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Mr. Zenger,
*Insert the following in your next, and you'll oblige
your Friend, CATO.*

THE liberty of the Press is a Subject of the greatest importance, and in which every individual is as much concerned as he is in any other Part of Liberty: Therefore it will not be improper to communicate to the Publick the Sentiments of a late excellent Writer upon this Point. Such is the Elegance and Perspicuity of his Writings, such the inimitable Force of his Reasoning, that it will be difficult to say any Thing new that he has not said, or not to say that much worse which he has said.

There are two Sorts of Monarchies, an absolute and a limited one. In the first, the Liberty of the Press can never be maintained, it is inconsistent with it; for what absolute Monarch would suffer any Subject to animadvert on his Actions when it is in his Power to declare the Crime and to nominate the Punishment?

This would make it very dangerous to exercise such a Liberty. Besides the Object against which those Pens must be directed is their Sovereign, the sole supreme Magistrate; for there being no Law in those Monarchies but the Will of the Prince, it makes it necessary for his Ministers to consult his Pleasure before anything, can be undertaken: He is therefore properly chargeable with the Grievances of his Subjects, and what the Minister there acts being in Obedience to the Prince, he ought not to incur the Hatred of the People; for it would be hard to impute that to him for a Crime which is the Fruit of his Allegiance, and for refusing which he might incur the Penalties of Treason.

Besides, in an absolute Monarchy, the will of the Prince being the Law, a Liberty of the Press to complain of Grievances would be complaining against the Law and the Constitution, to which they have submitted or have been obliged to submit; and therefore, in one sense, may be said to deserve Punishment; so that under an Absolute Monarchy, I say, such a Liberty is inconsistent with the Constitution, having no proper Subject to Politics on which it might be exercised, and if exercised would incur a certain Penalty.

But in a limited Monarchy, as *England* is, our Laws are known, fixed, and established. They are the straight Rule and sure Guide to direct the King, the Ministers, and other his Subjects: And therefore an Offense against the Laws is such an Offense against the Constitution as ought to receive a proper adequate Punishment; the several Constituents of the Government, the Ministry, and all subordinate Magistrates, having their certain, known, and limited Sphere in which they move; one Part may certainly err, misbehave, and become Criminal, without involving the rest or any of them in the Crime or Punishment.

But some of these may be Criminal, yet above Punishment, which surely cannot be denied, since most Reigns have furnished us with too many Instances of Powerful and Wicked Ministers, some of whom by their Power have absolutely escaped Punishment, and the rest, who met their fate, are likewise instances of this Power as much to the Purpose; for it was manifest in them that their Power had long protected them, their Crimes having, often long preceded their much desired and deserved Punishment and reward.

