

剑桥政治思想史原著系列（影印本）

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

安德鲁·弗莱彻  
政治著作选

Andrew Fletcher

*Political Works*

Edited by

JOHN

ROBERTSON

中国政法大学出版社

ANDREW FLETCHER

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ANDREW FLETCHER  
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# 剑桥政治思想史原著系列

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在政治理论领域，“剑桥政治思想史原著系列”作为主要的学生教科丛书，如今已牢固确立了其地位。本丛书旨在使学生能够获得从古希腊到 20 世纪初期西方政治思想史方面所有最为重要的原著。它囊括了所有著名的经典原著，但与此同时，它又扩展了传统的评价尺度，以便能够纳入范围广泛、不那么出名的作品。而在此之前，这些作品中有许多从未有过现代英文版本可资利用。只要可能，所选原著都会以完整而不删节的形式出版，其中的译作则是专门为本丛书的目的而安排。每一本书都有一个评论性的导言，加上历史年表、生平梗概、进一步阅读指南，以及必要的词汇表和原文注解。本丛书的最终目的是，为西方政治思想的整个发展脉络提供一个清晰的轮廓。

本丛书已出版著作的书目，请查阅书末。

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS IN THE  
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

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## Introduction

Andrew Fletcher's *Political Works* comprise six short, precisely argued pamphlets, published between 1697 and 1704. Each was a *pièce d'occasion*, addressed to a particular contemporary issue: the maintenance of a standing army in Britain, the economic predicament of Scotland in the 1690s, the Spanish Succession Crisis, and the crisis in relations between Scotland and England which culminated in the Union of 1707. The pamphlets' individuality is enhanced by their variety of form. Three were 'Discourses', or essays, which combined analysis of the problems addressed with specific proposals to resolve them; and of these one was composed and published in Italian. Another two were in the form of 'Speeches'. One of these was plainly imaginary, and used the rhetorical form in a manner little different from a discourse; the other, however, was a collection of speeches which Fletcher had actually delivered in the Scottish parliament. The final work took a different form again, being written as an 'account of a conversation', or dialogue. To this, the most sophisticated of his chosen forms, Fletcher successfully brought every appearance of realism; but no less evident is his success in using the dialogue form to develop and set off a range of opposing arguments.

Such variety of content and form, allied to an urgent, unadorned style, was (and remains) effective in engaging the reader's appreciation of Fletcher's intelligence and literary quality. But variety can also militate against intellectual coherence. The extent to which the *Political Works* amount to one interconnected set of writings, and were the product of a single, consistent intellectual project, is not

automatically clear. In this introduction, therefore, my principal objective is to demonstrate that such a project existed, and that it had a definite intellectual identity. What unifies Fletcher's writings, I shall argue, is an attempt to understand the politics of Europe at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in terms that would do justice to the complexity of its structure – to the circumstances and interests of its many smaller states, whether princely or republican, as well as to those of its few great monarchies. And what gave conceptual coherence to this enquiry was Fletcher's distinctive choice of terms in which to pursue it.

These terms, it will be seen, were derived from Machiavelli. Machiavelli's political works, *The Prince*, the *Discourses on Livy* and *The Art of War*, were composed in Florence between 1513 and 1521. Yet despite an interval of almost two hundred years they remained for Fletcher the pre-eminent source of insight into modern politics. From Machiavelli Fletcher learnt that the wisdom of the ancients, which he revered, lay in recognising politics as a distinct sphere of human activity, with its own values and goals. As the ancients, and more particularly the Romans, further showed, these values and goals must be pursued in this world, and kept apart from any values and goals imposed by a concern for the next world. This was a lesson which had been equally misunderstood by the Scholastic Aristotelians, for whom politics was a branch of ethics, and by the jurists, who treated it as an extension of the study of law. What a Machiavellian politics required was not a general moral 'virtue', but specifically '*virtù*', a manly energy which pursued worldly glory in the face of unpredictable circumstances; not simply a framework of laws, but institutional structures or 'orders' (*ordini*) within which different political interests could be balanced and their energies harnessed to the defence and aggrandisement of the community as a whole. Yet even as Fletcher drew on these concepts, he was, as we shall also see, obliged to modify them in the face of a powerful new force. This force was commerce, whose growing influence Machiavelli had failed to anticipate, and before which even politics would have to bend. Confronted with commerce, Fletcher had to adapt the Machiavellian legacy and develop what might be characterised as a neo-Machiavellian politics. Although others besides Fletcher were thinking along similar lines in the second half of the seventeenth century, in England and in the United Provinces, his *Political*

*Works* are perhaps the most sophisticated and wide-ranging expression of neo-Machiavellian political thought. Even then, it was a project whose viability Fletcher himself appears to have come to question, in his last and most complex work. It would not be long, as I shall end by noting, before the thinkers of the Enlightenment, not least in Scotland itself, subjected the Machiavellian approach to politics to much more radical criticism for its inappropriateness to the modern world of commerce.

Before developing this account of Fletcher's intellectual significance, however, we should examine what his works may have owed to his life and political experiences.

### Andrew Fletcher, discriminating patriot

There is a point of view which regards Fletcher's writings as secondary in importance to the political career that earned him the reputation of 'the Patriot'. On this account, understandably popular in his own country, Andrew Fletcher is almost exclusively a Scot, and specifically the Scot who adamantly and incorruptibly opposed the Union with England in 1707. When viewed in this perspective, Fletcher's writings are important in so far as they clarify and explain his political involvement, and in particular his prominent role in the last Scottish Parliament, from 1703 to 1707. Where his writings do not obviously throw light on his political involvement, however, they tend to be discounted and overlooked.

The problem with this view is not that it is altogether false, but that it is over-simplified to the point of missing most of what makes Fletcher so interesting. Contemporaries, both friends and political opponents, acknowledged the honesty and intransigence with which Fletcher adhered to his principles; and his subsequent reputation as 'the Patriot' – a story in its own right, which has still to be investigated properly – has contributed to the maintenance of a distinct Scottish political identity in opposition to the Union. Nevertheless, the known facts of his life indicate that Andrew Fletcher was a rather more discriminating patriot than his popular reputation would lead us to believe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The known facts are fewer, and less readily accessible, than a biographer would wish, and it is customary to blame the Earl Marischal's alleged donation of Fletcher's papers to Rousseau, to enable the latter to write his biography, for their

Andrew Fletcher was born the eldest son of Sir Robert, laird of Saltoun, in 1653. The estate, in East Lothian, south-east of Edinburgh, was a good one, although both his father and his grandfather (Lord Innerpeffer, a judge in the Court of Session) were made to pay for their support of the Engagement in favour of Charles I in 1647. Little is known of Andrew Fletcher's early education, except that some part of it was undertaken by Gilbert Burnet, the future Bishop of Salisbury and Whig historian, who was the parish minister during the 1660s. On his father's death in 1665 Andrew Fletcher succeeded as laird; and three years later he left Scotland for London in the company of a governor. There is evidence that he was abroad, moving between London, the Netherlands and Paris, for every year except 1674 until 1678; he may well have been out of Scotland for all ten years, between the ages of 15 and 25.<sup>2</sup> In so doing he not only acquired his higher education outwith Scotland, but set the pattern of the rest of his life.

For Fletcher's way of life was established by travelling. The detailed course of his travels, in so far as it is known, is given in the chronology which follows this introduction. But the general pattern deserves further comment here. Returning to Scotland in 1678, Fletcher was quickly involved in politics, and apparently remained there for four years. By the time he left again, in 1682, he had made himself thoroughly unpopular with the authorities; but not until after he had been condemned as a traitor for his participation in

loss. In fact the Saltoun Papers in the National Library of Scotland contain a good deal of miscellaneous material relating to Andrew Fletcher, including a certain amount of correspondence, his library catalogue, some estate papers, and accounts, bills and receipts. These last, along with his correspondence, have the particular value of enabling Fletcher's movements to be traced. Further letters are to be found in family papers in Scottish archives and in printed collections; and Fletcher's doings were occasionally the subject of official government correspondence now held in the Public Record Office in London. Research in foreign archives may well yield further material. What follows is no more than an outline of the present state of our knowledge. But because of constraints on space in the series in which this edition appears, I will give specific references only when the information is not in the published works on Fletcher's life and thought (for which see the Bibliographical Guide).

<sup>2</sup> The evidence is in the Saltoun Papers, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), ms 16831, ff. 9-56, beginning with a bill dated 14 August 1668 addressed to a Mr John Ferney in London, to pay Mr James Graham, Governor to Mr Fletcher of Saltoun, the sum of £50 sterling, and continuing with bills payable to and receipts signed by Andrew Fletcher, in The Hague, Rotterdam, Paris and London, 1668-78 (except 1674).

Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685 was it essential for him to be in exile. Having escaped to Spain, Fletcher may have travelled there, before making his way back to the United Provinces by 1688. He was able to come home to Scotland in 1689 following William's successful invasion and deposition of James VII and II. But he was away again by 1692, and regularly in London throughout the 1690s.<sup>3</sup> Even after he had been elected a member of the Scottish parliament in 1703 he spent the winter of 1703-4 in London, and this pattern may have been repeated, although the evidence otherwise indicates that he remained in Scotland from 1705 until 1708. Thereafter, however, he was away in every year until his death in 1716, and probably out of the country continuously from 1712, once again moving between London, the United Provinces, Brussels and Paris, with the odd excursion further afield, as to Leipzig in 1709.<sup>4</sup>

In all, Fletcher was out of the country in at least 35 out of the 48 years he lived after first leaving in 1668; and there were three periods in which he seems to have been away continuously for six years or more. Increasingly, and especially after 1708, he may have felt under some pressure to go. Fletcher never married, and in his many absences the running of the estate had devolved on to his younger brother and presumed heir Henry, who with his wife and children lived in the house at Saltoun. But the decision not to settle in Scotland was clearly Andrew's, and its implication is clear. After a while – quite a short while – he became bored by his own country. The world which Andrew Fletcher really enjoyed and chose to spend his time in was one

<sup>3</sup> Saltoun Papers: NLS ms 16831 ff. 62-4: various bills for and from Andrew Fletcher in London, dated 1692; and ms 16502 ff. 152-3, 154-5, 167-8, 169-70, 172, covering the years 1694, 1696, 1698, 1699; see also his correspondence with Locke in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, edited by E. S. De Beer, vol. v (Oxford, 1979), pp. 82, 274-5, 303-4, 314: Fletcher to Locke, July [1694], 22 Feb. 1695, 25 Jan. and 3 Feb. 1698.

<sup>4</sup> See the correspondence between Andrew and Henry Fletcher in NLS, Saltoun Papers, mss 16502, 16503; and the correspondence between Andrew, Henry, and Henry's son Andrew, from Paris and London, Oct. 1715 to Sept. 1716, printed in *Letters of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and his Family 1715-16*, edited by Irene J. Murray, *Scottish History Society*, Fourth Series, *Miscellany X* (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 149-64. Also *Letters of Lord Balmerino to Henry Maule, 1710-13, 1721-22*, edited by Clyve Jones, *Scottish History Society*, Fifth Series, vol. vii, *Miscellany XII* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 123-38, 151-7, for references to Fletcher in London, Jan.-June 1711, May-June 1713.

beyond Scotland: the world of lodgings and coffee and chocolate houses in Europe's great cities.

In the course of his travels Fletcher developed a range of interests, by no means all confined to politics. He was especially famed for his wide knowledge of the learning of the ancients. He corresponded with John Locke about the Egyptian origins of priestcraft, and with John Wallis, the Oxford mathematician, about the place of music in education among the ancients. Through David Gregory, one of the 'Aberdeen Gregories', who had become Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, he was able to consult both Wren and Hawksmoor about the design of ancient and modern buildings.<sup>5</sup> But Fletcher's greatest interest besides politics was in books themselves. From his earliest travels to his last he was an assiduous and knowledgeable book-buyer; and in his surviving correspondence the purchase and transmission of books are a constant preoccupation. His manuscript catalogue of his books lists, though imperfectly, the collection which he acquired – and which his descendants sold and dispersed, without a modern catalogue, in the 1960s. Far more than a library, this was clearly a collector's collection, which included many rare works and required, over the years, a substantial outlay.<sup>6</sup>

At least as important as his enthusiasm for books and buildings, however, is Fletcher's evident liking for the cities in which he found them. His favourite haunts were London (with a population in 1700 estimated at 575,000), Paris (510,000) and Amsterdam (200,000), respectively the first, second and fourth cities of Europe. (Naples, with some 216,000, was the third.) Together with Brussels and the other towns of the Netherlands which Fletcher frequented, the three northern cities formed an 'urban system' unprecedented in its density and wealth. To those with the requisite means, these cities offered unparalleled opportunities to consume according to taste, whether that taste was in books or in clothes (Fletcher was austere

<sup>5</sup> *Correspondence of John Locke*, v, pp. 274–56: Fletcher to Locke, 22 Feb. 1695; and vol. viii (Oxford, 1989), p. 436: Locke's reply, 1 March 1695. NLS ms 16502 ff. 165–8: John Wallis to Andrew Fletcher, in London, from Oxford 18, 27 August 1698; ff. 208–9: D. Gregory to Andrew Fletcher, London, 21 April 1707.

<sup>6</sup> The 'Catalogue of Books' in Fletcher's own hand is in the Saltoun Papers, NLS ms 17863. Since its dispersion the collection has been reconstructed by Dr Peter Willems, of Wassenaar in the Netherlands; it is to be hoped that he will be able to publish a new catalogue.

at least in his clothes); and while drinking the New World delicacies of coffee or chocolate, to hear news, to engage in conversation and, in London and even more in Amsterdam, to enjoy religious liberty. The irony of an upright country gentleman like Andrew Fletcher indulging such pleasures was a contemporary commonplace, but one nicely caught in his case by John Locke, writing in 1695 to urge Fletcher to leave 'the Witts and the Braveries' of the chocolate house to spend a few days with 'us poore honest country folke' (as he styled himself and Lady Masham) at Oates.<sup>7</sup> Not that Fletcher neglected his own estates: he knew well enough that they were his source of income, and took a definite, if usually distant, interest in Henry's management of the Saltoun lands, advising him firmly on matters from law suits to the planting of trees and crops. But the country's role was to pay for the city: Henry managed an estate burdened with debt to pay for Andrew's passions for books and chocolate houses.<sup>8</sup>

Fletcher's active political career was concentrated into two short periods of his otherwise wandering life. The first occurred immediately after his return to Scotland from the Continent in 1678, and consisted of courageous but ineffective opposition to the measures of Charles II's ministers. Elected a member of the Convention of Estates (an extraordinary meeting of the Scottish parliament) in 1678, Fletcher spoke against the imposition of new taxes to support the maintenance of troops; and in the parliament of 1681 he opposed the Succession Act confirming James, Duke of York as heir apparent. In between he had done what he could in East Lothian to obstruct the government's attempts to use the militia against the Covenanters.

Once abroad, from 1682, Fletcher's reputation aroused the suspicions of the Crown's agents in the Netherlands, but the extent of his involvement in exile politics is by no means clear. Though a kinsman of Argyll, he did not participate in the Earl's landing in the west of Scotland in 1685. He was consulted and trusted by

<sup>7</sup> Locke to Fletcher, Oates, 1 March 1695, *Correspondence of John Locke*, viii, pp. 434-7.

<sup>8</sup> NLS ms 16502, f. 193: [Andrew Fletcher] to [Henry Fletcher], London, 6 Nov. 1703, giving advice on the planting of trees and enclosing of ground; ms 16503, ff. 49-54: correspondence between Andrew and Henry over the latter's tenancy of Saltoun Mill; ms 16504, f. 54: Andrew Fletcher (younger) to Henry Fletcher (his father), 1718, referring to the debts left by his uncle.

Monmouth, but seems to have advised against his expedition. When the Duke went ahead, Fletcher agreed to serve as commander of the cavalry, only to shoot the expedition's most important local contact (and possibly its banker), Thomas Dare, in a quarrel over a horse two days after the landing at Lyme, a crime which could only be expiated by Fletcher's immediate departure. He does not seem to have been involved at all in the planning of William's invasion in 1688; and when he returned to Scotland he could not become a member of the new parliament, since his conviction for treason was not formally lifted until 1690. While still in London early in 1689 he had expressed himself in favour of taking the opportunity to establish a union of parliaments and trade; once back north he had to be content with supporting the efforts of radicals in 'The Club' to persuade parliament to impose additional restrictions on the Crown's powers.

Since the same parliament continued to be summoned throughout William's reign, Fletcher had no further opportunity to participate directly in Scottish politics until the King died. Instead he did what he could in London. In the later 1690s he was known as an associate of the radical Whigs who met at the Grecian Tavern, and contributed his *Discourse of Militias and Standing Armies* (1697) to their paper-war against William's retention of a standing army after the Peace of Ryswick. He also used his connections in London to contribute to the formation of the Company of Scotland, personally subscribing £1000, and acting as an intermediary in the planning of its colony at Darien, near Panama.

With the accession of Anne in 1702, and the obligatory calling of a new parliament, to which he was elected, Fletcher at last had his opportunity. His second and most effective period of political activity lasted from 1703 until 1707. Even before her accession it was clear that Anne would have no direct heir, and the English parliament had accordingly provided in the Act of Settlement (1701) that the succession would pass to the House of Hanover. It was clearly assumed that the Scottish parliament would follow suit, since the only alternative would be to recall the exiled Roman Catholic Stewarts. This would be tantamount to a declaration of war on England, war which Cromwellian experience suggested that England would win. Fletcher's genius was to see that the Scots might still exact a price for their acquiescence. Exploiting the govern-



ment's reluctance to divert troops from Marlborough's army on the Continent, he urged the Scottish parliament to take the opportunity to secure its own independence under any future shared king. To this end he proposed an Act of Security with 'Limitations' which would restrict the Crown's powers in the event of the same succession in the two kingdoms; and he re-inforced these with a series of carefully written, rhetorically charged speeches, which he published immediately after the close of the session as *Speeches by a Member of the Parliament* (1703). Although his Limitations were never accepted, Fletcher's initiative wrong-footed ministers, and he enjoyed the strong support of a group of young Whig peers, to whom he subsequently addressed the *Account of a Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Governments* (1704).

But Fletcher's moment was soon over. His independence and intelligence had won him lasting respect, but he was ever more isolated politically. By 1705 relations with his previous supporters had deteriorated to the point that he challenged one of them, the Earl of Roxburgh, to a duel (only narrowly averted); and the bluff behind his attempt to keep open the succession was exposed when he suggested that it be offered to the Prussian Hohenzollerns, who (unlike the Hanoverians) had no connection whatever with the Scottish royal line. In the debates on the Treaty of Union in the last Scottish parliament in 1706-7 the opposition still counted on Fletcher as one of their best speakers; but his temper frequently let him down, obliging him to rely on the intercession of the (pro-Union) Duke of Argyll and the forbearance of the House. With the passage of the Union in 1707 he ceased to have an active political role. His imprisonment in 1708 on suspicion of involvement in a Jacobite plot was a mistake; and although he later kept company in London with crypto-Jacobites like Lockhart of Carnwath and Lord Balmerino, supporting their attempts to have the Union dissolved in 1713, he never succumbed to Jacobitism. During the Rebellion of 1715 he was in Paris, from where he observed wryly that the Pretender's care to ruin his affairs 'convince everybody who formerly did not believe it that he is of the family'.<sup>9</sup>

Andrew Fletcher's last intelligible words, according to his nephew, called on the Lord to 'have mercy on my poor country that

<sup>9</sup> Fletcher to Andrew, his nephew, Paris, 20 Feb. 1716, 'Letters of Andrew Fletcher', *Scottish History Society, Miscellany X*, pp. 155-6.