong enough to bear it. He called upon his hearers to imagine six or seven hundred of these victims chained two and two, surrounded with every object that was nauseous and disgusting, diseased, and struggling with all the varieties of wretchedness. How could they bear to think of such a scene as this? Meanwhile he would beg leave to quote the evidence of Mr. Norris, delivered in a manner that fully demonstrated that interest could draw a film over the eyes, so thick that total blindness could do no more. ‘Their apartments,’ said this evidence, ‘are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumstances will admit. They have several meals a day, some of their own country provisions, with the best sauces of African cookery, and by way of variety, another meal of pulse, &c. according to European taste. After breakfast they have water to wash themselves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincense and lime-juice. Before dinner they are amused after the manner of their country; the song and the dance are promoted, and games of chance are furnished. The men play and sing, while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, with which they are plentifully supplied.’ Such was the sort of strain in which the Liverpool delegates gave their evidence before the privy council. What would the house think, when by the concurring testimony of other witnesses the true history was laid open? The slaves, who were sometimes described as rejoicing in their captivity, were so wrung with misery, at leaving their country, that it was the constant
practice to set sail in the night, lest they should be sensible of their departure. Their accommodations, it seemed, were convenient. The right ancle of one, indeed, was connected with the left ancle of another by a small iron fetter, and if they were turbulent, by another on the wrists. The pulse which Mr. Norris mentioned were horse beans, and the legislature of Jamaica had stated the scantiness both of water and provision as a subject that called for the interference of parliament. Mr. Norris talked of frankincense and lime-juice, while the surgeons described the slaves as so closely stowed, that there was not room to tread among them; and while it was proved in evidence by Sir George Yonge, that, even in a ship that wanted two hundred of her compliment, the stench was intolerable. The song and the dance, said Mr. Norris, are promoted. It would have been more fair, perhaps, if he had explained the word promoted. The truth was, that for the sake of exercise these miserable wretches, loaded with chains and oppressed with disease, were forced to dance by the terour of the lash, and sometimes by the actual use of it. 'I,' said one of the evidences, 'was employed to dance the men, while another person danced the women.' Such was the meaning of the word promoted; and it might also be observed, with respect to food, that instruments were sometimes carried out, in order to force them to eat; which was the same sort of proof how much they enjoyed themselves in this instance also. With respect to their singing, it consisted of songs of lamentation on their departure, which while they sung they
were always in tears; so that one of the captains, more humane probably than the rest, threatened a woman with a flogging, because the mournfulness of her song was too painful for his feelings. That he might not trust, however, too much to any sort of description, Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of the house to one species of evidence which was infallible. Death was a witness that could not deceive them, and the proportion of deaths would not only confirm, but, if possible, even aggravate our suspicion of the misery of the transit. It would be found, upon an average of all the ships upon which evidence had been given, that, exclusively of such as perished before they sailed, not less than twelve and a half per cent. died in the passage. Besides these, the Jamaica report stated, that four and a half per cent. expired upon shore before the day of sale, which was only a week or two from the time of their landing; one-third more died in the seasoning, and this in a climate exactly similar to their own, and where, as some of the witnesses pretended, they were healthy and happy. The diseases however that they contracted on ship-board, the astringents and washes that were employed to hide their wounds, and make them up for sale, were a principal cause of this mortality. The negroes, it should be remembered, were not purchased at first except in perfect health, and the sum of the different casualties taken together, produced a mortality of above fifty per cent.

Mr. Wilberforce added, that as soon as he had advanced thus far in his investigation, he felt the wickedness of the slave trade to be so enormous,
so dreadful, and so irremediable, that he could stop at no alternative short of its abolition. A trade founded in iniquity, and carried on with such circumstances of horror, must be abolished, let the policy be what it might: and he had from this time determined, whatever were the consequences, that he would never rest till he had effected that abolition. His mind had indeed been harassed with the objections of the West Indian planters, who had asserted that the ruin of their property must be the consequence of this regulation. He could not however help distrusting their arguments. He could not believe that the Almighty Being, who forbad the practice of rapine and bloodshed, had made rapine and bloodshed necessary to any part of his universe. He felt a confidence in this persuasion, and took the resolution to act upon it. Light indeed soon broke in upon him; the suspicion of his mind was every day confirmed by increasing information, and the evidence he had now to offer upon this point was decisive and complete. The principle upon which he founded the necessity of the abolition was not policy, but justice; but, though justice were the principle of the measure, yet he trusted he should distinctly prove it to be reconcilable with our truest political interest.

In the first place he asserted, that the number of negroes in the West Indies might be kept up without the introduction of recruits from Africa; and to prove this he enumerated the various sources of the present mortality. The first was the disproportion of the sexes, an evil which, when the slave trade was abolished, must in the
course of nature cure itself. The second was the disorders contracted in the transportation, and the consequences of the washes and mercurial ointments by which they were made up for sale. A third was excessive labour, joined with improper food; and a fourth, the extreme dissoluteness of their manners. These would both of them be counteracted by the impossibility of procuring further supplies. It was the interest, they were told, of the masters, to treat their slaves with kindness and humanity; but it was immediate and present, not future and distant interest, that was the great spring of action in the affairs of mankind. Why did we make laws to punish men? It was their interest to be upright and virtuous. But there was a present impulse continually breaking in upon their better judgment, an impulse which was known to be contrary to their permanent advantage. It was ridiculous to say that men would be bound by their interest, when present gain or ardent passion urged them. It might as well be asserted, that a stone could not be thrown into the air, or a body move from place to place, because the principle of gravitation bound them to the surface of the Earth. If a planter in the West Indies found himself reduced in his profits, he did not usually dispose of any part of his slaves, and his own gratifications were never given up, so long as there was a possibility of any retrenchment in the allowance of his negroes. Mr. Wilberforce entered into a calculation in order to prove, that in many of the islands, and particularly in Jamaica, there was an increase of population among the slaves actually
begun; and he deduced from the whole, that the births in that island at this moment exceeded the deaths by one thousand or eleven hundred per annum. Allowing however the number of negroes to decrease, there were other obvious sources that would insure the welfare of the West Indian islands; the waste of labour which at present prevailed; the introduction of the plough and other machinery; the division of work, which in free and civilized countries was the grand source of wealth; and the reduction of the number of domestic servants, of whom not less than from twenty to forty were kept in ordinary families. But, granting that all these suppositions were unfounded, that every one of these succedanea should fail; the planters would still be secured, and out of all question indemnify themselves, as was the case in every transaction of commerce, by the increased price of their produce in the English market. The West Indians therefore, who contended against the abolition, were nonsuited in every part of the argument. Did they say that fresh importation was necessary? He had shown, that the number of slaves might be kept up by procreation. Was this denied? He asserted that the plough, horses, machinery, domestic slaves, and all the other inevitable improvements would supply the deficiency. Was it persisted in that the deficiency could be no way supplied, and that the quantity of produce would diminish? He then reverted to the unanswerable argument, that the increase of price would make up their loss, and secure them against every possible miscarriage.
Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to answer incidental objections. In the first place he asserted, that the African trade, instead of being the nursery of our sailors, had been found to be their grave. A comparison had with great industry been formed between the muster-rolls of the slave ships and those of the other branches of our commerce; and it had been found, that more sailors had died in one year in the slave trade, than in two years in all our other trades put together. Three thousand one hundred and seventy seamen had sailed from Liverpool in 1787, and of these only fourteen hundred and twenty-eight had returned. Information upon the subject had lately been received from the governor of Barbadoes, who stated in the course of his narrative, 'that the African traders at home were obliged to send out their ships very strongly manned, as well from the unhealthiness of the climate, as the necessity of guarding the slaves; and as they soon felt the burden of the consequent expense, the masters quarrelled immediately upon their arrival in the islands with their seamen, upon the most frivolous pretences, and turned them on shore, while many of these valuable subjects, sometimes from sickness, and sometimes from the necessity of entering into foreign employment for subsistence, were totally lost to their country.' A further objection that had been urged was, that if we abandoned the slave trade, it would only be taken up by the French; we should become the sufferers, and the evil would remain in its utmost extent. This was indeed a very weak and sophistical argument; and, if it would defend the slave
trade, might equally be urged in favour of robbery, murder, and every species of wickedness, which, if we did not practise, others would probably commit. The objection, however, he believed, had no foundation in fact. Mr. Necker, the present minister of France, was a man of ability and religion, and in his work upon the administration of the finances, had actually recorded his abhorrence of the slave trade: and the king of France having lately been requested to dissolve a society formed for the express purpose of the abolition, had answered that he could not comply with what was desired, and that he, on the contrary, rejoiced in the existence of such a society.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded in his arguments to show, that no measure could in the present case be effectual, short of the entire abolition. The Jamaica report had recommended that no person should be kidnapped, or permitted to be made slaves contrary to the customs of Africa. Might they not be reduced to this state unjustly, and yet by no means contrary to the customs of Africa? Besides, how could we distinguish between the slaves justly and unjustly reduced to that condition? Could we discover them by their physiognomy? If we could, was it believed that the British captains would by any regulations in this country be prevailed upon to refuse all those that had not been fairly, honestly, and uprightly enslaved? Those who were offered to us for sale, were brought, some of them, three or four thousand miles, and exchanged like cattle from one hand to another, till they reached the coast. What
compensation then could be made to the rejected slaves for their sufferings? The argument was equally valid as to their transportation. The profit of the merchant depended upon the number that could be crowded together, and the shortness of the allowance. As to their ultimate situation, it would also remain. Slavery was the source of all sorts of degradation, and the condition of slavery could not even be meliorated, without putting an end to the hope of further reinforcements. In fine, Mr. Wilberforce called upon his hearers to make all the amends in their power for the mischief they had done to the continent of Africa. He called upon them to recollect what Europe had been three centuries ago. In the reign of king Henry the Seventh, the inhabitants of Bristol had actually sold their children as an article of merchandize. The people of Ireland had done the same. Let then the same opportunity of civilization be extended to Africa, which had done so much for our own islands. It might hitherto have been alleged in our excuse, that we were not acquainted with the enormity of the wickedness we suffered; but we could no longer plead ignorance—it was directly brought before our eyes, and that house must decide, and must justify to the world and their consciences, the facts and principles upon which their decision was formed.

THE END OF BOOK VI.
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below