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Political Considerations Upon Refin'd Politicks

Naudé, Gabriel London, 1711

Chap. I. Objections that may be made against this Discourse, with their necessary Answers.

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CONSIDERATIONS

that happen'd in his rime.

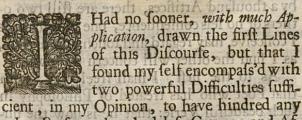
Trollas, & incedis per ignes

Refind Politicks, &c.

What good Success can be expected from

Jurking Fire.

Objections that may be made against this Discourse, with their necessary and Answers.



other Person, that had less Courage and Affection to the work than my self, from going B 4

any farther, and to have chill'd the warmest Blood and vigorous Spirit in the pursuit of these Resolutions which may appear no less dangerous than extraordinary. For if the Judicious Poet Horace (Ode 2. Book 2.) could ingeniously tell his Friend Pollio, who was going to write the History of the Civil Wars that happen'd in his time.

Periculosa plemum opus alea Tractas, & incedis per ignes Suppositos cineri doloso:

The Work to which you now aspire, . Is full of doubtful chance, I Through a vast Plain you must advance, Where treacherous Cinders hide the Lurking Fire.

What good Success can be expected from any Enterprise that is much more rash and difficult; for not to speak of the Danger there is in trying to penetrate into the Actions of Princes, and to lay that open and naked to View, which they always endeavour to conceal by a thousand Artifices, there are still two others of no less consequence, one of which, as I conceive, may regard and touch your Person. as I find the other will concern my own.

As to the first, I shall freely say, with that Poet who has treated of Philosophy in fuch beautiful Verse: that he is now the finother letton, the fost silf for smithisM slg fection to the work than my telf, from going

Illud



34PV

And if an Emeror who nevertheless could Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamq; Indugredi sceleris. (Lucretius Book 1.)

If you shall start at these bold Truths

and fly
These Lines as Maxims of Impiety.
Mr. Creech.

At least, I in reason ought to sear, that I should wound the Ears or offend the Eyes of your Eminency, and disturb the Sweetness and Goodness of your Nature as well as the Quiet and Integrity of your Mind, by the Recital of fo many Deceits, Tricks, Violences, and other the like unjust and tyrannical Actions, (as they appear at first) which I must hereafter relate, explain, and defend.

If Eneas, one of the most resolute Commanders amonst the Ancients, was so mov'd with Piry at the Recital only of the facking and Ruines of Troy, which he made to the Queen of Carthage, that he began it with thefe Words,

Quanquam animus meminifle borret Luctuq; tib refugit. Virgil An. 2. 1950 J ns 18579

Great Queen, what you command me to relate,

Renews the fad Remembrance of our Fate. do slock ment b'issono som sign. Dryden.

And



SHIT

And if an Emperor who nevertheless could not escape the Name of Cruel; faid one day to a Magistrate, who brought a Sentence to fign, by which two poor Wretches were to be condemned: Utinam nescirem Literas; I wish I knew not how to write. (Seneca Book 2. of Clemency.) May not you have much more reason to wish you had never feen this Discourse, fince it entertains you with nothing but what is disagreeable to your Candour and good Nature; should not I do much better to follow the Advice of Solomon, Coram Rega tup noli videri sapiens, Don't feem to be wife in the Presence of your Prince; and perfue those Studies in which I have been converfant from my Youth, rathen than appear before you with these extravagant Notions, as Diognotus did with his before Alexander; that he might look on him as a great Engineer and Architect. May I not apprehend that I shall have the same Success that Phormio the Grammarian had with his Oration, concerning the Art of War, spoke before Hamibal, who was esteemed the great. est General of his Age.

And, in truth, when I consider how ill I am provided with means to accomplish so great an Undertaking, which is another difficulty: I have almost a mind to proceed

no farther but to quit it entirely.

Shall I that am but a Novice in these Exercises seem so bold as to intrude into Mysteries which are more conceal'd than those of the

the Eleusinian Goddess, without being first initiated; with what affurance can I prefume to enter into the depth of fuch Affairs. to penetrate into the Cabinets of the Great, and advance even to that Sanctuary where they form their bold Deligns, without having had the Address and Conversation of those who manage them? I could not fure be angry with any Person who seeing me persist in this resolution should judge that this was to put a Violence upon Nature which never passes so suddenly from one extreme to the other; or to speak more moderately of it that there was more Boldness than Reason in endeavouring to fail upon the wide Seas without a Compass, or in engaging my felf in a Labyrinth of Subtilties and refin'd Politicks, without having in my Hand that Thread of Knowledge, which might extricate me thence with the Success of a favourable Issue. For it is not here as with those Persons who look upon the Sun with the less difficulty, the farther they are from him: or with Painters amongst whom the shortest fighted make the best Pictures: But rather this Political Prudence is like to Proteus, of whom 'tis impossible to have any certain Knowledge, 'till after having descended in fecreta fenis, into the old Man's Secrets, and having with a fix'd and piercing Eye contemplated all his Diverfity of Figures, Motions. and Metamorphofes, by which, ficulties that I rais'd to my felf, and, in the

—Fit subito sus borridus, Atraque Tigris Squamosusq; Draco & sulva cervice Leæna. (Virg. Georgicks Book 4.)

He not unmindful of his usual Art
First in dissembled Fire attempts to part,
Then roaring Beasts and running Streams
he tries,

And wearies all his Miracles of Lies.

Mr. Dryden.

However as the young Aristeus was not deterr'd by the many difficulties that Arethufa fet before him from undertaking his Voyage, and thence obtaining afterwards an entire Satisfaction; fo these which I have recounted and a thousand others could not hinder me, but that, after I had taken the Councel given by Pliny the younger, Testius per plana, sed bumilius & depressins iter; frequentior Currentibus quam reptantibus lapfus; sed & bis non labentibus nulla laus, illis nonnulla laus etiamsi labantur. The way indeed is fafest through the plain, but then it is more humble and deprefs'd; they who run, fall oftner than they who creep; but then those later have no Praise though they do not fall, whereas the others though they chance to trip have still some Commendation. I was refolved to fet forward in the full Carier of the Defign which I proposed. I sid its bestsle

In answer therefore to the two Difficulties that I rais'd to my self, and, in the first first place to that which regards your Eminency, it is not to be mistrusted that these Doctrines do in the least blemish your Piety, or any ways disturb the Quiet and Integrity of your Mind, as at the first blush they might seem to do, and as the three Verses of Lucretius would intimate: The Sun displays his Beams upon the most vile and abject Things, and yet is neither blacken'd or desil'd.

Nec quia forte lutum radiis ferit, est ideo

Fædus, non fordet lumen quum fordida Tangit. (Palingenius in Scorpi.)

Though the Sun's Rays strike on the Mud,

Is pure, with Light from all fuch Mixture free.

The Divines are not less devout for knowing what is Herefy; nor Physicians less skilful for understanding the Force and Compositions of all Poysons. The Habits of the Understanding are distinguish'd from those of the Will: The first appertain to the Sciences, and are always commendable: The second regard moral Actions, and may be either Good or Evil. Trithemius and Pererius have shewn that it was expedient that there should be Magicians, and that the way should be known how to raise Spirits, that by such Apparitions they might convince the Incredulity

dulity of Atheists: Soldiers go often to their Exercise to learn how to trail the Pike, or handle the Musquet, that so they may with more Art and Industry kill Men and destroy their own Likeness: But however they make no other use of them but against the Enemies of their Prince and Country. The best Surgeons study nothing more than how to cut off an Arm or a Leg with dexterity; but it is for the preservation of those who are diseas'd.

Truncantur & Artus
Ut liceat reliquis securum degere Membris.
(Claud. 2. in Eutrop.)

That fo the rest may live in Ease secure.

Why then should a great Politician be prohibited to know when to Exalt or Debase, Release or Imprison, Condemn or Acquit, Reprieve or Execute those Persons he shall think proper to be so us'd for the repose of the State.

Several are of Opinion that a Prince who is prudent and well advis'd, ought not only to command according to Law, but may command even the Laws themselves if Necessity requires it. To preserve Justice in greater Matters, says Charon, it is expedient sometimes to relinquish it in less, and it is permitted to do Wrong in the Particular, provided that Right be done in the Main.

If it be objected that it is not proper how. ever to discover such things, and that to Teach them is, truly speaking, to place Gladium ancipitem in Manu Stulti, To put a Sword in the Hand of a Fool. I shall anfwer, that ill People may abuse every thing that is good in the World. Hereticks would ground their Impieties upon the Holy Scriptures. The Paracelfians pervert the Text of Hippocrates, to establish their visionary Imaginations. Advocates cite the Code and the Pandects in defence of the greatest Criminals, and yet it never entered into Peoples Heads to suppress all these Books. The Sword may as well offend as defend; Wine as well make drunk as refresh; Medicines as well. kill as cure; and yet no body hitherto has faid that the use of all these is not very necessary. By the common Law of Nature all things are instituted to a good End, but there are Persons who very often abuse them. Nature does not produce Things venomous, that they might ferve for Poisons and destroy Mankind, because in so doing she would be destructive to her self: But it is our Wickedness that converts them to that purpose; Terra quidem nobis malorum Remedium genuit, nos illud Vitæ fecimus Venenum, Plin. lib. 18. C.I. The Earth has brought us forth Remedies for all Diseases, and we have turn'd them into Poisons. But we must go on and say, that the Depravity of Mankind is fo great, and the Means they make use of to obtain their defigns

defigns fo daring and hazardous, that to fpeak of the following Politicks as practifed now adays, without mentioning these Refinements, is indeed to be ignorant of the proper Methods of Instruction which Aristotle says are fo effential, Est enim padia inscitia, nescine quorum oporteat quarere Demonstrationem, quorum vero non oporteat, It is the Ignorance of Erudition, not to know for what we ought and for what we ought not to feek a Demonstration. Wherefore Lipsus and Charon, though they were far from being Timons and Manhaters, yet treated of this part of Politicks, lest their Works should have been imperfect. And the same Aristotle who never did any thing uncorrect, when he wrote of Politicks and those Governments which were opposite to Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, which are Tyranny, Olligarchy and Ochlocracy, gives Precepts for the Faulty as well as the Legitimate. And in this he has been follow'd by St. Thomas Aguinas in his Commentaries; where having difcommended Tyrannick Government, and diffuaded Perfons from it by all the Reasons he could think of, yet nevertheless lays down Rules for the establishing of it, in case any one would be fo wicked as to attempt it. And lest this should be doubted, here are his own Words to this purpose, in the Commentary upon the Fifth of the Politicks, Text the XIth, To preserve a Tyranny it is necessary to kill such Persons as excel in Power or Riches,

Riches, because they by means of their Authority may be able to rife against the Tyrant. " It " is expedient likewife, that the most pru-"dent Persons should be dispatch'd lest " they by their Wisdom should find a way to " expel the Tyranny. Nor should Schools " or other Societies where Prudence may be " gain'd, be in any manner permitted; for " wife Men have Inclinations to great Acti-" ons, and are therefore Magnanimous, and " eafily inclin'd to Infurrections. To main-" tain a Tyranny, the Tyrant should take " Care that his Subjects should accuse one " another of Crimes and Treasons, so as to " be in a perpetual Disturbance amongst " themselves, that Friend may be against " Friend; the Commonalty may diffent from " the Rich, and the Rich from the Commo-" nalty; for fo they will be less able to do " any thing against the Tyrant. Great Tri-" butes and heavy Exactions are to be laid " upon the People, that so they may be im-" poverish'd. The Tyrant should encourage " Civil Wars amongst his own Subjects, if " he has none with Foreigners, for that will " keep them from practifing against him. A "Kingdom indeed is supported by Friends, " but a Tyranny should have no regard to " them. And in the following Text, which is the Twelfth, fee how he teaches Hypocrify and Simulation. "A Tyrant to fecure " his Tyranny, should not appear Severe or " Cruel to his Subjects; for if he feems Cruel

"Cruel he will render himself odious, and fo excite them against him; but he ought to make himself rever'd by them, for the Excellence of some eminent Goodness; for Reverence is due to that, and if he be not endow'd with it, he ought to dissemble so as to seem to have it. A Tyrant ought so to behave himself that he may seem to his Subjects to excel in some eminent Goodness, wherein they are descient, for that will create him Reverence. If he is not possess of the Virtues in reality, yet at least let him make them think that he has them.

These are surely very strange Doctrines from the Mouth of a Saint, and are nothing different from those of Machiavel and Cardan, and yet may be solv'd by these two Reasons which are probable and right enough. The first is, That these Maxims being so declar'd and publish'd, the Subjects may easily know when the Carriage of their Prince tends to a Tyrannick Power, and so provide for themselves accordingly, as Mariners when they foresee a Storm make the best of their way to avoid it. The second, That when a Tyrant acting without Counsel and Advice would establish his Dominion,

Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet graffatur in omnes

Ut se posse putent. Claudian.

He

He strikes at all, whilst all he Fears, and

To make them think that all must be his Slaves.

And refembles a Wolf, who being got into a Fold, tho' he might appeafe his Hunger and glut himself with one Sheep, yet worries all the rest. But on the contrary, if he proceeds with Judgment and follows the Precepts of them who are better advis'd and less passionate than himself, he will perhaps like Tarquin rest content with striking off the Heads of the highest Poppies, or crushing those Spirits which appear above others, after the Example of Thrasybulus and Periander; and so the Evil that could not be avoided will become much more easy and supportable.

Besides there is no occasion to fear that the Narration of all these tragical Accidents should offend the Ears of your Eminence, or disturb the Sweetness and Goodness of your Nature: That complete Knowledge you have acquired in Politicks, that long Practice and Experience that you have had in the Courts of the greatest Monarchs where these Machiavilianisms are so common, will not permit any one to imagine that you have any thing to learn concerning them. And farther, althould large that he should have the same inclination.

nation to Pity, for which Seneca gives this Reason in his Treatise of Clemency, (Book 2. ch. 5.) Quemadmodum Religio Deos colit, supersitio violat, Clementiam Mansuetudinemque omnes boni præstabunt, misericordiam autem vitabunt, est enim vitium pusilli animi ad speciem alienorum malorum subsidentis; As Religion worships the Gods, Superstition profanes them, fo all good Men will shew Clemency and Mercy, but will avoid Pity, which is the Failure of a weak Mind, finking under the appearance of other Mens Misfortunes: Now it would be a Crime to think, that there could be any thing in your Eminence that is low or abject, fince if it be true which the fame Author fays, that Nibil aque Homines ac magnus Animus decet, Nothing is fo becoming a Man as a great Spirit: With how much greater Reason ought that Spirit to appear in your Eminence, to accompany and heighten that Dignity you fustain, not only as a Prince of the Church, but as a chief Counsellor to his Holiness, and so in fome measure of one of the most potent Princes of Europe: Magnam enim fortunam Magnus animus decet qui nisi se ad illam extulit & altior stetit illam quoque infra terram deducit; For a great Soul is proper for a great Fortune; for unless a Man carries himfelf beyond it and exalts himself higher, he draws it down with him and depresses it. At least it occasions the Management of it to have less Authority and Reputation.

tation. So we find in History, that Epiphanes, for having acted below his Dignity, and not governing like a King, was firnam'd the Insensible, and that Ramirus of Arragon. retaining feveral of his Monkish Manners, after having quitted the Convent, to take the Crown, was derided and contemn'd by his Courtiers; our own Times furnish us with the Examples of a King of Great Britain, who E stato schernito, & besseggiato per baver voluto comporre libri & fare del letterato (Tassoni, Book 7. c. 4.) was thought to act below his Dignity, by writing Books, and being learned: And of Henry III. fo much fpoke of, and fo remarkable in our Modern Histories, who having liv'd amongst Monks, and through the excess of an ill-guided Devotion, abandon'd his Crown and Government, gave occasion to Pope Sixtus the Fifth to fay, This good King does all that he can to be a Monk, and I have done all that I could not to be one. And for this reason, some of the best Advice that ever Monsieur de Villeroy gave to Henry the Great, who had liv'd like a Soldier and Musqueteer, during the Wars he made before his coming to the Crown, was, when he told him, That a Prince, who was not jealous of the Respects due to his Majesty, would permit bimself to be affronted and despised. That the Kings his Predecessors in the utmost Confusions, had always acted like Kings: that it was time be should speak, write, and all like a King. But

22 Considerations upon

But why should we fearch for Examples amongst strange Princes, when the History of those who have govern'd this City, in which your Eminence refides at prefent, flews us two Sovereign Popes, who not having accompany'd the Grandeur of their Supreme Dignity with an equal Spirit, ferve still for the Subject of Tales and Raillery, and of Laughter to Posterity. The great Piety and Religion which they carried in their Countenance, not being able to hinder, but that Maffon should say of the first, who was Celestin the Fifth, Vir fuit simplex nec eruditus, qui bumana negotia ne capere quidem posset. He was a fimple Man, no Scholar, and one that had no Apprehension of common Busifinefs. And Paulus Jovius speaking of the fecond, concerning a certain fort of Fish, which rose to a great Price during his Pontificate, Merluceo plebeio admodum pisci, Hadrianus fextus sicuti in republica admini-Aranda bebetis ingenii vel depravati judicii, ita in esculentis insulsissimi gustus, supra mediocre pretium ridente toto foro Piscatorio jam fecerat. (Lib. de Pisc. Rom.) That he shew'd himself to be as dull, and of as depraved a Tudgment in his Administration of Affairs, as he was infipid in his Tafte. In which Character he shew'd himself much more moderate than Peter Martyr, not the Heretick of Florence, but the Apostolick Protonatory, Native of a little Village in the Dutchy of Milan, who ays of the Election of the fame Pope, 李斯科

Pope, Cardinalibus boc loco accidit, quod in fabulis de Pardo ac Leone super Agno raptando foribitur, fortibus illis strenue se dilacerantibus quodcumque quadrupes iners aliud prædæ se dominum fecit; Whilst the Leopard and Lyon were fighting for the Lamb, a stupid Beast ran away with the Prey: So that Persons shou'd either avoid great Employments, or else administer them with a Generosity and Force of Spirit, fo far exalted above what is common, that it may be able to make Fortune defire to fecond and favour it in all Undertakings. This being a most certain Maxim, that whoever has this Principle and Foundation, which comes by Nature, Bona enim mens, nec emitur, nec comparatur, fays Seneca, for a good Understanding is not to be bought or traffick'd for, cannot mis of being the Worker and Creator of his own Fortune, according to Plantus, Sapiens pol ipfe fingit fortunam fibi. Alexander, although he was young, and ill provided with Soldiers, propos'd to himself to conquer the Persians, and pass even to the Indies, and accomplish'd it: Casar undertook in his fingle Person, to govern that Republick which commanded all others, he found the means of doing it: The two Shepherds, Romulus and Tamerlane, had their Designs to lay the Foundation of two powerful Empires, and they executed them. Mahomet, from a Merchant, would make himself a Prophet, and from a Prophet, a Sovereign of the third part of the World; C 4 he

he had Success. And what think you, my Lord, was the principal Spring which caus'd all these marvellous Effects? No other in truth but a valiant Mind, which Juvenal teaches us always to place among the foremost of our Defires, Forten posce animum. Now in this place to specifie the Parts that compose this Noble Spirit, would be to fall from one Discourse to another, and do as Montagne, who follows rather the Starts of his own Fancy, than the Titles of his Essays. It may be sufficient to say at present, that one of the first and most necesfary things, is, often to recollect this Saying of Seneca, O quam contempta res est homo nisi supra bumana surrexerit; Oh what a despicable Thing is Man, unless he raises himself above human Things; that is, unless he have a strong and fix'd Eye, and, as if he were plac'd upon some high Tower, looks down upon the whole World, which appears to him as a Theatre, ill regulated, and full of Confusion, where some act Comedies, and others Tragedies, and where he may intervene; Tanquam Deus aliquis ex machina, Like fome Divinity from a Machine, as often as he pleases, or the variety of Occasions shall perfuade him to do it. Now if it may feem extraordinary to your Eminence, and not proper for my Age, or perhaps my Condition, that I should be fo resolute in Matters that are so ticklish and delicate, and much more in the Mouth of a young Man, who

is call'd by Horace, Utilium tardus provisor, as being too negligent in providing fuch things as may be useful hereafter, and not accustom'd to apply himself to so serious and important Studies, which belong to the fulness of old Age. I shall first answer your Eminence, that the Age in which I am, is not disproportion'd to the Matter and Subject which I treat of; for Youth, that is, Optima quaque dies, &c. as Virgil and Seneca call it, has that Epithet of Best, because the Mind is tractable, and the Time fitted for Labour, and proper to be exercis'd in fitting Studies. Why then, fince feveral Persons have perform'd many brave Exploits before the Flower of their Age, should not I be permitted to follow them, and if not to produce generous and lofty Actions, at least to frame noble and bold Conceptions, feeing I have always endeavour'd to acquire certain good Dispositions of Mind, which ought not now to be unufeful to me: For I have address'd my felf to the Muses, without being too much enamour'd of them; I was pleas'd with my Studies, but not too much addicted to them; I pass'd through a Course of Scholaftick Philosophy, without medling with the contentious part of it, and thorough that of the Ancient and Moderns, without being partial to any Sect; I made more use of Seneca than Aristotle, of Plutarch than Plato, of Juvenal and Horace, than Homer and Virgil, and of Montagn and Charon, more than 1115110

than all the before-mention'd. I have not had so much practice of the World, as effectually to discover the Cheats and Villanies that are committed in it, but I have nevertheless feen a great part of them, in Histories, Satyrs and Tragedies. Pedantry might have gained fomething upon my Behaviour and Carriage, during feven or eight Years that I staid in the Colleges, but I can affure my felf, that it obtained no Advantage over my Spirit; Nature, God be prais'd, has been no Stepmother to me, and the reading of divers Authors has given me great Affistance, but that of the Book of St. Antoine, has furnish'd me with the best. After all, I hope it may not displease your Eminence, that being full of Zeal and good Affection for your Service, I employ my Thoughts to give you any agreeable Diversion; but my last Design is, for a contemplative State of Life, to which I have vow'd, and defign'd all the rest of my Days, without encumbring my felf with the active, only fo far as your Eminence, to whom I have made the first Vow of Obedience may please to engage me.

It remains now to fee, if I do not pass beyond the Bounds of my Capacity, by endeavouring to treat of things that feem to be beyond my Knowledge; to which I may answer, with that of Seneca, Paucis ad bonum mentem opus est literis, There is not much Learning requir'd to a good Understanding. I have not the Presumption to think I shall obtain

obtain the Prize in this Courfe, I shall only make a small Effort, and when I am out of the right way, I shall expect some new Asfiftance or Instruction to pass farther. Aratus, that excellent Man, who did not understand much of Astronomy, yet made a good Book of the Phanomena's: Celfus, who was a mere Grammarian, compos'd a most useful Book in Physick: Dioscorides was a Soldier, Macer a Senator, and yet both have writ very exquifitely concerning Plants: Hippodamus, from a simple Architect and Mason, became a great Politician, and Founder of a Commonwealth, that is mention'd by Aristotle. I have always been of this Opinion, that whoever has natural Parts, and some Improvement from Study, may infer and deduce all forts of Conclusions, from five or fix good Principles, as Pliny fays, That the ancient Painters made their best Pieces from the mixture only of four or five forts of Colours; one may likewise add, that the Sciences seem to be link'd to one another, and to have fuch a Correspondence, that he who is posses'd of one, is likewise Master of all that stand in a Subaltern degree to it: Besides, the Age in which we live, feems much to favour this Defign, fince one may know and discover the greatest Secrets of Monarchies, the Intrigues of Courts, the Cabals of the Factious, the Pretences and Motives of particular Perfons,

Quid

Quid Rex in aurem Reginæ dixerit, Quid Juno fabulata sit cum Jove. (Plaut.)

what the King whisper'd to the Queen, what Juno discours'd of with Jupiter; by the means of so many Relations, Memoirs, Discourses, Instructions, Libels, Manifesto's, Pasquinades, and such like secret Pieces that come abroad daily, which may more easily form and enliven our Minds and set us free from soolish Prejudice, than all the Actions that are usually practis'd in Courts of Princes, whose importance it is difficult to know, for want of being able to penetrate into their Causes and different Movements.

As for my own Method of treating this Subject, I shall do it with all the Precaution and Modesty imaginable; not minding the vulgar Notions, but such as the venerable Cato or Curius wou'd have fram'd: And if I knew in the least, that what I should say on this Subject, wou'd create any Abuse or Disorder, greater than what is this day practis'd among Princes, I wou'd throw these Papers into the Fire, and make an eternal Vow of Silence; for I wou'd not gain the Reputation of a subtle Politick Speculator, to lose that of an honest Man; which shall be the chief and only end I shall aim at in pursuing this Discourse.

CHAP.