

A Free and Candid

I N Q U I R Y

Humbly address'd to the

REPRESENTATIVES

Of the Several

COUNTIES and BOROUGHs

IN THIS

K I N G D O M:

And proper at this Time to be read by their
Several ELECTORS,

I N A

L E T T E R

T O A

Person of Distinction in the *North*

F R O M A

GENTLEMAN in TOWN.

And what is *Aaron* that ye murmur against him!
NUMB. 16.

The SECOND EDITION.

D U B L I N:

Printed by S. POWELL, in *Crane-Lane*, 1753.
(Price 6½d.)

THE Demand of the Publick for the following Pamphlet, having made another Edition necessary, I have the Author's Leave to reprint it in these Words,

“ From any thing that has yet been offered in
“ way of Answer, to the *Candid Inquiry*, I see
“ no Reason to Alter or Retract any thing I have
“ said in it : Truth, Reason, and Justice, seem
“ to me, to be still strongly on the Side I had
“ espoused, and the Characters I had defended,
“ to shew rather to more Advantage, by the Dirt
“ which these incensed Scriblers have thrown at
“ them : If an Answer to the *Letter to a Person of*
“ *Distinction* should be thought necessary by those
“ who have bought up and read the first Impressi-
“ on, you may promise them one in a little Time.
“ I am at present engaged in some Affairs of my
“ own, which have a right to my Attention, and
“ which I must put off my Hands before my
“ Thoughts can take that Turn that is necessary to
“ retort such outrageous virulent Invective. In
“ the mean time, you have my Consent to go on
“ with another Edition, Desiring you only to
“ correct a Mistake of my Memory, p. 22. in-
“ stead of (*Æsch*) to print (*Soph. in Antig.*)

The Second Edition.

DUBLIN:

Printed by S. Powell, in Great Street, 1753.

(Price 6d.)



A Free and Candid

INQUIRY, &c.

S I R,



Am favoured with your Letter, and would, with Pleasure give you the Satisfaction you desire, if it were in my Power ; but I am apprehensive the Subject of your Inquiry is too great a Secret for any one to come to the Knowledge of, who is not more conversant in publick Affairs than I am : Tho' I live in Town, and am often in Places of publick Resort, I have nothing to lead me into that Knowledge, except that Curiosity, and, perhaps, impertinent Attention, which is become too much the Characteristick of our Times ; a Vice, which I cannot say, I am entirely exempt from, though I really think it one ; and have only this to excuse whatever Measure of it I have contracted, that it is a Vice which every one unavoidably runs into more or less, who has more Time upon his Hands than the Business of his Profession can take up, and has frequently nothing to do. This is not the first Time I have had Occasion to make this Observation, and the Propriety and Justness of it has made me before now wish

that the Wisdom of our Legislature had either provided more Employment for a certain Set of Men, who are many of them very liberally paid for all they can do, or would contrive some more effectual Methods to keep them close to the little they have.

But with all the Curiosity I am Master of, and all the Opportunities I have of seeing and hearing, I am afraid I can tell you little more than what every one who walks the Streets knows as well as I, for I neither am, nor pretend to be in the Secret of those Counsels and Intrigues, which it is said at present divide and distract our Grandees : That they are divided seems undeniable, but what it is, that they are divided about, is a Question, that very few, I believe, if any, are able to resolve. A very trivial Offence you know will disgust some People, and they who are easiest disgusted generally carry their Resentment highest, and are most implacable ; in angry Mood Men are generally suspicious, Suspicion begets Fear, and Fear Calumny ; for Calumny is the Child of conscious Impotence intended to weaken an Antagonist, whom you are not able to hurt by open and fair Assault.

Why do you bark, said one to a certain Philosopher ; because, replied he, I see a Thief. The Answer in that Case was pertinent, and the Conduct proper : It is reasonable to cry out, to make a Noise, alarm the Neighbourhood, and gather a Party when you are attacked, or any Mischief is visibly intended ; but where there is no Evidence of one or the other, but all is quiet and safe about you, it is absurd, it is unreasonable, it is oftentimes vicious and criminal.

That

That Spot of Earth which we ought all to honour as our common Parent, because sooner or later, we have in Fact all issued from it, and to her Power and Protection owe our Being, hath for more than a Century been plagued with Parties and Factions, and their Influence as they have alternately succeeded and prevailed, hath diffused and spread itself among her Offspring in this Island.

That it should do so, is natural and easy to be accounted for from our Situation, our Alliance and Dependence: If she is in a disturbed and restless State, we cannot long be quiet, if any violent Convulsion seizes her, the Effects of it more or less must extend to us, we cannot so much as be neutral, or indifferent, when even the Appearance of Calamity threatens her: To suppose it possible, is to suppose that we have neither natural Affection, nor Gratitude; to say it might be justifiable would demonstrate that we had as little Sense of Interest as of Duty. But when all Parties and Distinctions are there buried, and in a Manner annihilated, and the Wheel of Government runs smoothly on, without any Thing to interrupt or throw it out of Course, it is unaccountable, inconceivable almost, what should give Birth to a Party here, whence Faction could possibly arise, and what Manner of Spirit they are of, who could cherish and keep it up.

We all know into what Danger, how near to Ruin, the Spirit of Party had not very long ago brought them; before the Devil was laid, what Confusion it had thrown them into; they must therefore have very profligate Hearts, and very devilish Tempers who would endeavour to raise him here; nay they must be weak as well as wicked, because it is impossible that any Man should find his Account by

it. If any Accession of Wealth or Power be the Aim, it is easy to compute that the Returns cannot be great, because our Situation is such as will for ever bar any one from rising to a very high Degree of either. And if it be only the Pride of heading a Party, to raise their Dignity by demonstrating their Importance, the Result will probably disappoint their Expectation; for whenever the Secret unlocks, and the Scheme is unfolded, the Projector will unavoidably be both ridiculous and contemptible, having nothing to give his Friends will forsake him, and getting nothing to himself they will with equal Reason despise him. It is to the full as ridiculous to be the Dupe of a Man's own Folly, as of another's Knavery.

It would not be difficult to prove if there was any one to dispute it, that we are now, and have been for some Time in those Circumstances, which every wise Man would, without Hesitation, pronounce the happiest; our Constitution, if it be not without Fault, is yet incapable of being made better, for this Reason, that it's Powers are so nicely poised, that it is impossible to detract ever so little from one Part without giving too much to another, and thereby endangering the Ballance upon which our Safety depends; Mr. *Maddox* upon his Wire scarcely exhibits a more exact *Æquilibrium*: Whatever Force or Violence it may fly off with to one Side, it is still sure to rebound with an equal or imperceptibly varying Degree to the other; in the alternate Vibrations the Force gradually lessens, and the Spectators have the Pleasure of observing that it will waste and spend itself, without any Thing exterior to reduce it to that State, till it ceases and stops altogether. We have had Proof of this in many Experiments, and
I dare

I dare say shall again, if ever any new Occasion arise; for if it failed in a few formerly, it was because the Powers were not then so equally balanced, and an over-Proportion had been thrown into one Scale. Charming and delicate however as our Constitution is, she has had the Fate of many a fine Lady whose Beauty is owned and admired, and gives Delight to every Eye except those of the insipid Possessor; Men of Sense in other Countries never speak of it without Rapture, whilst they, who enjoy all the Advantages of it, seem insensible of their own Happiness, and too often shew a Disposition to change it for one less delicate and more homely: A Nobleman of great Sprightliness used to account for this Caprice in a whimsical and not unpleasant Manner; he had the Fortune to be tied to one of the prettiest Women in the World, who yet retains Beauty enough to raise an Idea of her youthful Charms, and being asked why he so often left her Bed and took up with others more coarse and less amiable, answered, that there was no living always upon Sweetmeats, he must have plain Beef and Pudding sometimes.

At present, Sir, you think, I believe, as I do, that the Happiness of our Constitution hath been carried to the highest Pitch of Perfection, that any Thing sub-cælestial can arrive to by the Excellency of the Administration; shew me from all the Knowledge you have in History, that any preceding one was ever so easy and equitable: In this Country we may safely assert, that when no one complains, there is no Cause of Complaint, when no Error is objected, we may well conclude that nothing is wrong: Had the Author of *Oceana* foreseen what is now actually our Condition, that

under a Succession of *British* Kings, Property should become so secure, and Liberty so inviolable. Could he have foretold that at the End of one Century a Time should come when all Distinctions of Party should cease, that there should be neither Roundhead nor Cavalier, high Church nor Low, Whig nor Tory, Court or Country Interest among us, but that even in spite of the strongest Efforts of Genius in a *St. John* to perpetuate and intail them, an excellent Prince should one Day come of so reconciling a Spirit as to put an End to them all, doubtless he had never puzzled his Brain, nor have travelled through the States of *Rome*, *Greece*, *Carthage* or *Judæa*, to invent new Plans of Government, and search for Materials to mold and work them up into Form. He would have gone to his Grave in Peace without any other Regret, than that the Thread of his own Life was too short to reach the joyful and happy Period, and probably have thought of his own Scheme with as much Indifference, or rather Contempt, as a late great Genius * of more comprehensive Learning and Understanding has spoken of it.

† Another late ingenious Writer seems to be of Opinion, that Parties will ever subsist among us, as long as we are governed by a mixed Monarchy, and yet admits a Principle that in Speculation at least contradicts his Assertion, “that before any Party can be formed there must be some Source of Division in Principle or Interest.” Past Experience hath but too well verified one Part of his Observation, but present Experience,

* See *L'Esprit de Loix*.

† Mr. Hume.

Experience, I imagine, as fully evinces the Uncertainty or Falshood of the other ; for here is actually formed, and subsisting a Party among us now without any Source either in Principle or Interest, and Numbers associating to one Side or other, without any assignable End or Reason, *i. e.* the Associates know no End or Reason that their Leaders either do or can propose, and the Leaders were they asked, on one Side at least, are, perhaps, as incapable of informing them. We see, nor can we see how it is possible we should be deceived, that in Fact every Thing is right, and as it ought to be ; no Corruption, no Jobbing, no Violence, no Assault either offered or intended ; and yet all the Appearances and Symptoms of Faction, Whispers and Spies, private Meetings, sly and sullen Looks, awkward Salutations, tart Repartees, and all the usual Concomitant Signs of Diffidence and Jealousy ; and much Spleen and Envy indicated at least on one Side by the Slander and Calumny thrown at the other. If there be any Principle to justify this, it ought to be explained, let who will be the Leader in it, for his own sake, because Numbers begin to suspect that there is something else than Principle at the Bottom of such extraordinary and uncommon Conduct, and for our Sake the Lookers on, because it is really ungenerous, to divide and make us uneasy, and torment us with Fears and Distrust, without knowing the Cause or the End, how we are interested or concerned in the Matter.

There is one Source of Party which the fore-cited Author, or even the great Party-BUILDER *Bolingbroke* have taken no Notice of, from whence undoubtedly Parties may arise, and all the Plagues and Evils of Party endlessly issue, and which perhaps

haps no Writer on the Subject hath ever specified, because it admits of no political Remedy, and which I confess might account for the Thing if it were our Case, that is Wantonness, the Consequence of excessive Opulence. When in any Nation Trade hath been carried to the highest Extent, and Wealth hath flowed in in greater Abundance than the Necessities of any People can demand: Such as possess large Shares of it will be hot, tumultuous and unruly: They will not only be impatient of Restraint but grasp at Power: In this feverish Estate, no Degree of Liberty will satisfy them; they will think they have none, if others are as free as themselves, and will never be content till they have over-topped their Equals, and are in a Condition to vie with their Superiors. Pride and Presumption indefeasibly grow out of hasty Advancement, and the greatest Mortification to upstart Pride, is to see those who have less Wealth in higher Rank and more respected: Besides such have always one Fault, tho' it is not peculiar or characteristick in them only, that they for ever over-rate their own Merit, and look for more Favour and higher Recompences than they deserve, in which as they are mostly sure of Disappointment they are of Course easily disgusted, quick in Resentment, and so turned to Faction, and ready to follow any Leader who will make large Overtures and fair Promises, without knowing, or at all considering whither they are going, or to what Purposes their Strength and Influence may be employed.

That from this Source Factions in *Britain* have proceeded, is evident, if not to every Reader of its History, yet to every one who has studied it. And my Reason for mentioning it is, not that I
sup

suppose the Party now budded and sprouting into Faction here, hath any such real Source, but only to shew, that the Thing is possible ; that a Party may at least be in ESSE, without any Source of Principle or Interest to connect or bring them together. We are, it is true, successfully working forward to this Point ; but we have by no means yet reached it, and are still at a considerable Distance from it. Our Trade and Manufactures are visibly in an improving State ; but the Returns hitherto have not been so great as to turn our Heads, and make us forget whence we derived. In short, our Opulence is not yet so excessive, as to puzzle us much about the Methods of Consumption, and the Ways of spending. Few of us, after squeezing and grinding our Tenants eighteen Months at home, however full our Pockets when we come to Town, carry much of it back. In half a Century more Things may possibly come to this State, may be in less, if a certain Scheme proposed about two Years ago should take Place, to which the Certainty of this Event is my only, or I may say my strongest Objection ; because with a free Trade, and the natural Advantages of our Situation, it is easy to foresee, that we should quickly outstrip our Neighbours in this Respect ; and whenever we do, I will undertake that we shall outdo them also in all the Expences of Vanity and Luxury, and be to the full as vicious, frantic and profligate as ever they were, or could pretend to be.

An Author I have already quoted, accounts for the Disposition of us Insulars to Faction, from the Temperature of our Climate. He thinks that we suck in the Infection in the very Act of Respiration, and thence derive a certain Character of Impatience, which renders us incapable of bearing the same Train

Train of Things for any long Continuance ; and therefore concludes that Form of Government to be fittest for us, where our Chagrins cannot be charged to any single Person. That his Judgment of our Temper is right, is not to be disputed : But it is not so clear, that he is not mistaken in assigning the Cause ; for I do not see how small, and almost imperceptible Variations in Climate, can be productive of such odd Variety, both in Temper and Manners, as is discernible in the several States of *Europe*. Besides, though this is our proper Character now, I do not find that it was always so : The Accounts transmitted to us, if we may credit them, do not represent our Forefathers as so fickle, so capricious, so peevish, and so perverse, as we of the present Age seem to be. They lived quietly, and minded their Business ; and when by their Successes in Trade and Industry they had accumulated Wealth, were content to enjoy it with the same Tranquillity, without looking farther than to the Means of securing what they had got to their Posterity, so to provide for their Happiness as well as their own.

Well ! But you will tell me there is nothing without its Cause ; and though we are not able to trace it in any System of Politicks, Things of this Nature never lie so deeply concealed, or so impenetrably wrapped up in the Breasts of Men, but that they may be dived into and discovered. There must, you will tell me, be something extraordinary to set Men at Odds, and to raise such unlucky Emulation between those who have professedly the same Ends to serve, and who the Moment they lose Sight of it or desert it, must relinquish and renounce every rational End and Interest of their own. So far you are right, and I agree with you.

But

But then it is equally true, that Men are often guilty of what they never intended; even where they have a tolerable Share of Sagacity and Discernment, they do not always foresee the Consequences of their own Conduct: the wisest are sometimes too precipitate, and are carried forward by Impulses which they cannot account for, and for which Nature hath provided no sufficient Check or Controul. Suppose Men under what Obligations you will, to have the Advantage of the best Principles that ever human Heart imbibed, (for I see you are inclinable to think well of some People, who others think have forfeited all Pretensions to popular Esteem) be their general Sentiments of Honour and Probity ever so refined, there are Seasons and Occasions when none or all of them do or can operate with effect. (If you have a mind to construe this into an Apology for them, I am content: it is the best, or perhaps the only one that their conduct will bear) for so it is, that whenever the ruling Passion is stirred up, their Weakness is discovered, and their Insufficiency seen. The boasted Faculty of Reason is rarely of any other use than to invent Apologies for Mistakes after they are incurred: I say rarely; for either its Succours are never called in, or if they be, they advance so slowly, that the Fortrefs is surrendered before they can come up to its Defence. As *Mackbeth* says, “No Man can be temperate and furious in a Moment; the Expedition of the violent Passion outstrips the Pauser Reason.” This is what fixes every Man’s proper Character; by knowing this you can compute his Strength, and how he is to be applied to: They that have not Prudence enough to keep the Secret within their own Breast, will be the Dupes of all such as have Art enough to bait them properly.

This

This is particularly the Case of the Ambitious, *i. e.* such as have a strong Lust of Power: Such never know either the Degree of Power that would satisfy them, or the Degree that is proper for them. Exalt a Man of this Complexion ever so high, he will never be easy till he is without an Equal; and if by any Accident he hath got far on towards the Summit of his Wishes, there you must suffer him to rest, or be content to be the But of his Malice. Hath he been used, though ever so short a Space, to dispense Favours, and to have his Demands complied with; you must go on to humour him, or be for ever embroiled. If he is not at the Head of Affairs, he will be at the Head of a Party, and instantly grows factious when he ceases to be absolute.

Some such Characters, I am confident, may be found in all Countries, hot and dry, cold and wet Climates alike. And now, I dare say, you begin to suspect whereto these Things tend, and to imagine you have got a Clue that will lead you out of the Labyrinth wherein you were puzzling, before you wrote your own Letter, and since you began to read this: For you will begin to cast about and try, whether you cannot fix your Eyes and Thoughts upon some Persons whose Characters tally to this Description; if you can, you will then also imagine, that you have detected the true Source of those Quarrels and Divisions that now subsist among us. Consider it well, and see whether it is possible to assign any other. I offer this, it is true, only as conjectural. I may be mistaken; but to strengthen the Probability, allow me only to resume what I have already intimated, that there is no Cause of it to be found in the Conduct, or any discoverable Design

Design of our G——rs. On the other Side, all is peaceful and calm; no murmuring; no complaining against the Administration, nor any imaginable Pretext for it. The same Temperament that our V——R—— left behind there, he brought with him here, and I doubt not will bring with him again. No Man ever governed a Kingdom more to the Satisfaction of the People than he did this, from the Year 1731 to 1736. He asserted the Dignity of the Crown, and maintained all the Rights and Privileges of the People. In return, he bore away their Affections, was received with Honour and Applause by his Master, and, after a proper Interval, was sent back with the same Instructions to pursue the same Measures. Every one who remembered the Good-nature and Generosity which had shewn themselves to be the governing Qualities of his Nature, were pleased, and welcomed his Return. They expected, and had as much Reason to expect it as Men could have, that they would now be as easy and safe under his Government, as they had been before. Yet scarcely was he landed, scarcely refreshed himself after the Fatigue of his Voyage, but it was whispered, that some dangerous Blow was intended, by something very uncommon that was to be proposed. What it was, no body could tell, every body was left to guess; but that somewhat was in Embryo, and would be presented at a convenient Time, they were sure; and Men were advised to look sharp, to be upon their guard, and stand together. A strange Metamorphosis ensued; the staunch good Courtiers, as if touched by some magic Wand, at once became Patriots; and many who had formerly passed for as staunch Patriots, were said to turn Courtiers; for which latter Supposition there was no Reason, that I could discover, unless their getting

ting a Leader and Head, which they never had before, may be thought one. For a while Men stood gaping and staring, expecting when this Mountain would bring forth, this wondrous Secret was to be disclosed ; yet nothing was to be seen, or could be observed, but what was ordinary and had happened before : Public Business went on, every thing in its usual Course. At last, People began to recover from their Astonishment, and those who were most affrighted, before the Close of the Scene were convinced that all this Bustle, this Terror and Dismay, was occasioned only by a certain Person's falling into a Fit of the Spleen, because a neighbouring Crow had come and carried away an Egg that had been long in hatching, and robbed him of the delicious Morfel, which, in Imagination, he had often swallowed.

That any Thing more was in it, I never could learn ; if there was, it is incumbent upon them to tell us ; because till they do so, the indecent Treatment our C—f G——r received, and the Opposition made to his Measures, will never, by any Friend of the Government, get a softer Term than Faction : And I will venture to foretel, that whatever Pains may be taken to blow up the Embers, to amuse some, and deceive others, so to keep it alive for a while ; tho' some may rise to more substantial Honour, they must descend first from their imaginary Elevation ; and the disappointed *Boutofeu*s find it turn out according to the *French* Proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit*. They will sink at last into that Contempt, which the Impartial already all judge they deserve.

I put the Question, Sir, and challenge any one to say, what our C—f G——r had done to exasperate and incense them ? Did he ask any Thing
more

more of the Parliament than the necessary annual Supplies? Did he waste or misapply any of the Public Revenue? Did he attempt to increase our Debts or our Taxes? Did any Act done by him, or any Hint dropped by him, tend to raise a Suspicion that any thing of that nature was designed? Did he behave sourly or harshly, even to the unworthy? or treat any one with unbecoming Disrespect, by refusing any Favour that was proper for them to ask, or him to grant? and had not Persons of all Ranks easy, free and unrestrained Access to him, to lay before him their several Wants, Pretensions and Demands? Have they ever seen any one in the same Station more civil or more obliging, more generous or more good-natured? What could he, or what could any Man in that Rank do more to humour and please all Classes and Degrees of People, to make them happy and contented, than he did, and upon every Occasion shewed himself willing to do? You may take my Word for it, because I am quite impartial in the case, and have no Bias from Interest or Prejudice to impose upon myself or deceive you, that whatever is at the Bottom of all this Noise, Emulation and Contention, that has now infected almost all Ranks of People, there was nothing in the Conduct of our G——r to which it may be charged.

It is a Misfortune inseparable from high Estate, that they who are in it must be obliged to the Friendship of Inferiors, and are less able to go alone without Support, than those whom they improperly reckon Followers and Dependents. The higher it is, the Necessity is always the greater to call in Aid, and look out for Friends. Hence they unavoidably must have their Favourites and Confidants, to

B

whom

whom they may safely unbosom themselves, and upon whose Affection, Capacity and Integrity they may safely rely. Nothing, it is true, requires greater Discretion in the Choice; and every one is for that reason supposed to examine beforehand, and *make sufficient Trial of the Qualifications* of those he chuses, and if it be Sin to make a true Election, he is damned: But then, as every Man has his private Scale, in which he weighs his own Merit in order to fix its Value; let the Lot fall upon whom it will, with whatever Wariness and Wisdom the Election was made, there will be others who think themselves equally or better intitled to that Confidence, and the Power that necessarily attends it. Hence it is, that no sooner a Distinction of this Kind is made, and one is known or supposed to be the Hinge upon which the Door that opens to Favour and Preferment turns, (always a Privilege of the first Favourite) but he shall be marked out as the Object of Hatred, and all the Rage of Slander and Calumny: He must bear the Load of all, because their Resentment, if due any where, was due only to the Principal who made the Choice; and it would be impolitic, and perhaps not safe, to direct it there by Signs so easily explained. In such case, however, People are never puzzled about the Interpretation; Dirt thrown at one, always implies whatever is pretended Disaffection to the other: and this will account to you, how with every Virtue, and without a Fault, our V— R— may have disoblged and forfeited the Good-will of some of your Acquaintance. Policy may put them upon Methods to palliate their Chagrin against him; but then the Disappointed will all lend their Voices to increase the Uproar against the Favourite: Every Action of his Life shall be brought to Scrutiny; an invidious Turn given to every thing that has the
 Appearance

Appearance of good, and if any thing has the Face of evil, it shall be painted in all the Deformity that Colours can put on, and ecchoed round with all the Bitterness and Virulence that Words can express.

As I am only a Spectator, and have no Attachment to the Leaders of either Side, I am qualified to form a better Judgment in the Case, than such as act under that bias. This was what ruined the Credit of the Writer of the Life of R——r, and spoiled the Design of that Paper: He was the Creature of his Hero, and subsisted merely upon his Stock.

It is too common for Men to imagine, that they reflect coolly and judge impartially, when in truth they are in such Circumstances as puts it out of their Power. It is the Fate of every Man who is tied fast to a Party; what he says passes for nothing; and for this Reason, the merciless Treatment that the Partisans of all Factions generally give one another, make little or no Impression to the Disadvantage of those whom they mean to expose, perhaps to worry.

This is the best, indeed only Apology, I can think of, for the intemperate Heat with which the Character of one very eminent Person among us hath been attacked and bandied; but still it is such as will by no means excuse those, who have been both so weak and so wicked as to join in the Persecution: I call it weak, because they might have foreseen, and the Upshot will convince them, that none of them will find their account in it: And I call it wicked, because their Allegations are some of them notoriously false, the blackest of them im-

possible to be true, or if true, incapable of such Evidence as might incline or justify any one for believing them; therefore could never have issued but from Hearts desperately wicked, and irretrievably tainted with the Poison of Spleen and Ill-nature.

Had the Aspersions thrown at him now been but mentioned three years ago, the Persons now forwardest to retail and give them Currency, would then have treated them with Ridicule or Contempt. It is only in the Madness of Party, whilst the Fire of Faction is burning hot, that such improbable Lies are invented or attended to. Who ever came into Power, and rose to the Top of a Profession with a more unspotted Character, than the Person I now speak of? From the Time of his coming among us, he had lived to that Day without a Stain in his Reputation; his manners were not only inoffensive, but amiable; his carriage as winning as his Mien; his Temper so social, mild and sweet, that every one sought his Acquaintance, and loved him from the Moment they got it. All Ranks in both Sexes conspired at least by their Wishes, and contributed what in them lay to push him forward: The whole Nation, I may say, as with one Voice, consented to his Advancement; and when a Competition arose, if this had no Weight in making the Determination in his Favour, it was nevertheless, in the Opinion of every body at that Time, a full and justifying Reason for so remarkable a Decision. You remember this, and know it was the Case. He had then no Faults that any body could see; he was every where mentioned with Respect; his Health went round in every Company; every thing was done, and nothing omitted, that could testify the general Approbation of his

his Majesty's Choice. Have you a mind then I should examine what he has since done to forfeit Favour or incur Censure? what Faults or Vices he has committed, that might render odious and distasteful, a Name till the other Day universally celebrated and extolled? I am willing to assume this Task without the View of flattering him, or the Fear of offending any other.

Three Years ago he was temperate and chaste, generous and charitable, modest and obliging. Are his Manners reversed, and has he since contracted any Pollution? He that was eminent in these Respects before his Promotion, there is no Likelihood would degenerate afterwards, when his Obligations grew stronger, and the Eye of the Public was more upon him. Place, it is said, shews the Man, and, we'll allow, sometimes spoil him. Some Places have a natural, and some a contrived Efficacy to corrupt and debauch; the Temptations in some are many, and the Occasions frequent: But this cannot be true of ecclesiastical ones, which, on the contrary, always impose new and more severe Restraints, add to the Sum of natural Obligations, and shut out many Allurements of Pleasure: Whence it is, that a Man would blush to be reprehended for Things in this Character, that in another would be thought to deserve none, or very slight Censure. But we may let this pass, for it is not said or pretended. They who inveigh most and censure loudest, acknowledge that he goes on in the Exercise of all those Virtues and good Qualities which recommended him before; nay, that they are radical and inherent in him, which he cannot put off, though he had a Mind to it, and can neither dissemble nor hide. Avarice among the Heathens was reckoned inse-

parable from the sacerdotal and prophetic Character*, and too often annexed to it even among Christians. If he is impeached of this, let his Conduct with his Tenants speak for him. Who ever had a fairer Opportunity of accumulating Wealth, by squeezing it out of their Pockets? Let them testify what use he made of it. Let also those large Sums quickly dispensed, and which he goes on, I had almost said, profusely to dispense to pious and charitable uses, speak for him. That Men who have been long gathering, should at or near their Exit dispose of large Sums to such Uses, when they have none other use for it, though generally commended, is not so extraordinary; but for a Man to begin his Life, as it were, with such Acts, and to go on and persevere in them, always giving and never reckoning, is very uncommon; and if any thing be Praise-worthy, is very laudable. Is he impeached of Riot or Intemperance? He is remarkable with all that know him in the contrary Extreme. Is he impeached of any Sourness or Unevenness of Temper? let his Domesticks, never partial to their Master's Failings, speak for him: they live as in a Paradise, and proclaim him the gentlest, most humane, and indulgent Master that ever lived. What then is the Ground of their Calumny? Why, this I believe, and this only; "That he overtops some Men, and
 " stands in the Way of others, and takes upon
 " him now and then to do Things, which they
 " would be better pleased to do for him." *Hinc illæ Lacrymæ!* If he cannot be brought down, the ambition of others cannot be gratified. My Lord Bacon somewhere observes, "That he that cannot
 " possibly mend his own Case, will do what he can

* Μαντικόν το παν φιλαργυρον γένος. Soph. in Antig.

“to impair another’s.” The Case before us proves the Observation to be just; for there cannot, to my Apprehension, be a surer Sign of the sinking Credit of any one, than the Pains he takes to impair the Credit of a Rival.

Here, Sir, I ought to ask you, what it is that his Enemies charge him with; for in truth, though I have often heard him traduced, I have never heard any special Matter alledged, that had any Evidence to support it, that did not carry Falshood in the very Face of it, or that upon fair Construc-tion was imputable to him.

Some Months ago, a formal Story indeed was told, which at first got some Credit, by coming from one who was supposed not to be so crafty as to be the Forger of it, and of Rank and Character that put his Veracity above Suspicion; of an extraordinary Overture made to him; no less, it seems, than the absolute Disposal of four of the highest Posts in the Kingdom, in the first Vacancies, on Condition he would change Sides, and join to turn the Stream of Power into the opposite Chan-nel. The Thing quickly became publick, and consequently reached the Ears of him upon whom it was charged. The Charge was black, and no Pains were spared to aggravate and make it blacker. But how did he behave? Why he flatly and pe-remptorily denied every Tittle of it, not only in private among Friends, but publickly in the Face of the World, and in Places of greatest Resort. Let us then examine the Probability of this extraor-dinary Relation.

Had the worthy Nobleman to whom the Over-ture was made, taken upon him to say that it came

directly from the Person accused, in result of a personal Conference between themselves, Standers-by might have been in doubt which to believe, because it was not credible that either of them could be capable of telling a direct Lie. But afterwards, when he had given his Authority for the Story, and the Characters of the Persons who brought it to him came to be considered, (for it seems it came to him only at second-hand, and to that second from a third) there was not the least room for hesitating, to pronounce the whole to be mere Fiction, contrived to throw a Calumny, and to lay a Foundation for popular Hatred and Dislike. For it was plain, that neither of the Persons named were proper Instruments for him to work with; the Thing in itself was too important, and the possible Consequences of it too affecting to be trusted to such Embassadors; except the Article of Relation that one of them bore to the Nobleman, there was nothing in the Circumstances or Character of one or the other to qualify them for an Office, which, you will allow, required good Sense and some Dignity to discharge with any Prospect of Success. Can you imagine, that one of his Experience and acknowledged Abilities could be insensible of this? and that if he had really formed such a Scheme, he could have been so indiscreet in the Conduct of it? The Nobleman, who was no Stranger to his King's political Capacity, should have considered this before he ventured to blaze abroad a Story, which carried great Improbability from this very Circumstance, and was like to be so ill supported when it came to the Test.

There are other Circumstances which render it equally improbable; for the Proffer, methinks, was too large; and it may very well be questioned whether

whether the Profit would have paid the Cost, even if you suppose that it had taken Effect. I do not pretend to compute exactly the Weight and Influence of every Man of Rank and Estate in this Kingdom, or indeed how near the Person referred to might go to turn the Scale, if he were persuaded to change Sides; but I am inclined to believe, that the other was not of Opinion that the Thing was TANTI, or that the Acquisition would have been worth so high a Purchase. When a Balance is in Equilibrio, the lightest Feather, a Grain of Sand, will make it preponderate to one Side, and so may be of some Significance; but as I am too little skilled in political Arithmetick to be able to tell the Numbers wanting in one Scale, or redundant in the other, I cannot calculate precisely the lowest or highest Penny that one, two, or three Voices might be bought at. This I am clear in, and may take upon me to say, that as one was justly supposed above all Temptations to Venality, the other is as much above every sordid Art of Corruption, and has too much Virtue of his own to traffick for the Virtue of another, though the End was laudable, and the Call was to that Side, where both Honour and the Interest of the Nation lay.

But it seems there was still more in the Case than this; for it was contrived, we were told, to attack him on both Sides; that if he could not be courted, he might at last be frightened into Compliance. He was told (it was said) and pressed to consider, how his private Affairs might be affected, if he continued to stand out; what Property he had at Stake, and how far Court Influence might operate for or against him in the Decisions of the Courts of Law and Justice. This Circumstance, it is certain, was added, and I will leave you to consider, whether

ther a Circumstance so very ridiculous, or rather absurd, ought not to have convinced him that the whole was a Fiction, or the Contrivance of his Kindred, who possibly knowing the Temper and Constitution of their Friend, thought by such Arts to draw him to that Side, where his Weight and Interest only could be of use to them, and to have the Merit of doing an obliging Service to the other.

But here let me ask, whether any Man in his Wits, who is ever so little apprised of the real Character of the Man, can indeed believe, that he would authorise any one to say such Things in his Name? The Supposition is monstrous; a Man must divest himself of all Probity before he could bring himself to think of such an Expedient; an Expedient, that implied no less than the Corruption first, and next the absolute Controul of all the Courts of Law and Equity, together with the Sheriffs and Freeholders, in every County where this Nobleman had Property. None but Fools surely can believe this, because none but a Fool could be guilty of it. It was what he nor no Man upon Earth could undertake for, nor, with all the Power of the Crown centered in himself, could make good: So that if such a Message was delivered, (as is yet much to be doubted, for it hangs upon contradictory Evidence) all it proves is, that some People were very simple, who thought themselves very cunning, and another was very credulous and rash. The least Reflection upon the Nature of the Overture might have satisfied him, that it could not come from the Person upon whom it was charged: he knows better how to proportion his Means to his Ends, and I may undertake for him, will never engage in any Measures without some Probability of

of Success, at least where the Event, if defeated, would prove him both a Fool and a Knave. His Enemies, I believe, think that they have better Proof than they desire, that the first is not his true Character, and his Friends defy them to produce any Evidence, of his having yet been guilty of any Measure that might subject him to the Imputation of the other.

Since I have attempted his Vindication, I will not conceal from you that there are several other flightier Articles with which he has been accused, which some, now that they are in angry Mood, think not to be pardoned; as, that he spends so little of his Time in the Care of his Diocese, that he treats his Clergy with Shyness, and discourages them from coming about him or near him; that his Associates are improper and ill-chosen, and his Diversions unbecoming; that indecent Irregularities are committed in his Family; his Pastimes unreasonable, and no Appearance of Piety or Religion kept up.

All this I know has been objected, frequently indeed in my own hearing, with Raillery and Bitterness, and perhaps not less frequently in yours; but you want to be informed, and therefore I expect will suspend your Judgment till you hear the Defence.

To undertake this, I have no Motive from any Obligation I ever had to him, and am induced to it only from a natural Disposition to vindicate injured Innocence as often as I have Opportunity.

To begin with the last Article of the Account, by much the weightiest: I can from my own Knowledge aver, that it is absolutely false; I have some-
times

times had the Opportunity, and know, that every Morning at least, before the Business of the Day comes on, the Chaplain attends to do his Office, and the Family meet and join in Prayer; I have had the Pleasure of being Witness to it, and invited to join with them in it; and in all the Opportunities I have ever had of being in the House, I have never observed one Thing that was not consistent with the strictest Decorum, and suitable to the Rank and Dignity that he is placed in, and ought to maintain. There you may see Chearfulness without Levity; Piety without Moroseness; Politeness without Formality; Plenty without Excess, and Splendor without Prodigality. In this last you may possibly have heard that there is an Outdoing, but such as think so, judge, in my Opinion, very improperly; for it is plain they consider him only in one Point of view, and either forget, or do not recollect, that he is a chief Governor, and, in fact, a Minister of State. They consider not what ought to be, but what hath been, and what they have seen. They forget that such as have gone before him in the same Post, gave too little Attention to what suited their first and highest Character, and regulated their Notions of Decency by the Proportion of one, where Simplicity is generally looked for, and the Affectation of it as generally degenerates into Slovenliness; by which Means they have sometimes lost that Respect and Influence that was of right due to the highest.

The first Article of the Charge, if it be a Fault, is the Fault of the Constitution, and not of the Man. Under such a Load of publick Business as his Post subjects him to, and the constant Attendance it requires, I question whether it is in his Power to attend more to the other than he does; though

though I do not find, or that it is even said, that any Duty of that Station has been neglected.

I have often wondered whence it is, that the fast Friends and Asserters of Episcopacy have their Eye always to primitive Christianity, and take their Notions of what ought to be now, from what they read was the Usage and Practice 1600 Years ago, when in Truth, the Office was as different from what it grew to about the Time of *Constantine* the Great, and continued to be through all the intermediate Ages, as a Justice of the Peace is from a Lord Chancellor: The Character of a Priest has been long swallowed up in that of a Peer. Make the Offices the same, and you will soon see the Men the same again; divest them of their Peerage, and they will revert to their primitive State. This, I dare say however, is what these Gentlemen neither mean nor desire, and what even they who are so loud in the Clamour against Churchmens meddling with Politicks, may beat their Brains out before they will be able to accomplish. So that if they will be consistent, all that wants to be reformed in this Matter, is an Impropriety in their Notions and way of Thinking. There was a Time indeed, when Churchmen were dangerous Engines; their Property and Power both were once too great; but that Time is past; their Wings are sufficiently pinioned and clipped. If their Consecration confers no new Gifts or Graces, it robs them of none that Nature had given: so that for any Thing I can see, Men may be honest and mean well, though they are dressed in Lawn and black Sattin.

As to his Associates and Diversions, what is disreputable in either I have not Sharpness enough to discern. A Man, I believe, may be a very safe, innocent,

innocent, agreeable, and no way unbecoming Companion, though he is well-dressed, and perfectly in Mode, wears a laced Coat, or a well-cock'd Hat, &c. he may for all this have Sense and Sobriety, Modesty, Honour and Good-nature. And why a Man should be precluded from chusing his Friends and Companions, with such Qualifications and Accomplishments as he likes, because they are such as a Man disposed to slumber away his Evenings with a Pot and a Pipe would not chuse, I cannot find out. For my own Part (though moving in an humbler Sphere, I may not be able to judge) I have always found least good Sense, least Virtue, least real Piety, where the Appearances were strongest, and the Pretensions loudest; and though in general I am a Friend to Forms, and think them indispensably requisite in the Conduct and Dispatch of all publick Business, I never saw a Man scrupulously tenacious of them, under whose Management the real Interests of both did not suffer some Waste and Decay.

And pray what are his Diversions? Why he spends Evenings at Chess or Cards; he has been seen on Horseback and a Pack of Dogs in the Field, and now and then with a Gun in his Hand, which ever since the Days of Archbishop *Abbot*, who unluckily drawing his Bow, shot a Man he did not see or aim at, hath been reckoned anomalous and out of Character. Suppose now that all this is true, why are Men in any Station to be barred of such Exercises and Amusements in the proper Intervals of Business, as are innocent in themselves, healthful to them, and injurious to none other? Is he guilty of any Intemperance or Excess in the use of them? Do they inflame his Passions, ruffle his Temper, hurry him into any Levity or Indecency of

of Language or Behaviour? Doth he lose, whilst so employed, any of that Dignity due to his Rank? Doth he encourage by it others to behave with less Awe and Reserve before him, or to use any unbecoming Familiarity? If nothing of this kind happens; if his Diversions have none of these Effects; if they are neither so frequent nor so closely pursued, as to ingross Time, and hinder Attendance upon necessary Duties; I cannot see how he is blameable, what right any one hath to find Fault, or to censure him for such Things, nor how he can possibly lose in the Estimation of any Man of Sense, Candour and Good-nature, for the Share he takes in them.

The Article respecting his Treatment of his Clergy, may be thought to be thrown in only to swell the Bulk and to raise the Heap. It is too trivial to require an Apology, though it admits of many: He may think (though I speak only by Conjecture) that where he is obliged to spend his Time, is not the proper Place for them to spend theirs; he may think, that it would both be better and fitter for them to be oftener at their Cures, and seldomer at Levees. That he does think so, there is some ground to suppose; for I have been told that it was a Point mainly insisted upon by him in the Charge given at his first Visitation, and made one absolute Condition of his Favour. He may think this the best Way to discourage Men from teasing and being importunate in their Sollicitations, who are remarkably given to it. And lastly, he may think this a better Method of correcting Errors than open Reproof. If none of these Reasons will serve, the Dissatisfied may take a Trip to *Lambeth*, where the Difficulty of Access, and the respectful

respectful Distance observed and practised, may work some Change in their Opinions.

Upon the whole then, you have heard the Defence, and either I am a very bad Advocate, or you are ready to pronounce him innocent and faultless. If, in the Idiom of a renowned modern Orator, his Enemies still think they will be able to make out a good Crime against him, I will answer beforehand, with *Orlando in Shakespear*, "That it will be such as he would not change for the best Virtue they have." Tho' churlish thoughts themselves should be his Judge, nothing do I see, that I can find should merit Hate.

The Complaint, Sir, is not new ; but still it is unaccountable, that generally the Characters of Men are so improperly measured, and reduced to such unequal Standards. Few People ever meet with equal and fair Treatment ; so few, that I am surpris'd how Men of Sense so often bring themselves to pay the Regard they do to the Reputation of the World, or to set up any other Standard to walk by, than Self-satisfaction and Approbation. Sure I am, that they who study most to please Lookers-on, feel the least of this ; and they who have acted upon such severe, inflexible Principles, as never to do or say a Thing which their own Hearts disapproved, have been so unlucky, as never yet to please the World, have had few Friends, and fewer Admirers.

If the generality of our Countrymen were to draw Lots for their Characters, I question whether many of them could be worse fitted than they are ; this I am sure of, that hardly any of them have their proper one ; none come up to that Size and Proportion, whether of Good or Evil, in which
they

they are drawn. Such as I have esteemed most have feared badly, and some whom I have despised, too well, to make it prudent to shew my Contempt. Much of this must be charged to Envy and Ill-nature, especially among Parsons and Politicians, but the whole of it, I am sensible, ought not; for we may acknowledge, that the best are sometimes too incautious, too apt to overlook, indeed sometimes to despise Circumstances, upon which not Worth itself, but the Reputation of Worth always depends. To secure this, the safer Way is rather to seem to be good, than to be so *, which the truly Good can never be persuaded to; which perhaps may be one Error in the Person I have been speaking of. You Gods must give us some Faults to make us Men.

Let me wind up this Part, by applying to him what *Tacitus* said of *Agricola*; *Quod simul suis virtutibus, simul aliorum vitiis in ipsam Gloriam præceps agebatur*. The Event is not far off; have a little Patience, and if after all you still think me a bad Advocate, you will be convinced that I am not a bad Prophet. Some Folk, at the opening of the next Scene, may be less disposed and have less Reason to triumph and insult, than they were at the Close of the last. A fair Front and oily Tongue may serve to blow up some Men's Passions, and turn them for a while from following their own peaceful Inclinations; but they will not serve to put out the Eyes of the Generality, and keep them from seeing where

* This is the Character given of *Amphiaraus* in *Æschylus*,
 ὅτι δὲ δόξαν ἀφ' ἑσέως αὐτὸν εἶναι θεῶν.

their own, their Masters, and the Kingdom's true Interest and Glory lies.

To your Question;—Is he the Friend of our Country, and well affected to our Interest? My Answer is, That I wonder it should be a Question, because he has no private Interest nor any Connections to give him a contrary Byass; his whole is embarked on the same Bottom with ours, and in case of Shipwreck, he must be the first and greatest Sufferer; no possible Change can happen, in which his Revenue, his Power, his Dignity, could be greater, or even so great, as it is at present. His Safety, his Honour, every Thing that he can propose for himself or his Friends, all depend upon Matters resting in the State he found them; he can have no Temptation even to wish for an Alteration, much less to contrive or push it on. Self-love, therefore, and the Love of this Country, are in him inseparably connected. This Consideration should remove every suspicious Jealousy; it gives you all the Security you can have, all that you ought to desire, and must create an entire Confidence.

Since we have hit upon this Topick, you will indulge me a few Words to explain my own Sentiments, and to rectify other People's.

A PATRIOT is, to be sure, a glorious Appellative; but it can rarely, with any Propriety, fall upon any one in this Country; it is a stale Pretence, that in Sound hardly affects any one at present; a mere cant Term, implying only that the Person who uses it wants somewhat, and is out of Humour. What a worthy Nobleman observed

served some Years ago in one Instance, is too generally true in them all, that whatever is applied to sweeten that, is an effectual STIPTICK to stop the bleeding Wounds of their Country. To be serious, such as are fondest of assuming this Name, always mistake or forget the proper Idea. It doth not surely imply or require a constant Opposition to all the Measures of Government, only an equal and steady Attachment to every Part of our Constitution ; as much, I will take upon me to say, to the fundamental Preſogative of the Crown, as to the Rights and Privileges of the People, for this Reason, though there were none other, that the former is the Basis and Support of the latter ; it will be granted, because Experience has often proved it, that Measures absolutely necessary to the Preservation of the Constitution, may at times bear hard upon the People ; is it Patriotism to oppose such Measures ? Is not the lesser Evil always to be chosen ? Of late Years many excellent Treatises upon Politicks and good Government have been written, but in most particularly the most celebrated, the leaning has been too great to the popular Side. By pulling the Cord always at one End, it is become too tight, and wants to be a little slackened. In my Opinion, he loves his Country best, who is most watchful to preserve its Constitution.

I must go farther ; we are none of us, that I know of, perfectly wise and good ; we may not therefore expect always to find our Governors so. Hence in lesser Matters it may seem to be often the best Policy to humour them in their Demands, though they should at times go beyond or fall short of what in Strictness we may have a

Right to require of them ; without such Indulgence, no Government can go on safely and smoothly. I cannot be mistaken when I say, that a general Disposition to condescend and comply in these lesser Matters, is an essential Part of political Wisdom ; (here particularly it will hold) because it has always been found the most availing to secure the more important. Never to bend or give way, is what no Titles or Names can warrant ; it can have no other Effect than to sow Discord, to corrupt as it goes on, and poison our own Hearts, and raise too just a Suspicion in our Governors that we are not so loyal, or so well affected, as we really are and would have them believe. There are Numbers of Gentlemen, who I believe mean well, are good Subjects, and firmly attached to the present Government in the Person of our illustrious and most excellent Sovereign, who yet, methinks, are less complaisant than might be expected, and are sometimes wanting in a suitable Respect. Such Gentlemen will do well to consider, whether upon some Occasions, they have not indulged their own Humours a little too far. They will do well likewise to consider, whether they have done any Thing more than indulge their own Humours by it ; and lastly, whether it would not be more safe, as well as reputable, in these lesser Matters to comply with the Demands of their Governors, and to reserve their Zeal till Occasions offer where the real Interest of their Country may be at Stake, and there may be some Likelihood of doing it Service. When any such Occasion occurs (tho' I see nothing to bring it on) for the Reasons mentioned, you may and ought to suppose, that the great Man I have been speaking of will be as
forward

forward as the most alert of us to exert his; he has the same Ties, and stronger Motives to it, than most of us, and till he doth somewhat that argues a contrary Disposition, it is unfair, ungenerous, indeed cruel to suspect him. The Reputation he brought with him into Power should have created greater Confidence. What has yet happened, proves only that *a great Reputation is sometimes as dangerous as a bad one**. It is so, by never failing to beget Envy; that Canker in the human Heart, which seeks for relief from its own Torment by unwearied Efforts to torment others, and by its villainous Plots hath successfully wrought out this lamentable Effect, *that Vice tempered with some Reserves is more safe and commendatory, than sincere, equal and inflexible Virtue*. The Appearance of this is, I grant, of some Use to smoothe our Way, and carry us forward, but if it hang not so loose that it can be changed and put off at Pleasure, it is no better than a foundered and beaten Jade in a rough Road, that will be sure to stumble and throw the Rider. *Epictetus* his Lamp shewed him little of the World, when he advised his Scholars to be one Man, either altogether wicked, or altogether good.

What then, says a hot-headed Squire, shall the Kingdom be governed by a Parson and a Dragoon? This is, Sir, a Specimen of the Politeness of a thorough-paced Party Man, and may in some Sort serve to give you an Idea how the Opposition is conducted. The Men they are

* *Non minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.*
Tacit.

pleased

pleased to speak of in such Terms, are at least entitled to fair Words and civil Language; one is his Majesty's Minister, and by that claims Respect; the other by his Birth, Fortune and Qualities justly demands the same: He deserves it upon many Accounts; he was bred up among us, grafted into our Body, and made one of us; a Circumstance which at the Time was thought to do Honour to our University, and hath since been of Advantage to the Kingdom. He has in several Instances testified a Regard to our National Interest, and in that Sphere in which he rolled, exerted his Power to do us good; he has been the Means of promoting several of our Countrymen, and some to very high Station; his Conduct has been regular and decent, and his Deportment civil and obliging. However, a short Answer may serve to this pert Interrogatory; why not? if his Majesty pleases to delegate his Power to them, and finds he can trust to their Capacity and Fidelity. The Military and Ecclesiastical make up a great Part of the Establishment, deserve Attention as much as any other, and such as may be supposed to understand them best, are undoubtedly fittest to preside in them: Besides, even Parsons and Dragoons are, for any Reason I can see to the contrary, to the full as fit for Ministers of State as Graziers or Fox-hunters, especially if suitable Parts and Education have recommended them to that Distinction. It cannot surely be a Question which is fittest for the Post, he that was bred at Court, and early formed in the best School of Politicks and good Manners, where the various Dispositions and Tempers of Men are only to be learned, and how to be applied to and managed to the Advantage of
the

the Publick ; or he that has been trained among Dogs and Horses, Bullocks and Sheep, where a Man is likelier to lose the little Good that Nature had put into him, than to improve it, and can learn little more than how to make his Neighbour first drunk, and then bite him in a Bargain ; and if he ever emerges and steps into higher Life, is sure to bring with him that Awkwardness and Bluntness, which though passing among the Vulgar for Marks of Honesty, are in that State of no other Use than to make him ridiculous.

You would think very meanly, Sir, of a Physician, who, from Symptoms, could not ascertain the Cause of a Distemper, and could not tell with some Certainty whether it was seated in the Lungs, Liver, Heart or Spleen, unless the Body was dissected before him ; the Thing is capable of sufficient Certainty without this, to satisfy every Purpose that should be proposed. In the Subject before us the Case is pretty nearly the same, and I may hope by this Time, though I have been obliged to proceed hypothetically in developing the Causes of our present Dissentions, to have satisfied your Curiosity, and to have left no room for Doubt about the true Cause and Source of the Malady. However, before I conclude this Letter, already drawn out to a greater Length than I intended, I must offer one Conjecture more, from which, if I happen to hit right, those I have already made will receive both Light and Strength.

You who are so curious in your Observations, on vegetable Nature, must have sometimes remarked what a starved and stunted Figure a Tree
though

though long standing in one Place, often makes in the Vicinage of a luxuriant young Sappling, that with the Advantage of better Root or Culture, is spreading and overtopping it with its Branches. Something analogous to this, I apprehend, is to be observed in the Matter we are upon: There is, I suspect, a third Person who is very successfully laying the Foundation of his own Advancement, and seems rising to a Summit whence another must tumble before he can be fixed, and who is supposed to lean upon the great Man whose Character I have been endeavouring to set in its proper and true Light. If this be true, it is easy to imagine what Chagrin and Disgust this must raise in another, and you will be able to account for its bursting out so unseasonably, and with such Violence, on Occasion of some well-judged Compliments from several Boroughs, to the distinguished Merit of their Patrons and Friends.

Though nothing exposes a Man more to the Blasts and scorching of Envy than a high Estate, and the Possession of much Power, yet few, I think, have ever desired to part with the one, or to descend from the other; and I verily believe no one ever did it, without being compelled to it, who did not find Reason to repent of it afterwards. No Man, perhaps, ever resigned Power with better Grace, or from better Principles, than *Sylla*, and yet it must have galled him to the Quick to be told by young *Pompey*, "That more Men adored the rising than the setting Sun." Tho' some Monkish Historians have celebrated *Charles V.* for abdicating and retiring to a Cloister, to loiter away his Days in Privacy, and the Fooleries

Fooleries of Superstition then in Vogue, no wise Historian or Politician that I ever read or heard of commended him for it; the Example of his Grandfather, *Ferdinand the Catholick*, might have taught him a better Lesson, who without a Title held the Regal Authority in *Castile* as long as he lived, tho' at the Death of his Wife *Isabel*, it had of right devolved to his Daughter and Grandson; and this I am sure of, that he was not long in his Cloister, before he was convinced of his Folly, and repented of his too precipitate Choice. We are not to wonder, therefore, that a Man is uneasy who apprehends his Downfal is approaching, or out of Humour with those who he suspects are combined to work his Disgrace. However, when the Tide turns, it is prudent to sail along with it, for in such Case there is no reverting; it is a mere *Sisyphæan* Labour to attempt it; a Man might with equal Prospect of Success think of renewing his Age, of giving Wisdom to Dotage, Strength, Sprightliness and Agility to sapless and rigid Fibres, or Bloom and Beauty to wrinkled Features.

Who this third Person is, your own Thoughts will readily suggest, and the growing Hopes he gives that he will answer his Friends highest Expectations, will likewise give you Pleasure in the Reflection. It is true, there is no undertaking positively for another, nor can any one promise how he may carry himself when he has climbed the last Step of the political Ladder; but at present he has all the promising Appearances that can be to conciliate Favour, and invite Followers: Those Vibrations, which in Youth result from hot Blood, and high Spirits, are past and over,

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his Parts are manly, and his Judgment ripening fast to Maturity ; his Character, for any Thing I have heard, is untainted, and his Carriage irreproachable : the Alliance he had the Happiness to make by Marriage, naturally tended to give him some ambitious Views, and probably contributed to cement that Union with another, which now seems to be carrying him fast to that Point where his Wishes may be supposed to center : he wants several Things that to some would be as good as Letters Commendatory : he has no drawling provincial Accent in his Tongue or Name ; though your Ear were as nice as the famous Herb-woman's at *Albens*, you could not detect the Teague in him, and I even question if he has one Drop of the true old *Milesian* Blood in him : neither can you discern much of the Gravity of a Politician in his Looks ; he has no formal Outside, as *Cicero* characterized *Piso* * ; he is not yet wise by Signs, nor learned to answer by Gestures, and has none of those Tricks common with Bankrupts to support Credit, when they know their Fund is exhausted : you see him just as he is, and may for that Reason with the more Safety trust him. But I need not, I am persuaded, be at any farther Pains to convince you of this ; all that was necessary was to point him out ; for knowing the Man, you will form stronger Conclusions in his Favour than I can help you to.

Thus, Sir, I have acquitted myself of the Task you imposed upon me. I have given my

* *Altero ad frontem sublato, altero
Ad mentum depresso supercilio.*

Sentiments with Impartiality, and, I trust, with Decency. Whatever Trouble it has given me, you by your Friendship had a Right to impose. I own I engaged in it without Reluctance, because the Hints I have given may help you to undeceive some well-meaning People, and teach them to correct their Notions. That this should be done, I know is a Matter of some Consequence at present, and few are better qualified than you to undertake it with Success, because you are so well known and so generally esteemed. You will endeavour, I am persuaded, not to inflame, but to cool the Passions of your Neighbours, and dissuade them from any Conduct, that might stop or impede a general Reconciliation, which every Body wishes for who wishes well to his Country, and which, it is the general Opinion, would not be very difficult to bring about, if some who have very little Right to publick Trust or Confidence were not so ready to interpose their ill Offices. You, Sir, have a reconciling Spirit, and great Advantages when you have a Mind to persuade; to forward your Inclination, I will conclude with making it my Request, and shall put your Compliance into the List of Obligations already conferred upon, Sir,

Your very affectionate,

and obedient humble Servant,

F I N I S.

Houses of the Oireachtas