

(Rome, 1540); and the Venetian Gasparo Contarini (1484–1542), *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*\* (Venice, 1544), which was published in English translation in London in 1599. During the late seventeenth century, this tradition had been introduced into English political discourse by several republican writers, principally James Harrington (1611–77), in *Oceana*\* (London, 1656); John Milton (1608–74), in *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*\* (London, 1660); Algernon Sidney (1622–83), in his posthumously published *Discourses Concerning Government*\* (London, 1698); and Henry Neville (1620–94) in *Plato Redivivus; Or a Dialogue Concerning Government* (London, 1681).

Following the Glorious Revolution, the civic humanist tradition flourished in three related groups of writings, all of which were profoundly critical of the new Whig political and economic order. First were the works of radical commonwealthmen, the most direct heirs of Harrington, Milton, and Sidney. The most important of these works included Robert Molesworth (1656–1725), *An Account of Denmark as it Was in the Year 1692*\* (London, 1694); John Toland (1660–1722), *The State Anatomy of Great Britain* (London, 1717); Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1655–1716), *A Discourse of Government with Relation to Militias* (Edinburgh, 1698) and *An Account of a Conversation Concerning a Right Regulation of Government for the Common Good of Mankind* (Edinburgh, 1704); Walter Moyle (1672–1721) and John Trenchard (1662–1723), *A Short History of Standing Armies in England*\* (London, 1698); and, above all, Trenchard and Thomas Gordon (d. 1750), *Cato's Letters*\* (London, 1724).

Second were the writings of a succession of radical Whig historians, who, in the tradition of Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–74), *Memorials of the English Affairs; Or, an Historical Account of What Passed from the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First, to the King Charles the Second his Happy Restauration*\* (London, 1682), and Bishop Gilbert Burnett (1643–1715), *History of His Own Times*\* (published in London in two volumes in 1724 and 1734 long after the author's death), examined the history of the great events of the seventeenth century in England from a Whig perspective. These included the fifteen-volume *History of England*\* (London, 1726–31) by the French Huguenot exile Paul de Rapin-Thoyras (1661–1725), whose earlier *An Historical Dissertation on the Origin of the Government of England [and] . . . the Whigs and Tories*\*, a work first published in French in 1716, had been widely celebrated in opposition circles; the three-volume *General History of England to . . . 1688*\* (London, 1744–51) by William Guthrie (1708–70)

and its two-volume continuation *History of England during the Reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I*\* (London, 1744–46) by James Ralph (1705–62); and the several histories of ancient Greece and Rome by the French historian Charles Rollin (1661–1741), especially his sixteen-volume *Roman History*\* (London, 1739–50).

Third were the writings of Tory critics of the new Whig political and commercial order. The most important of these were the work of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), which included *The Freeholder's Political Catechism* (London, 1733), *A Dissertation upon Parties*\* (London, 1735), *Remarks on the History of England* (London, 1743) (Logan), *A Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism*\* (London, 1749), *The Idea of a Patriot King*\* (London, 1749), *Some Reflections on the Present State of the Nation* (London, 1749), and *Letters on the Study and Use of History*\* (London, 1752). Many of these first appeared in the pages of the *The Craftsman*\*, an opposition newspaper published by Bolingbroke from 1726 to 1736. Among the more significant works of Bolingbroke's associates and sympathizers, who included many of the leading writers of the era, were *Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions Between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome*\* (London, 1701) and *Gulliver's Travels*\* (London, 1726) by Jonathan Swift (1667–1745); *The Dunciad*\* (London, 1728), *Of False Taste, An Epistle to . . . Lord Burlington*\* (London, 1731), *Of the Use of Riches, An Epistle to . . . Lord Bathurst*\* (London, 1732), *An Essay on Man*\* (London, 1733–34), and *Epilogue to the Satires*\* (London, 1738) by Alexander Pope (1688–1744); *The Beggar's Opera* (London, 1728), *Polly* (London, 1729), *Rural Sports*\* (London, 1713), and *Fables*\* (London, 1727–38) by John Gay (1685–1732); *Liberty, a Poem*\* (London, 1735–36) by James Thomson (1700–48); and *Letters from a Persian in England to a Friend at Ispahan*\* (London, 1735) and *Considerations Upon the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad*\* (London, 1739) by George Lord Lyttelton (1709–73).

Almost without exception, these late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century republican and opposition writings were well known in America during the era of the American Revolution and well-represented in American libraries. Milton, Harrington, and Sidney among seventeenth-century republicans, Trenchard and Gordon among eighteenth-century commonwealth writers, Rapin among the Whig historians, and Bolingbroke and Pope among Tory opposition spokesmen were all among the thirty authors most frequently cited by Revolutionary polemicists. Together the entire group of civic humanist writers accounted for about 40% of all citations to secular