

Read in College contrary to the Regulations
which ordain it to be recited by heart

TM 19/1/20

In comparing the merit of two princes, it appears by no means equitable to make the publick effects of their conduct a criterion to judge by, since from the difference of circumstances, actions iniquitous in their motives may produce benefits, while disinterested wisdom meet with no proportional success, or even seem to be productive of unhappiness. — Instances to confirm this are obvious in history, & ∴ unnecessary to be pointed out.

Purity of motives, then conjoin'd with wisdom, must be the guide for decision, & he is to be esteem'd the better prince, who is superior in virtue, magnanimity, & intellectual capacity; because, under the same circumstances, his actions must necessarily be more conducive to the happiness of the people, that being what by disposition he is more desirous of, & what by his sagacity he can better discern the means of promoting. — If on these grounds the merits of H. 7th & R. 3^d be compar'd, it appears that decision must be given in favor of the latter: at the same time the merit of R. is chiefly relative, for neither of these personages would ever have possess'd the crown, had ~~they~~ ^{they} been ~~a~~ fit models for imitation. — Both were usurpers, but the usurpⁿ of H. was far more flagrant than R.—

who, when he had surmounted the obstacles, w^d were oppos'd between him & the
throne, had a right to it by inheritance, ~~the~~ no such right cou'd H., who
was descended from an illegitimate branch of y^e Lanc: Fam: pre-
tend; this he was conscious of, as appears from his never directly ma-
king that claim. — In considering the Charact: of R. 3^d, regard ought
to be had to his general conduct, both previous, & after his accession
to the throne, rather than to those reports, with w^{ch} H. & his partizans
afterwards endeavor'd to blacken his memory. The circumstances were
such, that whatever depreciated R. proportionally elevated H., (^{scarcely} ~~scarcely~~)
him more firmly on y^e throne; so that tis imposs: that the actions
& conduct of R. should have been fairly transmitted to posterity, un-
less H. had been a prince of great justice, & magnanimity, & pos-
sessing enlarg'd & liberal sentiments of policy — The reverse of w^{ch}
was the fact. Those reports w^{ch} were rais'd at 1st to ^{glue} ~~glue~~ the populace,
& weaken their attachment to R., have been adopted by the timid,
incautious, or flattering ^{flatterers} under H. & his posterity, as real facts, &
scarcely any thing has been said of R. but in the way of invective.
Personal deformity has been imputed to him in ^{direct} ~~direct~~ contradiction to contemp^r writ-
ters, w^{ch} he were eye witnesses, & to ^{all} ancient pictures, w^{ch} represent him as
handsome & well made; & tis obvious what a weakness this detected

Protector, for honor, integrity, prudence, courage & humanity, qualities
w^{ch} had much endeared him to all orders of men during his adminis-
tration of the North. - He was but 18 years old when H. 6th died,
& his son Edward was murder'd, yet both these events have been
laid to his charge, if one contrary to evidence, the other a bare asser-
tion never attempt'd to be prov'd. - In short the only known actions w^{ch}
expose him to the charge of cruelty, are the executions of Part
Rivers, & P^r Tho^s Gray, & that of L^d Hastings: if 2 first are allow'd
to have been instigated & procur'd by Buckingham & Hastings, &
the last (at worst) was to remove a powerful man, who threaten'd to
obstruct R^o v^o v^o. These executions were certainly unjustifiable
but considering the barbarous & sanguinary disposition of the times, & the
many precedents he had to countenance him, they appear by no means
to make good the charge of excessive cruelty, or even to be incompatible
with humanity. - But allowing for the sake of argument, that he did
conspire against the life of his nephew, still his character rises superior
to H.'s in whatever point of view it be consider'd, whether on the side of
liberal policy, goodness of disposition, prince by virtues, or of the example
& precedent w^{ch} he gave to posterity. It is 1st public action was a factious ini-
-quitous invasion of this Kingdom, with a design to usurp the sovereignty
from the establish'd & lawful prince, & being more successful than a late

boasting general on the continent, the 1st battle was decisive in his favor, & placed the crown on his head. This evict^{ed} he owed chiefly to the defection of L^d Stanley & his son from R., the many other fortunate coincidences might be pointed out - Having gained the crown, it was natural, & even laudable for H. to reverse the attainders w^h had pass'd against the Lancastrians, but the revenge he exercised against the adherents of the York Fam^l. cannot be considered in the same light: how men could be guilty of treason by supporting the King in opposition against the Earl of Richmond, who had not assumed the title of King it is not easy to conceive - & H.'s conduct in this instance forms a striking contrast with R.'s lenity towards the Lancst insurgents. It is not a little remarkable that H. should afterwards procure a law to be pass'd, w^h enacted that no person should be punished, for bearing arms, or otherwise assisting the King for 4 years being - so did his words belie his actions. But jealousy was not his only motive for this conduct; his avarice was gratify'd by the immense confiscations w^h follow'd these acts of attainder. Avarice, that most unprincely passion, as I may, without incurring the imputation of disloyalty, pronounce it, was absolute in Henry's breast: to that, & to a no less ignoble passion, the fear of losing his crown, are most of his actions to be refer'd. H.'s numerous exactions, & oppressions, his arbitrary enforcement of the tax call'd Benevolence, w^h R. had recently abolished, his pretended wars to get supplies from parliament, (a precedent w^h had been successfully follow'd in more modern times) sufficiently shew the sordidness of his disposition. But the science of pretended war was very imperfect in

H.'s time, there is no instance recorded of his stopping short & concluding a peace directly after the completion of his armament - a mode of hostilities is surely every friend to mankind would rejoice at seeing adopted, as it prevents blood shed, & other calamities attendant on common wars, & there are two important objects of war, it seem to have been unknown in H.'s time, & it probably are a modern discovery - I mean the increase of influence by military & naval appointments, & the exterminating of erroneous opinions, by that powerful train of argument, - a train of artillery. - Henry has been celebrated for his ^{profound} wisdom, but the great instance usually alleg'd, namely the marriage of his daughter Marg'et with James 4th of Scotland is rather unfortunate, since it appears that the offer was 1st made to draw off J^m from giving protection to the famous Perkin Warbeck, a personage of whom it is difficult to decide, whether he were the real R^{ed} Plantagenet D. of York, or an impostor. The conduct of Foreign Princes towards him, & especially of J^m of Scotland who gave him in marriage a near relation, a lady of the greatest beauty, merits, & accomplishments, renders the latter supposition difficult to be received. That H. himself was at least doubtful of the imposture appears from his most favorable historians, nor can his conduct be on any other supposition reconcil'd to common sense. Thus much is certain he could not detect the imposture, & the account w^{ch} he himself drew up of it, was so replete with gross falsehoods & contradictions, that his ablest apologists have been oblig'd to puff over

& substitute other fabrications in its stead: & tho' after due examination of the evidence
on this point, some ^{Difficulties} ~~doubts~~ may remain, yet the probabilities in favor of Perkin
Warbeck's claims are so preponderant, as to excite in the mind a mixt sentiment
of detestation against H. & commiseration for the fate of this hapless youth, who
fell a victim to a jealous Tyrant, & with whom perhaps was extinguish'd the
male line of the illustrious race of Plant^{net}. — Henry's acting his inquisi-
tives under the forms of law was an evil of the utmost magnitude, as it
was a precedent for converting justice into oppression, & the legal murder of
of L^d Chamberlain Stanley, & of many others, who had been H.'s best friends,
but were suspected of favoring P. W.'s claims, together with his bar-
barous treatment, & murder of the innocent young prince Edwrd Earl of
Warwick, against whom nothing was alledged, prove him to have been
capable of any iniquity, w^{ch} he might think expedient to secure his crown.
So numerous were his spies & informers, that not any, even the most private
communications could be made, but they were immediately ^{made} known to him.
all social comfort, all freedom of conversation was destroy'd, as every man's life
& fortune were at the mercy of a jealous, & a ravenous Tyrant: but of these
insidious attempts to undermine the foundations of liberty, & establish despotism
it may seem improper in these times to speak, in the terms they ^{of reputation} deserve.
Necessary considerations obliges me to pass by many instances of bad policy
in H.'s conduct: some beneficial laws w^{ch} doubt he made, he encour-
= rag'd commerce, & render'd the Estates of the Barons honorable, w^{ch} in =

created his customs, & diffused that wealth among his subjects, w^{ch} he could squeeze out at pleasure. — R. during his short reign had done much towards securing the rights, & consequently the Happ^{ness} of the people, & H. was in some measure oblig'd to follow his example; but his constant plan of policy was to depress the nobles, who were dangerous to his power, & to raise the Lawyers, Churchmen, & novi homines, who being dependant on him, acquiesced in his unjust & oppressive measures, thereby confirming that arbitrary power, w^{ch} his successor so amply exercised. — On the whole it appears, & that even from his most favorable hist^{ories}, that H.'s disposition was suspicious sanguinary, & sordid, unrestrained by any principle of honor, virtue or conscience, that he had good pretensions to cunning, but none to true wisdom, whose rules are good policy for ages, & w^{ch} cunning & intrigue are totally incompatible. — On the other hand, from the general tenor of R.'s conduct, from his known sagacity, magnanimity & generosity, from the many wise laws & beneficial regulations, w^{ch} were pass'd during his short & convulsive reign, it seems but reasonable to infer, that had he not been cut off by a faction, whose interest it was to calumniate him, he would have been view'd by posterity in far more favorable colors, & have been recorded in history as a wise & virtuous prince.

2. Recited in place of the former, the next week
by being ordered to recite my declamation, & leave out certain (marked)
obnoxious passages.

TH 19/1/20

When the utility, merit, or policy of some uncor-
tested fact is called in question, the declaimer has only
to apply general reasoning to the subject, & establish his
conclusion accordingly - ~~such questions are the fit~~
subjects ^{for} declamation: But when, as in the ~~case~~ ^{proposition}
~~of a~~ ^{question}, the comparative merit of two public cha-
racters, is to be ascertain'd, the method of discussion
must be very different. — By what shall their
merits be estimated? Certainly not by the immedi-
ate public effects of their conduct, for that would
often be to confound right & wrong: nor is the
praise & dispraise, which have been indiscri-
minately heap'd upon the agents, a more cor-
-rect measure of merit, since a successful prince
will always be flatter'd, & tho' he be in reality a
mean unfeeling Tyrant, will be represented as
as amiable, while the best of Kings, when his
reign, & his party's reign ^{is} over, will be loaded
with calumny & reproaches. — The stan-
dard by w^hich merit must be estimated, is wisdom & virtue
or, to speak ^{with} ~~mathematically~~ ^{precision} the merit of a public
character & his wisdom & his virtue. — History is record

to; the Facts there recorded form the data, from ^{wh}
the motives & secret springs of action are investigated
& the decision is made according to the conclusion ^{or} results.
When the Facts are numerous, & well attested the dis-
cussion is easy, & the method obvious - when they are
but few & those controverted, tis difficult to tell on what
grounds to proceed.

Before the merits of R. 3^d & H. 4th can be com-
pared, the events of their lives must be ascertained, - but
this is not the province of the Declaimer, but of the
Antiquarian & Historian. To those, who have
read Mr Horace Warpole's Historic doubts, my obser-
vations here would be superfluous; to those, who have not,
they would be useful. That learned critic, & acule rea-
soner, from an examination of Dates, registers, & par-
liamentary records, & from various other evidences,
has proved the falshood of some of the charges
against R., & shewn the great improbability of
others; & allowing his adjustment of facts (it seems
difficult to dispute) H.'s character, even as drawn by
his ablest apologists & most flattering panegyrist
is so much worse than R.'s as to leave no room
for declamation.

It may be thought strange that modern criticism should be able to correct the records of so distant a period; but time & accident have brought great materials to light, certain facts & dates are found to contradict historians, & truth, long buried under calumny & misrepresentation, at last emerges.

Some there are, ^{in doubt} however, who, having attached the idea of monster, & cruel tyrant, to R. 3^d, are determined to adhere to their 1st impressions, & resist all innovation. — But does antiquity consecrate error? Or does a bye become venerable by its age?

Perhaps the immortal Shakespeare has ^{contributed more} been the means of fixing more odium upon R.'s character than all the dry details of Historians. — His 'unreal scenes', ^{as if by an omniscient} his magic pencil drew, operate upon the mind as substantial realities, & imagination leads the judgement captive. — But setting aside all prejudices, & prepossessions, & having fairly examined the evidence for the facts adduced, a slight survey of the general conduct of H. & R. will ^{show} the latter to have been far superior in every amiable & noble quality. — As I had the pleasure last Sat.^h of reading in this place an attempt towards such a survey I will not again trespass on the time of my learned Auditor by a recapitulation.

Declamation
read in College

4. Those who have read Mr Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts*
my observations would be superfluous, to those who have not, they will
be useful. That ^{careful} able critic & acute reasoner, from an examination
of dates, of registers, & parliamentary records, & from various other evidence
has detected the falsehood of some of the charges against R. & shown
the great improbability of others. & allowing his adjustment of facts
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general conduct of H. & R. will convince the latter to have been
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~~of their merit~~ for that would often be to compound viz as among - not in the
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