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Sketches Of The History Of Man

In Two Volumes

Home, Henry Edinburgh, 1774

Book II. Progress of Men in Society.

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SKETCHES

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HISTORY OF MAN.

BOOK II.

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Progress of MEN in SOCIETY.

PREFACE.

IN treating of this subject, no opportunity has been omitted of suggesting an important doctrine, That patriotism is the corner-stone of civil society; that no nation ever became great and powerful without it; and, when extinguished, that the most powerful nation is in the high-way to contempt and dissolution. But it is sufficient for me to suggest sacts: the reader will have frequent opportunities to make the observation; and he will value his own restections more than what are inculcated by an author, were he even to ascend the pulpit, and at every turn to pronounce a serious barangue.

SKETCH

SKETCHI

Appetite for Society. - Origin of NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

That there is in man an appetite for fociety, never was called in question *. But to what end the appetite serves, whether it be in any manner limited, and how far men are naturally sitted for being useful members of civil society, and for being happy in it,

* This appetite is not denied by Vitruvius; but it feems to have been overlooked in the account he gives (book 2. ch. 1.) of the commencement of fociety, which is as follows. " In ancient times, men, like wild beafts, lived in caves and woods, " feeding on wild food. In a certain place it happened, that the trees, put in mo-" tion by tempestuous winds, and rubbing their branches one against another, " took fire. Those in the neighbourhood fled for fear: but as the flames abated, " they approached; and finding the heat comfortable, they threw wood into the " fire, and preferved it from being extinguished. They then invited others to " take benefit of the fire. Men, thus affembled, endeavoured to express their " thoughts by articulate founds; and by daily practice, certain founds, fignifying " things in frequent use, came to be established. From that casual event, lan-" guage arofe. And thus, fire having attracted many to one place, they foon dif-" covered that they were by nature fuperior to other animals, differing from them " not only in an erect posture, which gave them opportunity to behold the beau-" ties of the heavens as well as of the earth; but also in their hands and fingers, " fitted for executing whatever they could invent. They therefore began to cover " their habitations with the boughs of trees; fome dug caves in the mountains; " and, in imitation of a fwallow's neft, fome sheltered themselves with sprigs and " loam. Thus, by observing each other's work, and turning their thoughts to " invention,

" laventhois,

are questions that open extensive views into human nature, and yet have been little attended to by writers. I grieve at the neglect, because the present enquiry requires an answer to these questions, however abstructe.

As many animals, befide man, are focial, it appeared to me probable, that the focial laws by which fuch animals are governed, might open views into the focial nature of man. But here I met with a fecond difappointment: for after perufing books without end, I found very little fatisfaction; tho' the laws of animal fociety make the most instructive and most entertaining part of natural history. A few dry facts, collected occasionally, enabled me to form the embryo of a plan, which I here present to the reader: if his curiosity be excited, 'tis well; for I am far from expecting that it will be gratisfied.

Animals of prey have no appetite for fociety, if the momentary act of copulation be not excepted. Wolves make not an exception, even where, inftigated by hunger, they join in attacking a village: as fear prevents them fingly from an attempt fo hazardous, their cafual union is prompted by appetite for food, not by appetite for fociety. So little of the focial is there in wolves, that if one happen to be wounded, he is put to death, and devoured by those of his own kind. Vultures have the same disposition. Their ordinary food is a dead carcase; and they never venture but in a body to attack any living creature that appears formidable. Upon society happiness so much depends, that we do not willingly admit a lion, a tiger, a bear, or a wolf, to have any appetite for society. And in with-holding it

from

[&]quot;invention, they by degrees improved their habitations, and became daily more and more skilful." Has not the celebrated Rousseau been guilty of the same overlight in his essay on the inequality of men? These authors suggest to me the butcher, who made diligent search for his knife, which he held in his teeth.

from fuch animals, the goodness of Providence to its favourite man, is conspicuous: their strength, agility, and voracity, make them singly not a little formidable: I should tremble for the human race, were they disposed to make war in company *.

Such harmless animals as cannot defend themselves singly, are provided with an appetite for society, that they may defend themselves in a body. Sheep are remarkable in that respect, when lest to nature: a ram seldom attacks; but the rams of a slock exert great vigour in defending their semales and their young †. The whole

* The care of Providence in protecting the human race from animals of prey, is equally visible in other particulars. I can discover no facts to make me believe, that a lion or a tiger is afraid of a man; but whatever fecret means are employ'd by Providence, to keep fuch fierce and voracious animals at a distance, certain it is, that they shun the habitations of men. At present there is not a wild lion in Europe. Even in Homer's time there were none in Peloponnesus, tho' they were frequent in Thrace, Macedon, and Theffaly, down to the time of Aristotle: whence it is probable, that these countries were not at that time well peopled. When men and cattle are together, a lion always attacks a beaft, and never a man. M. Buffon observes, that the bear, tho' far from being cowardly, never is at ease but in wild and defert places. The great condor of Peru, a bird of prey of an immense fize, bold, and rapacious, is never feen but in deferts and high mountains. Every river in the coast of Guinea abounds with crocodiles, which lie basking in the sun during the heat of the day. If they perceive a man approaching, they plunge into the river, tho' they feldom fly from any other animal. A fox, on the contrary, a pole-cat, a kite, tho' afraid of man, draw near to inhabited places where they find prey in plenty. Such animals do little mischief; and the little they do, promotes care and vigilance. But if men, like sheep, were the natural prey of a lion or a tiger, their utmost vigour and fagacity would scarce be sufficient for self-defence. Perpetual war would be their fate, without having a fingle moment for any other occupation; and they could never have emerged out of brutal barbarity. It is possible that a few cattle might be protected by armed men, continually on the watch; but to defend flocks and herds covering a hundred hills, would be impracticable. Agriculture could never have existed in any shape.

* M. Buffon has bestowed less pains than becomes an author of his character, upon

whole fociety of rooks join in attacking a kite when it hovers about them. A family of wild fwine never separate till the young be sufficiently strong to defend themselves against the wolf; and when the wolf threatens, they all join in a body. The pecary is a fort of wild hog in the isthmus of Darien: if one of them be attacked, the rest run to assist it. There being a natural antipathy between that animal and the American tiger, it is not uncommon to find a tiger slain with a number of dead pecaries round him.

The focial appetite is to fome animals useful, not only for defence, but for procuring the necessaries of life. Society among beavers is a notable instance of both. As water is the only refuge of that innocent species against an enemy, they instinctively make their settlement on the brink of a lake or of a running stream. In the latter case, they keep up the water to a proper height by a dam-dike, constructed with so much art as to withstand the greatest floods: in the former, they save themselves the labour of a dam-dike, because a lake generally keeps at the same height. Having thus provided for defence, their next care is to provide food and habitation. The whole society join in erecting the dam-dike; and they also join in erecting houses. Each house has two apartments: in the upper there is space for lodging from six to ten beavers: the under holds their provisions, which are trees

upon the nature and inftincts of animals: he indeed fcarce once ftumbles upon truth in his natural history of the sheep. He holds it to be stupid, and incapable to defend itself against any beast of prey; maintaining, that the race could not have subsisted but under the care and protection of men. Has that author forgot, that sheep had no enemy more formidable than men in their original hunter-state? Far from being neglected by nature, there are few animals better provided for defence. They have a fort of military instinct, forming a line of battle, like soldiers, when threatened with an attack. The rams, who, in a natural state, make half of the slock, join together; and no lion or tiger is able to resist their united impetuosity.

cut down by united labour, and divided into fmall portable parts (a). Bees are a fimilar instance. Aristotle (b) fays, "that " bees are the only animals which labour in common, have a " house in common, eat in common, and have their offspring in " common." A fingle bee would be still less able than a fingle beaver, to build a house for itself and for its winter-food. The Alpine rat or marmout has no occasion to store up food for winter, because it lies benumbed without motion all the cold months. But these animals live in tribes; and each tribe digs a habitation under ground with great art, fufficiently capacious for lodging the whole tribe; covering the ground with withered grafs, which fome cut, and others carry. The wild dogs of Congo and Angola hunt in packs, waging perpetual war against other wild beasts. They bring to the place of rendezvous whatever is caught in hunting; and each receives its fhare *. The baboons are focial animals, and avail themselves of that quality in procuring food; witness their address in robbing an orchard, described by Kolben in his account of the Cape of Good Hope. Some go into the orchard, fome place themselves on the wall, the rest form a line on the outfide, and the fruit is thrown from hand to hand, till it reach the place of rendezvous. Extending the enquiry to all known animals, we find that the appetite for fociety is with-held from no species to which it is necessary, whether for defence or for food. It appears to be distributed by weight and measure, in

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^{*} However fierce with respect to other animals, yet so submissive are these dogs to men, as to suffer their prey to be taken from them without resistance. Europeans salt for their slaves what they thus obtain.

⁽a) See the works of the beaver described most accurately by M. Buffon, vol. g.

⁽b) History of animals, b. 9. c. 40.

order to accommodate the internal frame of animals to their external circumftances.

On some animals an appetite for society is bestow'd, tho' in appearance not necessary either for defence or for food. regard to fuch, the only final cause we can discover is the pleafure of living in fociety. That kind of fociety is found among horses. Outhier, one of the French academicians employ'd to measure a degree of the meridian toward the north pole, reports, that at Torneo all bulky goods are carried in boats during fummer; but in winter, when the rivers are frozen, and the ground covered with fnow, that they use sledges drawn by horses; that when the fnow melts, and the rivers are open, the horfes, fet loofe, rendezvous at a certain part of the forest, where they separate into troops, and occupy different pasture-fields; that when these fields become bare, they occupy new ground in the same order as at first; that they return home in troops when the bad weather begins; and that every horse knows its own stall. No creature stands less in need of fociety than a hare, whether for food or for defence. Of food, it has plenty under its feet; and for defence, it is provided both with cunning and fwiftness. Nothing however is more common in a moon-light night, than to fee hares fporting together in the most focial manner. But fociety for pleafure only, is an imperfect kind of fociety; and far from being fo intimate, as where it is provided by nature for defence, or for procuring food *.

With

^{*} Pigeons must be excepted, if their society be not necessary either for food or habitation, of which I am uncertain. Society among that species is extremely intimate; and it is observable, that the place they inhabit contributes to the intimacy. A crazy dove-cot moved the proprietor to transfer the inhabitants to a new house built for them; and to accustom them to it, they were kept a fortnight within doors, with plenty of food. When they obtained liberty, they slew directly to their

With respect to the extent of the appetite, no social animal, as far as can be discovered, has an appetite for affociating with the whole species. Every species is divided into many finall tribes; and these tribes have no appetite for affociating with each other: on the contrary, a stray sheep is thrust out of the slock, and a stray bee must instantly retire, or be stung to death. Every work of Providence contributes to fome good end: a fmall tribe is fufficient for mutual defence; and a very large tribe would be difficulted in procuring fubfiftence.

How far brute animals are by nature fitted for being useful members of civil fociety, and for being happy in it, is a question that no writer hath fo much as flumbled on. And yet, as that branch of natural history is also necessary to my plan, I must proceed; tho' I have nothing to lay before the reader but a few scattered observations, which occurred when I had no view of turning them to account. I begin with the instinctive conduct of animals, in providing against danger. When a flock of sheep in the state of nature goes to rest, sentinels are appointed; who, on appearance of an enemy, stamp with the foot, and make a histing found; upon which all take the alarm: if no enemy appear, they watch their time, return to the flock, and fend out others in their stead. And in flocks that have an extensive range in hilly countries, the fame discipline obtains, even after domestication. Tho' monkeys fleep upon trees, yet a fentinel is always appointed, who must not fleep under pain of being torn to pieces. They preferve the fame discipline when they rob an orchard: a sentinel on a high tree is watchful to announce the very first appearance of an enemy. M. Buffon, talking of a fort of monkey which he terms Mal-

their old house; and seeing it laid flat, walked round and round, lamenting. They then took wing and disappeared, without once casting an eye on their new habi-

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brouck.

brouck, fays, that they are fond of fruit, and of fugar-canes; and that while they are loading themselves, one is placed fentinel on a tree, who, upon the approach of a man, cries, Houp! Houp! Houp! loudly and diffinctly. That moment they throw away the fugar-canes that they hold in their left hand, and run off upon three feet. When the marmouts are at work in the field, one is appointed to watch on a high rock; which advertises them by a loud whiftle, when it fees a man, an eagle, or a dog. Among beavers, notice is given of the approach of an enemy, by lashing the water with the tail, which is heard in every habitation. Seals always fleep on the beach; and to prevent furprife, fentinels are placed round at a confiderable distance from the main body. Wild elephants, which always travel in company, are lefs on their guard in places unfrequented: but when they invade cultivated fields, they march in order, the eldest in the front, and the next in age closing the rear. The weak are placed in the centre, and the females carry their young on their trunk. They attack in a body; and upon a repulse, retire in a body. Tame elephants retain so much of their original nature, that if one, upon being wounded, turn its back, the rest instantly follow. Next in order is the government of a tribe, and the conduct of its members to each other. It is not unlikely, that fociety among fome animals, and their mutual affection, may be fo entire as to prevent all difcord among them; which indeed feems to be the cafe of beavers. Such a fociety, if there be fuch, requires no government, nor any laws. A flock of sheep occupies the same spot every night, and each hath its own resting-place. The fame is observable in horned cattle when folded. And as we find not, that any one ever attempts to dislodge another, it is probable that fuch reftraint makes a branch of their nature. But fociety among brute animals is not always fo perfect. Perverse inclinations, tending to disturb fociety, are visible among fome brute animals, as well as among rational men. It is

not uncommon for a rook to pilfer sticks from another's nest; and the pilferer's nest is demolished by the lex talionis. Perverse inclinations require government, and government requires laws. As in the case now mentioned, the whole society join in inslicting the punishment, government among rooks appears to be republican. Apès, on the contrary, are under monarchical government. Apes in Siam go in troops, each under a leader, who preferves strict discipline. A female carnally inclined, retired from the troop, and was followed by a male. The male escaped from the leader, who purfued them; but the female was brought back, and in presence of the whole troop received fifty blows on the cheek, as a chastisement for its incontinence (a). But probably there are not many instances among brutes of government approaching fo near to that of men. Government among horned cattle appears to have no other end but to preferve order. Their government is monarchical; and the election is founded upon perfonal valour, the most folid of all qualifications in fuch a fociety. The bull who aspires to be lord of the herd, must fight his way to preferment; and after all his rivals are beat off the field, the herd tamely fubmit. At the same time he is not secured in the throne for life; but must again enter the lists with any bull that ventures to challenge him. The same spirit is observable among oxen, tho' in a lower degree. The mafter-ox leads the rest into the stable, or into the fold, and becomes unruly if he be not let first out: nay, he must be first yoked in the plough or waggon. Sheep are not employ'd in work, but in every other respect the same economy obtains among them. Where the rams happen to be few in proportion to the other sheep, they sometimes divide the flock among them, instead of fighting for precedence. Five or fix fcore of sheep were purchased a few years ago by the author of

(a) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

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this work. The rams, who were only two, divided the flock between them. The two parcels could not avoid pasturing in common, because they were shut up in one inclosure: but they had different spots for rest during night; nor was it known, that a sheep ever deserted its party, or even changed its resting-place. In the two species last mentioned, I find not that there is any notion of punishment; nor does it appear to be necessary: the leader pretends to nothing but precedence, which is never difputed. I blush to present these imperfect hints, the fruit of casual observation, not of intentional enquiry: but I am glad to blow the trumpet, in order to raise curiosity in others: if the subject be profecuted by men of tafte and enquiry, many final causes, I am perfuaded, will be discovered, tending more and more to display the wisdom and goodness of Providence. But what I have chiefly in view at present is, to observe, that government among brute animals, however fimple, appears to be perfect in its kind; and adapted with great propriety to their nature. Factions in the state are unknown: no enmity between individuals, no treachery, no deceit, nor any other of those vices that infest the human race. In a word, they appear to be perfectly well fitted for that kind of fociety to which they are prompted by their nature, and for being happy in it.

Storing up the foregoing observations till there be occasion for them, we proceed to the social nature of man. That men are endued with an appetite for society, will be vouched by the concurring testimony of all men, each vouching for himself. There is accordingly no instance of people living in a solitary state, where the appetite is not obstructed by some potent obstacle. The inhabitants of that part of New Holland which Dampier saw, live in society, the less advanced above brutes than any other known savages; and so intimate is their society, that they gather their sood, and eat, in common. The inhabitants of the Canary islands

lived

lived in the fame manner, when first seen by Europeans, which was in the fourteenth century; and the savages mentioned by Condamine, drawn by a Jesuit from the woods to settle on the banks of the Oroonoko, must originally have been united in some kind of society, as they had a common language. In a word, that man hath an appetite for food, is not more certain, than that he hath an appetite for society. And here I have occasion to apply one of the observations made above. Abstracting altogether from the pleasure we have in society, similar to what we have in eating; evident it is, that to no animal is society more necessary than to man, whether for food or for defence. In society, he is chief of the terrestrial creation; in a solitary state, the most helpless and forlorn. Thus the first question suggested above, viz. To what end was a social appetite bestow'd on man, has received an answer, which I statter myself will give satisfaction.

The next question is, Whether the appetite be limited, as among other animals, to a fociety of moderate extent; or whether it prompt an affociation with the whole species. That the appetite is limited, will be evident from history. Men, as far back as they can be traced, have been divided into fmall tribes or focieties. Most of these, it is true, have in later times been united into large states: fuch revolutions however have been brought about, not by an appetite for a more extensive society, but by conquest, or by the junction of small tribes for defence against the more powerful. A fociety may indeed be too finall for complete gratification of the appetite; and the appetite thus cramped welcomes every person into the society till it have sufficient scope: the Romans, a diminutive tribe originally, were fond to affociate even with their enemies after a victory. But, on the other hand, a fociety may be too large for complete gratification. An extensive empire is an object too bulky: national affection is too much diffused; and the mind is not at ease till it find a more contracted fociety,

fociety, corresponding to the moderation of its appetite. Hence the numerous orders, associations, fraternities, and divisions, that spring up in every great state. The ever-during Blues and Greens in the Roman empire, and Guelphs and Gibelines in Italy, could not have long subsisted after the cause of their enmity was at an end, but for a tendency in the members of a great state to contract their social connections *. Initiations among the ancients were probably owing to the same cause; as also associations of artisans among the moderns, pretending mystery and secrecy, and excluding all strangers. Of such associations or brotherhoods, the free masons excepted, there is scarce now a vestige remaining.

We find now, after an accurate fcrutiny, that the focial appetite in man comprehends not the whole species, but a part only; and commonly a small part, precisely as in other animals. Here another final cause starts up, no less remarkable than that explain'd above. An appetite to associate with the whole species, would form states so unwieldy by numbers, as to be incapable of any government. Our appetite is wisely confined within such limits as to form states of moderate extent, which of all are the best sitted for good government: and we shall see afterward, that they are also the best sitted for improving the human powers, and for envigorating every manly virtue. Hence an instructive lesson, That a great empire is ill suited to human nature, and that a great conqueror is in more respects than one an enemy to mankind.

The limiting our focial appetite within moderate bounds, fuggefts another final cause. An appetite to affociate with the whole species, would collect into one society all who are not separated from each other by wide seas and inaccessible mountains; and consequently

would

^{*} The never-ceasing factions in Britain proceed, not from a fociety too much extended, but from love of power and of wealth, to restrain which there is no sufficient authority in a free government.

would diffribute mankind into a very few focieties, confifting of fuch multitudes as to reduce national affection to a mere shadow. Nature hath wifely limited the appetite in proportion to our mental capacity. Our relations, our friends, and our other connections, open an extensive field for the exercise of affection: nay, our country in general, if not too extensive, would alone be sufficient to engross our whole affection. But that beautiful speculation falls more properly under the principles of morality; and there it shall not be overlooked.

What comes next in order, is to examine how we stand affected to those who are not of our tribe or society. I pave the way to this examination, by taking up man naked at his entrance into life. An infant at first has no feeling but bodily pain; and it is familiarized with its nurse, its parents, and perhaps with others, before it is susceptible of any passion. All weak animals are endowed with a principle of fear, which prompts them to fhun danger; and fear, the first passion discovered in an infant, is raifed by every new face: the infant shrinks and hides itself in the bosom of its nurse * (a). Thus every stranger is an object of fear to an infant; and confequently of aversion, which is generated by fear. Fear leffens gradually as our circle of acquaintance enlarges, especially in those who rely on bodily strength. Nothing tends more effectually to diffipate fear, than confcioufness of security in the focial state: in folitude, no animal is more timid than man; in fociety, none more bold. But remark, that aversion may subsist after fear is gone: it is propagated from parents to their children through an endless succession; and is infectious like a disease. Thus enmity is kept up between tribes, without any particular

cause.

^{*} In this respect the human race differs widely from that of dogs: a puppy, the first time it sees a man, runs to him, licks his hand, and plays about his feet.

⁽a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 441. edit. 5.

cause. A neighbouring tribe, constantly in our fight, and capable to hurt us, is the object of our strongest aversion: it lessens in proportion to distance; and terminates in absolute indifference with respect to very distant tribes. Upon the whole, it appears, that the nature of man with respect to those of his own kind is resolvable into the following particulars. First, Affection for our private connections, and for our country in general. Second, Aversion to neighbours who are strangers to us, and to neighbouring tribes in general. Third, Indisference with respect to all others.

As I neither hope nor wish, that the nature of man, as above delineated, be taken upon my authority, I propose to verify it by clear and fubstantial facts. But to avoid the multiplying instances unnecessarily, I shall confine myself to such as concern the aversion that neighbouring tribes have to each other; taking it for granted, that private affection, and love to our country, are what no person doubts of. I begin with examples of rude nations, where nature is left to itself, without culture. The inhabitants of Greenland, good-natured and inoffensive, have not even words for expressing anger or envy: stealing among themselves is abhorred; and a young woman guilty of that crime, has no chance for a husband. At the same time, they are faithless and cruel to those who come among them: they consider the rest of mankind as a different race, with whom they reject all fociety. The morality of the inhabitants of New Zealand is not more refined. Writers differ about the inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone islands: Magellan, and other voyagers, fay, that they are addicted to thieving; and their testimony occasioned these islands to be called Ladrones. Pere le Gobien, on the contrary, fays, that, far from being addicted to thieving, they leave every thing open, having no diffrust one of another. These accounts differ in appearance, not in reality. Magellan was a stranger; and he talks of stealing

from him and from his companions. Father Gobien lived long among them, and talks of their fidelity to each other. Plan Carpin, who vifited Tartary in the year 1246, observes of the Tartars, that, tho' full of veracity to their neighbours, they thought themselves not bound to speak truth to strangers. The Greeks anciently were held to be pirates: but not properly; for they committed depredations upon strangers only. Cæfar, speaking of the Germans (a), fays, "Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quæ ex-" tra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt *." This was precisely the cafe of our highlanders, till they were brought under due fubjection after the rebellion 1745. Bougainville observes, that the inhabitants of Otaheite, named by the English King George's island, made no difficulty of stealing from his people; and yet never steal among themselves, having neither locks nor bars in their houses. The people of Benin in Negroland are good-natured, gentle, and civilized; and so generous, that if they receive a present, they are not at ease till they return it double. They have unbounded confidence in their own people; but are jealous of strangers, tho' they politely hide their jealoufy. Russian peasants think it a greater fin to eat meat in Lent, than to murder one of another country. Among the Koriacs, bordering on Kamskatka, murder within the tribe is feverely punished; but to murder a stranger is not minded. While Rome continued a fmall state, neighbour and enemy were expressed by the same word (b). In England of old, a foreigner was not admitted to be a witness. Hence it is, that in ancient history, we read of wars without intermission among small

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^{* &}quot; They hold it not infamous to rob without the bounds of their canton."

⁽a) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

⁽b) Hoftis.

flates in close neighbourhood. It was so in Greece; it was so in Italy during the infancy of the Roman republic; it was so in Gaul, when Cæsar commenced hostilities against that country (a); and it was so all the world over. Many islands in the South sea, and in other remote parts, have been discovered by Europeans; who commonly found the natives with arms in their hands, resolute to prevent the strangers from landing. Orellana, lieutenant to Gonzales Pisarro, was the first European who sailed down the river Amazon to the sea. In his passage, he was continually assaulted with arrows from the banks of the river; and some even ventured to attack him in their canoes.

Nor does fuch aversion wear away even among polished people. An ingenious writer (b) remarks, that almost every nation hate their neighbours, without knowing why. I once heard a Frenchman swear, says that writer, that he hated the English, parce qu'ils versent du beurre fondu sur leur veau roti*. The populace of Portugal have to this day an uncommon aversion to strangers: even those of Lisbon, tho' a trading town frequented by many different nations, must not be excepted. Travellers report, that the people of the duchy of Milan, remarkable for good-nature, are the only Italians who are not hated by their neighbours. The Piedmontese and Genoese have an aversion to each other, and agree only in their antipathy to the Tuscans. The Tuscans dislike the Venetians; and the Romans abound not with good-will to the Tuscans, Venetians, or Neapolitans. Very different is the case with respect to distant nations: instead of being objects of aversion,

their

^{* &}quot; Because they pour melted butter upon their roast veal."

⁽a) Lib. 6. c. 15. de bello Gallico.

⁽b) Baretti.

their manners, customs, and fingularities, amuse us greatly *.

Infants differ from each other in aversion to strangers; some being extremely fly, others less so; and the like difference is observable in whole tribes. The people of Milan cannot have any aversion to their neighbours, when they are fuch favourites of all around them. The inhabitants of fome South-fea islands, mentioned above (a), appear to have little or no aversion to strangers. But that is a rare inflance, and has fcarce a parallel in any other part of the globe. It holds also true, that nations the most remarkable for patriotifm, are equally remarkable for aversion to strangers. The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, were equally remarkable for both. Patriotifm, a vigorous principle among the English, makes them extremely averse to naturalize foreigners. The inhabitants of New Zealand, both men and women, appear to be of a mild and gentle disposition; they treat one another with affection: but are implacable to their enemies, and never give quarter. It is even customary among them to eat the slesh of their enemies.

To a person of humanity, the scene here exhibited is far from being agreeable. Man, it may be thought, is of all animals the most barbarous; for even animals of prey are innoxious with respect to their own kind †. Aversion to strangers makes a branch

* Voltaire, (Universal History, ch. 40.), observing, rightly, that jealousy among petty princes is productive of more crimes than among great monarchs, gives a very unsatisfactory reason, viz. That having little force, they must employ fraud, poison, and other secret crimes; not adverting, that power may be equally distributed among small princes as well as among great. It is antipathy that instigates such crimes, which is always the most violent among the nearest neighbours.

(a) Book 1. sketch 1.

† "Denique cætera animantia in fuo genere probe degunt : congregari videmus, 3 A 2

of our nature: it exists among individuals in private life; it flames high between neighbouring tribes; and is visible even in infancy. Can fuch perverfity of disposition promote any good end? This question, which pierces deep into human nature, is referved to close the prefent sketch.

From the foregoing deduction, univerfal benevolence, inculcated by feveral writers as a moral duty, is difcovered to be erroneous. Our appetite for fociety is limited, and our duty must be limited in proportion. But of this more directly when the principles of morality are taken under confideration.

We are taught by the great Newton, that attraction and repulfion in matter, are, by alteration of circumstances, converted one into the other. This holds also in affection and aversion, which may be termed, not improperly, mental attraction and repulsion. Two nations, originally strangers to each other, may, by commerce, or other favourable circumstance, become so well acquainted, as to change from aversion to affection. The opposite manners of a capital and of a country-town, afford a good illustration. In the latter, people, occupied with their domestic concerns, are in a manner strangers to each other: a degree of aversion prevails, which gives birth to envy and detraction. In the former, a court, with public amusements, promote general acquaintance: repulfion yields to attraction, and people become fond to affociate with

their

[&]quot; et stare contra dislimilia: leonum feritas inter se non dimicat: serpentum mor-

[&]quot; sus non petit serpentes; ne maris quidem belluæ ac pisces, nisi in diversa gene-" ra, fæviunt. At, Hercule, homini plurima ex homine funt mala." Pliny, lib. 7. Proæmium. [In English thus: "For other animals live at peace with those of

[&]quot; their fpecies. They gather themselves in troops, and unite against the common " enemy. The ferocious lion fights not against his species: the poisonous serpent

is harmless to his kind: the monsters of the sea prey but on those fishes that dif-

[&]quot; fer from them in nature: man alone of animals is foe to man !"]

their equals. The union of two tribes into one, is another circumstance that converts repulsion into attraction. Such converfion, however, is far from being instantaneous; witness the different fmall states of Spain, which were not united in affection for many years after they were united under one monarch; and this was alfo the case of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. In fome circumstances the conversion is instantaneous; as where a ftranger becomes an object of pity or of gratitude. Many low persons in Britain contributed cheerfully for maintaining some French feamen, made prisoners at the commencement of the late war. It is no less instantaneous, when strangers, relying on our humanity, trust themselves in our hands. Among the ancients, it was hospitality to strangers only that produced mutual affection and gratitude: Glaucus and Diomede were of different countries. Hospitality to strangers, is a pregnant symptom of improving manners. Cæsar, speaking of the Germans (a), says, "Hospites " violare, fas non putant: qui, quaqua de causa, ad eos vene-" runt, ab injuria prohibent, fanctofque habent; iis omnium " domus patent, victufque communicatur *." The ancient Spaniards were fond of war, and cruel to their enemies; but in peace, they passed their time in finging and dancing, and were remarkably hospitable to the strangers who came among them. It shews great refinement in the Celtæ, that the killing a stranger was capital, when the killing a citizen was banishment only (b). The

Swedes

^{* &}quot;They hold it facrilege to injure a stranger. They protect from outrage, and venerate those who come among them: their houses are open to them, and they are welcome to their tables."

⁽a) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

⁽b) Nicolaus Damascenus.

Swedes and Goths were eminently hospitable to strangers; as indeed were all the northern nations of Europe (a). The negroes of Fouli, are celebrated by travellers as extremely kind to strangers. The native Brazilians are singularly hospitable. A stranger no sooner arrives among them than he is surrounded with women, who wash his feet, and set before him to eat the best things they have. If a stranger have occasion to go more than once to the same village, the person whose guest he was takes it much amiss if he think of changing his lodging.

There are causes that for a time suspend enmity between neighbouring states. The small states of Greece, among whom war had no end, frequently smothered their enmity to join against the formidable monarch of Persia. There are also causes that suspend for a time all animosity between factions in the same state. The endless factions in Britain about power and pre-eminence, not a little disagreeable during peace, are laid assept during a foreign war.

On the other hand, attraction is converted into repulsion by various causes. One is, the splitting a great monarchy into many small states; of which the Assyrian, the Persian, the Roman, and the Saracen empires, are instances. The amor patrix, faint in an extensive monarchy, readily yields to aversion, operating between two neighbouring states, less extensive. This is observable between neighbouring colonies, even of the same nation: the English colonies in North America, tho' they retain some affection for their mother-country, have contracted an aversion to each other. And happy for them is such aversion, if it prevent their uniting in order to acquire independency: wars without end would be the inevitable consequence, as among small states in close neighbourhood.

Hitherto

⁽d) Saxo Grammaticus. Crantz.

Sk. I.

Hitherto the road has been finooth, without obstruction. But we have not yet finished our journey; and the remaining question, viz. How far are men fitted by their nature for being useful members of civil fociety, and for being happy in it, will, I fufpect, lead into a road neither fmooth nor free from obstruction. The focial branch of human nature would be wofully imperfect, if man had an appetite for fociety without being fitted for that state: the appetite, instead of tending to a good end, would be his bane. And yet, whether he be or be not fitted for fociety, feems doubtful. In examining the conduct of man, he is to us a difguftful object in his averfion to those of a different tribe; and I violently fuspect, that in his behaviour even to those of his own tribe, he will scarce be found an agreeable object. That he is fitted by nature for being an ufeful member of a focial state, and for being happy in it, appears from facts many and various. I inflance first, feveral corresponding principles or propensities, that cannot be exerted nor gratified but in fociety, viz. the propenfities of veracity, and of relying on human testimony; appetite for knowledge, and defire to communicate knowledge; anxiety in diffrefs to be pitied, and fympathy with the distressed; appetite for praise, and inclination to praise the deserving *. Such corresponding propenfities, not only qualify men for the focial state as far as their influence reaches, but attract them fweetly into fociety for the fake of gratification, and make them happy in it. But this is not all, nor indeed the greater part. Do not benevolence, compassion, magnanimity, heroism, and the whole train of social affections, demonstrate our fitness for society, and our happiness in it? And justice, above all other virtues, promotes peace and con-

cord

^{*} Appetite for praise is inherent even in savages: witness those of North America, who upon that account are fond of dress. I mean the men; for the women are such miserable slaves as to have no spirit for ornament.

cord in that state. Nor ought the faculty of speech to be overlooked, which in an eminent degree qualifies man for society, and is a plentiful source of enjoyment in it.

On the other hand, there are facts, not fewer in number, nor less various, tending to evince, that man is ill fitted for fociety, and that there is little happiness for him in it. What can be more averse to concord in society than dissocial passions? and yet these prevail among men. Are not envy, malice, revenge, treachery, deceit, avarice, ambition, &c. &c. noxious weeds that poifon fociety? We meet every where perfons bent on the deftruction of others, evincing that man has no enemies more formidable than of his own kind, and of his own tribe. Are not difcord and feuds the chief articles in the history of every state, factions violently bent against each other, and frequently breaking out into civil wars? Appian's history of the civil wars of Rome exhibits a horrid fcene of maffacres, profcriptions, and forfeitures; the leaders facrificing their firmest friends, for liberty to fuck the blood of their enemies; as if to fled human blood were the ruling passion of man. But the Romans were far from being singular: the polite Greeks, commonly fo characterized, were still more brutal and bloody. The following passage is copied from a celebrated author (a). " Not to mention Dionysius the elder, who is com-" puted to have butchered in cold blood above 10,000 of his fel-" low-citizens; nor Agathocles, Nabis, and others, still more " bloody than he; the transactions even in free governments were " extremely violent and destructive. At Athens, the thirty ty-" rants, and the nobles, in a twelvemonth, murdered without " trial about 1200 of the people, and banished above the half of " the citizens that remained. In Argos, near the same time, the " people killed 1200 of the nobles, and afterward their own de-

" magogues,

⁽a) Essay of the populousness of ancient nations, by David Hume, Esq;

" magogues, because they had refused to carry their profecutions " farther. The people also in Corcyra killed 1500 of the nobles, " and banished 1000. These numbers will appear the more fur-" prifing, if we confider the extreme smallness of those states. "But all ancient history is full of fuch instances." Upon a revolution in the Saracen empire ann. 750, where the Ommiyan family was expelled by that of the Abaffians, Abdolah, chief of the latter, published an act of oblivion to the former, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to him. The Ommiyans, embracing the condition, were in appearance graciously received. But in preparing to take the oath, they were knocked down every one of them by the Emperor's guards. And fully to glut the monfter's cruelty, these princes, still alive, were laid close together, and covered with boards and carpets; upon which Abdolah feafted his officers, " in order," faid he, "that we may be exhila-" rated with the dying groans of the Ommiyans." During the vigour of the feudal fystem, when every man was a foldier who aspired to be a gentleman, justice was no defence against power, nor humanity against bloody resentment. Stormy passions raged every where with unrelenting fury; every place a chaos of confusion and diffress. No man was secure but in his castle; and to venture abroad unless well armed, and well attended, would have been an act of high temerity. So little intercourse was there among the French in the tenth century, that an abbot of Clugni, invited by the Count of Paris to bring some monks to the abbey of St Maur, near that city, excused himself for declining a journey through a strange and unknown country. In the history of Scotland, during the minority of James II. we find nothing but barbarous and cruel manners, depredations, burning of houses, bloodshed and massacre without end. Pitscottie says, that oppression, thest, saerilege, ravishing of women, were but a dalliance. How similar to beafts of prey fet loofe against each other in the Roman circus! Men 3 B VOL. I.

Men are prone to fplit into parties for the very flightest causes; and when a cause is wanting, parties are often formed upon words merely. Whig and Tory fubfifted long in England, upon no better foundation. The Tories professed passive obedience; but declared, that they would not be flaves. The Whigs professed refistance; but declared it unlawful to resist, unless to prevent the being made flaves. Had these parties been disposed to unite, they foon would have discovered, that they differed in words only. The fame observation is applicable to many religious disputes. One fect maintains, that we are faved by faith alone; another, that good works are necessary. The difference lies merely in words. The first acknowledges, that if a man commit sin, he cannot have faith; and confequently under faith are comprehended good works. The other acknowledges, that good works imply good intention, or, in other words, faith; and confequently, under good works faith is comprehended (a). The following instance, folemnly ludicrous, is of parties formed merely from an inclination to differ, without any cause real or verbal. No people were less interested in the late war between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia than the citizens of Ravenna. They however fplit into two parties, which renounced all fociety with each other. After the battle of Rosbach, a leading partyman withdrew for a month, without once showing his face in public. But our catalogue is not yet complete. Differences concerning civil matters make no figure compared with what concern religion. It is lamentable to observe, that religious sects resemble neighbouring states; the nearer they are to one another, the greater is their rancour and animofity. But as all histories are full of the cruelty and defolation occasioned by differences in religious tenets, I cannot bear to dwell longer upon fuch horrid fcenes.

What

⁽a) See Knox's Ecclefiastical History of Scotland, p. 13.

What conclusion are we to draw from the foregoing facts, fo inconfistent in appearance with each other? I am utterly at a loss to reconcile them, otherwise than by holding man to be a compound of principles and passions, some social, some dissocial. Opposite principles or passions cannot at the same instant be exerted upon the same object (a); but they may be exerted at the same instant upon different objects, and at different times upon the fame object. This observation serves indeed to explain a feeming inconfistency in our nature, as being at one time highly focial, and at another time no less dissocial: but it affords not a solution to the question, Whether, upon the whole, men be fitted for fociety, and for being happy in it. In order to a folution, we find it necessary to take a second view of the natural history of man.

CIVILISOCIETY:-

In a nafcent fociety, where men hunt and fish in common, where there is plenty of game, and where the fense of property is faint, mutual affection prevails, because there is no cause of different; and different paffions find fufficient vent against neighbouring tribes. Such is the condition of the North-American favages, who continue hunters and fishers to this day; and such is the condition of all brute animals that live in fociety, as mentioned above. The island Otaheite is divided into many small cantons, having each a chief of its own. These cantons never make war on each other, tho' they are frequently at war with the inhabitants of neighbouring islands. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands, if Father Gobien be credited, are better fitted for fociety than any other known nation. Sweetness of temper, and love to do good, form their character. They never commit acts of violence: war they have no notion of; and it is a proverb among them, That a man never puts a man to death. Plato places the feat of justice and of happiness among the first men; and a-

⁽a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 143. edit. 5.

mong them existed the golden age, if it ever did exist. But when a nation, becoming populous, begins with rearing flocks and herds, proceeds to appropriate land, and is not fatisfied without matters of luxury over and above; felfishness and pride gain ground, and become ruling and unruly passions. Causes of difcord multiply, vent is given to avarice and refentment; and among a people not yet perfectly fubmiffive to government, diffocial passions rage, and threaten a total dissolution of society: nothing indeed fufpends the impending blow, but the unwearied, tho' filent, operation of the focial appetite. Such was the condition of the Greeks at a certain period of their progress, as mentioned above; and fuch was the condition of Europe, and of France in particular, during the anarchy of the feudal fystem, when all was difcord, blood, and rapine. In general, where-ever avarice and diforderly passions be r rule, I boldly pronounce, that men are ill qualified for fociety.

Providence extracts order out of confusion. Men, in a society so uncomfortable, are taught by dire experience, that they must either renounce society, or qualify themselves for it—the choice is easy, but how difficult the practice! After infinite struggles, appetite for society prevailed; and time, that universal conqueror, perfected men in the art of subduing their passions, or of dissembling them. Finding now no enjoyment but in society, we are solicitous about the good-will of others; and we adhere to justice and good manners: disorderly passions are suppressed, kindly affections encouraged, and men become less unsit for society than formerly.

But is the progress of men toward the perfection of society to stop here? are lust of power and of property to continue for ever leading principles? are envy, revenge, treachery, deceit, never to have an end? "How devoutly to be wished, (it will be faid), that all men "were upright and honest; and that all of the same nation were "united "united like a fingle family in concord and mutual affection! Here indeed would be perpetual funshine, a golden age, a state ap"proaching to that of good men made perfect in heavenly manfions." Beware of indulging such pleasing dreams. The system of Providence differs widely from our wishes; and shall ignorant man venture to arraign Providence? Are we qualified to judge of the whole, when but so small a part is visible? It is our duty to believe, that were the whole visible, it would appear beautiful. We are not however reduced to an act of pure faith: a glimmering light, breaking in, makes it at least doubtful, whether upon the whole it be not really better for us to be as we are. Let us follow that glimmering light to see where it will lead us.

I begin with observing, that tho' in our present condition we fuffer much diffress from felfish and diffocial passions, yet custom renders our distresses familiar, and hardens us not only to bear but to brave them. Strict adherence to the rules of justice would indeed fecure our perfons and our property: robbery and murder would vanish, and locks and guns be heard of no more. So far excellent, were no new evils to come in their place: but the void must be filled, and mental distresses would break in of various kinds, fuch particularly as proceed from refined delicacy and nice fensibility of honour, little regarded while we are exposed to dangers more alarming. And whether the change would be much to our advantage, appears doubtful: pain as well as pleafure is measured by comparison; and the slightest pain, such for example as arises from a transgression of civility or good-breeding, will overwhelm a person who has never felt any more severe. At any rate, natural evils will remain; and that extreme delicacy and foftness of temper which are produced by eternal peace and concord, would render fuch evils unsupportable: the flight inconveniencies of a rough road, bad weather, or homely fare, would become ferious evils, and afflict the traveller past enduring. The French,

French, among whom fociety has obtained a more refined polish than in any other nation, have become so soft and delicate as to lose all fortitude in distress. They cannot bear even a representation of severe affliction in a tragedy: an English audience would fall assep at the slight distresses that make a deep impression in the French theatre.

But now supposing, that a scrupulous adherence to the rules of morality would be a real improvement in fociety; yet to me it appears evident, that men as individuals would fuffer more by that improvement, than they would gain as members of fociety. In order to preserve the rules of justice untainted, and to maintain perfect concord and affection among men, all diffocial and felfish passions must necessarily be extirpated, or brought under absolute fubjection. Attend to the confequences: they deferve our most fober attention. Agitation is requifite to the mind as well as to the body: a man engaged in a brifk purfuit, whether of bufiness or of pleafure, is in his element, and in high fpirits: but when no object is in view to be attained or to be avoided, his fpirits flag, and he finks into languor and despondence. To prevent a condition fo baneful to man, he is provided with many paffions, which impel him to action without intermission, and envigorate both mind and body. But upon the present supposition, scarce any motive to action would remain; and man, reduced to a lethargic state, would rival no being above an oyster or a fensitive plant.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that an uniform life of peace, tranquillity, and fecurity, would not be long relished. Constant repetition of the same pleasures, would render even a golden age tasteless, like an Italian sky during a long summer. Nature has for wife purposes impressed upon us a taste for variety (a); and without it, life would be altogether insipid. Paraguai, when govern-

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⁽a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 320. edit. 5.

ed by the Jesuits, affords a fine illustration. It was divided into parishes, in each of which a Jesuit presided as king, priest, and prophet. The natives were not fuffered to have any property, but laboured inceffantly for their daily bread, which was delivered to them out of a public magazine. The men were employ'd in agriculture, the women in fpinning; and certain precise hours were allotted for labour, for food, for prayer, and for fleep *. They funk into fuch a liftless state of mind, as to have no regret at dying when attacked by difeafe or by old age. Such was their indifference about what might befall them, that tho' they adored the Jesuits, yet they made no opposition, when the fathers were, ann. 1767, attacked by the Spaniards, and their famous republic demolished. The monkish life is contradictory to the nature of man: the languor of that state is what in all probability tempts many a monk and nun, to find occupation even at the expence of virtue. The life of the Maltese knights is far from being agreeable, now that their knight-errantry against the Turks has subsided. While they reside in the island, a strict uniformity in their manner of living is horridly irksome. Absence is their only relief, when they can obtain permission. There will not at last remain a knight in the island, except such as by office are tied to attendance.

I proceed to another confideration. Familiarity with danger is necessary to eradicate our natural timidity; and so deeply rooted is that principle, that familiarity with danger of one fort, does not harden us with respect to any other fort. A soldier, bold as a lion in the field, is

d'Craiclin, voi, a p. 200 con. g.

faint-hearted

^{*} Beside Paraguai tea, for which there is great demand in Peru, cotton, tobacco, and sugar-canes, were cultivated in Paraguai, and the product was stored up in
magazines. No Indian durst keep in his house so much as an ounce of any of
these commodities, under pain of receiving twelve lashes in honour of the twelve
apostles, beside fasting three days in the house of correction. The fathers seldom
insticted a capital punishment, because it deprived them of a profitable slave.

faint-hearted at fea, like a child; and a feaman, who braves the winds and waves, trembles when mounted on a horse of spirit, Courage does not superabound at present, even in the midst of dangers and unforeseen accidents: sedentary manufacturers, who feldom are in the way of harm, are remarkably pufillanimous. What would men be in the supposed condition of universal peace, concord, and fecurity? they would rival a hare or a moufe in timidity. Farewell, upon that supposition, to courage, magnanimity, heroifm, and to every passion that ennobles human nature! There may perhaps be men, who, hugging themselves in being fecure against harm, would not be altogether averse to such degeneracy. But if fuch men there be, I pray them only to reflect, that in the progress from infancy to maturity, all nations do not ripen equally. One nation may have arrived at the supposed perfection of fociety, before another has advanced much beyond the favage state. What security hath the former against the latter? Precifely the fame that timid sheep have against hungry wolves.

I shall finish with one other effect of the supposed perfection of fociety, more degrading, if possible, than any mentioned. Exercife, as observed above, is not less essential to the mind than to the body. The reasoning faculty, for example, without constant and varied exercife, will remain weak and undiftinguishing to the end of life. By what means doth a man acquire prudence and forefight, but by practice? It is precifely here as in the body: deprive a child of motion, and it will never acquire any strength of limbs. The many difficulties that men encounter, and their various objects of pursuit, rouse the understanding, and set the reasoning faculty at work for means to accomplish desire. The mind, by continual exercise, ripens to its perfection; and, by the fame means, is preferved in vigour. It would have no fuch exercife in the supposed perfection of fociety; where there would be little to be defired, and less to be dreaded: our mental faculties would

would for ever lie dormant; and we should remain for ever ignorant that we have such faculties. The people of Paraguai are described as mere children in understanding. What wonder, considering their condition under Jesuit government, without ambition, without property, without fear of want, and without desires? The wants of those who inhabit the torrid zone are easily supplied: they need no cloathing, scarce any habitation; and fruits, which ripen there to perfection, give them food without labouring for it. Need we any other cause for their inferiority of understanding, compared with the inhabitants of other climates, where the mind, as well as body, are constantly at work for procuring necessaries.*?

That

* The bleffings of ease and inaction are most poetically display'd in the following description. " O felix Lapo, qui in ultimo angulo mundi sic bene lates, " contentus et innocens. Tu nec times annonæ charitatem, nec Martis prælia, " quæ ad tuas oras pervenire nequeunt, sed slorentissimas Europæ provincias et " urbes, unico momento, sæpe dejiciunt et delent. Tu dormis hic sub tua pelle, " ab omnibus curis, contentionibus, rixis, liber, ignorans quid fit invidia Tu " nulla nosti discrimina, nisi tonantis Jovis fulmina. Tu ducis innocentissimos " tuos annos ultra centenarium numerum, cum facili senectute et summa sanitate. "Te latent myriades morborum nobis Europæis communes. Tu vivis in fylvis, " avis instar, nec sementem facis, nec metis; tamen alit te Deus optimus optime." Linnaus, Flora Lapponica. - [In English thus: "O happy Laplander, who, on the " utmost verge of habitable earth, thus livest obscure in rest, content, and inno-" cence. Thou fearest not the scanty crop, nor ravages of war; and those cala-" mities which waste whole provinces and towns, can ne'er attain thy peaceful " shores. Wrapt in thy covering of fur, thou canst securely sleep; a stranger to " each tumultuous care; unenvying and unenvied. Thou fearest no danger, but from the thunder of heaven. Thy harmless days slide on in innocence, beyond " the period of a century. Thy health is firm; and thy declining age is tran-" quil. Millions of difeases which ravage the rest of the world, have never reach-" ed thy happy climate. Thou livest as the birds of the wood, thou carest not to " fow nor reap, for bounteous Providence has fupplied thee in all thy wants." - So VOL. I.

That curious writer Mandevil, who is always entertaining, if he does not always inftruct, exults in maintaining a proposition feemingly paradoxical, That private vices are public benefits. He proves indeed, most triumphantly, that theft produced locks and bars, and that war produced swords and guns. But what would have been his triumph, had he discovered, that felfish and dissocial vices promote the most elevated virtues, and that if such vices were eradicated, man would be a groveling and contemptible being?

How rashly do men judge of the conduct of Providence! So slattering to the imagination is a golden age, a life of perpetual sun-shine, as to have been a favourite topic among poets, ancient and modern. Impressed with the felicity of such a state, it is not easy to be satisfied with our condition in this life. Such a jumble of good and ill, malice mixed with benevolence, friend-ship alloy'd with fraud, peace with alarms of war, and frequent bloody wars,—can we avoid concluding, that in this unhappy world chance prevails more than wisdom? What better cause can freethinkers wish for declaiming against Providence, while men better disposed, figh inwardly, and must be silent *? But

de l'ille prefince foffaire the creature poegra ned swick the

So eloquent a panegyrist upon the Lapland life, would make a capital figure upon an oyster. No creature is freer from want, no creature freer from war, and probably no creature is freer from fear; which, alas! is not the case of the Laplander.

^{*} L'homme qui ne peut que par le nombre, qui n'est fort que par sa réunion, qui n'est heureux que par la paix, a la fureur de s'armer pour son malheur et de combattre pour sa ruine. Excité par l'insatiable avidité, aveuglé par l'ambition encore plus insatiable, il renonce aux sentiments d'humanité, cherche à s'entre-détruire, se détruit en esset; et après ces jours de sang et de carnage, lorsque la sumée de la gloire s'est dissipée, il voit d'un ocil triste la terre dévassée, les arts enfevelies.

behold the blindness of men with respect to the dispensations of Providence! A golden age would to man be more poisonous than

sévelies, les nations dispersées, les peuples affoiblis, son propre bonheur ruiné, et sa puissance réelle anéantie.

" Grand Dieu! dont la seule présence soutient la nature et maintient l'harmo-" nie des loix de l'univers; Vous, qui du trône immobile de l'empirée, voyez " rouler fous vos pieds toutes les sphéres célestes sans choc et sans confusion; qui " du fein du repos, reproduisez à chaque instant leurs mouvemens immenses, et 46 feul régissez dans une paix profonde ce nombre infini de cieux et de mondes; rendez, rendez enfin le calme à la terre agitée! Qu'elle foit dans le filence! " Qu'à votre voix la discorde et la guerre cessent de faire retenter leurs clameurs " orgueilleuses! Dieu de bonté, auteur de tous les êtres, vos regards paternels " embrassent tous les objets de la création : mais l'homme est votre être de choix ; " vous avez éclairé fon ame d'une rayon de votre lumière immortelle; comblez vos bienfaits en pénétrant son cœur d'un trait de votre amour : ce sentiment di-" vin se répandant par-tout, réunira les natures ennemies; l'homme ne craindra " plus l'aspect de l'homme, le fer homicide n'armera plus sa main; le feu dévo-" rant de la guerre ne fera plus tarir la fource des générations; l'espèce humaine " maintenant affoiblie, mutilée, moiffonnée dans sa fleur, germera de nouveau et " fe multipliera fans nombre; la nature accablée fous le poids de fléaux, stérile, abandonnée, reprendra bientôt avec une nouvelle vie fon ancienne fécondité; et " nous, Dieu Bienfaiteur, nous la feconderons, nous la cultiverons, nous l'obser-" verons fans cesse pour vous offrir à chaque instant un nouveau tribut de recon-" noissance et d'admiration." Buffon Histoire Naturelle, vol. 9. 8vo. edit.

In English thus: " Man who is powerful only by numbers, whose strength confifts in the union of forces, and whose happiness is to be found alone in a state of peace, has yet the madness to take arms for his own misery, and fight to the ruin of his species. Urged on by infatiable avarice, and blinded by ambition still more infatiable, he banishes from his breast every fentiment of humanity, and, eager for the destruction of his fellow-creatures, in effect destroys himself. When the days of blood and carnage are past, when the vapour of glory is diffipated, he looks around with a forrowful eye upon the defolated earth, he fees the arts extinct, the nations dispersed, and population dead: his happiness is ruined, and his power is reduced to nothing.

" Great God! whose fole presence fustains the creative power, and rules the 3 C 2 " harmony than Pandora's box; a gift, fweet in the mouth, but bitter, bitter, in the stomach. Let us then forbear repining; for the subject before us must afford conviction, if any thing can, that our best course is to submit humbly to whatever besals, and to rest satisfied, that the world is governed by wisdom, not by chance. What can be expected of barbarians, but utter ignorance of Providence, and of divine government? But as men ripen in the knowledge of causes and effects, the benevolence as well as wisdom of a superintending Being become more and more apparent. How pleasant is that observation! Beautiful final causes without

" harmony of nature's laws! who from thy permanent celeftial throne beholdest 66 the motion of the nether spheres, all-perfect in their course which knows no change; who broughtest from out the womb of rest by endless reproduction " those never-ceasing movements; who rulest in peace the infinity of worlds: E-" ternal God! vouchfafe at length to fend a portion of that heavenly peace to " calm the agitated earth. Let every tumult ceafe: at thy celeftial voice, no more " be heard around the proud and clamorous shouts of war and discord. All-" bounteous Creator! Author of being! each object of thy works partakes of thy " paternal care; but chief of all, thy chosen creature man. Thou hast bestowed " on him a ray of thine immortal light: O deign to crown that gift, by penetrating " his heart with a portion of thy love. Soon will that heavenly fentiment, perva-" ding his nature, reconcile each warring and contradictory principle: man will " no longer dread the fight of man: the murdering blade will fleep within its " fheath: the fire of war will ceafe to dry up the fprings of generation: the hu-" man race, now languishing and withering in the bloom, will bud afresh, and " multiply: nature, which now finks beneath the fcourge of mifery, sterile and " defolated, will foon renew her wasted strength, and regain her first fertility. " We, O God of benevolence, we thy creatures will fecond the bleffing. It will 66 be ours to bestow on the earth that culture which best can aid her fruitfulness; " and we will pay to thee the most acceptable of facrifices, in endless gratitude and " adoration."

How natural is this prayer; how unnatural the flate thus anxiously requested! M. Buffon's devotional sits are fervent: pity it is, that they are not better directed.

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number have been discovered in the material as well as moral world, with respect to many particulars that once appeared dark and gloomy. Many continue to have that appearance: but with respect to these, is it too bold to maintain, that an argument from ignorance, a slender argument at any rate, is altogether insufficient in judging of divine government? How salutary is it for man, and how comfortable, to rest on the faith, that whatever is, is the best!

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How to direct our majorest draw consecution fixed that a majorally requested?

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SKETCH II.

General View of GOVERNMENT.

HE progress of government, accurately delineated, would produce a great volume: in this work there is room but for a few hints. What are the means that fit men for fociety, is explained above; but writers are far from being unanimous about the means that fit them for government. All agree, that fubmission to our governors is a duty: but they appear to be at a loss upon what foundation to rest that duty; as if it were not evident, that by our nature we are fitted for government as well as for fociety (a). If justice or veracity be essential to society, submission to government is no less so; and each of these equally is declared by the moral fense to be our duty. But to qualify man for government, the duty of fubmission alone is not sufficient: diversity of temper and of talents are also necessary; and accordingly it is fo ordered by Providence, that there are never wanting in any fociety men who are qualified to lead, as well as men who are disposed to follow. Where a number of people convene for any purpose, fome will naturally affume authority without the formality of election, and the rest will as naturally submit. A regular government, founded on laws, was probably not thought of, till people had frequently fuffered by vicious governors *.

(a) Principles of Equity, p. 177, edit. 2.

During

^{*} At first, when a certain regimen was once approved, it may be that all was permitted

During the infancy of national focieties, government is extremely fimple; and no less mild than simple. No individual is by nature intitled to exercise magisterial authority over his fellows; for no individual is born with any mark of pre-eminence to vouch that he has fuch a privilege. But nature teaches respect for men of age and experience; who accordingly take the lead in deliberating and advising, leaving execution to the young and vigorous *. War indeed cannot be carried on without a commander; but originally his authority was limited to actual war; and he returned home a private person, even when crowned with victory. The wants of men were originally fo few, and fo eafily fatisfied, as feldom to occasion a controversy among members of the fame tribe. And men, finding vent for their diffocial paffions against other tribes, were fond to live peaceably at home. Introduction of money made an amazing change. Wealth beflow'd by fortune, or procured by rapine, made an impression on the vulgar: different ranks were recognised: the rich became imperious, and the poor mutinous. Selfishness, prevailing over focial affection, ftirred up every man against his neighbour; and

permitted to the wifdom and difcretion of those who were to rule; till by experience this was found very inconvenient, so as the thing devised for a remedy did increase the fore which it should have cured. They saw, "that to live by one "man's will, became the cause of all mens misery." This constrained them to come into laws, wherein all men might see their duty beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. 1. 1. § 10.

* Such as are acquainted with no manners but what are modern, will be puzzled to account for the great veneration paid to old age in early times. Before writing was invented, old men were the repositories of knowledge, which they acquired by experience; and young men had no access to knowledge but from them. At the siege of Troy, Nestor, who had seen three generations, was the chief adviser and director of the Greeks. But as books are now the most patent road to knowledge, to which the old and young have access, it may justly be observed, that by the invention of writing and printing, old men have lost much of their pristine importance.

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men, overlooking their natural enemies, gave vent to dissocial passions within their own tribe. It became necessary to strengthen the hands of the sovereign, for repressing passions instanted by opulence, which tend to a dissolution of society. This slight view fairly accounts for the gradual progress of government from the mildest form to the most despotic. The second part of the progress is more pleasing. Men long enured to the authority of government, acquire a habit of repressing their turbulent passions; and becoming by degrees regular and orderly, they are easily restrained from doing wrong.

During the infancy of a fociety, punishments must be mild; because government has no sufficient authority over the minds of men to enforce what are severe. But government in time acquires authority; and when its authority is firmly rooted in the minds of the people, punishments more rigorous can be made effectual; and such punishments are necessary among a people not yet well disciplined. When men at last become regular and orderly under a steady administration, punishments become less and less necessary, and the mildest are sufficient (a). The Chinese government is extremely mild, and its punishments are in the same tone. A capital punishment is never inslicted, till the sentence be examined by a sovereign court, and approved by the Emperor. Thus government, after passing through all the intermediate degrees from extreme mildness to extreme severity, returns at last to its original temper of mildness and humanity *.

* An ingenious writer observes, that as our American settlements are now so prosperous, banishment to these settlements is scarce a punishment. He therefore proposes, that criminals be transported to Hudson's bay, or to some other uncultivated country. My doubt is, that in proportion as manners improve, the severity of punishment ought to be mitigated. Perhaps, the transportation to any of our American colonies, tho' less dreadful than formerly, may however be now a sufficient punishment for thest, or other crime of no deeper dye.

(a) Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

SKETCH



SKETCH III.

Different FORMS OF GOVERNMENT compared.

F all governments, democracy is the most turbulent: defpotisin, which benumbs the mental faculties, and relaxes every spring of action, is in the opposite extreme. Mixed governments, whether monarchical or republican, stand in the middle: they promote activity, but seldom any dangerous excess.

Pure democracy, like that of Athens, Argos, and Carthage, is the very worst form of government, if we make not despotifm an exception. The people, in whom refides the fovereign power, are infolent in prosperity, timid in adversity, cruel in anger, blind and prodigal in affection, and incapable of embracing steadily a prudent measure. Thucydides relates (a), that Agis with a gallant army of Spartans furrounded the army of Argos; and, tho' fecure of victory, fuffered them to retreat, upon folemn affurances from Thrafyllus, the Argian general, of terminating all differences in an amicable treaty. Agis, perhaps juftly, was bitterly cenfured for fuffering victory to flip out of his hands: but the Argians, dreaming of victory when the danger was over, brought their general to trial, confifcated his effects, and would have stoned him to death, had he not taken refuge in a temple. Two Athenian generals, after one naval victory, being intent on a fecond, deputed Theramenes to perform

(a) Lib. 5.

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the last duty to their dead. A violent storm prevented Theramenes from executing the trust reposed in him; but it did not prevent the people of Athens from putting their two generals to death, as if they had neglected their duty. The fate of Socrates is a fad instance, of the changeable, as well as violent, disposition of a democratical state. He was condemned to death, for attempting innovations in the established religion: the sentence was grossly unjust; for he attempted no innovation; but only, among his friends, expressed purer notions of the Deity than were common in Greece at that time. But his funeral obsequies were scarce ended, when bitter remorfe feized the people. His accufers were put to death without trial, every person banished who had contributed to the fentence pronounced against him, and his statue was erected in the most public part of the city. The great Scipio, in his camp near Utica, was furrounded with three Carthaginian armies, which waited only for day-light to fall upon him. He prevented the impending blow, by furprifing them in the dead of night; which gave him a complete victory. This misfortune, for it could scarce be called bad conduct, provoked the democracy of Carthage, to pronounce fentence of death against Asdrubal their general. Great trading towns cannot flourish, if they be not faithful to their engagements, and honest in their dealings: Whence then the fides Punica? A democracy is in its nature rash, violent, and fluctuating; and the Carthaginians merited the reproach, not as individuals, but as a democratical state.

A commonwealth governed by the best citizens, is very different from a democracy, where the mob rules. At the same time, the solid foundation of such a commonwealth, is equality among the citizens. Inequality of riches cannot be prevented in a commercial state; but inequality of privileges may be prevented, by excluding no citizen from the opportunity of commanding as well as of obeying. The invidious distinction of Patrician and Plebeian

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was a gross malady in the Roman republic, a perpetual source of dissension between two bodies of men, equally well born, equally rich, and equally fit for war. This ill-poised government would have put an end to the republic, had not the Plebeians prevailed, who were the more numerous. That reformation produced to Rome plenty of able men, qualified to govern whether in peace or in war.

A commonwealth is the best form of government for a small state: there is little room for inequality of rank or of property; and the people can act in a body. Monarchy is preferable for a large state, where the people, widely spread, cannot be easily collected into a body. Attica was a kingdom, while its twelve cantons were remote from each other, and but slenderly connected. Theseus, by collecting the people of sigure into the city of Athens, and by a general assembly of all the cantons held there, sitted Attica to be a commonwealth.

When a nation becomes great and populous, it is ill fitted for being a commonwealth. Ambition is apt to trample upon juffice; felfishness upon patriotism; and the public is facrificed to private views. To prevent corruption from turning incurable, the only remedy is a strict rotation in office, which ought never to be dispensed with on any pretext *. By such rotation, every citizen in his turn governs and is governed: the highest office is limited as to time, and the greatest men in the state must submit to the facred law of obeying as well as of commanding. A man long accustomed to power, is not happy in a private station: that corrupting habit is prevented by an alternate succession of public and

private

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A commonwealth with fuch a rotation may be aptly compared to a group of jets d'eau, rifing one above another in beautiful order, and preferving the fame order in descending: the form of the group continues invariable, but the forming parts are always changing.

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private life; which is more agreeable by variety, and contributes no less to virtue than to happiness. It was that form of government in ancient Rome, which produced citizens without number, illustrious for virtue and talents. Reflect upon Cincinnatus, eminent among heroes for difinterested love to his country. Had he been a Briton, a feat in parliament would have gratified his ambition, as affording the best opportunity of ferving his country. In parliament he joins the party that appears the most zealous for the public. Being deceived in his friends, patriots in name only not in reality, he goes over to the court; and after fighting the battles of the ministry for years, he is compelled by a shattered fortune to accept a post or a pension. Fortunate Cincinnatus! born at a time and in a country where virtue was the paffport to power and glory. Cincinnatus, after ferving with honour and reputation as chief magistrate, cheerfully retired to a private station, in obedience to the laws of his country: nor was that change a hardship on a man who was not corrupted by a long habit of power.

Political writers define a free state to be, where the people are governed by laws of their own making. This definition is lame; for laws made by the people are not always just. There were many unjust laws enacted in Athens during the democratical government; and in Britain instances are not wanting of laws, not only unjust, but oppressive. The true definition of a free state, is, where the legislature adheres strictly to the laws of nature; and calculates every one of its regulations for improving society, and for promoting industry and honesty among the people. If that definition be just, despotism is the worst species of government; being contrived to support arbitrary will in the sovereign, without regarding the laws of nature, or the good of society. The lawless cruelty of a King of Persia, is painted to the life by a single expression of a Persian grandee, "That every time he left the King's apartment,

" apartment, he was inclined to feel with his hand whether his " head was on his fhoulders." In the Ruffian empire, men approach the throne with terror: the flightest political intrigue is a fufficient foundation for banishing the greatest nobleman to Siberia, and for confifcating his effate. The laws of that empire fmell no less rank of flavery than of oppression. No person dares game with money that bears the impression of the present sovereign: a man going along the street that fronts the Emperor's apartment, must pull off his hat; and it is a heinous trespass to write a letter with the Emperor's name in fmall characters. Defpotism is every where the fame: it was high treason to fell a statue of a Roman Emperor; and it was doubted, whether it was not high treason, to hit an Emperor's statue with a stone thrown at random (a). When Elifabeth Empress of Russia was on deathbed, no person durst enquire about her; and even after her death, it was not at first fafe to speak of it. The deep silence of the Russians upon matters of government, arifes from the encouragement given to accufations of treason. The bystanders must lay hold of the person accufed: a father arrests his fon, a fon his father, and nature fuffers in filence. The accused with the accuser are hurried to prison, there to remain till they be tried in the fecret court of chancery. That court, composed of a few ministers named by the Emperor, have the lives and fortunes of all at their mercy. The nobility, flaves to the crown, are prone to retaliate upon their inferiors. They impose taxes at pleasure upon their vassals, and frequently feize all at fhort hand *.

Servility

⁽a) I. 5. ad legem Juliam Majestatis.

^{*} The following incident is a striking example of the violence of passion, indulged in a despotic government, where men in power are under no control. Thomas Pereyra, a Portuguese general, having assisted the King of Pegu in a danger-

Servility and depression of mind in the subjects of a despotic government, cannot be better marked than in the funeral rites of a Roman Emperor, described by Herodian (a). The body being burnt privately, a waxen image representing the Emperor is laid in a bed of state. On the one side sit the senators several hours daily, clothed in black; and on the other, the most respectable matrons, clothed in white. The ceremony lasts feven days, during which the physicians from time to time approach the bed. and declare the Emperor to be worse and worse. When the day comes of declaring him dead, the most dignified of the nobility carry the bed upon their shoulders, and place it in the old forum, where the Roman magistrates formerly laid down their office. Then begin doleful ditties, fung to his memory by boys and women. These being ended, the bed is carried to the Campus Martius, and there burnt upon a high stage with great solemnity. When the flames afcend, an eagle is let loofe, which is supposed to carry the foul of the Emperor to heaven. Is that farce less ridiculous than a puppet-shew? Is it not much more ridiculous? Dull must have been the spectator who could behold the solemnity without finiling at least, if not laughing outright; but the Romans were crushed by despotism, and nothing could provoke them to laugh. That ridiculous farce continued to be acted till the time of Constantine: how much later, I know not.

ous war with his neighbour of Siam, was a prime favourite at court, having elephants of state, and a guard of his own countrymen. One day coming from court mounted on an elephant, and hearing music in a house where a marriage was celebrating between a daughter of the family and her lover, he went into the house, and desired to see the bride. The parents took the visit for a great honour, and cheerfully presented her. He was instantly smit with her beauty, ordered his guards to seize her, and to carry her to his palace. The bridegroom, as little able to bear the affront as to revenge it, cut his own throat.

(a) Lib. 4.

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The finest countries have been depopulated by despotism; witness Greece, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia. The river Menam, in the kingdom of Siam, overflows annually like the Nile, depositing a quantity of flime, which proves a rich manure. The river feems to rife gradually as the rice grows; and retires to its channel when the rice, approaching to maturity, needs no longer to be watered. Nature befide has bestow'd on that rich country variety of delicious fruits, requiring fcarce any culture. In fuch a paradife, would one imagine that the Siamites are a miferable people? The government is despotic, and the subjects are slaves: they must work for their monarch fix months every year, without wages, and even without receiving any food from him. What renders them still more miserable, is, that they have no protection either for their persons or their goods: the grandees are exposed to the rapacity of the King and his courtiers; and the lower ranks are exposed to the rapacity of the grandees. When a man has the misfortune to possess a tree remarkable for good fruit, he is required in the name of the King, or of a courtier, to preserve the fruit for their use. Every proprietor of a garden in the neighbourhood of the capital, must pay a yearly sum to the keeper of the elephants; otherwise it will be laid waste by these animals, whom it is high treason to molest. From the sea-port of Mergui to the capital, one travels ten or twelve days, through immense plains of a rich foil, finely watered. That country appears to have been formerly cultivated, but is now quite depopulated, and left to tigers and elephants. Formerly, an immense commerce was carried on in that fertile country: historians attest, that in the middle of the fixteenth century above a thousand foreign ships frequented its ports annually. But the King, tempted with fo much riches, endeavoured to engrofs all the commerce of his country; by which means he annihilated fuccessively mines, manufactures, and even agriculture. The country is depopulated,

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and few remain there but beggars. In the island Ceylon, the King is fole proprietor of the land; and the people are fupinely indolent: their huts are mean, without any thing like furniture: their food is fruit that grows spontaneously; and their covering is a piece of coarse cloth, wrapped round the middle. The settlement of the Dutch East-India company at the Cape of Good Hope, is profitable to them in their commerce with the East Indies; and it would be much more profitable, if they gave proper encouragement to the tenants and possessors of their lands. But these poor people are ruled with a rod of iron: what the company wants, is extorted from them at fo low a price, as fcarce to afford them common necessaries. Avarice, like many other irregular passions, obstructs its own gratification: were industry duly encouraged, the product of the ground would be in greater plenty, and goods be afforded voluntarily at a lower price than they are at present obtained by violence. The Peruvians are a fad example of the effects of tyranny; being reduced to a flate of flupid infenfibility. No motive to action influences them; neither riches, nor luxury, nor ambition: they are even indifferent about life. The fingle pleasure they feel, is to get drunk, in order to forget their misery. The provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia, situated between the 43d and 48th degrees of latitude, are defended on three fides by the Niester, the Black sea, and the Danube. The climate of that region, and the fertility of its foil, render it not inferior to any other country in Europe. Its pastures in particular are excellent, producing admirable horses, with an incredible number of sheep and horned cattle; and its industrial fruits, such as corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, were formerly produced in great plenty. So populous was that region a few centuries ago, that the Prince of Walachia was able, in that province alone, to raise an army of seventy thousand men. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantanges, the wretched policy of the Turkish government

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has reduced these provinces to be almost a desert. A despotic government stifles in the birth all the bounties of nature, and renders the finest spots of the globe equally sterile with its barren mountains. When a patriotic king travels about to visit his dominions, he is received with acclamations of joy. A despotic prince dares not hope for such reception: he is locked up in his seraglio, ignorant of what passes; and indolently suffers his people to be pillaged, without even hearing of their distresses.

At the fame time, despotism, tho' calculated to elevate the sovereign above the rules of justice, and to make him the only free perfon in his dominions, tends above all other governments to render him infecure. He becomes odious by oppression; and every hand would be raifed against him, but for the restraint of fear. A fituation fo ticklish, lays him open to every bold spirit, prompted by revenge to feek his ruin, or by ambition to usurp his throne. In that respect, Russia and Turky are precisely similar: conspiracies against the fovereign are equally frequent, and equally successful. The moment an usurper seizes the palace, all obstructions vanish: all prostrate themselves before the throne, without enquiring about the possessor's title. In that manner was the present Empress of Russia established, notwithstanding a very unfavourable circumstance, that of dethroning her own husband Peter III. No free spirit regrets such events in a despotic government: the only thing to be regretted is, that they concern the monarch only; not the people, who remain abject flaves as formerly. The present Empress, sensible of her precarious situation, is intent to humanize her people, and to moderate the despotism. In that view, the has published a code of laws fit for a limited monarchy, and expressing great regard to the lives, liberties, and property, of her fubjects.

But a monarchy, with all the moderation that defpotifm can Vol. I.

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admit, is inconfistent with liberty of the prefs. Political pamphlets, and even news-papers, are no less useful for instructing the King, than for securing his subjects. In France, the ministry are deprived of that means of acquiring knowledge; and are reduced to the necessity of trusting to infinuating men, who cunningly creep into favour, with a view to their own interest. After the late peace 1763, that ministry formed a plan for establishing a colony in Guiana; and no fewer than twelve thousand persons were landed there all at one time. But so grossly ignorant were they of the preparations necessary for planting a colony in the torrid zone, that contagious diseases, occasioned by unwholesome food, and want of accommodation, lest not a single person alive. This could not have happened in England: every article of management would have been canvassed, and light would have broke in from every quarter.

I have infifted longer upon the deplorable effects of despotism than perhaps is necessary; but I was fond of the opportunity to justify, or rather applaud, the spirit of liberty so eminent in the inhabitants of Britain. I now proceed to compare different forms of government, with respect to various particulars; beginning with patriotism. Every form of government must be good that inspires patriotism; and the best form to envigorate that noble passion, is a commonwealth sounded on rotation of power, where it is the study of those in office, to do good, and to merit approbation from their fellow-citizens. In the Swifs Cantons, the salaries of magistrates and public officers, are scarce sufficient to defray their expences; and those worthy persons desire no other recompense, but to be esteemed and honoured *. A republic so modelled,

^{*} No human work can be everlafting. The feventy-two bailiages of the extenfive canton of Bern, threaten ruin to the republic. Those lucrative offices, which

modelled, infpires virtues of every fort. The people of Switzerland feldom think of a writing to confirm a bargain: a law-fuit is fcarce known among them; and many there are who have never heard of an advocate nor of an attorney. Their doors are never shut but in winter. It is patriotism that Montesquieu has in view, when he pronounces virtue to be the leading principle in a republic. He has reason to term it so, because patriotism is connected with every focial virtue; and when it vanishes, men regard themselves only, not their fellow-citizens. Democracy will never be recommended by any enlightened politician, as a good form of government; were it for no other reason, but that patriotism cannot long fubfift where the mob governs. In monarchy, the King is exalted fo high above his fubjects, that his ministers are little better than fervants. Such condition is not friendly to patriotism: it is as little friendly to ambition; for ministers are still fervants, however much raifed above other fubjects. Wealth being the only remaining purfuit, promotes avarice to be their ruling passion. Now if patriotism be not found in ministers, who have power, far less in men who have no power; and thus in monarchy, riches are preferred before virtue, and every vitious offspring of avarice has free course.

Without piercing to the foundation, one can have no just notion of the various forms that government assumes in different states. Monarchy is of many different kinds, and so is a repu-

the great council appropriates to its own members, occasion a constant influx of riches into the capital. Patriotifm is observed of late years to be on the decline among the citizens of Bern; and no wonder, confidering that luxury and felfifhness are the never-failing offspring of opulence. When felfishness becomes the ruling passion of that people, those in power will pilfer the public treasure, which is immenfe, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the republic. Confusion and anarchy must ensue, and the state will settle in a monarchy, or more probably in an odious democracy.

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blic. Rome and Carthage, the two great rival republics of ancient times, differed widely in their original constitution. Much has been faid of these republics by historians and political writers. There is one point of comparison, that will set in a clear light the difference of their constitutions, with respect to peace and war. Carthage, advantageously situated for commerce, became a great and flourishing trading town. The Carthaginians having no object but riches, admitted none into a participation of their privileges. War was against their genius: but conquest was not, if it produced wealth; and therefore they made war in order to load their new fubjects with taxes. Rome, on the contrary, was ill fituated for commerce: its inhabitants were from the beginning employed in war, either defensive or offensive. Their great object accordingly was power; to which end, they were always disposed to adopt as citizens the best of those they conquered. Thus Rome became a city of warriors, Carthage of merchants. The fubjects of the latter were always ripe for a revolt, while the fubjects of the former were always faithful. Between two fuch states, there could be no equality in war; and had the Carthaginians been as skilful in politics as they were in commerce, they would have avoided, with the frictest circumspection, every occafion of quarrel with the Romans. Rome employ'd its own citizens in war: Carthage had none to employ but mercenaries. In an offensive war, the object of the latter was riches; that of the former was power and glory, motives much fuperior, and more animating. In a defensive war, the difference is infinite between mercenaries, who have no interest but to receive their pay, and citizens, who fight for their country, and for their wives and children. What then are we to think of Hannibal, who, reverling the laws of nature, carried on war against the Romans with an army of mercenaries, was fuccefsful in every engagement, and brought them to the very brink of ruin? He certainly was the greatest

Sk. III.

greatest General the world ever saw. If any one is to be excepted, it is the present King of Prussia.

I next compare different forms of government, with respect to the influence of opulence. Riches, which, joined with ambition, produce bold attempts for power, are however not dangerous in monarchy, where the fovereign is fo far fuperior, as to humble to the dust the most aspiring of his subjects. But riches, joined with ambition, are dangerous in a republic: ambition will fuggest the possibility of fowing dissension among the leaders; riches will make the attempt fuccefsful; and then adieu to the republic. Wealth, accumulated by commerce in Carthage and in Athens, extinguished patriotism, and rendered their democracy unjust, violent, and tyrannical. It had another bad effect; which was, to make them ambitious of conquest. The fage Plutarch charges Themistocles with the ruin of Athens. " That great man," fays he, "infpired his countrymen with defire of naval power. That " power produced extensive commerce, and consequently riches: " riches again, befide luxury, infpired the Athenians with a high " opinion of their power, and made them rashly engage in every " quarrel among their neighbours." Suppress the names, and one will believe it to be a cenfure on the conduct of Britain. Successful commerce prompted the Carthaginians, against their natural interest, to make war for gain. Had they been successful against the Romans, both nations would have fallen a facrifice to the ambition of Hannibal: after fubduing Italy, what Carthaginian durst have opposed that glorious conqueror, returning with a victorious army, devoted to his will? That event was long dreaded by Hanno, and the wifer part of the Carthaginian fenate; and hence their fcanty supplies to Hannibal. But what is only a fupposition with respect to Carthage, proved to be the fate of Rome. Inequality of rank, opulence, and luxury, relaxed every fundamental principle of the commonwealth, particularly rotation of of power, which ought to have been their palladium. Conquest at a distance, led them unwarily, in some instances, to suspend that fundamental law; of which Cæsar availed himself in his Gallic war, by debauching from their duty the best disciplined army of the republic: and it was that army, under a leader little inserior to Hannibal, which determined the sate of Rome.

A flate with a finall territory, fuch as Hamburgh or Holland, may fubfift long as a commonwealth, without much hazard from the opulence of individuals. But an extensive territory in the hands of a few opulent proprietors, is dangerous in a commonwealth; because of their influence over numbers who depend on them for bread. The island of Britain is too large for a commonwealth. This occurred to a profound political writer (a) who does honour to his country; and to remedy the evil, he proposes an Agrarian law. But it is vain to think, that accumulation of land can be prevented by an Agrarian law: a trust-deed is a ready screen for covering accumulation beyond law: and dark transfactions will be carried on without end; similar to what is practifed, most dishonestly, by those who elect and are elected members of parliament. When such comes to be the condition of land-property, the Agrarian law will be ripe for dissolution.

In early times, we discover greater variety of character than at present; among sovereigns especially, who are not taught to govern their passions. Perusing the history of Spain in particular, one is struck with an amazing variety of character in the Moorish Kings. In some of them, outrageous cruelty; in others, mildness, and affection for their people: in some, unbounded ambition, surmounting every obstacle of justice and humanity; in others, strict attention to commerce and to every moral virtue; some heaping up treasure; some squandering all upon voluptuousness;

⁽a) Harrington.

fome cultivating peace; fome fond of war. During the nonage of fociety, men exert their natural bias without referve : in the progrefs of fociety, they are taught to moderate their turbulent passions: at last mild and courtly behaviour, produced by education and imitation, give an air to men of figure as if they were all copies from one original; which is peculiarly the cafe in France. The mildness of external behaviour, must have a considerable influence on the internal part; for nothing tends more to foften or to suppress a passion, than never to give it vent; and for that reason, absolute monarchy in France is far from being so dreadful as it was formerly. It is at prefent far from being violent or fanguinary; the manners of the people having the fame influence there, that laws have in a free country. The King, delicate with respect to his conduct, and dreading the censure of the world, is guilty of few excesses; and the people, tame and submissive, are easily kept in order. Among men of rank, to be difcharged the court, or to be relegated to their country-feats, is more terrible than a capital punishment.

We finish this short essay with a comparison of different governments as to the execution of laws. Laws relative to property and pecuniary interest, are every where preserved in vigour, because the violation of them hurts many. Laws respecting the public, are kept alive in monarchical governments; because the King, to whom execution of law is intrusted, seldom benefits by their transgression. For a steady execution of such laws, a democracy has nothing to rely on but patriotism; and when that subsides, such laws fall assept. The reason is, that the powers both of legislation and execution center in the people; and a multitude, frequently no better than a mob, will never with constancy direct execution against themselves.

SKETCH

SKETCH IV.

PROGRESS OF STATES from small to great, and from great to small.

7 Hen tribes, originally fmall, spread wider and wider by population till they become neighbours, the flightest differences enflame mutual aversion, and instigate hostilities that never end. Weak tribes unite for defence against the powerful, and become infenfibly one people: other tribes are fwallow'd up by conquest. And thus states become more and more extensive, till they are confined by feas or mountains. Spain originally contained many finall states, which were all brought under the Roman yoke. In later times, it was again possessed by many states, Christian and Mahometan, continually at war, till by conquest they were united in one great kingdom. Portugal still maintains its independency, a bleffing it owes to the weakness of Spain, not to advantage of fituation. The finall states of Italy were subdued by the Romans; and those of Greece by Philip of Macedon, and his fon Alexander. Scotland escaped narrowly the paws of Edward I. of England; and would at last have been conquered by its more potent neighbour, had not conquest been prevented by a federal union.

But at that rate, have we not reason to dread the union of all nations under one universal monarch? There are several causes that for ever will prevent a calamity so dreadful. The local situation tion of some countries, defended by strong natural barriers, is one of these. Britain is defended by the sea; and so is Spain, except where divided from France by the Pyrenean mountains. Europe in general, by many barriers of seas, rivers, and mountains, is sitted for states of moderate extent: not so Asia, which being divided into very large portions, is prepared by nature for extensive monarchies *. Russia is the only exception in Europe; a weak kingdom by situation, tho' rendered formidable by the extraordinary talents of one man, and of more than one woman.

A fecond cause is the weakness of a great state. The strength of a state doth not increase with its bulk, more than that of a man. An overgrown empire, far from being formidable to its neighbours, falls to pieces by its weight and unwieldyness. Its frontiers are not easily guarded: witness France, which is much weakened by that circumstance, tho its greater part is bounded by the sea. Patriotism vanishes in a great monarchy: the provinces have no mutual connection; and the distant provinces, which must be governed by bashaws, are always ripe for a revolt. To secure Nicomedia, which had frequently suffered by fire, Pliny suggested to the Emperor Trajan, a fire-company of one hundred

^{*} En Asie on a toujours vu de grands empires; en Europe ils n'ont jamais pu substiter. C'est que l'Asie que nous counoissons a de plus grandes plaines: elle est coupée en plus grands morceaux par les montagnes et les mers; et comme elle est plus au midi, les sources y sont plus aisement taries, les montagnes y sont moins couvertes des nieges, et les sleuves, moins grossis, y forment des moindres barriers. L'Esprit des Loix, liv. 17. c. 6. — In English thus: "In Asia there have always been great empires: such could never subsist in Europe. The reason is, that in Asia "there are larger plains, and it is cut by mountains and seas into more extensive divisions: as it lies more to the south, its springs are more easily dried up, "the mountains are less covered with snow, and the rivers proportionally smaller form less considerable barriers."

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and fifty men. So infirm at that period was the Roman empire, that Trajan durft not put the project in execution, fearing diffurbances even from that finall body.

The chief cause is the luxury and esseminacy of a great monarchy, which leave no appetite for war, either in the fovereign or in his fubjects. Great inequality of rank in an extensive kingdom, occasioned by a constant flow of riches into the capital, introduces show, expensive living, luxury, and sensuality. Riches, by affording gratification to every fenfual appetite, become an idol to which all men bow the knee; and when riches are worshipped as a passport to power, as well as to pleasure, they corrupt the heart, eradicate every virtue, and foster every vice. In such diffolution of manners, contradictions are reconciled: avarice and meanness unite with vanity; dissimulation and cunning, with fplendor. Where fubjects are fo corrupted, what will the prince be, who is not taught to moderate his passions, who measures juflice by appetite, and who is debilitated by corporeal pleafures? Such a prince never thinks of heading his own troops, nor of extending his dominions. Mostazen, the last Califf of Bagdat, is a conspicuous instance of the degeneracy described. His kingdom being invaded by the Tartars in the year 1258, he shut himself up in his feraglio with his debauched companions, as in profound peace; and, stupified with sloth and voluptuousness, was the only person who appeared careless about the fate of his empire. A King of Persia, being informed that the Turks had made themfelves mafters of his best provinces, answered, that he was indifferent about their fuccess, provided they would not disturb him in his city of Ispahan. Hoatsang, the last Chinese Emperor of the Chinese race, hid himself in his palace, while the Tartars were wresting from him his northern provinces, and Listching, a rebel mandarine, was wresting from him the remainder. The Empress strangled herself in her apartment; and the Emperor,

making a last effort, followed her example. The ninth Chinese Emperor of the blood of Genhizcan, addicted to women and priests, was despised by his people. A person without a name, who had been a servant in a convent of Bonzes, putting himself at the head of some robbers, dethroned the monarch, and extinguished the royal family.

The Tonquinese, after a long subjection to the Emperor of China, regained their independence, and were governed by kings of their own nation. These princes having by long peace become indolent, luxurious, and effeminate, abandoned the government of the kingdom to their ministers. The governor of Cochinchina, being at a great distance from the capital, revolted first, and that country became a feparate kingdom. The governor of Tonquin, within which province the King refided, usurped the fovereignty: but respecting the royal family, he only locked up the King in his palace; leaving to the King's descendents the name of Bova, or King, with fome shadow of royalty. The ufurper and his fucceffors content themselves with the title of Chova, or Generalissimo; which fatissies the people, who pierce no deeper than what eyefight difcovers. A revolution of the fame kind happened in Japan. Similar causes produce fimilar effects. The luxurious and indolent fucceffors of Charlemagne in the kingdom of France, trusting their power and authority with the mairs of their palace, were never feen in public, and were feldom heard of. The great power of these officers, inflamed them with an appetite for more. Pepin and his fuccessors were for a long time kings de facto, leaving to the rightful fovereign nothing but the empty name. Charles Martel reigned for fome time without even naming a king. And at last Pepin the younger, ann. 751, throwing off the mask, ordered himself to be proclaimed King of France.

Montesquieu, discoursing of luxury in great empires, and ef-3 F 2 feminacy feminacy in the monarchs, describes the danger of revolutions, from ambitious men bred to war, in the following words. "En " effet il étoit naturel que des Empereurs nourris dans les fatigues " de la guerre, qui parvenoient à faire descendre du trone une fa-" mille noyée dans les delices, conservassent la vertu qu'ils avoi-" ent eprouvée si utile, et craignissent les voluptés qu'ils avoient " vue si funestes. Mais après ces trois ou quatre premiers princes, " la corruption, le luxe, l'oisivété, les delices, s'emparent des " fuccesseurs; ils s'enferment dans le palais, leur esprit s'affoi-" blit, leur vie s'accourcit, la famille decline; les grands s'élévent, " les eunuques s'acreditent, on ne met fur le trone que des en-" fans; le palais devient ennemi de l'empire, un people oisif qui " l'habite, ruine celui qui travaille; l'Empereur est tué ou destruit " par un usurpateur, qui fonde une famille, dont le troisieme ou " quatrieme fuccesseur va dans le meme palais se renfermer en-" core * (a)."

Little reason then have we to apprehend the coalition of all nations into an universal monarchy. We see indeed in the history of mankind, frequent instances of the progress of nations from

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^{* &}quot;It was indeed natural, that emperors, trained up to all the fatigues of war, who had effected the dethronement of a family immerfed in fenfual pleafures, fould adhere to that virtue of which they had experienced the utility, and dread that voluptuousness whose fatal effects they had seen. But after a succession of three or four such princes, corruption, luxury, and indolence, appear again in their fuccessors: they shut themselves up in their palace, their soul is enerwated, their life is shortened, and their family declines: the grandees acquire power, the eunuchs gain credit, and children are set on the throne; the palace is at variance with the empire, the indolent statesmen ruin the industrious people. The Emperor is affassinated or deposed by an usurper, who founds a new race of monarchs, of which the third or fourth in succession, sinking again into indolence, pursues the same course of ruin, and lays the soundation of a new change."

⁽a) L'esprit des Loix, liv. 7. chap. 7.

fmall to great; but we see also instances no less frequent, of extensive monarchies being fplit into many finall flates. Such is the courfe of human affairs: states are feldom stationary; but, like the sun, are either advancing to their meridian, or falling down gradually till they fink into obfcurity. An empire fubjected to effeminate princes, and devoid of patriotifm, cannot long fubfift entire. The fate of all, with very few exceptions, has been uniformly the fame. The governors of provinces, lofing all regard for a voluptuous and effeminate monarch, take courage, fet up for themfelves, and affume regal authority, each in his own province. The puissant Assyrian monarchy, one of the earliest we read of in history, after having been long a terror to its neighbours, was difmembered by the governors of Media and of Babylon, who detached these extensive provinces from the monarchy. Mahomet and his immediate fuccessors erected a great empire, of which Bagdat became the capital. The later Califfs of that race, poisoned with fenfual pleafure, loft all vigour of mind, and funk down into floth and effeminacy. The governors of the distant provinces, were the first who ventured to declare themselves independent. Their success invited other governors, who stripped the Califf of his remaining provinces, leaving him nothing but the city of Bagdat; and of that he was deprived by the Tartars, who put an end to that once illustrious monarchy. The same would have been the fate of the Persian empire, had it not been subdued by Alexander of Macedon. But after his death, it fubmitted to the ordinary fate: his generals assumed regal power, each of them in the province he governed. Had not the Roman empire been difmembered by the barbarians, it would have been difmembered by the governors of its provinces. The weakness of Charlemagne's fucceffors, hatched in France and in Germany an endless number of petty fovereigns. About the time that a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, the great peninfula

fula beyond the Ganges was comprehended under the powerful empire of Bisnagar. Its first monarchs had established themselves by valour and military knowledge. In war, they headed their troops: in peace, they directed their ministers, visited their dominions, and were punctual in rendering justice to high and low. The people carried on an extensive and lucrative commerce, which brought a revenue to the Emperor that enabled him to maintain a standing army of 100,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 700 elephants. But prosperity and opulence ruined all. The Emperors, poisoned with pride and voluptuoufnefs, were now contented with fwelling titles, instead of folid fame. King of kings, and Husband of a thousand wives, were at the head of a long catalogue of fuch pompous, but empty epithets. Corrupted by flattery, they affected divine honours, and appeared rarely in public; leaving the care of their dominions to their ministers, and to the governors of their provinces. At the beginning of the fixteenth century, neighbouring princes encroached on all fides. In the 1565, Bifnagar the capital was taken and facked by four Moorish kings. The governors of the provinces declared themselves independent; and out of that great empire fprung the kingdoms of Golconda, Vifapour, and feveral others. The empire of Hindostan, once widely extended, is now reduced to a very fmall kingdom, under a prince who no longer is intitled to be defigned the Great Mogul; the governors of his provinces having, as usual, declared themselves independent.

Our North-American colonies are in a prosperous condition, increasing rapidly in population, and in opulence. The colonists have the spirit of a free people, and are enslamed with patriotism. Their population will equal that of Britain and Ireland in less than a century; and they will then be a match for the mother-country, if they chuse to be independent: every advantage will be on their side, as the attack must be by sea from a very great distance. Be-

ing thus delivered from a foreign yoke, their first care will be the choice of a proper government; and it is not difficult to forefee what government will be chofen. A people animated with the new bleffings of liberty and independence, will not incline to a kingly government. The Swifs cantons joined in a federal union, for protection against the potent house of Austria; and the Dutch embraced the like union, for protection against the more potent King of Spain. But our colonies will never join in fuch a union; because they have no potent neighbour, and because they have an aversion to each other. We may pronounce then with tolerable certainty, that each colony will chuse for itself a republican government. And their present constitution prepares them for it: they have a fenate; and they have an affembly reprefenting the people. No change will be necessary, but to drop the governor who represents the King of Britain. And thus a part of a great flate will be converted into many fmall flates.

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SKETCH

SKETCH V.

GREAT and SMALL STATES compared.

Eighbours, according to the common faying, must be sweet friends or bitter enemies: patriotism is vigorous in small states; and the hatred to neighbouring states no less so: both vanish in a great monarchy.

Like a maximum in mathematics, emulation has the finest play within certain bounds; it languisheth where its objects are too many, or too few: and hence it is, that the most heroic actions are performed in a state of moderate extent. Appetite for applause, or fame, may subsist in a great monarchy; but by that appetite, without the support of emulation, heroic actions are seldom atchieved.

Small states, however corrupted, are not liable to despotism: the people being contiguous to the seat of government, and accustomed to see their governors daily, talk familiarly of their errors, and publish them every where. On Spain, which formerly consisted of many small states, a prosound writer (a) makes the following observation, "The petty monarch was but little elevated above his nobles: having little power, he could not command much respect; nor could his nobles look up to him with that reverence which is selt in approaching great monarchs." Another thing is equally weighty against despotism in a small state:

(a) Dr Robertson.

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the army cannot eafily be feparated from the people; and for that reason, is very little dangerous. The Roman pretorian bands were billeted in the towns near Rome; and three cohorts only were employed in guarding that city. Sejanus, prefect of these bands under Tiberius, lodged the three cohorts in a spacious barrack within the city, in order to gain more authority over them, and to wean them from familiarity with the people. Tacitus, in the 4th book of his Annals, relates the story in the following words. "Vim præfecturæ modicam antea, intendit, dispersas "per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo; ut simul imper" ria acciperent, numeroque et robore, et visu, inter se, siducia "ipsis, in cæteros metus, crearetur *."

What is faid above, fuggests the cause of a curious fact recorded in ancient history, viz. That of many attempts to usurp the sovereignty of different Greek republics, very few succeeded; and that no usurpation of that kind was lasting. Every circumstance differs in an extensive state: the people, at a distance from the throne, and having profound veneration for the sovereign, consider themselves, not as members of a body-politic, but as subjects merely, bound implicitly to obey: by which impression they are prepared beforehand for despotism. Other reasons concur: the subjects of a great state are dazzled with the splendor of their monarch; and as their union is prevented by distance, the monarch can safely employ a part of his subjects against the rest, or a standing army against all.

A great state possesses one eminent advantage, viz. ability to

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^{* &}quot; He extended the power of the prefecture, by collecting into one camp those pretorian cohorts which were formerly dispersed all over the city; that

[&]quot; thus, being united, they might be more influenced by his orders, and while their

[&]quot; confidence in their power was increased by the constant view of their own num-

of bers and strength, they might at the same time strike a great terror in others."

execute magnificent works. The hanging gardens of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and its lake Meris, are illustrious examples. The city of Heliopolis in Syria, named Balbek by the Turks, is a pregnant instance of the power and opulence of the Roman empire. Even in the ruins of that city, there are remains of great magnificence and exquisite taste. If the imperial palace, or the temple of the Sun, to mention no other building, were the work of any European prince existing at present, it would make a capital figure in the annals of his reign. And yet so little eclat did these works make at the time of execution, that there is not a hint of them in any historian. The beneficence of some great monarchs is worthy of still greater praise. In the principal roads of Japan, hot baths are erected at proper distances, with other conveniencies, for the use of travellers. The beneficence of the Chinese government to those who suffer shipwreck, gives a more advantageous impression of that monarchy, than all that is painfully collected by Du Halde. To verify the observation, I joyfully lay hold of the following incident. In the year 1728, the ship Prince George took her departure from Calcutta in Bengal for Canton in China, with a cargo L. 60,000 value. A violent storm drove her ashore at a place named Timpau, a great way west from Canton. Not above half the crew could make the shore, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and not doubting of being maffacred by the natives. How amazed were they to be treated with remarkable humanity! A mandarin appeared, who not only provided for them victuals in plenty, but also divers to affift them in fifthing the wreck. What follows is in the words of my author, Alexander Wedderburn of St Germains, a gentleman of known worth and veracity, who bore office in the ship. " In a few days we " recovered L. 5000 in bullion, and afterward L. 10,000 more. " Before we fet forward to Canton, the mandarin our benefac-" tor took an exact account of our money, with the names of the

" men, furnished us with an escort to conduct us through his " diffrict, and configned us dead or alive to one Suqua at Canton, " a Chinese merchant well known to the English there. In every " one of our resting-places, victuals were brought to us by the " villagers in plenty, and with great cordiality. In this manner " we passed from one district to another, without having occasion " to lay out a fingle farthing, till we reached Canton, which we " did in nine days, travelling fometimes by land, and fometimes " by water. Our case had been represented to the court at Pekin, " from whence orders came to distribute amongst us a sum of " money; which was done by the Chuntuck, Hoppo, and other officers, civil and military, affembled in great state. After a fhort speech, expressing regret for our calamity, with an eulo-" gium on the humane and generous disposition of their master; " to each of us was prefented the Emperor's bounty, in a yellow " bag, on which was inscribed the nature of the gift. The " first supercargo received 450 tales in filver, the second 350, my-" felf 250, the mate 75, and each common feaman 15; the whole " amounting to about 2000 tales, or L. 800. This is an example " worthy imitation, even where Christianity is professed; tho' " its tenets are often, on like occasions, scandalously perverted." So far my author: and I add, that this bounty was undoubtedly established by law; for it has not the appearance of an occasional or fingular act of benevolence. If fo, China is the only country in the world, where charity to strangers in distress is a branch of public police.

Another advantage of a great state I mention with peculiar pleasure, because all who aspire to be eminent in literature, are interested in it. A small kingdom, like Denmark, like Sweden, like Portugal, cannot naturally be productive of good writers; because where there are few readers, there is no sufficient incitement to exert literary talents: a classical work produced at present in the

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Celtic language, would be little less than a miracle. France is eminent above all other nations for the encouragement it affords to good writers: it is a populous country; it is the chief feat of tafte, arts, and fciences; and its language has become univerfal in Europe, being the court-language every where: what wonder then is it, that French writers carry the palm? But let not the British despond; for doth not a glorious prospect lie before them? The demand for English books in America is considerable; and is increafing daily. Population goes on vigoroufly: the number of British already settled upon the river Ohio approach to 10,000: and the delicious country from that river down to the mouth of the Miffiffippi, will be filled with people whose native tongue is Englifh. What reason is there to doubt, but that so fine a climate and fo rich a foil will be productive of readers in plenty? The profpect of fo many readers, tho' in distant parts of the globe, must rouse our ambition; and our ambition will be happily directed, if we lay afide all local diffinctions, and afpire to rival the French. writers in real merit only.

But the foregoing advantages of a great state, however illustrious, are sadly overbalanced by manifold disadvantages. The sirst is, the corruption of its kings, which, with a different view, is mentioned in the sketch immediately preceding. And beside corruption, there is another disadvantage that great monarchs are subjected to; which is, that being highly elevated above their subjects, they are acquainted with none but their ministers. And ministers, who, in a despotic government, are subject to no controul but that of their master, commonly prefer their own interest, without regard to his honour. Solyman Emperor of the Turks, tho accomplished above any of his predecessors, could not escape the artistices of his wife Roxalana, and of his Visir Rustan. They poisoned his ears with repeated calumnies against his eldest fon Mustapha, a young prince of great hopes. They were not in hazard

hazard of detection, because no person had access to the Emperor but by their means. And the concluding scene, was an order from the Emperor to put his fon to death (a). If a great monarch lie thus open in his own palace to the artifices of his ministers, his authority, we may be certain, will be very flight over the governors of his distant provinces. Their power is precarious; and they oppress the people without intermission, in order to amass wealth: the complaints of the people are difregarded; for they can never reach the throne. The Spanish governors of the Philippine islands, afford a deplorable inftance of this observation. The heat of the climate promotes luxury; and luxury prompts avarice, which rages without controul, the distance of the capital removing all fear of detection. Arbitrary taxes are imposed on the people, and exceffive duties on goods imported, which are rigorously exacted, and converted by the governor to his own use. An arbitrary estimate is made of what every field may produce; and the husbandman is feverely punished if he fail to deliver the appointed quantity, whether his land has produced it or not. Many thousands have abandoned their native country; and the few miferable wretches who remain, have taken refuge among inaccessible mountains.

The corruption of a court spreads through every member of the state. In an extensive kingdom, powerful above its neighbours, the subjects, having no occasion to exert themselves in defence of their country, lose their manhood, and become cowards. At the same time, great inequality of rank and fortune engender luxury, selfishness, and sensuality *. The sine arts, it is true, gain

⁽a) See Dr Robertson's history of Charles V. where this incident is related with un-

The following passage is from a late Russian writer. " It is a truth founded

gain ground, manufactures are perfected, and courtly manners prevail: but every manly virtue is gone; and not a foul to be found, who will venture his life to fave his country. That difeafe is fpreading in Britain; and the only circumstance that guards France from equal publilanimity, is an established mode, that every gentleman must serve fome campaigns in the army.

A third disadvantage of an extensive monarchy is, that it is liable to internal convulfions or revolutions, occasioned commonly either by a standing army, or by the governors of distant provinces. With respect to the former, the government of a great kingdom enervated by luxury, will always be military, and confequently despotic. A numerous army will soon learn to contemn a pusillanimous leader, and to break loofe from every tie of fubjection: the fovereign is often changed at the caprice of the army; but despotism continues invariable. In Turky, Janisaries dethrone the Sultan, without fcruple; but being fuperstitiously attached to the royal family, they confine themselves to it in electing a new Sultan. The pretorian bands were the Janifaries of the Roman empire, who never fcrupled to dethrone the Emperor on the flightest disobligation. But as there was no royal family, they commonly carried the crown to market, and bestow'd it on the highest bidder. With respect to the latter, the governors of distant provinces,

accustomed

[&]quot; on experience, that commerce polishes manners: but it is also a truth, that

commerce, by exciting luxury, corrupts manners. With the increase of foreign

[&]quot; fashions and foreign commerce in Russia, foreign luxury has increased there in proportion, universal distipation has taken the lead, and profligacy of manners

⁴⁴ has followed. Great landlords fqueeze and grind their people, to supply the in-

[&]quot;ceffant demands of luxury: the miferable peafant, difabled by a load of taxes, is

[&]quot;frequently compelled to abandon his habitation, and to leave his land unculti-

[&]quot; vated. And thus agriculture and population diminish daily; than which no-

[&]quot; thing worse can befal a state."

accustomed to act without controul, become fond of power, and put no bounds to ambition. Let them but gain the affection of the people they govern, and boldness will do the rest. The monarch is dethroned before he is prepared for defence, and the ufurper takes his place without opposition. Success commonly attends such undertakings; for the sovereign has no soul, and the people have no patriotism. In Hindostan formerly, some discontented favourite or souba took up arms to avenge fancied, or perhaps affected wrongs: venturing not however upon independence, he screened himself with setting up some person of the royal blood, whom he proclaimed sovereign. The voluptuousness and esseminacy of the late kings of Persia, has rendered that kingdom a prey to every bold invader. There perhaps never existed a state that so often has changed its master, as Persia has done of late years.

In the fourth place, a nation corrupted with luxury and fenfuality is a ready morfel for every invader: to attempt the conquest, and to succeed, are almost the same. The potent Assyrian monarchy, having long subsisted in peace without a single enemy, sunk into sloth and esseminacy, and became an easy prey to the kings of Media and Babylon. These two nations, in like circumstances of sloth and esseminacy, were in their turn swallow'd up by Cyrus King of Persia. And the great empire of Persia, running the same course, was subdued by Alexander of Macedon with a small army of thirty-sive thousand men *.

And this leads to a fifth difadvantage of a great empire, which

^{*} In Europe, neighbouring nations differ little in manners, or in fortitude. In Afia, we step instantly from the sierce Tartars, inhabiting a cold and barren country, to the effeminate people of a country warm and fertile. Hence in Asia perpetual conquests from north to south, to which even the great wall of China makes scarce any obstacle.

is, the difficulty of guarding its frontiers. A kingdom, like an animal, becomes weak in proportion to its excess above a certain fize. France and Spain would be less fitted for defence, were they enlarged beyond their present extent: Spain in particular was a very weak kingdom, while it comprehended the Netherlands and the half of Italy. In their present fize, forces are soon collected to guard the most distant frontiers. Months are required to affemble troops in an overgrown kingdom like Persia: if an army be defeated at the frontier, it must disperse, fortified places being feldom within reach. The victor, advancing with celerity, lays fiege to the capital, before the provincial troops can be formed into a regular army: the capital is taken, the empire diffolved, and the conqueror at leifure difputes the provinces with their governors. The Philippine islands made formerly a part of the extensive empire of China; but as they were too distant to be protected, or well governed, it show'd confummate wisdom in the Chinese government to abandon them, with several other distant provinces.

A finall state, on the other hand, is easily guarded. The Greek republics thought themselves sufficiently fortified against the Great King, by their courage, their union, and their patriotism. The Spanish Christians, beat out of the open country by the Saracens, retired to the mountains of Asturia, and elected Don Pelayo to be their King. That warlike prince walled none of his towns, nor did he fortify a single pass; knowing, that while his people were brave, they would be invincible; and that walls and strong-holds serve but to abate courage. The Romans, while circumscribed within Italy, never thought of any defence against an enemy but good troops. When they had acquired a vast empire, even the Rhine appeared a barrier too weak: the numberless forts and legions that covered their frontiers could not defend them from a panic

panic upon every motion of the barbarians *. A nation in which the reciprocal duties of fovereign and fubject are conscientiously fulfilled, and in which the people love their country and their governors, may be deemed invincible; provided due care be taken of the military branch. Every particular is reversed in a great empire: individuals grasp at money, per fas aut nefas, to lavish it upon pleasure: the governors of distant provinces tyrannize without control, and, during the fhort period of their power, neglect no means, however oppressive, to amass wealth. Thus were the Roman provinces governed; and the people, who could not figure a greater tyrant than a Roman proconful, were ready to embrace every change. The Romans accordingly were fenfible, that to force their barrier, and to difinember their empire, were in effect the same. In our times, the nations whose frontiers lie open, would make the most resolute stand against an invader; witness the German states, and the Swifs cantons. Italy enjoys the strongest natural barrier of any country that is not an island; and yet for centuries has been a prey to every invader.

Two methods have been practifed for fecuring the frontiers of an extensive empire: one is, to lay the frontiers waste; the other is, to establish feudatory princes in the distant provinces. Sha Abbas, King of Persia, in order to prevent the inroads of the Turks, laid waste part of Armenia, carrying the inhabitants to Ispahan, and treating them with great humanity. Land is not much valued by the great monarchs of Asia: it is precious in the smaller kingdoms of Europe, and the frontiers are commonly guarded by fortisted towns. The other frontiers of Persia are guarded by feudatory princes; and the same method is practised in China, in Hindostan, and in the Turkish empire. The princes of Little Tartary, Moldavia, and Wallachia, have been long a security to the Grand Signior against his powerful neighbours in Europe.

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SKETCH

^{*} The use of cannon, which place the weak and strong upon a level, is the only resource of the luxurious and opulent against the poor and hardy.

SKETCH VI.

WAR and PEACE compared.

No complaints are more frequent than against the weather, when it suits not our purpose: "A dissual season! we shall "be drowned, or we shall be burnt up." And yet wise men think, that there might be more occasion to complain, were the weather left to our own direction. The weather is not the only instance of distrusting Providence: it is a common topic to declaim against war; "Scourge of nations, Destroyer of the human "race, Bane of arts and industry! Will the world never become "wise! will war never have an end!" Manifold indeed are the blessings of peace; but doth war never produce any good? A fair comparison may possibly make it doubtful, whether war, like the weather, ought not to be resigned to the conduct of Providence: seldom are we in the right when we repine at its dispensations.

The bleffings of peace are too well known to need illustration: industry, commerce, the fine arts, power, opulence, &c. &c. depend on peace. What has war in store for balancing bleffings so substantial? Let us not abandon the field without making at least one effort.

Humanity, it must be acknowledged, gains nothing from the wars of small states in close neighbourhood: such wars are brutal and bloody; because they are carried on with bitter enmity against individuals. Thanks to Providence, that war at present

bears

bears a less savage aspect: we spare individuals, and make war upon the nation only: barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity; and soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes. Such wars give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity, and disinterestedness, which are always attended with conficiousness of merit and of dignity *. Friendship is in peace cool and

* In the war carried on by Louis XII. of France against the Venetians, the town of Brescia, being taken by storm, and abandoned to the foldiers, suffered for seven days all the distresses of cruelty and avarice. No house escaped but that where Chevalier Bayard was lodged. At his entrance, the miftrefs, a woman of figure, fell at his feet, and deeply fobbing, "Oh! my Lord, fave my life, fave the ho-" nour of my daughters." Take courage, Madam, faid the Chevalier, your life and their honour shall be secure while I have life. The two young ladies, brought from their hiding-place, were prefented to him; and the family, thus reunited, beftow'd their whole attention on their deliverer. A dangerous wound he had received gave them opportunity to express their zeal: they employed a notable surgeon; they attended him by turn day and night; and when he could bear to be amused, they entertained him with concerts of music. Upon the day fixed for his departure, the mother faid to him, " To your goodness, my Lord, we owe our life, and to " you all that we have belongs by right of war; but we hope from your fignal be-66 nevolence, that this flight tribute will content you;" placing upon the table an iron coffer full of money. " What is the fum," faid the Chevalier. " My " Lord," answered she trembling, "no more but 2500 ducats, all that we have; - but if more be necessary, we will try our friends." -- " Madam," faid he, " I never shall forget your kindness, more precious in my eyes than a hundred Take back your money, and depend always on me." " thousand ducats. -- "My good Lord, you kill me to refuse this small sum : take it only as a mark " of your friendship to my family." - " Well," faid he, " fince it will oblige you, " I take the money; but give me the fatisfaction of bidding adieu to your ami-" able daughters." They came to him with looks of regard and affection. " La-" dies," faid he, " the impression you have made on my heart, will never wear out. What return to make, I know not; for men of my profession are seldom opulent: but here are two thousand five hundred ducats, of which the generosiof ty of your mother has given me the disposal. Accept them as a marriage-pre-" fent; and may your happiness in marriage equal your merit." " Flower of chi-3 H 2 ce valry,"

and languid; but in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthufiafin. The long and bloody war fustained by the Nether-landers

" valry," cried the mother, " may the God who fuffered death for us reward you here and hereafter." Can peace afford fo fweet a fcene?

The following incident is still more interesting: it is of a late date; it happened among our countrymen; and will, for these reasons, make the deeper impression. The fcene of action was in Admiral Watfon's ship at the siege of Chandernagore, where Captain Speke, and his fon, a youth of fixteen, were both of them wounded by the fame shot. The history is related by Mr Ives surgeon of the ship; which follows in his own words, only a little abridged. The Captain, whose leg was hanging by the fkin, faid to the Admiral, "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel fhot, to knock down " both father and fon." Mr Watfon's heart was too full for a reply; he only ordered both to be carried down to the furgeon. The Captain, who was first brought down, told me how dangerously his Billy had been wounded. Prefently after the brave youth himself appeared, with his eyes overflowing with tears, not for himself but for his father. Upon my affurance that his father's wound was not dangerous, he became calm; but refused to be touched, till his father's wound should be first dreffed. Then pointing to a fellow-fufferer, "Pray, Sir, drefs also that poor " man, who is groaning fo fadly befide me." I told him that the man had already been taken care of; and begged, that I now might have liberty to examine his wound. He fubmitted; and calmly faid, " Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint." I replied, "My dear, I must." He clasped his hands together; and, lifting his eyes toward heaven, he offered up the following short but earnest petition: " Good God! do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances worthy " of my father." He then told me he was all fubmiffion. I performed the operation above the joint of the knee; and during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word, nor uttered a groan that could be heard at the distance of a yard. It is easier to imagine than to express the feelings of the father at this time : but whatever he felt, tears were the only expression. Both of them were carried to Calcutta: the father was lodged in the house of his brother-in-law; and the fon was placed with me in the hospital. For the first week I gave comfort to both, carrying good tidings to them of one another. But, alas! all the good fymptoms that had attended the young man, began to disappear. The Captain perceived all in my countenance; and fo unwilling was he to add to my diffrefs, as feldom to speak about his fon. One time he faid, " How long, my friend, do you think my " Billy landers against the tyrant of Spain, made even Dutchmen heroes: they forc'd their way to the Indies during the hottest period of the war; and gained by commerce what supported them against their ferocious enemy. What have they gained since by peace? Their immense commerce has eradicated patriotism, and every appetite but for wealth. Had their violated rights been restored without a struggle, they would have continued a nation of frogs and sishermen. The Swiss, by continual struggles for liberty against the potent house of Austria, became a brave and active people, feared and courted by neighbouring princes. Their federal union has secured to them peace and tranquillity; which, notwithstanding their mountainous situation, would have sunk them into essembles, but for a commerce they carry on, of hiring out their men for soldiers. Monks are commonly pusillani-

" Billy may remain in a flate of uncertainty?" I replied, that if he furvived the fifteenth day after the operation, there would be ftrong hopes of his recovery. On the thirteenth he died; and on the fixteenth, the Captain, looking me stedfastly in the face, "Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?" Discovering the truth from my filence, he cried bitterly, fqueezed my hand, and begged me to leave him for one half-hour. When I returned, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and ferene. The excellent youth had been delirious the evening before his death; and at two o'clock in the morning, he fent me a note written with a pencil, of which the following is a copy. " Mr Ives will confider the diforder a fon must " be in when he is dying, and is yet in doubt about his father. - If Mr Ives is not " too bufy to honour this note, which nothing but the greatest uneafiness could " draw from me - The boy waits an answer." I immediately repaired to him; and he had ftill fense enough to know me. He then faid, "And is he dead?" __ " Who, my dear?" -- " My father, Sir." -- " No, my love; nor is he " in any danger; he is almost well." - " I thank God: I am now fatisfied, and " am ready to die." He had a locked jaw, and was in great pain, but I underftood every word he uttered. He begged my pardon for having diffurbed me at fo early an hour; and before the day was ended, he furrendered a life that deferved to be immortal. - So far my author; and I only add, Does peace afford any fcene that can compare with this in moving our fympathetic feelings?

mous:

mous: their way of life, which removes them from danger, enervates their minds, and renders them spiritless and cowardly.

Industry, manufactures, and wealth, are the fruits of peace; but advert to what follows. Luxury, a never-failing concomitant of wealth, is a flow poison, that debilitates the mind, and renders it incapable of any manly exertion; courage, magnanimity, heroism, come to be ranked among the miracles that are supposed never to have existed but in fable; and the fashionable properties of sensuality, avarice, cunning, and dissimulation, engross the mind. In a word, man by constant prosperity and peace degenerates into a mean, impotent, and selfish animal; more despicable, if less odious, than an American savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess. Such are the fruits of perpetual peace with respect to individuals.

Nor is the flate itself less debilitated by it than its members. Figure a man wallowing in riches, and immerfed in fenfual pleafure, but dreading the infection of a plague raging at his gate; or figure him in continual dread of an enemy, watching every opportunity to burn and destroy. This man represents a commercial state, that has long enjoy'd peace without disturbance. A state that is a tempting object to an invader, without means of defence, is in a woful fituation. The republic of Venice was once famous for the wisdom of its constitution, and for being the Christian bulwark against the Turks; but by long peace it has become altogether effeminate. Its prefent principles of government are conformable to its character. Every cause of quarrel with a neighbour, is anxiously avoided; and disturbances at home prevented by watchful fpies. Holland, fince the days of King William, has not produced a man fit to command a regiment: and the Dutch have nothing to rely on for independence, but mutual jealoufy among their neighbours. Hannibal appeared upon the stage too early: had the Romans, after their conquest of Italy,

been fuffered to exchange their martial fpirit for luxury and voluptuousness, they would have been no match for that great general. It was equally lucky for the Romans, that they came late upon Macedon. Had Alexander finished his conquest of Greece, and the Romans theirs of Italy, at the fame period, they would probably have been confined each of them within their own limits. But Afiatic luxury and effeminacy, which had got hold of the Greeks and Macedonians before the Roman invalion, rendered them an eafy prey to the invaders. It was the constant cry of Cato the Cenfor, " Delenda eft Carthago." Scipio Nafica was a more able politician: his opinion was, to give peace to Carthage, that the dread of that once powerful republic, might preserve in vigour the military spirit of his country. What happened afterward, fets the wifdom of that advice in a confpicuous light. The battle of Actium, after a long train of cruel civil wars, gave peace to Rome under the Emperor Augustus. Peace had not subfifted much above thirty years, when a Roman army, under Quintilius Varus, was cut to pieces in Germany. The consternation at Rome was great, as there was not a fortified town to prevent the Germans from pouring down upon Italy. Instant orders were given for levying men; but so effeminate had the Romans already become, that not a fingle man would enlift voluntarily. And Augustus was forc'd to use severe measures, before he could collect a very finall army. How different the military spirit of the Romans during the fecond Punic war, when feveral Roman armies were cut off, greater than that of Varus. The citizens who could bear arms were reduced to 137,000; and yet in the later years of that war, the Romans made shift to keep the field with no fewer than twentythree legions (a). The Vandals, having expelled the Romans from Afric, enjoy'd peace for a century without feeing the face of an

enemy.

⁽a) Titus Livius, lib. 26. cap. 1.

enemy. Procopius (a) gives the following account of them. Charmed with the fertility of the foil and benignity of the climate, they abandoned themselves to luxury, sumptuous dress, high living, and frequent baths. They dwelt in the theatre and circus, amufing themselves with dancers, pantomimes, and other gay entertainments: their villas were fplendid, and their gardens were adorned with water-works, beautiful trees, and odoriferous flowers: no regard to chastity, nor to any manly virtue. In that effeminate condition, they made scarce any resistance to Belisarius with an army far inferior to their own in number. The Saracens of Afia, corrupted by prosperity and opulence, were able to make no head against the Turks. About that time, the Spaniards, having by the fame means become effeminate, were overpowered by the Saracens of Afric, who, remote from the corrupt manners of Asia, retained their military spirit. The wealth of the kingdom of Whidah in Guinea, from fertility of foil, great industry, and extensive commerce, produced luxury and effeminacy. The king, no lefs luxurious than his people, gave hinfelf up to fenfual pleafures, leaving government to his ministers. In that fituation was Whidah in the year 1727, when the king of Dahomay, an inland state, requested access to the sea for trade, offering to purchase the privilege with a yearly tribute. A haughty denial furnished a pretext for war. The king of Dahomay invaded the territories of his enemy with a disciplined army, and pierced to the capital without meeting any refistance. The king of Whidah with his women had fled to an island, and his people were all dispersed. It amazed the conqueror, that a whole nation, without striking a blow, had thus deferted their wives, their children, their gods, their possessions, and all that was dear to them. The Japanese became warlike during long and bloody civil wars, which termi-

nated

⁽a) Historia Vandalica, lib. 2.

nated, about the end of the fixteenth century, in rendering their Emperor despotic. From that period no opportunity has occurred for exercifing their military spirit, except in the education of their youth: heroism, with contempt of death, are inculcated; and the histories of their illustrious heroes, are the only books that boys at school are taught to read. But the profound tranquillity that the empire now enjoys in a strict and regular government, will in time render that warlike people effeminate and cowardly: human nature cannot refift the poifon of perpetual peace and fecurity. In the war between the Turks and Venetians anno 1715, the latter put great confidence in Napoli di Romania, a city in the Morea strongly fortified, and provided with every necessary for an obstinate defence. They had not the least doubt of being able to draw their whole force together, before the Turks could make any progress in the fiege. But, to their astonishment, the taking of that city, and of every other fortified place in the Morea, was the work of but a fingle campaign. So much had the Venetians degenerated by long peace, from the courage and patriotism of their forefathers who conquered that country from the Turks. In some late accounts from China, we are told, that the King of Bengala or Bracma, having invaded Yunnan, an opulent province of China, obtained a complete victory over the Emperor's army, commanded by his fon-in-law; which struck the inhabitants of that province with fuch a panic, that multitudes, for fear of the conqueror, hanged and drowned themselves. To what a torpid state by this time would Europe have been reduced, had the plan for a perpetual peace, projected by Henry IV. of France, been carried into execution? Conquest, in a retrograde motion, would have directed its progress from the east to the west. Our fituation in an island, among several advantages, is so far unlucky, that it puts us off our guard, and renders us negligent in providing VOL. I.

providing for defence: we never were invaded without being fubdued *.

Montesquieu, in a warm panegyric on the English constitution, has overlooked one particular, in which it is superior to every other monarchy; and that is, the frequent opportunities it affords of exerting mental powers and talents. What agitation among the candidates and their electors on the approach of a new parliament: what freedom of speech and eloquence in parliament; ministers and their measures laid open to the world, the nation kept alive, and inspired with a vigour of mind that tends to heroism! This government, it is true, generates factions, which sometimes generate revolutions: but the golden age, so lusciously described by poets, would to man be worse than an iron age. At any rate, better to have a government liable to storms, than to attempt a cure by the dead calm of despotism †.

Law-fuits

^{*} The fituation of the King of Sardinia, environed on all fides with powerful monarchs, obliges him to act with the greatest circumspection; which circumstance feems to have formed the character of the princes of that house. These princes have exerted more fagacity in steering their political course, and more dexterity in availing themselves of every wind, than any other race of sovereigns that sigure in history. Robertson's bistory of the Emperor Charles V.

[†] On n'entend parler dans les auteurs que des divisions qui perdirent Rome; mais on ne voit pas que ces divisions y étoient nécessaires, qu'elles y avoient toujours été, et qu'elles y devoient toujours être. Ce fut uniquement la grandeur de la republique qui sit le mal, et qui changea en guerres civiles les tumultes populaires. Il falloit bien qu'il y eut a Rome des divisions: et ces guerriers si siers, si audacieux, si terribles au dehors, ne pouvoient pas être bien modérés au dedans. Demander dans un état libre des gens hardis dans la guerre, et timides dans la paix, c'est vouloir des choses impossibiles: et pour regle générale, toutes les sois qu'on verra toute le monde tranquille dans un état qui se donne le nom de republique, on peut être assuré que la liberté n'y est pas. Montesquieu, grandeur des Romains, ch. 9.— [In English thus: "Many writers have said a great deal on "those

Law-fuits within a state, like war between different states, accustom people to opposition, and prevent too great softness and facility of manners. In a free government, a degree of stubbornness in the people, is requisite for resisting encroachments on their liberties. The fondness of the French for their fovereign, and the eafiness and politeness of their manners, have corrupted a good constitution. The British constitution has been preserved entire, by a people jealous of their prince, and stubborn against every encroachment of regal power.

There is another advantage of war, which ought not to be overlooked, tho' not capital. It ferves to drain the country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little mischievous. In the years 1759 and 1760, when we were at war with France, there were but twenty-nine criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to one hundred and fifty-one.

But tho' I declare against perpetual peace, perpetual war is still more my aversion. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages, when vaffals assumed the privilege of waging war without confent of the fovereign. Deadly feuds, which prevailed

[&]quot; those factions which destroyed Rome; but they want the penetration to see,

[&]quot; that those factions were necessary, that they had always subsisted, and ever must

[&]quot; have fublished. It was the grandeur of the state which alone occasioned the

evil, and changed into civil wars the tumults of the people. There must of ne-

e ceffity have been factions in Rome; for how was it possible, that those who a-

⁶⁶ broad fubdued all by their undaunted bravery and by the terror of their arms, " should live in peace and moderation at home? To look for a people in a free

[&]quot; ftate who are intrepid in war, and, at the fame time, timid in peace, is to look

[&]quot; for an impossibility; and we may hold it as a general rule, that in a state which

⁴⁶ professes a republican form of government, if the people are quiet and peace-

[&]quot; able, there is no real liberty."

univerfally, threatened diffolution of all government: the human race never were in a more woful condition. But anarchy never fails foon or late to provide a cure against itself, which effeminacy produced by long peace never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war; but so are likewise firmness of mind and undaunted courage; which are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge. The crufades were what first gave a turn to the fierce manners of our ancestors. A religious enterprife, which united numbers, formerly at variance, enlarged the fphere of focial affection, and fweetened the manners of Christians to one another. These crusades filled Europe with heroes, who, at home, were ready for any new enterprise that promised laurels. Moved with the oppressive and miserable consequences of deadly feuds, they joined in bonds of chivalry for fuccouring the diftreffed, for redreffing wrongs, and for protecting widows and orphans. Such heroifm enflamed every one who was fond of glory and warlike atchievements. Chivalry was relished by men of birth; and even kings were proud to be of the order. An inftitution, blending together valour, religion, and gallantry, was wonderfully agreeable to a martial people, and tended strongly to improve their manners: humanity and gentleness could not but prevail in a fociety, whose profession it was, to succour every perfon in diftress. And as glory and honour were the only wishedfor recompence, chivalry was esteemed the school of honour, of truth, and of fidelity. Thus, truth without difguife, and a fcrupulous adherence to promifes, became the diffinguishing virtues of a gentleman. It is true, that the enthufiasm of protecting widows and orphans, degenerated fometimes into extravagance; witness knights who wandered about in quest of adventures. But it would be unfair to condemn the whole order, because a few of their number were foolish. The true spirit of chivalry produced undoubtedly a fignal reformation in the manners of Europe, To what

what other cause can we so justly ascribe the point of honour, and that humanity in war, which characterize modern manners (a)? Are peace, luxury, and selfishness, capable of producing such effects?

That man should be the only animal who makes war upon his own kind, may at first appear strange and unaccountable. Would men liften to cool reason, they never would make war. Hear the celebrated Rousseau on that subject. "Un prince, qui pour re-" culer ses frontiers, perd autant de ses anciens sujets qu'il en " acquiert de nouveaux, s'affoiblit en s'agrandissant; parce qu'a-" vec un plus grand espace à defendre, il n'a pas plus de défen-" feurs. Or on ne peut ignorer, que par la maniere dont la " guerre se fait aujourd'hui, la moindre dépopulation qu'elle " produit est celle qui se fait dans les armées: c'est bien-là la perte " apparente et fensible; mais il s'en fait en même tems dans tout " l'état une plus grave et plus irreparable que celle des hommes " qui meurent, par ceux qui ne naissent pas, par l'augmentation " des impôts, par l'interruption du commerce, par la défertion " des campagnes, par l'abandon de l'agriculture; ce mal qu'on " n'apparcoit point d'abord, se fait sentir cruellement dans la suite : " et c'est alors qu'on est étonné d'être si foible, pour s'être rendu si " puissant. Ce qui rend encore les conquêtes moins intéressantes, " c'est qu'on sait maintenant par quels moyens on peut doubler " et tripler sa puissance, non seulement sans étendre son territoire, " mais quelquefois en le resserrant, comme fit très sagement l'Em-" pereur Adrien. On fait que ce font les hommes feuls qui font " la force des Rois ; et c'est une proposition qui découle de ce que " je viens de dire, que de deux états qui nourrissent le même " nombre d'habitans, celui qui occupe une moindre étendue de " terre, est réellement le plus puissant. C'est donc par de bonnes

⁽a) Dr Robertson's history of the Emperor Charles V.

"loix, par une fage police, par de grandes vues économiques, qu'un fouverain judicieux est sùr d'augmenter ses forces, sans rien donner au hazard *." But war is necessary for man, being a school for improving every manly virtue; and Providence renders kings blind with respect to their true interest, in order that war may sometimes take place. To rely upon Providence in the government of this world, is the wisdom of man.

Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey: perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such wosul degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and these means are adopted by Providence.

* " A prince, who in extending his territories fustains the loss of as many of " his old fubjects as he acquires new, weakens in fact his power while he aims at " firengthening it: he increases the territory to be defended, while the number of " defenders is not increased. Who does not know, that in the modern manner of " making war, the greatest depopulation is not from the havock made in the armies? "That indeed is the obvious and apparent destruction; but there is, at the same se time, in the state a loss much more severe and irreparable; not that thousands " are cut off, but that thousands are not born: population is wounded by the in-" crease of taxes, by the interruption of commerce, by the desertion of the coun-" try, and by the stagnation of agriculture: the misfortune which is overlooked " at first, is severely felt in the event; and it is then that we are assonished to find " we have been growing weak, while increasing our power. What renders every " new conquest still the less valuable, is the consideration of the possibility of dou-" bling and tripling a nation's power, without extending its territory, nay, even " by diminishing it. The Emperor Adrian knew this, and wisely practised it. "The numbers of the fubjects are the strength of the prince: and a consequence " of what I have faid is this proposition, That of two states equal in the number of " inhabitants, that is in reality the more powerful which occupies the fmaller terri-" tory. It is by good laws, by a falutary police, and great economical fchemes, " that a wife fovereign gains a fure augmentation of strength, without trusting any " thing to the fortune of his arms."

SKETCH

SKETCH VII.

Rife and Fall of PATRIOTISM.

HE members of a tribe, in their original state of hunting and fishing, being little united but by a common language, have no notion of a patria; and scarce any notion of society, unless when they join in an expedition against an enemy, or against wild beafts. The fhepherd-ftate, where flocks and herds are poffessed in common, gives a clear notion of a common interest; but still none of a patria. The fense of a patria begins to unfold itfelf, when a people leave off wandering, to fettle upon a territory which they call their own. Agriculture connects them together; and government still more: they become fellow-citizens; and the territory is termed the patria of every person born in it. It is fo ordered by Providence, that a man's country, and his countrymen, are to him in conjunction an object of a peculiar affection, termed amor patrie, or patriotism; an affection that rifes high among a people intimately connected by regular government, by husbandry, by commerce, and by a common interest. " Cari funt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; " fed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est: pro qua " quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere *?"

Social

^{* &}quot;Our parents are dear to us; fo are our children, our relations, and our friends: all these our country comprehends; and shall we fear to die for our country?"

Social passions and affections, beside being greatly more agreeable than selfish, are those only which command our esteem (a). Patriotism stands at the head of social affections; and stands so high in our esteem, that no actions but what proceed from it are termed grand or heroic. When that affection appears so agreeable in contemplation, how sweet, how elevating, must it be in those whom it inspires! Like vigorous health, it beats constantly with an equal pulse: like the vestal sire, it never is extinguished. No source of enjoyment is more plentiful than patriotism, where it is the ruling passion: it triumphs over every selfish motive, and is a firm support to every virtue. In fact, where-ever it prevails, the morals of the people are found to be pure and correct.

These are illustrious effects of patriotism with respect to private happiness and virtue; and yet its effects with respect to the public are still more illustrious. A nation in no other period of its progress is so flourishing, as when patriotism is the ruling passion of every member: during that period, it is invincible. Atheneus remarks, that the Athenians were the only people in the world, who, tho' clothed in purple, put formidable armies to flight at Marathon, Salamine, and Platea. But at that period patriotism was their ruling passion; and success attended them in every undertaking. Where patriotism rules, men do wonders, whatever garb they wear. The fall of Saguntum is a grand fcene; a people exerting the utmost powers of nature, in defence of their country. The city was indeed destroyed; but the citizens were not fubdued. The last effort of the remaining heroes was, to burn themselves, with their wives and children, in one great funeral pile. Numantia affords a fcene not less grand. The citizens, such as were able to bear arms, did not exceed 8000; and yet braved all the efforts of 60,000 disciplined foldiers commanded by Scipio

Nafica.

⁽a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 113. edit. 5.

Nafica. So high was their character for intrepidity, that even when but a few of them were left alive, the Romans durft not attempt to ftorm the town. And they flood firm till, fubdued by famine, they were no longer able to crawl. While the Portuguese were eminent for patriotism, Lopez Carasco, one of their sea-captains, in a single ship with but forty men, stumbled upon the King of Achin's sleet of twenty gallies, as many junks, and a multitude of small vessels. Resolute to perish rather than yield, he maintained the sight for three days, till his ship was pierced through and through with cannon-shot, and not a single man left unwounded. And yet, after all, the King's sleet found it convenient to sheer off.

Patriotism at the same time is the great bulwark of civil liberty; equally abhorrent of despotism on the one hand, and of licentious-ness on the other. While the despotic government of the Tudor family subsisted, the English were too much depressed to have any affection for their country. But when manufactures and commerce began to slourish in the latter end of Elisabeth's reign, a national spirit broke forth, and patriotism made some figure. That change of disposition was perhaps the chief cause, tho' not the most visible, of the national struggles for liberty, which were frequent during the government of the Stewart family, and which ended in a free government at the Revolution.

Patriotism is too much cramped in a very small state, and too much relaxed in an extensive monarchy. But that topic has already been discussed in the first sketch of this book.

Patriotism is enslamed by a struggle for liberty, by a civil war, by resisting a potent invader, or by any incident that forcibly draws the members of a state into strict union for the common interest. The resolute opposition of the seven provinces to Philip II. of Spain, in the cause of liberty, is an illustrious instance of the patriotic spirit rising to a degree of enthusiasm. Patriotism, rou-

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fed among the Corficans by the oppression of the Genoese, exerted itself upon every proper object. Even during the heat of the war, they erected an university for arts and sciences, a national bank, and a national library; improvements that would not have been thought of in their torpid state. Alas! they have fallen a victim to thirst of power, not to superior valour. Had Providence favoured them with success, their sigure would have been considerable in peace as in war *.

But violent commotions cannot be perpetual: one party prevails, and prosperity follows. What effect may this have on patriotism? I answer, that nothing is more animating than success after a violent struggle: a nation in that state resembles a comet, which in passing near the sun, has been much heated, and continues full of motion. Patriotism made a capital sigure among the Athenians, when they became a free people, after expelling the tyrant Pisistratus. Every man exerted himself for his country: every man endeavoured to excell those who went before him: and hence a Miltiades, an Aristides, a Themistocles, names that for ever will sigure in the annals of time. While the Roman republic was confined within narrow bounds, austerity of manners, and disinterested love to their country, formed the national character. The elevation of the Patricians above the Plebeians, a

1 2 . Append to any fource

^{*} The elevation of fentiment that a struggle for liberty inspires, is conspicuous in the following incident. A Corsican being condemned to die for an atrocious crime, his nephew with deep concern addressed Paoli in the following terms. "Sir, if "you pardon my uncle, his relations will give to the state a thousand zechins, beside furnishing sifty foldiers during the siege of Furiali. Let him be banished, and he shall never return." Paoli, knowing the virtue of the young man, said to him. "You are acquainted with the circumstances of that case: I will consent to a pardon, if you can say, as an honest man, that it will be just or honourable for Corsica." The young man, hiding his sace, burst into tears, saying, "I would not have the honour of our country sold for a thousand zechins."

fource of endless discord, was at last remedied by placing all the citizens upon a level. This fignal revolution excited an animating emulation between the Patricians and Plebeians; the former, by heroic actions, labouring to maintain their superiority; the latter straining every nerve to equal them: the republic never at any other period produced so great men in the art of war.

But fuch variety there is in human affairs, that tho' men are indebted to emulation for their heroic actions, yet actions of that kind never fail to suppress emulation in those who follow. An observation is made above (a), that nothing is more fatal to the progrefs of an art, than a person of superior genius, who damps emulation in others: witness the celebrated Newton, to whom the decay of mathematical knowledge in Britain is justly attributed. The observation holds equally with respect to action. Those actions only that flow from patriotism are deemed grand and heroic; and fuch actions, above all others, roufe a national fpirit. But beware of a Newton in heroism: instead of exciting emulation, he will damp it: despair to equal the great men who are the admiration of all men, puts an end to emulation. After the illustrious atchievements of Miltiades, and after the eminent patriotism of Aristides, we hear no more in Greece of emulation or of patriotifm. Pericles was a man of parts, but he facrificed Athens to his ambition. The Athenians funk lower and lower under the Archons, who had neither parts nor patriotism; and were reduced at last to slavery, first by the Macedonians, and next by the Romans. The Romans run the fame courfe, from the highest exertions of patriotic emulation, down to the most abject felfishness and effeminacy.

And this leads to other causes that extinguish patriotism, or relax it. Factious disorders in a state never fail to relax it; for

⁽a) Book 1. sketch 5. § 1.

there the citizen is loft, and every perfon is beheld in the narrow view of a friend or an enemy. In the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians of Rome, the public was totally difregarded: the Plebeians could have no heart-affection for a country where they were oppressed; and the Patricians might be fond of their own order, but they could not sincerely love their country, while they were enemies to the bulk of their countrymen. Patriotism did not shine forth in Rome, till all equally became citizens.

To support patriotism, it is necessary that a people be in a train of prosperity: when a nation becomes stationary, patriotism subfides. The ancient Romans upon a fmall foundation erected a great empire; fo great indeed, that it fell to pieces by its unwieldiness. But the plurality of nations, whether from their fituation, from the temper of their people, or from the nature of their government, are confined within narrower limits; beyond which their utmost exertions avail little, unless they happen to be extraordinary favourites of fortune. When a nation becomes thus stationary, its pushing genius is at an end: its plan is to preserve, not to acquire: the members, even without any example of heroism to damp emulation, are infected with the languid tone of the state: patriotism subsides; and we hear no more of bold or heroic actions. The Venetians are a pregnant instance of the obfervation. Their trade with Aleppo and Alexandria did for centuries introduce into Europe the commodities of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and India. The cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg in particular, were supplied from Venice with these commodities; and by that traffick became populous and opulent. Venice, in a word, was for centuries the capital trading town of Europe, and powerful above all its neighbours, both at fea and land. A paffage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was indeed an animating discovery to the Portuguese; but it did not entitle them to exclude the Venetians. The greater distance of Venice

from the Cape, a trifle in itself, is more than balanced by its proximity to Greece, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and to the rest of Italy. But the Portuguese at that period were in the spring of prosperity; and patriotism envigorated them to make durable establishments on the Indian coast, overpowering every nation that stood in opposition. The Venetians, on the contrary, being a nation of merchants, and having been long successful in commerce, were become stationary, and unqualified for bold adventures. Being cut out of their wonted commerce to India, and not having resolution to carry on commerce in a new channel, they sunk under the good fortune of their rivals, and abandoned the trade altogether.

No cause hitherto mentioned hath such influence in depressing patriotifin, as inequality of rank and of riches in an opulent monarchy. A continual influx of wealth into the capital, generates fhow, luxury, avarice, which are all felfish vices; and felfishness, enflaving the mind, eradicates every fibre of patriotifm *. Afiatic luxury, flowing into Rome in a plentiful stream, produced an univerfal corruption of manners, and metamorphos'd into voluptuousness the warlike genius of that great city. The dominions of Rome were now too extensive for a republican government, and its generals too powerful to be difinterested. Passion for glory wore out of fashion, as austerity of manners had done formerly: power and riches were now the only objects of ambition: virtue feemed a farce; honour, a chimera; and fame, mere vanity: every Roman, abandoning himfelf to fenfuality, flattered himself, that he, more wife than his forefathers, was pursuing the cunning road to happiness. Corruption and venality became

general,

^{*} France is not an exception. The French are vain of their country, because they are vain of themselves. But such vanity must be distinguished from patriotism, which consists in loving our country independent of ourselves.

general, and maintained their usurpation in the provinces as well as in the capital, without ever losing a foot of ground. Pyrrhus attempted by presents to corrupt the Roman senators, but made not the flightest impression. Deplorable was the change of manners in the days of Jugurtha: - " Pity it is," faid he, " that no " man is fo opulent as to purchase a people so willing to be fold." Cicero, mentioning an oracle of Apollo, that Sparta would never be destroy'd but by avarice, justly observes, that the prediction holds in every nation as well as in Sparta. The Greek empire, funk in voluptuoufnefs without a remaining spark of patriotism, was no match for the Turks, enflamed with a new religion, that promifed paradife to those who should die fighting for their prophet. How many nations, like those mentioned, illustrious formerly for vigour of mind, and love to their country, are now funk by contemptible vices as much below brutes as they ought to be elevated above them: brutes feldom deviate from the perfection of their nature, men frequently.

Successful commerce is not more advantageous by the wealth and power it immediately bestows, than it is hurtful ultimately by introducing luxury and voluptuousness, which eradicate patriotism. In the capital of a great monarchy, the poison of opulence is sudden; because opulence there is seldom acquired by reputable means: the poison of commercial opulence is slow, because commerce feldom enriches without industry, sagacity, and fair dealing. But by whatever means acquired, opulence never fails soon or late to smother patriotism under sensuality and selfishness. We learn from Plutarch and other writers, that the Athenians, who had long enjoy'd the sunshine of commerce, were extremely corrupt in the days of Philip, and of his son Alexander. Even their chief patriot and orator, a professed champion for independence, was not proof against bribes. While Alexander was prosecuting his conquests in India, Harpalus, to whom his immense treasure

was intrufted, fled with the whole to Athens. Demosthenes advifed his fellow-citizens to expell him, that they might not incur Alexander's difpleafure. Among other things of value, there was the King's cup of maffy gold, curioufly engraved. Demosthenes, furveying it with a greedy eye, asked Harpalus what it weighed. To you, faid Harpalus finiling, it shall weigh twenty talents; and that every night he fent privately to Demosthenes twenty talents with the cup. Demosthenes next day came into the affembly with a cloth rolled about his neck; and his opinion being demanded about Harpalus, he made figns that he had loft his voice. The Capuans, the Tarentines, and other Greek colonies in the lower parts of Italy, when invaded by the Romans, were no lefs degenerate than their brethren in Greece when invaded by Philip of Macedon; the fame depravation of manners, the fame luxury, the fame passion for feasts and spectacles, the same intestine factions, the same indifference about their country, and the same contempt of its laws. The Portuguese, enflamed with love to their country, when they discovered a passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, made great and important fettlements in that very distant part of the globe; and of their immense commerce there is no parallel in any age or country. Prodigious riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, drugs, and manufactures, were annually imported into Lifbon from their fettlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, from the kingdoms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam, China, &c. from the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Moluccas, and Japan: and to Lifbon all the nations in Europe reforted for these valuable commodities. But the downfall of the Portuguese was no less rapid than their exaltation; unbounded power and immense wealth having produced a total corruption of manners. If fincere piety, exalted courage, and indefatigable industry, made the original adventurers more than men; indolence, fenfuality, and effeminacy, rendered to the tall the particular to whom his saments irendered

rendered their fuceflors less than women. Unhappy it was for them to be attacked at that critical time by the Dutch, who, in defence of liberty against the tyranny of Spain, were enslamed with love to their country, as the Potuguese had been formerly *. The Dutch, originally from their fituation a temperate and industrious people, became heroes in the cause of liberty as just now mentioned; and patriotifin was their ruling passion. Prosperous commerce fpred wealth through every corner; and yet fuch was the inherent virtue of that people, that their patriotifm refisted very long the contagion of wealth. But as appetite for riches increases with their quantity, patriotifin funk in proportion, till it was totally extinguished; and now the Dutch never think of their country, unless as subservient to private interest. With respect to the Dutch East-India company in particular, it was indebted for its prosperity to the fidelity and frugality of its servants, and to the patriotism of all. But these virtues were undermined, and at last eradicated, by luxury, which Europeans feldom resist in a hot climate. People go from Europe in the fervice of the company, bent beforehand to make their fortune per fas aut nefas; and their distance from their masters renders every check abortive. The company, eat up by their fervants, is rendered fo feeble, as to be incapable of maintaining their ground against any extraordinary shock. A war of any continuance with the Indian potentates, or with the English company, would reduce them to bank-

ruptcy.

^{*} While patriotism was the ruling passion of the Portuguese, their illustrious general Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque carried all before him in the Indies. He adhered to the ancient frugality of his countrymen, and notwithstanding his great power and wealth, remained uncorrupted. The liberal in praising his officers, he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour by stattery. In private life he was of the strictest honour; but as justice is little regarded between nations, it was no obstruction to his ambitious views of extending the dominions of Portugal.

ruptcy. They are at present as ripe for being swallowed up by any rival power, as the Portuguese were formerly for being swallowed up by them. Queritur, Is the English East-India company in a much better condition? Such is the rife and fall of patriotism among the nations mentioned; and fuch will be its rise and

fall among all nations in like circumstances.

It grieves me, that the epidemic diftempers of luxury and felfishness are spreading wide in Britain. It is fruitless to dissemble, that profligate manners must in Britain be a consequence of too great opulence, as they have been in every other part of the globe. Our late distractions leave no room for a doubt. Listen to a man of figure, thoroughly acquainted with every machination for court-preferment. " Very little attachment is discoverable in the " body of our people to our excellent constitution: no reverence " for the customs nor for the opinions of our ancestors; no at-" tachment but to private interest, nor any zeal but for felfish " gratifications. While party-diffinctions of Whig and Tory, " high church and low church, court and country, fubfifted, " the nation was indeed divided, but each fide held an opinion, " for which he would have hazarded every thing; for both acted " from principle: if there were fome who fought to alter the " constitution, there were many who would have spilt their blood " to preferve it from violation: if divine hereditary right had its " partifans, there were multitudes to stand up for the superior " fanctity of a title founded on an act of parliament, and the con-" fent of a free people. But the abolition of party-names, have " destroy'd all public principles. The power of the crown was " indeed never more vifibly extensive over the great men of the " nation; but then these men have lost their influence over the " lower orders: even parliament has lost much of its authority; " and the voice of the multitude is fet up against the fense of the " legislature: an impoverished and heavily-burdened public, a " people 3 L VOL. I.

"people luxurious and licentious, impatient of rule, and despifing all authority, government relaxed in every sinew, and a
corrupt selfish spirit pervading the whole (a)." It is a common observation, that when the belly is full, the mind is at ease.
That observation, it would appear, holds not in London; for never in any other place did riot and licentiousness rise to such a

height, without a cause, and without even a plausible pretext *. It is deplorable, that in English public schools, patriotism makes no branch of education; young men, on the contrary, are trained up to felfishness. Keep what you get, and get what you can, is the chief lesson inculcated at Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton. Students put themselves in the way of receiving vails from strangers; and that dirty practice continues, tho' far more poisonous to manners, than the giving vails to menial fervants, which the nation is now ashamed of. The Eaton scholars are at times fent to the highway to rob paffengers. The strong without control tyrannize over the weak, fubjecting them to every fervile office, wiping shoes not excepted. They are permitted to trick and deceive one another; and the finest fellow is he who is the most artful. Friendship indeed is cultivated, but such as we find among robbers: a boy would be run down, if he had no affociate. In a word, the most determined selfishness is the capital lesfon.

When a nation, formerly warlike and public-spirited, is depressed by luxury and selfishness, doth nature afford no means for restoring it to its former state? The Emperor Hadrian declared the Greeks a free people; not doubting, but that a change so animating, would restore the fine arts to their pristine lustre.—A vain

cover no means but pinching poverty. Commones to tigmests, may leave a country in a

⁽a) The Honourable George Greenville.

^{*} This was composed in the year 1770.

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124 rupt felfilh fpirit pervadir attempt: for the genius of the Greeks vanished with their patriotism; and liberty to them was no bleffing. With respect to the Portuguese, the decay of their power and of their commerce, have reduced them to a much lower condition, than when they rose as it were out of nothing. At that time they were poor, but innocent: at present they are poor, but corrupted with many vices. Their pride in particular fwells as high as when masters of the Indies. The following ridiculous instance is a pregnant proof: shoes and flockings are prohibited to their Indian fubjects; the' many of them would pay handfomely for the privilege. There is one obvious measure for reviving the Portuguese trade in India; but they have not fo much vigour of mind remaining, as even to think of execution. They still possess in that country, the town and territory of Goa, the town and territory of Diu, with fome other ports, all admirably fituated for trade. What stands in the way but indolence merely, against declaring the places mentioned free ports, with liberty of confcience to traders of whatever religion? Free traders flocking there, under protection of the Portuguese, would undermine the Dutch and English companies, which cannot trade upon an equal footing with private merchants; and by that means, the Portuguese trade might again flourish. But that people are not yet brought fo low as to be compelled to change their manners, tho' reduced to depend on their neighbours even for common necessaries. The gold and diamonds of Brafil are a plague that corrupts all. Spain and Portugal afford instructive political lessons: the latter has been ruined by opulence; the former, as will be feen afterward, by taxes no lefs impolitic than oppressive. To enable these nations to recommence their former course, or any nation in the same situation, I can discover no means but pinching poverty. Commerce and manufactures taking wing, may leave a country in a very diffressed condition: but a people may be very diffressed, and yet very vitious;

for vices generated by opulence are not foon eradicated. And tho' other vices should at last vanish with the temptations that promoted them, indolence and pusillanimity will remain for ever, unless by some powerful cause the opposite virtues be introduced. A very poor man, however indolent, will be tempted for bread to exert some activity; and he may be trained gradually from less to more by the same means. Activity at the same time produces bodily strength; which will restore courage and boldness. By such means a nation may be put in motion with the same advantages it had originally; and its second progress may prove as successful as the first. Thus nations go round in a circle, from weakness to strength, and from strength to weakness. The first part of the progress is verified in a thousand instances; but the world has not substituted long enough to afford any clear instance of the other.

I close this sketch with two illustrious examples of patriotism; one ancient, one modern; one among the whites, and one among the blacks. Ariftides the Athenian is famed above all the ancients for love to his country. Its fafety and honour were the only objects of his ambition; and his fignal difinterestedness made it the fame to him, whether thefe ends were accomplished by himself or by others, by his friends or his foes. One conspicuous instance occurred before the battle of Marathon. Of the ten generals chofen to command the Athenian army, he was one : but fenfible that a divided command is subjected to manifold inconveniencies, he exerted all his influence for delegating the whole power to Miltiades; and at the same time zealously supported the proposal of Miltiades, of boldly meeting the Perfians in the field. His difinterestedness was still more conspicuous with regard to Themistocles, his bitter enemy. Sufpending all enmity, he cordially agreed with him in every operation of the war; affifting him with his counfel and credit, and yet fuffering him to engross all the honours of victory. In peace he was the fame, yielding to Themistocles mistocles in the administration of government, and contenting himself with a subordinate place. In the senate and in the assembly of the people, he made many proposals in a borrowed name, to prevent envy and opposition. He retired from public business in the latter part of his life; passing his time in training young men for serving the state, instilling into them principles of honour and virtue, and inspiring them with love to their country. His death unfolded a signal proof of the contempt he had for riches: he who had been treasurer of Greece during the lavishment of war, left not sufficient to destray the expence of his sunerals: a British commissary in like circumstances, acquires the riches of Croesus.

The scene of the other example is Fouli, a negro kingdom in Africa. Such regard is paid there to royal blood, that no man can fucceed to the crown, but who is connected with the first monarch, by an uninterrupted chain of females: a connection by males would give no fecurity, as the women of that country are prone to gallantry. In the last century, the Prince of Sambaboa, the King's nephew by his fifter, was invested with the dignity of Kamalingo, a dignity appropriated to the prefumptive heir. A liberal and generous mind, with undaunted courage, rivetted him in the affections of the nobility and people. They rejoiced in the expectation of having him for their King. But their expectation was blafted. The King, fond of his children, ventured a bold meafure, which was, to invest his eldest fon with the dignity of Kamalingo, and to declare him heir to the crown. Tho' the Prince of Sambaboa had for him the laws of the kingdom, and the hearts of the people, yet he retired in filence to avoid a civil war. He could not however prevent men of rank from flocking to him; which the King interpreting to be a rebellion, raifed an army in order to put them all to the fword. As the King advanced, the Prince retired, refolving not to draw his fword fword against an uncle, whom he was accustomed to call father. But finding that the command of the King's army was bestowed on his rival, he made ready for battle. The Prince obtained a complete victory: but his heart was not elated: the horrors of a civil war stared him in the face: he bid farewell to his friends, dismissed his army, and retired into a neighbouring kingdom; relying on the affections of the people to be placed on the throne after his uncle's death. During banishment, which continued thirty tedious years, frequent attempts upon his life, put his temper to a severe trial; for while he existed, the King had no hopes that his son would reign in peace. He had the fortitude to stand every trial; when, in the year 1702, beginning to yield to age and missfortunes, his uncle died. His cousin was deposed; and he was called by the unanimous voice of the nobles, to reign over a people who adored him.

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FINANCES.

PREFACE.

IN the following flight effay, intended for novices only, it is my fole ambition to rival certain pains-taking authors, who teach history in the perspicuous mode of question and answer. Among novices, it would be unpardonable to rank fuch of my fellow-citizens, as are ambitious of a feat in parliament; many of whom facrifice the inheritance of their ancestors, for an opportunity to exert their patriotism in that august assembly. Can such a sacrifice permit me to doubt, of their being adepts in the mysteries of government, and of taxes in particular? they ought at least to be initiated in these mysteries.

It is of importance, that taxes, and their effects, be understood, not only by the members of our parliament, but also by their electors: a representative will not readily vote for a destructive tax, when he cannot hope to disguise his conduct. The intention of the present sketch, is to unfold the principles upon which taxes ought to be founded, and to point out what are beneficial, what noxious. I have endeavoured to introduce some light into a subject involved in Egyptian darkness; and if that end be attained, I shall die in the faith, that I have not been an unprofitable servant to my country.

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FINANCES.

His subject consists of many parts, not a little intricate. A proper distribution will tend to perspicuity; and I think it may be fitly divided into the following sections. 1st, General considerations on taxes. 2d, Power of imposing taxes. 3d, Different forts of taxes, with their advantages and disadvantages. 4th, Manner of levying taxes. 5th, Rules to be observed in taxing. 6th, Examination of British taxes. 7th, Regulations for advancing industry and commerce.

SECTION I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS on TAXES.

As opulence is not friendly to study and knowledge, the men best qualified for being generals, admirals, judges, or ministers of state, are seldom opulent; and to make such men serve without pay, would be in effect to ease the rich at the expence of the poor. With respect to the military branch in particular, the bulk of those who compose an army, if withdrawn from daily labour, must starve, unless the public, which they serve, afford them maintenance. A republican government, during peace, may indeed be supported at a very small charge among a temperate and patriotic people.

people. In a monarchy, a public fund is indifpenfable, even during peace: and in war it is indifpenfable, whatever be the government. The Spartans carried all before them in Greece, but were forc'd to quit their hold, having no fund for a standing army; and the other Greek states were obliged to confederate with the Athenians, who after the Persian war became masters at sea. A defect so obvious in the Spartan government, did affuredly not escape Lycurgus, the most profound of all legislators. Foreseeing that conquest would be destructive to his countrymen, his sole purpose was to guard them from being conquered; which in Sparta required no public fund, as all the citizens were equal, and equally bound to defend themselves and their country. A state, it is true, without a public fund, is ill qualified to oppose a standing army, regularly disciplined, and regularly paid. But in political matters, experience is our only fure guide; and the history of nations, at that early period, was too barren to afford inftruction. Lycurgus may well be excused, considering how little progress political knowledge had made in a much later period. Charles VII. of France was the first in modern times who established a fund for a standing army. Against that dangerous innovation, the crown-vassals had no refource but to imitate their fovereign; and yet, without even dreaming of a refource, they fuffered themselves to be undermined. and at last overturned, by the King their superior. Thus, on the one hand, a nation, however warlike, that has not a public fund, is no match for a standing army enured to war. Extensive commerce, on the other hand, enables a nation to support a standing army; but, by introducing luxury, it eradicates manhood, and renders that army an unfit match for any poor and warlike invader. Hard may feem the fate of nations, laid thus open to destruction from every quarter. All that can be faid is, that the Deity never intended to stamp immortality upon any production of man.

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The stability of land fits it, above all other subjects, for a public patrimony. But as crown-lands lie open to the rapacity of favourites, it becomes necessary, when these are dissipated, to introduce taxes; which have the following properties; that they unite in one common interest the sovereign and his subjects, and that they can be augmented or diminished according to exigencies.

The art of levying money by taxes was fo little understood in the fixteenth century, that after the famous battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made prisoner, Charles V. was obliged to disband his victorious army, tho' consisting but of 24,000 men, because he had not the art to levy, in his extensive dominions, the sum that was necessary to keep it on foot. So little knowledge was there in England of political arithmetic in the days of Edward III. that L. 1: 2: 4 on each parish was computed to be sufficient for raising a subsidy of L. 50,000. It being found, that there were but 8700 parishes, exclusive of Wales, the parliament, in order to raise the said subsidy, affested on each parish L. 5, 16 s.

In imposing taxes, ought not the expence of living to be deducted, leaving the remainder of a man's stock as the only taxable subject? This method was adopted in the state of Athens. A rent of 500 measures of corn, burdened the landlord with the yearly contribution of a talent: a rent of 300, burdened him with half a talent: a rent of 200, burdened him with the sixth part of a talent; and land under that rent paid no tax. Here the tax was not in proportion to the estate, but to what could be spared out of it; or, in other words, in proportion to the ability of the proprietor. At the same time, ability must not be estimated by what a man actually saves, which would exempt the profuse and profligate from paying taxes, but by what a man can pay who lives with economy according to his rank. This rule is founded on the very nature of government: to tax a man's food, or the subject that af-

fords him bare necessaries, is worse than the denying him protection: it starves him. Hence the following proposition may be laid down as the corner-stone of taxation-building, "That every man ought "to contribute to the public revenue, not in proportion to his "fubstance, but to his ability." I am forry to observe, that this rule is little regarded in British taxes; tho nothing would contribute more to sweeten the minds of the people, and to make them fond of their government, than a regulation fraught with so much equity.

Taxes were long in use before it was discovered, that they could be made fubfervient to other purposes, befide that of supporting government. In the fifteenth century, the states of Burgundy rejected with indignation a demand made by the Duke of a duty on falt, tho' they found no other objection, but that it would oppress the poor people, who lived mostly on falt meat and falt fish. It did not occur to them, that fuch a tax might hurt their manufactures, by raifing the price of labour. A tax of two shillings on every hearth, known by the name of hearth-money, was granted to Charles II. his heirs and fuccessors, for ever. It was abrogated by an act of William and Mary, ann. 1688, on the following preamble, " That it is not only a great oppression upon the " poorer fort, but a badge of flavery upon the whole people, ex-" pofing every man's house to be entered into and searched at " pleafure by persons unknown to him." Had the harm done by fuch a tax to our manufactures been at that time understood, it would have been urged as the capital reason against the tax. Our late improvements in commercial politics have unfolded an important doctrine, That taxes are feldom indifferent to the public good; that frequently they are more oppressive to the people, than beneficial to the fovereign; and, on the other hand, that they may be fo contrived, as to rival bounties in promoting industry, manufactures, and commerce. These different effects of taxes, have rendered the subject not a little intricate.

It is an article of importance in government, to have it afcertained, what proportion of the annual income of a nation may be drawn from the people by taxes, without impoverishing them. An eighth part is held to be too much: husbandry, commerce, and population, would suffer. Davenant says, that the Dutch pay to the public annually the fourth part of the income of their country; and he adds, that their strict economy enables them to bear that immense load, without raising the price of labour so high as to cut them out of the foreign market. It was probably so in the days of Davenant; but of late matters are much altered: the dearness of living and of labour, has excluded all the Dutch manufactures from the foreign market. Till the French war in King William's reign, England paid in taxes but about a twentieth part of its annual income.

S E C T. II.

POWER of IMPOSING TAXES.

That to impose taxes belongs to the sovereign, and to him only, is undoubted. But it has been doubted, whether even King and parliament, who possess the sovereign authority in Britain, can legally impose a tax without consent of the people. The celebrated Locke, in his essay on government (a), lays down the following proposition as fundamental. "Tis true, governments

" cannot



⁽a) Chap. 11. § 140.

" cannot be supported without great charge, and 'tis fit every one " who enjoys his fhare of protection should pay out of his estate " his proportion for the maintenance of it. But still it must be " with his own consent, i. e. the consent of the majority, giving " it either by themselves, or their representatives chosen by them; " for if any one shall claim a power to lay and levy taxes on the " people by his own authority, and without fuch confent of the " people, he thereby invades the fundamental law of property, " and fubverts the end of government. For what property have " I in that which another may by right take when he pleafes to " himfelf?" No author has reflected more honour on his native country, and on mankind, than Mr Locke. Yet no name is above truth; and I am obliged to observe, tho' with regret, that in the foregoing reafoning the right of imposing taxes is laid upon a very crazy foundation. It may indeed be faid with fome colour, that the freeholders virtually impower their representatives to tax them. But their vaffals and tenants, who have no vote in electing members of parliament, empower none to tax them: yet they are taxed like others; and fo are the vaffals and tenants of peers. Add to thefe an immense number of artisans, manufacturers, day-labourers, domestics, &c. &c. with the whole female fex; and it will appear on calculation, that those who are represented in parliament make not the hundredth part of the taxable people. But further, it is acknowledged by our author, that the majority of the Lords and Commons must bind the minority. This circumstance alone might have convinced him of his error: for furely the minority in this case are bound without their consent; nay, against their confent. That a state cannot tax its subjects without their confent, is a rash proposition, totally subversive of government. Locke himself has suggested the folid foundation of taxes, tho', inadvertently he lays no weight on it. I borrow his own words: " That every one who enjoys his fhare of protection, should pay " out

" out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of the go-" vernment." The duties of fovereign and of fubject are reciprocal; and common justice requires, that a subject, or any perfon who is protected by a government, ought to pay for that protection. Similar inftances without number of fuch reciprocal duties, occur in the laws of every civilized nation. A man calls for meat and drink in a tavern: is he not bound to pay the bill, tho' he made no agreement beforehand? A man is wafted over a river in a ferry-boat: must he not pay the common fare, though he made no promise? Nay, it is every man's interest to pay for protection: government cannot fubfift without a public fund; and what will become of individuals when no longer protected, either in their perfons or goods? Thus taxes are implied in the very nature of government; and the interpolition of fovereign authority is only necessary for determining the expediency of a tax; and the quota, if found expedient.

Many writers, misled by the respectable authority of Locke, boldly maintain, that a British parliament cannot legally tax the American colonies, who are not represented in parliament. This proposition, which has drawn the attention of the public of late years, has led me to be more explicit on the power of imposing taxes, than otherwife would be necessary. Those who favour the independence of our colonies urge, " That a man ought to have " the disposal of what he acquires by honest industry, subject to " no control: whence the necessity of a parliament for imposing " taxes, where every individual is either perfonally prefent, or by " a representative of his own election. The aid accordingly given " to a British fovereign is not a tribute, but a free and voluntary " gift." What is faid above will bring the difpute within a very narrow compass. If our colonists be British subjects, which hitherto has not been controverted, they are fubjected to the British legislature in every article of government; and as from the begin-

ning

ning they have been protected by Britain, they ought like other fubjects to pay for that protection. There never was a time less favourable to their claim of freedom from taxes, than the close of the late war with France. Had not Britain seasonably interposed, they would have been swallow'd up by France, and become slaves to despotism.

If it be questioned, By what acts is a man understood to claim protection of a government; I answer, By setting his foot on the territory. If, upon landing at Dover, a foreigner be robbed, the law interposes for him as for a native. And as he is thus protected, he pays for protection when he purchases a pair of shoes, or a bottle of beer. The case is clear with respect to a man who can chuse the place of his residence. But what shall be said of children, who are not capable of choice, nor of consent? They are protected; and protection implies the reciprocal duty of paying taxes. As soon as a young man is capable of acting for himself, he is at liberty to chuse other protectors, if those who have hitherto protected him be not agreeable.

If a legal power to impose taxes without consent of the people, did necessarily imply a legal power to impose taxes at pleasure, without limitation, Locke's argument would be invincible, in a country of freedom at least. A power to impose taxes at pleasure, would indeed be an invasion of the fundamental law of property; because, under pretext of taxing, it would subject every man's property to the arbitrary will of the sovereign. But the argument has no weight, where the sovereign's power is limited. The reciprocal duties between sovereign and subject imply, that the people ought to contribute what sums are necessary for the support of government, and that the sovereign ought not to demand more. It is true, that there is no regular check against him, when he transgresses his duty in this particular: but there is an effectual check in the nature of every government that is not legally despotic, viz. a ge-

neral concert among all ranks, to vindicate their liberty against a course of violence and oppression; and multiplied acts of that kind have more than once brought about such a concert.

As every member of the body-politic is under protection of the government, every one of them, as observed above, ought to pay for being protected; and yet this proposition has been controverted by an author of fome note (a); who maintains, "That the " food and raiment furnished to the fociety by husbandmen and " manufacturers, are all that these good people are bound to con-" tribute: and supposing them bound to contribute more, it is " not till others have done as much for the public." At that rate, lawyers and phyficians ought also to be exempted from contributing; especially those who draw the greatest sums, because they are supposed to do the most good. That argument, the suggestion of a benevolent heart, is however no proof of an enlightened understanding. The labours of the farmer, of the lawyer, of the physician, contribute not a mite to the public fund, nor tend to defray the expence of government. The luxurious proprietor of a great effate has a still better title to be exempted than the hulbandman, because he is a great benefactor to the public, by giving bread to a variety of industrious people. In a word, every man ought to contribute for being protected; and if a hufbandman be protected in working for himfelf one-and-fifty weeks yearly, he ought thankfully to work one week more, for defraying the expence of that protection.

(a) L'ami des hommes.

SECT.



S E C T. III.

DIFFERENT SORTS OF TAXES, with their Advantages and Difadvantages.

A LL taxes are laid upon persons; but in different respects: a tax laid on a man perfonally, for himfelf and family, is termed a capitation-tax; a tax laid on him for his property, is termed a tax on goods. The latter is the only rational tax, because it may be proportioned to the ability of the proprietor. It has only one inconvenience, that his debts must be overlooked; because to take these into the account, would lead to endless intricacies. But there is an obvious remedy for that inconvenience: let the man who complains, get quit of his debts, by felling land or moveables; which will fo far relieve him of the tax. Nor ought this measure to be considered as a hardship: it is seldom the interest of a landholder to be in debt; and with respect to the public, the measure not only promotes the circulation of property, but is favourable to creditors, by procuring them payment. A capitation-tax goes upon an erroneous principle, as if all men were of equal ability. What prompts it is, that many men, rich in bonds and other moveables that can be eafily hid from public inspection, cannot be reached otherwise than by a capitation-tax. But as, by the very fupposition, such men cannot be distinguished from the mass of the people, that mode of taxing, as miserably unequal, is rarely practifed among enlightened nations. Some years ago, a capitation-tax was imposed in Denmark, obliging even day-labourers to pay for their wives and children. Upon the fame VOL. I.

fame abfurd plan, a tax was imposed on marriage. One would be tempted to think, that population was intended to be discouraged. The Danish government, however, have been sensible of the impropriety of such taxes; for a tax imposed on those who obtain titles of honour from the crown, is applied for relieving husbandmen of their capitation-tax. But a tax of this kind lies open to many other objections. It cannot fail to raise the price of labour, a poisonous effect in a country of industry; for the labourer will relieve himself of the tax, by heightening his wages: more prudent it would be to lay the tax directly on the employer, which would remove the pretext for heightening wages. The taxing of day-labourers has beside an effect contrary to what is intended: instead of increasing the public revenue, it virtually leffens it, by raising the pay of soldiers, sailors, and of every workman employ'd by government.

Taxes upon goods are of two kinds, viz. upon things confumable, and upon things not confumable. I begin with the latter. The land-tax in Britain, paid by the proprietor according to an invariable rule, and levied with very little expence, is of all taxes the most just, and the most effectual. The proprietor, knowing beforehand the fum he is fubjected to, prepares accordingly: and as each proprietor contributes in proportion to his estate, the tax makes no variation in their relative opulence. The only improvement it is fusceptible of, is the Athenian regulation, of exempting fmall estates that are no more than fufficient to afford bread to the frugal proprietor. In France, the land-tax feems to have been established on a very false foundation, viz. That the clergy perform their duty to the state, by praying and instructing; that the noblesse fight for the state; and consequently, that the only duty left to the farmer, is to defray the charges of government. This argument would hold, if the clergy were not paid for praying, and the nobleffe for fighting. Such a load upon the poorest mem-

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bers of the state, is an absurdity in politics. And to render it still more abfurd, the tax on the farmer is not imposed by an invariable rule: every one is taxed in proportion to his apparent circumstances, which in effect is to tax industry. Nor is this all. Under pretext of preventing famine, the exporting of corn, even from province to province, is frequently interrupted; by which it happens, that the corn of a plentiful year is destroyed by insects, and in a year of fcarcity is engroffed by merchants. Suppose a plan were requested for discouraging agriculture, here is one actually put in execution, the fuccess of which is infallible. "Were it related," observes a French writer, " in some foreign history, that there is " a country extremely fertile, in a fine climate, enjoying navi-" gable rivers, with every advantage for the commerce of corn; " and yet that the product is not fufficient for the inhabitants: " would not one conclude the people to be stupid and barbarous? "This however is the case of France." He adds the true reason, which is, the discouragement husbandry lies under by oppressive taxes. We have Diodorus Siculus for our authority, that the husbandman was greatly respected in Hindostan. Among other nations, fays he, the land during war lies untilled; but in Hindoftan, hufbandmen are facred, and no foldier ventures to lay a hand on them. They are confidered as fervants of the public, who cannot be difpenfed with.

It is a gross error to maintain, that a tax on land is the same with a tax on the product of land. The former, which is the English mode, is no discouragement to industry and improvements: on the contrary, the higher the value of land is raifed, the lefs will the tax be in proportion. The latter, which is the French mode, is a great discouragement to industry and improvements; because the more a man improves, the deeper he is taxed. The tenth part of the product of land, is the only tax that is paid in China. This tax, of the fame nature with our tithes paid to the

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clergy,

clergy, yields to the British mode of taxing the land itself, and not its product; but is less exceptionable than the land-tax in France, because it is not arbitrary. The Chinese tax, paid in kind, is stored in magazines, and sold from time to time for maintaining the magistrates and the army, the surplus being remitted to the treasury. In case of famine, it is sold to the poor people at a moderate price. In Tonquin, there is a land-tax, which, like that in France, is laid upon the peasants, exempting people of condition, and the literati in particular. Many grounds that bear not corn, contribute hay for the king's elephants and cavalry; which the poor peasants are obliged to carry to the capital, even from the greatest distance; a regulation no less slavish than impolitic.

The window-tax, the coach-tax, and the plate-tax, come under the prefent head, being taxes upon things not confumable. In Holland there is a tax on domestic fervants, which deferves well to be imitated. Vanity in Britain, and love of show, have multiplied domestics, far beyond necessity, and even beyond convenience. A number of idlers collected in a luxurious family, become vitious and debauched; and many ufeful hands are withdrawn from hufbandry and manufactures. In order that the tax may reach none but the vain and splendid, those who have but one fervant pay nothing: two domestics subject the master to five shillings for each, three to ten shillings for each, four to twenty shillings, five to forty shillings, and so on in a geometrical progreffion. In Denmark, a farmer is taxed for every plough he uses. If the tax be intended for discouraging extensive farms, it is a happy contrivance, agreeable to found politics; for fmall farms tend not only to population, but to rear a temperate and robust species of men, fit for every fort of labour.

Next of taxes upon things confumable. The taxes that appear the leaft oppressive, because disguised, are what are laid on our manufactures: manufactures: the tax is advanced by the manufacturer, and drawn from the purchaser as part of the price. In Rome a tax was laid upon every man who purchased a slave. It is reported by fome authors, that the tax was remitted by the Emperor Nero; and yet no alteration was made, but to oblige the vender to advance the tax. Hear Tacitus on that fubject (a). " Vectigal " quintæ et vicesimæ venalium mancipiorum remissum, specie " magis quam vi; quia cum venditor pendere juberetur, in par-" tem pretii emptoribus accrefcebat *." Thus, with respect to our taxes on foap, shoes, candles, and other things confumable, the purchaser thinks he is only paying the price, and never dreams that he is paying a tax. To fupport the illusion, the duty ought to be moderate: to impose a tax twenty times the value of the commodity, as is done in France with respect to falt, raises more difgust in the people as an attempt to deceive them, than when laid on without difguife. Such exorbitant taxes, which are paid with the utmost reluctance, cannot be made effectual but by fevere penalties, equal to what are inflicted on the most atrocious criminals; which has a bad effect with refpect to morals, as it tends to lessen the horror one naturally conceives at great crimes.

Such taxes are attended with another fignal advantage: they bear a strict proportion to the ability of the contributors, the opulent being commonly the greatest consumers. The taxes on coaches and on plate are paid by men of fortune, without loading the industrious poor; and on that account are highly to be

praised:

^{* &}quot;The tax of a twenty-fifth upon flaves to be fold, was remitted more in ap"pearance than in reality; because when the seller was ordered to pay it, he laid
"it upon the price to the buyer."

⁽a) Annal, lib. 13.

praised: being imposed however without disguise, they are paid with more reluctance by the rich, than taxes on consumption are by the poor.

I add one other advantage of taxes on confumption. They are finely contrived to connect the interest of the sovereign with that of his subjects; for his profit arises from their prosperity.

Such are the advantages of a tax on confumption; but it must not be praised, as attended with no inconvenience. The retailer, under pretext of the tax, raises the price higher than barely to indemnify himself; by which means the tax is commonly doubled upon the consumer. The inconvenience however is but temporary. "Such extortion," says Davenant, "cannot last "long; for every commodity in common use finds in the mar"ket its true value and price."

There is another inconvenience much more diffreffing, because it admits not a remedy, and because it affects the state itself. Taxes on confumption, being commonly laid on things of the greatest use, raise a great sum to the public, without much burdening individuals; the duty on coal, for example, on candle, on leather, on foap, on falt, on malt, and on malt-liquor. These duties however carry in their bosom a slow poison, by raising the price of labour and of manufactures. De Wit observes, that the Dutch taxes upon confumption have raifed the price of their broad cloth forty per cent.; and our manufactures by the same means are raised at least thirty per cent. Britain has long laboured under this chronical distemper, which, by excluding her from foreign markets, will not only put an end to her own manufactures, but will open a wide door to the foreign, as fmuggling cannot be prevented where commodities imported are much cheaper than our own.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that taxes on confumption are not equally proper in every fituation. They are proper in a populous lous country, like Holland; because the expence of collecting is but a trifle, compared with the sums collected. But in a country thinly peopled, such taxes are improper; because the expence of collecting makes too great a proportion of the sums collected: in the highlands of Scotland, the excise on ale and spirits desrays not the expence of levying; the people are burdened, and the government is not supported.

A lottery is a fort of tax different from any that have been mentioned. It is a tax, of all the most agreeable, being entirely voluntary. An appetite for gaming, inherent even in savages, prompts multitudes to venture their money in hopes of the highest prize; tho' they cannot altogether hide from themselves the inequality of the play. But lucky it is, that the selfish passions of men can be made subservient to the public good. Lotteries however produce one unhappy effect: they blunt the edge of industry, by directing the attention to a more compendious method of gain. At the same time, the money acquired by a lottery, seldom turns to account; for what comes without trouble, goes commonly without thought.

S E C T. IV.

MANNER OF LEVYING TAXES.

To avoid the rapacity of farmers, a mild government will, in most cases, prefer management; i. e. it will levy taxes by officers appointed for that purpose. Montesquieu (a) has handled that point with his usual sprightly elegance.

Importation-

⁽a) L'Esprit des loix, liv. 13. ch. 19.

Importation-duties are commonly laid upon the importer before the cargo is landed, leaving him to add the duty to the price of the goods; and the facility of levying, is the motive for preferring that method. But is it not hard, that the importer should be obliged to advance a great fum in name of duty, before drawing a shilling by the fale of his goods? It is not only hard, but grossly unjust: for if the goods perish without being fold, the duty is loft to the importer; he has no claim against the public for restitution. This has more the air of despotism than of a free government. Would it not be more equitable, that the goods should be lodged in a public warehouse, under custody of revenue-officers, the importer paying the duty as goods are fold? According to the prefent method, the duty remains with the collector three years, in order to be repaid to the importer, if the goods be exported within that time: but by the method proposed, the duty would be paid to the treafury as goods are fold, which might be within a month from the time of importation, perhaps a week; and the treafury would profit, as well as the fair trader. There are public warehouses adjoining to the customhouse of Bourdeaux, where the fugars of the French colonies are deposited, till the importer finds a market; and he pays the duty gradually as fales are made. It rejoices me, that the fame method is practifed in this island with respect to some foreign articles necessary in our trade with Africa: the duty is not demanded till the goods are shipped for that continent. It is also put in practice with refpect to foreign falt, and with respect to rum imported from our fugar-colonies.

Beside the equity of what is here proposed, which relieves the importer from advance of money, and from risk, many other advantages would be derived from it. In the first place, the merchant, having no occasion to reserve any portion of his capital for answering the duty, would be enabled to commence trade with a small

fmall flock, or to encrease his trade if his flock be large: trade would flourish, and the public revenue would encrease in proportion. Secondly, It would leffen fmuggling. Many a one who commences trade with upright intention, is tempted to finuggle for want of ready money to pay the duty. Thirdly, This manner of levying the duty, would not only abridge the number of officers, but remove every pretext for claiming discount on pretence of leakage, famples, and the drying or shrinking of goods. In the present manner of levying, that discount must be left to the discretion of the officer: a private understanding is thus introduced between him and the merchant, hurtful to the revenue, and destructive to morals. Fourthly, The merchant would be enabled to lower his prices, and be forc'd to lower them by having many rivals; which at the same time would give access to augment importation-duties, without raifing the price of foreign commodities above what it is at prefent. But the capital advantage of all would be, to render in effect every port in Britain a free port, enabling English merchants, many of whom have great capitals, to outstrip foreigners in what is termed a commerce of speculation. This island is well fituated for fuch commerce; and were our ports free, the productions of all climates would be stored up in them, ready for exportation when a market offers; an excellent plan for encreasing our shipping, and for producing boundless wealth.

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SECT. V.

RULES TO BE OBSERVED in TAXING.

THE different objects of taxes, and the intricacy thereby occasioned, require general rules, not only for directing the legislature in imposing them, but for enabling others to judge what are beneficial, and what hurtful.

The first rule I shall suggest is, That where-ever there is an opportunity of smuggling, taxes ought to be moderate; for smuggling can never effectually be restrained, where the cheapness of imported goods is in effect an ensurance against the risk; in which view, Swift humorously observes, that two and two do not always make four. A duty of 15 per cent. upon printed linen imported into France, encourages smuggling: a lower duty would produce a greater sum to the public, and be more beneficial to the French manufacturer. Bone-lace imported into France is charged with a duty of 20 per cent. in order to favour that manufacture at home: but in vain; for bone-lace is easily smuggled, and the price is little higher than before. The high duty on fuccus liquoritie imported into Britain, being L. 7: 2: 6 per hundred weight, was a great encouragement to smuggling; for which reason it is reduced to 30 s. per hundred weight (a).

The fmuggling of tea, which extracts great fums from Britain, is much encouraged by its high price at home. As far as I can judge, it would be profitable, both to the public and to individuals, to lay afide the importation-duty, and to fubfitute in its

(a) 7° Geo. III. cap. 47,

bash (cond rule is, That taxes expending it

stead a duty on the consumer. Freedom of importation would enable the East-India company to fell so cheap, as effectually to banish smuggling; and the low price of tea would enable the confumer to pay a pretty finart duty, without being much out of pocket. The following mode is proposed merely as an example: it is a hint that may lead to improvements. Let every man who uses tea be subjected to a moderate tax, proportioned to his mode of living. Absolute precision cannot be expected in proportioning the tax on families; but gross inequality may eafily be prevented. For instance, let the mode of living be determined by the equipage that is kept. A coach or chaife with two horses shall subject a family to a yearly tax of L. 10, heightening the tax in proportion to the number of horses and carriages; two fervants in livery, without a carriage, to a tax of 40 s.; every other family paying 20 s. Every family where tea is used must be entered in the collector's books, with its mode of living, under a heavy penalty; which would regulate the coachtax, as well as that on tea. Such a tax, little expensive in levying, would undoubtedly be effectual: a master of a family is imprudent indeed, if he put it in the power of the vender, of a malicious neighbour, or of a menial fervant, to subject him to a heavy penalty. This tax at the fame time would be the least difagreeable of any that is levied without difguife; being in effect a voluntary tax, as the mode of living is voluntary. Nor would it be difficult to temper the tax, fo as to afford a greater fum to the public than it receives at prefent from the importation-duty, and yet to cost our people no more for tea than they pay at present, taking into computation the high price of that commodity.

High duties on importation are immoral, as well as impolitic; and it would be unjustifiable in the legislature, first to tempt, and

then to punish for yielding to the temptation.

A fecond rule is, That taxes expensive in the levying ought to be avoided;

avoided; being heavy on the people, without a proportional benefit to the revenue. Our land-tax is admirable: it affords a great fum, levied with very little expence. The duties on coaches, and on gold and filver plate, are fimilar; and fo would be the tax on tea above proposed. The taxes that are the most hurtful to trade and manufactures, such as the duty on soap, candle, leather, are expensive in levying.

A third rule is, To avoid arbitrary taxes. They are difgustful to all, not excepting those who are favourably treated; because felf-partiality feldom permits a man to think, that justice is done him in fuch matters. A tax laid on perfons in proportion to their trade, or their opulence, must be arbitrary, even where strict justice is intended; because it depends on the vague opinion or conjecture of the collector: every man thinks himfelf injured; and the fum levied does not balance the discontent it occasions. The tax laid on the French farmer in proportion to his fubstance, is an intolerable grievance, and a great engine of oppreffion: if the farmer exert any activity in meliorating his land, he is fure to be doubly taxed. Hamburgh affords the only inflance of a tax on trade and riches, that is willingly paid, and that confequently is levied without oppression. Every merchant puts privately into the public cheft, the fum that in his own opinion he ought to contribute: A fingular example of integrity in a great trading town; for there is no fuspicion of wrong in that tacit contribution. But this state is not yet corrupted by luxury.

Because many vices that poison a nation, arise from inequality of riches; I propose it as a fourth rule, to remedy that inequality as much as possible, by relieving the poor, and burdening the rich. Proprietors of overgrown estates, can bear without inconvenience very heavy taxes; and those especially who convert much land from profit to pleasure, ought not to be spared. Would it not contribute greatly to the public good, that a tax of L. 50

bluody ding against want? A tax there upon needshires

would

should be laid on every house that has 50 windows; L. 150 on houses of 100 windows; and L. 400 on houses of 200 windows? By the same principle, every deer-park of 200 acres ought to pay L. 50; of 500 acres L. 200; and of 1000 acres L. 600. Fifty acres of pleasure ground to pay L. 30; 100 such acres L. 80; 150 acres L. 200; and 200 acres L. 300. Such a tax would have another good effect: it would probably move high-minded, men to leave out more ground for maintenance of the poor, than they are commonly inclined to do.

A fifth rule of capital importance, as it regards the interest of the state in general is, That every tax which tends to impoverish the nation ought to be rejected with indignation. Such taxes contradict the very nature of government, which is to protect, not to oppress. And supposing the interest of the governing power to be only regarded, a state is not measured by the extent of its territory, but by what the subjects are able to pay annually without end. A sovereign, however regardless of his duty as father of his people, will regard that rule for his own sake: a nation impoverished by oppressive taxes, will reduce the sovereign at last to the same poverty; for he cannot levy what they cannot pay.

Whether taxes imposed on common necessaries, which fall heavy upon the labouring poor, be of the kind now mentioned, deserves the most serious consideration. Where they tend to promote industry, they are highly falutary: where they deprive us of foreign markets, by raising the price of labour, and of manufactures, they are highly noxious. In some cases, industry may be promoted by taxes, without raising the price of labour and of manufactures. Tobolski in Siberia is a populous town, the price of vivres is extremely low, and the people on that account are extremely idle. While they are masters of a farthing, they work none: when they are pinched with hunger, they gain in a day what maintains them a week: they never think of to-morrow, nor of providing against want. A tax there upon necessaries

would probably excite fome degree of industry. Such a tax, renewed from time to time, and augmented gradually, would promote industry more and more, so as to squeeze out of that lazy people three, four, or even five days labour weekly, without raifing their wages, or the price of their work. But beware of a general rule. The effect would be very different in Britain, where moderate labour, without much relaxation, is requifite for living comfortably: in every fuch case, a permanent tax upon necessaries will not fail in time to raise the price of labour. It is true, that in a fingle year of fcarcity there is commonly more labour, and even better living, than in plentiful years. But suppose scarcity to continue a number of years fuccessively, or suppose a permanent tax on necessaries, wages must rise till the labourer find comfortable living: if the employer obstinately stand out, the labourer will in defpair abandon work altogether, and commence beggar; or will retire to a country less burdened with taxes. Hence a falutary doctrine, That where expence of living equals, or nearly equals, what is gained by bodily labour, moderate taxes renewed from time to time after confiderable intervals, will promote industry, without raising the price of labour; but that permanent taxes will unavoidably raise the price of labour, and of manufactures. In Holland, the high price of provisions and of labour, occasioned by permanent taxes, have excluded from the foreign market every one of their manufactures that can be supplied by other nations. Heavy taxes have put an end to their once flourishing manufactures of wool, of filk, of gold and filver, and many others. The prices of labour and of manufactures have in England been immoderately raifed by the fame means.

To prevent a total downfall of our manufactures, several political writers have given their opinion, that the labouring poor ought to be disburdened of all taxes. The royal tithe proposed for France, instead of all other taxes, published in the name of



Marefchal Vauban, or fuch a tax laid upon land in England, might originally have produced wonders. But the expedient would now come too late, at least in England: fuch profligacy have the poor-rates produced among the lower ranks, that to relieve them from taxes, would probably make them work less, but affuredly would not make them work cheaper. It is vain therefore to think of a remedy against idleness and high wages, while the poor-rates subsist in their present form. Davenant pronounces, that the English poor-rates will in time be the bane of their manufactures. He computes, that the persons receiving alms in England amount to one million and two hundred thousand, the half of whom at least would have continued to work, had they not relied on parish-charity. But of this more at large in a separate sketch.

Were the poor-rates abolished, a general act of naturalization would not only augment the strength of Britain, by adding to the number of its people, but would compel the natives to work cheaper, and consequently to be more industrious.

If these expedients be not relished, the only one that remains for preserving our manufactures is, to encourage their exportation by a bounty, such as may enable us to cope with our rivals in foreign markets. But where is the fund for a bounty so extensive? It may be raised out of land, like the Athenian tax above mentioned, burdening great proprietors in a geometrical proportion, and freeing those who have not above L. 100 of land-rent. That tax would raise a great sum to the public, without any real loss to those who are burdened; for comparative riches would remain the same as formerly. Nay such a tax would in time prove highly beneficial to land-proprietors; for by promoting industry and commerce, it would raise the rent of land much above the contribution. Can money be laid out so advantageously at common interest? And to reconcile land-holders to the tax, may it

for France, unflead of all other taxes, published in the name of

not be thought fufficient, that, without a bounty, our foreign commerce must vanish, and land be reduced to its original low value? Can any man hesitate about paying a shilling, when it ensures him against losing a pound?

I shall close with a rule of deeper concern than all that have been mentioned, which is, To avoid taxes that require the oath of party. They are contra bonos mores, as being a temptation to perjury. Few there are fo wicked, as to hurt others by perjury: at the fame time, there are not many of the lower ranks fo upright, as to scruple much at perjury, when it prevents hurt to themfelves. Confider the duty on candle. Those only who brew for fale, pay the duty on malt-liquor; and to avoid the brewer's oath, the quantity is afcertained by officers who attend the process. But the duty on candle is oppressive, not only as comprehending poor people who make no candle for fale, but as fubjecting them to give oath on the quantity they make for their own use. Figure a poor widow, burdened with five or fix children: fhe is not permitted to make ready a little food for her infants, by the light of a rag dipped in greafe, without paying what she has not to pay, or being guilty of perjury. However upright originally, poverty and anxiety about her infants will tempt her to conceal the truth, and to deny upon oath: - a fad lesson to her poor children: ought they to be punished for copying after their mother, whom they love and revere? whatever she does appears right in their eyes. The manner of levying the falt-tax in France is indeed arbitrary; but it is not productive of immorality: an oath is avoided; and every mafter of a family pays for the quantity he is prefumed to confume. French wine is often imported into Britain as Spanish, which pays less duty. To check that fraud, the importer's oath is required; and if perjury be fuspected, a jury is fet upon him in exchequer. This is horrid: the importer is tempted by a high duty on French wine to commit perjury; for which

which he is profecuted in a fovereign court, open to all the world: he turns desperate, and loses all sense of honour. Thus customhouse oaths have become a proverb, as meriting no regard; and corruption creeping on, will become univerfal. Some goods imported pay a duty ad valorem; and to afcertain the value the importer's oath is required. In China, the books of the merchant are trusted, without an oath. Why not imitate fo laudable a practice? If our people be more corrupted, perjury may be avoided, by ordaining the merchant to deliver his goods to any who will demand them, at the rate stated in his books; with the addition of ten per cent. as a sufficient profit to himself. Oaths have been greatly multiplied in Britain fince the Revolution, without referve, and contrary to found policy. New oaths have been contrived against those who are disaffected to the government; against fictitious titles in electing parliament-members; against defrauding the revenue, &c. &c. They have been fo hackney'd, and have become fo familiar, as to be held a matter of form merely. Perjury has dwindled into a venial transgression, and is scarce held an imputation on any man's character. Lamentable indeed has been the conduct of our legislature: instead of laws for reforming or improving morals, the imprudent multiplication of oaths has not only fpread corruption through every rank, but, by annihilating the authority of an oath over conscience, has rendered it entirely useless.

Vol. I.

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EXAMINATION OF BRITISH TAXES.

Here is no political fubject of greater importance to Britain, than the present: a whole life might be profitably bestow'd on it, and a large volume. My part is only to fuggest hints; which will occur in confidering taxes with regard to their effects. And in that view, they may be commodiously distinguished into five kinds. First, Taxes that encrease the public revenue, without producing any other effect, good or bad. Second, Taxes that encrease the public revenue; and are also beneficial to manufactures and commerce. Third, Taxes that encrease the public revenue; but are hurtful to manufactures and commerce. Fourth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce, without encreasing the public revenue. Fifth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce; and also lessen the public revenue. I proceed to instances of each kind.

The land-tax is an illustrious instance of the first kind: it produces a revenue to the public, levied with very little expence: and it hurts no mortal; for a landholder who pays for having himself and his estate protected, cannot be faid to be hurt. The duty on coaches is of the fame kind. Both taxes at the fame time are agreeable to found principles. Men ought to contribute to the public revenue, according to the benefit that protection affords them: a rich man requires protection for his possessions, as well as for his person, and therefore ought to contribute largely: a roods Cape of Good Hope plough with oxer, and carries then aid

poor man requires protection for his person only, and therefore ought to contribute very little.

A tax on foreign luxuries is an inftance of the fecond kind. It encreases the public revenue: and it greatly benefits individuals; not only by restraining the confumption of foreign luxuries, but by encouraging our own manufactures of that kind. Britain enjoys a monopoly of coal exported to Holland; and the duty on exportation is agreeable to found policy, being paid by the Dutch. This duty is an inftance of the fecond kind: it raifes a confiderable revenue to the public; and it enables us to cope with the Dutch in every manufacture that employs coal, fuch as dving, distilling, works of glass and of iron. And these manufactures in Britain, by the dearness of labour, are entitled to some aid. A tax on horses, to prevent their increase, would be a tax of the same kind. The incredible number of horses used in coaches and other wheel-carriages, has raifed the price of labour, by doubling the the price of oat-meal, the food of the labouring poor in many parts of Britain. The price of wheat is also raised by the same means; because the vast quantity of land employ'd in producing oats, leaves fo much the less for wheat. I would not exempt even plough-horses from the tax; because in every view it is more advantageous to use oxen *. So little regard is paid to these confideada to seasting amouthold, and we retions,

* They are preferable for husbandry in several respects. They are cheaper than horses: their food, their harness, their shoes, the attendance on them, much less expensive; and their dung much better for land. Horses are more subject to discases, and when discassed or old are totally useless; upon which account, a stock of horses for a farm, must be renewed at least every ten years; whereas a stock of oxen may be kept entire for ever without any new expence, as they will always draw a full price when satted for food. Nor is a horse more docide than an ox: a couple of oxen in a plough, require not a driver more than a couple of horses. The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope plough with oxen; and exercise them early to a quick

rations, that a coach, whether drawn by two horses or by fix, pays the same duty.

As to the third kind, I am grieved to observe, that we have many taxes more hurtful to individuals than advantageous to the public revenue. Multiplied taxes on the necessaries of life, candle, foap, leather, ale, falt, &c. raife the price of labour, and confequently of manufactures. If they shall have the effect to deprive us of foreign markets, which we have reason to dread, depopulation and poverty must ensue. The falt-tax in particular is more out of rule than any of the others mentioned: with respect to these, the rich bear the greatest burden, being the greatest confumers; but the share they pay of the falt-tax is very little, because they never touch salt provisions. The salt-tax is still more abfurd in another respect, salt being a choice manure for land. One would be amazed to hear of a law prohibiting the use of lime as a manure: he would be still more amazed to hear of the prohibition being extended to falt, which is a manure much superior: and yet a heavy tax on falt, which renders it too dear for being used as a manure, surprises no man. But the mental eye, when left without culture, refembles that of the body: it feldom perceives but what is directly before it: inferences and confequences go far out of fight. Many thousand quarters of good wheat have been annually with-held from Britain by the falt-tax. What the

pace, so as to equal horses both in the plough and in the waggon. The people of Malabar use no other animal for the plough nor for burdens. About Pondichery no beasts of burden are to be seen but oxen. The vast increase of horses of late years for luxury as well as for draught, makes a great consumption of oats. If in husbandry oxen only were used, which require no oats, many thousand acres would be saved for wheat and barley. But the advantages of oxen would not be consined to the farmer. Beef would become much cheaper to the manufacturer, by the vast addition of fat oxen sent to market; and the price of leather and tallow would fall; a national benefit, as every one uses shoes and candles.

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treafury has gained, will not amount to the fiftieth part of that loss. The absurdity of with-holding from us a manure so profitable, has at last been discovered; and remedied in part, by permitting English soul salt to be used for manure, on paying sour pence of duty per bushel (a). Why was not Scotland permitted to taste of that bounty? Our candidates, it would appear, are more solicitous of a seat in parliament, than of serving their country when they have obtained that honour.

The window-tax is more detrimental to the common interest than advantageous to the public revenue. In the first place, it promotes large farms in order to fave houses and windows; whereas finall farms tend to multiply a hardy and frugal race, ufeful for every purpose. In the next place, it is a discouragement to manufactures, by taxing the houses in which they are carried on. Manufacturers, in order to relieve themselves as much as possible from the tax, make the whole fide of their house a fingle window; and there are instances where in three stories there are but three windows. The tax, at the same time, is imposed with no degree of equality: a house in a paultry village that affords not five pounds of yearly rent, may have a greater number of windows than one in London rented at fifty. In this respect it runs counter to found policy, by eafing the rich, and burdening the poor. The fame objection lies against the plate-tax. It is not indeed hurtful to manufactures and commerce: but it is hurtful to the common interest; because plate converted into money may be the means of faving the nation at a crifis, and therefore ought to be encouraged, instead of being loaded with a tax. On pictures imported into Britain, a duty is laid in proportion to the fize. Was there no intelligent person at hand, to inform our legislature, that the only means to rouse a genius for painting, is Characteristics to afree our facility may be a local burning the second to decide the end

(a) 8° Geo. III. cap. 25.

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to give our youth ready access to good pictures? Till these be multiplied in Britain, we never shall have the reputation of producing a good painter. So far indeed it is lucky, that the most valuable pictures are not loaded with a greater duty than the most execrable. Fish, both salt and fresh, brought to Paris, pay a duty of 48 per cent. by an arbitrary estimation of the value. This tax is an irreparable injury to France, by discouraging the multiplication of seamen. It is beneficial indeed in one view, as it tends to check the growing population of that great city.

Without waiting to rummage the British taxes for examples of the fourth kind, I shall present my reader with a foreign instance. In the Austrian Netherlands, there are inexhaustible mines of coal, the exportation of which would make a confiderable article of commerce, were it not absolutely barred by an exorbitant duty. This abfurd duty is a great injury to proprietors of coal, without yielding a farthing to the government. The Dutch many years ago offered to confine themselves to that country for coal, on condition of being relieved from the duty; which would have brought down the price below that of British coal. Is it not wonderful, that the propofal was rejected? But ministers feldom regard what is beneficial to the nation, unless it produce an immediate benefit to their fovereign or to themselves. The coal-mines in the Austrian Netherlands being thus shut up, and the art of working them loft, the British enjoy the monopoly of exporting coal to Holland.

The duty on coal water-born is an instance of the fifth kind. A great obstruction it is to many useful manufactures that require coal; and indeed to manufactures in general, by increasing the expence of coal, an essential article in a cold country. Nay, one would imagine, that it has been intended to check population; as poor wretches benumbed with cold, feel little of the carnal appetite. It has not even the merit of adding much to the public re-

venue; for, laying aside London, it produces but a mere trisle. But the peculiarity of this tax, which intitles it to a conspicuous place in the fifth class, is, that it is not less detrimental to the public revenue than to individuals. No fedentary art nor occupation, can fucceed in a cold climate without plenty of fewel. One may at the first glance distinguish the coal-countries from the rest of England, by the industry of the inhabitants, and by plenty of manufacturing towns and villages. Where there is fcarcity of fewel, fome hours are loft every morning; because people cannot work till the place be fufficiently warmed, which is especially the case in manufactures that require a foft and delicate finger. Now, in many parts of Britain which might be provided with coal by water, the labouring poor are deprived of that comfort by the tax. Had cheap firing encouraged these people to profecute arts and manufactures; it is more than probable, that at this day they would be contributing to the public revenue by other duties, much greater fums than are drawn from them by the duty on coal. At the fame time, if coal must pay a duty, why not at the pit, where it is cheapest? Is it not an egregious blunder, to lay a great duty on those who pay a high price for coal, and no duty on those who have it cheap? If there must be a coal-duty, let water-born coal at any rate be exempted; not only because even without duty it comes dear to the confumer, but also for the encouragement of feamen. For the honour of Britain this duty ought to be expunged from our flatute-book, never again to flow its face. Great reason indeed there is for continuing the duty on coal consumed in London; because every artifice should be put in practice, to prevent the increase of a head, that is already too large for the body, or for any body. Towns are unhealthy in proportion to their fize; and a great town like London is a greater enemy to population than war or famine, name and and a surgam bloom

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S E C T. VII.

REGULATIONS for advancing INDUSTRY and COM-MERCE.

F all sciences, that of politics is the most intricate; and its progress toward maturity is slow in proportion. In the present section, taxes on exportation of native commodities take the lead; and nothing can set in a stronger light the gross ignorance of former ages, than a maxim universally adopted, That to tax exportation, or to prohibit it altogether, is the best means for having plenty at home. In Scotland we were not satisfied with prohibiting the exportation of corn, of sish, and of horses: the prohibition was extended to manufactures, linen cloth, for example, candle, butter, cheese, barked hides, shoes * (a).

Duties on exportation are in great favour, from a notion that they are paid by foreigners. This holds fometimes, as in the above-mentioned case of coal exported to Holland: but it fails in every case where the foreign market can be supplied by others;

^{*} Oil was the only commodity that by the laws of Solon was permitted to be exported from Attica. The figs of that country, which are delicious, came to be produced in fuch plenty, that there was no fufficient confumpt for them at home; and yet the law prohibiting exportation was not abrogated. Sycophant denotes a perfon who informs againft the exporter of figs: but the prohibition appearing abfurd, fycophant became a term of reproach.

⁽a) Act 59. parl. 1573.

for whatever be the duty, the merchant must regulate his price by the market. And even fuppoling the market-price at prefent to be fufficient for the duty, with a reasonable profit to the exporter, those who pay no duty will strain every nerve of rivalship, till they cut us out by low prices. The duty on French wine exported from France, is equal to a bounty to the wines of neighbouring countries. At the fame time, the duty is unskilfully imposed, being the same upon all wines exported, without regard to flavour or strength; which bars the commerce of small wines, tho' much more plentiful. A moderate duty on exportation, fuch as fmall wines can bear, would add a greater fum to the revenue, and also be more beneficial to commerce. To improve the commerce of wine in France, the exportation ought to be free, or, at most, charged with a moderate duty ad valorem. In Spain an exceffive duty is laid upon the plant barrile when exported; from a perfuafion that it will not grow in any other country. It is not confidered, that this tax, by leffening the demand, is a difcouragement to its culture. A moderate duty would raife more money to the public, would employ more hands, and would make that plant a permanent article of commerce. The excessive duty has fet invention at work, for fome material in place of that plant. If fuch a material shall be discovered, the Spanish ministry will be convinced of a falutary maxim, That it is not always fafe, to interrupt by high duties the free course of commerce. Formerly in Britain the exportation of manufactured copper was prohibited. That blunder in commercial politics, was corrected by a flatute in the reign of King William, permitting fuch copper to be exported, on paying a duty of four shillings the hundred weight. The exportation ought to have been declared free; which was done by a statute of Queen Anne. But as people are apt to overdo in the rage of improvement, this statute permits even unwrought copper, a raw material, to be exported. This probably VOL. I. 3 Q

was to favour copper-mines: but did it not also favour foreign copper-manufactures? Goods and merchandise of the product or manufacture of Great Britain, may be exported duty free (a). Alum, lead, and some other commodities specified in the statute, are excepted; and a duty formerly paid on exportation is continued, for encouraging such of our own manufactures as employ any of the articles specified. In Ireland to this day, goods exported are loaded with a high duty, without even distinguishing made work from raw materials; corn, for example, sish, hops, butter, horned cattle, wrought iron, leather, and every thing made of it, &c. &c. And that nothing may escape, all goods exported that are not contained in the book of rates, pay 5 per cent. ad valorem.

When Sully entered on the administration of the French finances, the corn in France was at an exorbitant price, occasioned by neglect of husbandry during the civil war. That fagacious minifter discovered the secret of re-establishing agriculture, and of reducing the price of corn, which is, to allow a free exportation. So rapid was the fuccess of that bold but politic measure, that in a few years France became the granary of Europe; and what at present may appear wonderful, we find in the English records, anno 1621, bitter complaints of the French underfelling them in their own markets. Colbert, who, fortunately for us, had imbibed the common error, renewed the ancient prohibition of exporting corn, hoping to have it cheap at home for his manufacturers. But he was in a gross mistake; for that prohibition has been the chief cause of many famines in France fince that time. corn-trade in France lay long under great difcouragements; and the French ministry continued long blind to the interest of their country. At last edicts were issued, authorising the commerce of corn to be absolutely free, whether fold within the kingdom or

(a) George I. cap. 14. ad 8.

exported.

exported. The generality however continued blind. In the year 1768, the badness of the harvest having occasioned a famine, the distresses of the people were excessive, and their complaints univerfal. Overlooking altogether the bad harvest, they, from amazing partiality, attributed their mifery to the new law. It was in vain inculcated, that freedom in the corn-trade encourages agriculture: the popular opinion was adopted even by most of the parliaments; fo difficult it is to eradicate established prejudices. In Turky, about thirty years ago, a grand vizir permitted corn to be exported more freely than had been done formerly, a bushel of wheat being fold at that time under feventeen pence. Every nation flocked to Turky for corn; and in particular no fewer than three hundred French veffels, from twenty to two hundred tons, entered Smyrna bay in one day. The Janissaries and populace took the alarm, fearing that all the corn would be exported, and that a famine would enfue. In Constantinople they grew mutinous, and could not be appeafed till the vizir was strangled, and his body thrown out to them. His fuccessor, who resolved not to fplit on the fame rock, prohibited exportation absolutely. In that country, rent is paid in proportion to the product; and the farmers, who faw no demand, neglected tillage. In less than three years the bushel of wheat rose to fix shillings; and the distresses of the people became intolerable. To this day, the fate of the good vizir is lamented.

We have improved upon Sully's difcovery, by a bounty on corn exported, which has answered our most fanguine expectations. A great increase of gold and filver subsequent to the faid bounty, which has raifed the price of many other commodities, must have also raised that of corn, had not still a greater increase of corn, occasioned by the bounty, reduced its price even below what it was formerly; and by that means our manufactures have profited by the bounty no less than our husbandry. The bounty is still

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more important in another respect: agriculture in France lies under many discouragements; the greatest of which is, that our wheat can be afforded as cheap in their markets as their own; and by prohibiting exportation, it is in our power during a war, to dash all the French schemes for conquest, by depriving them of bread *. This bounty therefore is our palladium, which we ought religiously to guard, if we would avoid being a province of France. Some fage politicians have begun of late to mutter against the bounty, as feeding our rival manufacturers cheaper than our own; which is a mistake, for the expence of exportation commonly equals the bounty. But supposing it true, will the evil be remedied by withdrawing the bounty? On the contrary, it will discourage manufactures, by raising the price of wheat at home. It will befide encourage French husbandry, fo as in all probability to reduce the price of their wheat, below what we afford it to them. In France, labour is cheaper than in England, the people are more frugal, they possess a better soil and climate: what have we to balance these signal advantages but our bounty? and were that bounty withdrawn, I should not be surprised to see French corn poured in upon us, at a lower price than it can be furnished at home; the very game that was play'd against us, during Sully's administration.

The exportation of British manufactures to our American colonies, ought to meet with such encouragement as to prevent them from rivalling us: it would be a gross blunder to encourage their manufactures, by imposing a duty on what we export to them.

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^{*} Between the years 1715 and 1755 there was of wheat exported from England into France twenty-one millions of feptiers, estimated at two hundred millions of livres. The bounty for exporting corn has sometimes amounted to L. 150,000 for a single year. But this sum is not all lost to the public; for frequently our corn is exchanged with goods that pay a high duty on importation.

We ought rather to give a bounty on exportation; which, by underfelling them in their own markets, would quash every attempt to rivalship.

As the duty on foreign linen imported into Britain, is drawn back when exported to America, our legislature gave a bounty on our coarse linen exported to that country, which enables us to cope with the Germans in the American markets. The staining or printing of linen cloth, has of late become a considerable article in the manufactures of Britain; and there is no fort of linen more proper for that manufacture than our own. The duty of foreign linen is drawn back when exported to America, whether plain or stamped: and as we lose the bounty on our coarse linen when stamped, none but foreign linen is employ'd in the stamping manufacture. This is an oversight such as our legislature is guilty of sometimes.

It is not always true policy, to discourage the exportation of our own rude materials: liberty of exportation, gives encouragement to produce them in greater plenty at home; which consequently lowers the price to our manufacturers. Upon that principle, the exporting corn is permitted, and in Britain even encouraged with a bounty. But where exportation of a rude material will not encrease its quantity, the prohibition is good policy. For example, the exporting of rags for paper may be prohibited; because liberty of exporting will not occasion one yard more of linen cloth to be consumed.

Lyons is the city of Europe where the greatest quantity of filk stuffs is made: it is at the same time the greatest staple of raw filk; the filk of Italy, of Spain, of the Levant, and of the south of France, being there collected. The exportation of raw silk is prohibited in France, with a view to lessen its price at home, and to obstruct the silk-manufacture among foreigners. The first is a gross error; the prohibition of exportation producing scarcity, not plenty:

plenty: and with respect to the other view, it seems to have been overlooked, that the commerce of the filks of Italy, of Spain, and of the Levant, is not confined to France, but is open to all trading nations. This prohibition is indeed fo injudicious, that without any benefit to France, it has done irreparable mischief to the city of Lyons: while the commerce of raw filk, both buying and felling, was monopoliz'd by the merchants of that city, they had it in their power to regulate the price; but to compel foreigners to go to the fountain-head, not only raises the price by concurrence of purchasers, but deprives Lyons of a lucrative monopoly. The fame blunder is repeated with respect to raw filk fpun and dy'd. In Lyons, filk is prepared for the loom with more art than any where elfe; and to fecure the filk-manufacture, the exportation of spun filk is prohibited; which must rouse foreigners, to bestow their utmost attention upon improving the spinning and drefling of filk: and who knows whether reiterated trials by perfons of genius, may not, in England for example, bring these branches of the manufacture to greater perfection, than they are even in Lyons?

Whether we have not committed a blunder of the same kind in prohibiting exportation of our wool, is a very serious question, which I proceed to examine. A spirit for husbandry, and for every fort of improvement, is in France turning more and more general. In several provinces there are societies, who have command of public money for promoting agriculture; and about no other article are these societies more solicitous, than about improving the staple of their wool. A book lately published in Sweden, and translated into French, has inspired them with sanguine hopes of success; as it contains an account of the Swedish wool being greatly improved in quality, as well as in quantity, by importing spanish and English sheep for breed. Now as France is an extensive country, situated between Spain and England, two excellent wool-

wool-countries, it would be strange, if there should not be found a fingle corner in all France, where wool may be advanced to fome degree of perfection. Britain may be justly apprehensive of these attempts; for if France can cope with us under the difadvantage of procuring our wool by fmuggling, how far will they exceed us with good wool of their own? The woollen cloth of England has always been held its capital manufacture; and patriotifm calls on every one to prevent if possible the loss of that valuable branch. Till fomething better be discovered, I venture to propose what at first may be thought a strange measure, and that is, to permit the exportation of our wool upon a moderate duty, fuch as will raife the price to the French, but not fuch as to encourage fmuggling. The opportunity of procuring wool in the neighbourhood at a moderate price, joined with feveral unfuccefsful attempts to improve the staple of their own wool, would foon make the French abandon thoughts of that improvement.

Experience has unfolded the advantages of liberty to export corn: it has greatly encouraged agriculture, and, by increasing the quantity of corn, has made it even cheaper at home than formerly. Have we not reason to expect a similar consequence, from the same measure with respect to wool? A new vent for that commodity, would increase the number of our sheep, meliorate the land by their dung, and probably bring down the price of our wool at home. It is proper indeed to prohibit the exportation of wool, as of corn, when the price rises above a certain sum; which would have the double effect of securing plenty to ourselves, and distressing our rivals at critical times when the commodity is scarce.

There is one reason that should influence our legislature to permit the exportation of wool, even supposing the foregoing arguments to be inconclusive: Very long experience may teach us, if we can be taught by experience, that vain are our endeavours to prevent

prevent wool from being exported: it holds true with refpect to all prohibitions, that finuggling will always prevail, where the profits rife above the rifk. Why not then make a virtue of neceffity, by permitting exportation under a duty? One other meafure would reftore the English woollen manufacture to its pristine splendor, which is, to apply the sum arising from the tax, as a premium for exporting woollen goods. Were that measure adopted, the liberty of exporting wool would prove a singular blessing to England.

I close this branch with a commercial lesson, to which every other confideration ought to yield. The trade of a nation depends for the most part on very delicate circumstances, and requires to be carefully nurfed. Foreigners, in particular, ought to be flattered and encouraged, that they may prefer us before others. Nor ought we ever to rely entirely on our natural advantages; for it is not eafy to foresee what may occur to overbalance them. As this reflection is no less obvious than weighty, facts will be more effectual than argument for making a deep impression. The Swifs fome years ago imported all their wines from the King of Sardinia's dominions. The King laid a high duty on thefe wines, knowing that the Swifs had not ready access to any other wine-country. He did not foresee, that this high duty was equal to a premium for cultivating the vine at home. They fucceeded; and now are provided with wine of their own growth. The city of Lyons, by making filver-thread in perfection, had maintained a monopoly of that article against foreigners, as well as natives. But a high duty on the exporting it, in order to monopolize also the manufacture of filver-lace, will probably excite foreigners to improve their own filver-thread and filver-lace; and France will be deprived of both monopolies, by the very means employ'd for fecuring both. English goods purchased by Spaniards for the American market, pay to the King of Spain on exportation

portation a duty equal to their value. This impolitic measure opens a wide door to sinuggling; as English goods can be furnished 50 per cent. cheaper from Jamaica. The Spanish governor of Mexico joins underhand in the smuggling; which is commonly carried on in the following manner. The governor, to whom early notice is given, issues a proclamation, bearing, that a foreign ship, with English goods on board, every article being specified, is hovering on the coast; and prohibiting, under severe penalties, any person to be a purchaser. That public proclamation, which is virtually a public advertisement, has the desired effect. All slock to the shore, and purchase in perfect tranquillity.

Befide heavy duties, commerce with foreigners has been diftreffed by many unwary regulations. The herring-fifhery, which is now an immense article of commerce, was engrossed originally by the Scots. But grafping at all advantages, the royal boroughs of Scotland, in the reign of the fecond James, prohibited their fishermen to fell herrings at sea to foreigners; ordering, that the herring should be first landed, in order that they themselves might be first served. Such was the police of those times. But behold the confequence. The Netherlanders, and people of the Hanse towns, being prohibited to purchase as formerly, became fishers themselves, and cut the Scots out of that profitable branch of trade. The tar-company of Sweden, taking it for granted, that the English could not otherwise be supplied, refused to let them have any pitch or tar, even for ready money, unless permitted to be imported into England in Swedish bottoms; and confequently in fuch quantities only as the company should be pleafed to furnish. This hardship moved the parliament to give a bounty for pitch and tar made in our own colonies. And if we be not already, we shall soon be altogether independent of Sweden. The Dutch, excited by the profitable trade of Portugal with the East Indies, attempted a north-east passage to China; and VOL. I. 3 R

and that proving abortive, they fet on foot a trade with Lifbon for East-India commodities. Portugal was at that time subject to the King of Spain; and the Dutch, tho' at war with Spain, did not doubt of their being well received in Portugal, with which kingdom they had no cause of quarrel. But the King of Spain, overlooking not only the law of nations, but even his own interest as King of Portugal, confifcated at fhort-hand the Dutch ships and their cargoes, in the harbour of Lisbon. That unjust and unpolitic treatment, provoked the Dutch to attempt an East-India trade, which probably they would not otherwise have thought of; and they were fo fuccefsful, as to fupplant the Portuguese in every quarter. And thus the King of Spain, by a gross error in politics, exalted his enemies to be a powerful maritime state. Had he encouraged the Dutch to trade with Lisbon, other nations must have reforted to the fame market. Portugal thereby would have been raised to such a height of maritime power, as to be afraid of no rival. The Dutch would not have thought of coping with them, nor would any other nation.

We proceed to foreign commodities, and the measures laid down for regulating their importation, which have different views. One is, to keep down a rival power; in which view it is prudent to prohibit importation from one country, and to encourage it from another. It is judicious in the British legislature, to load French wines with a higher duty than those of Portugal; and in France, it would be a proper measure, to prefer the beef of Holstein, or of Russia, before that of Ireland; and the tobacco of the Ukraine, or of the Palatinate, before that of Virginia. But such measures of government ought to be sparingly exercised, for fear of retaliation.

There is no cause more cogent for regulating importation, than an unfavourable balance. By permitting French goods to be imported free of duty, the balance against England was computed to be

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be a million Sterling yearly. In the year 1678, that importation was regulated; which, with a prohibition of wearing East-India manufactures, did in twenty years turn the balance of trade in favour of England.

Most of the British regulations with regard to goods imported, are contrived for promoting our own manufactures, or those of our colonies. A statute, 3° Edward IV. cap. 4. intitled, " Cer-" tain merchandifes not lawful to be brought ready wrought into "the kingdom," contains a large lift of fuch merchandifes; showing the good sense of the English in an early period, intent on promoting their own manufactures. To favour a new manufacture of our own, it is proper to lay a duty on the fame manufacture imported. To encourage the art of throwing filk, the duty on raw filk imported is reduced, and that on thrown filk is heightened. But fuch a meafure ought to be taken with great circumfpection, left it recoil against ourselves. The Swedes, some years ago, intent on raising manufactures at home, prohibited at once foreign manufactures, without due preparation. Smuggling enfued, for people must import what they cannot find at home; and the home manufactures were not benefited. But the confequences were still more severe. Foreign manufactures were formerly purchased with their copper, iron, timber, pitch, tar, &c.: but now, as foreigners cannot procure these commodities but with ready money, they refort to Ruffia and Norway, where commodities of the fame kind are procured by barter. The Swedish government, perceiving their error, permit several foreign manufactures to be imported as formerly. But it is now too late; for the trade flows into another channel; and at prefent, the Swedish copper and iron works are far from flourishing as they once did. In the year 1768, an ordinance was iffued by the court of Spain, prohibiting printed or painted linen and cotton to be imported; intended for encouraging a manufacture of printed cottons projected in Catalonia and Aragon. The Spanish ministry have all along been fingularly unlucky in their commercial regulations. It is easy to foresee, that such a prohibition will have no effect, but to raise the price on the subjects of Spain; for the prohibited goods will be fmuggled, difcouraging as much as ever the intended manufacture. The prudent measure would have been, to lay a duty upon printed cottons and linens imported, fo fmall as not to encourage fmuggling; and to apply that duty for nurfing the infant manufacture. A foreign manufacture ought never to be totally prohibited, till that at home be in fuch plenty, as nearly to fupply the wants of the natives. During ignorance of political principles, a new manufacture was commonly encouraged with an exclusive privilege for a certain number of years. Thus in Scotland, an exclusive privilege of exporting woollen and linen manufactures, was given to some private societies (a). Such a monopoly is ruinous to a nation; and frequently to the manufacture itself (b). I know no monopoly that in found politics can be justified, except that given to authors of books for fourteen years by an act of Queen Anne *. Exemption from duty, premiums

⁽a) A& 42. parl. 1661.

⁽b) See Elemens du Commerce, tom. 1. p. 334.

^{*} That act is judiciously contrived, not only for the benefit of authors, but for that of learning in general. It encourages men of genius to write, and multiplies books both of instruction and amusement; which, by concurrence of many editors after the monopoly is at an end, are fold at the cheapest rate. Many well-disposed persons complain, that the exclusive privilege bestow'd by the statute upon authors is too short, and that it ought to be perpetual. Nay it is afferted, that authors have a perpetual privilege by common law; and it was determined lately in the court of king's-bench, that by the common law of England the privilege is perpetual. Nothing more frequently happens, than by grasping at the shadow, to lose the substance; for I have no difficulty to maintain, that a perpetual mono-

to the best workmen, a bounty on exportation, joined with a duty on goods of the same kind imported, and at last a total prohibition, are the proper encouragements to a new manufacture.

The importation of raw materials ought to be encouraged in every manufacturing country, permitting only a moderate duty for encouraging our own rude materials of the fame kind. By a French edict 1654, for encouraging ship-building, ship-timber imported pays no duty. But perhaps a moderate duty would have been better policy, in order to encourage such timber of the growth of France. Deal timber accordingly, and other timber, imported into Britain from any part of Europe, Ireland excepted, pays a moderate duty. And oak-bark imported pays a duty, which is an encouragement to propagate oak at home. The importation of lean cattle from Ireland, which in effect are raw ma-

poly of books would prove more destructive to learning, and even to authors, than a fecond irruption of Goths and Vandals. It is the nature of a monopoly to raife the price of commodities; and by a perpetual monopoly in the commerce of books, the price of good books would be raifed far beyond the reach of most readers: they would be fold like pictures of the great mafters. The works of Shakespeare, for example, or of Milton, would be feen in very few libraries. In fhort, the fale of good books would be confined to a few learned men, fuch as have money to fpare, and to a few rich men, who buy out of vanity, as they buy a diamond or a fine coat. Fashions at the same time are variable; and books, even the most splendid, would wear out of fashion with men of opulence, and be despised as antiquated furniture. And with respect to men of taste, their number is so small as not to afford encouragement even for the most frugal edition. Thus bookfellers, by grasping too much, would put an end to their trade altogether; and men of genius would not write, when no price could be afforded for their works. At the fame time, our prefent authors and bookfellers would not be much benefited by fuch a monopoly. Not many books have fo long a run as fourteen years; and the fuccefs of a book on the first publication, is so uncertain, that a bookfeller will give little more for a perpetuity, than for the temporary privilege of the statute. This was foreseen by the legiflature; and the privilege was wifely confined to fourteen years, equally beneficial to the public and to authors.

terials,

terials, is, by a statute of Charles II. declared a public nuisance. What gross ignorance! Is it not evident, that to feed cattle, is more profitable than to breed them? The chief promoter of that notable statute, was Sir John Knight, infamous for an insolent fpeech in King William's reign against naturalizing foreign Protestants, and proposing to kick out of the kingdom those already fettled. Experience hath proved the benefit of importing lean cattle into England; witness the vast quantities imported yearly from Scotland. Diamonds, pearls, and jewels of every kind, paid formerly upon importation a duty of ten per cent. ad valorem; which by act 6° George II. cap. 7. was taken off, upon the following preamble: "That London is now become a great mart for dia-" monds and other precious stones, from whence most foreign " countries are fupplied; that great numbers of rough diamonds " are fent here to be cut and polished; and that a free importa-" tion would encrease the trade."

Sorry am I to observe, that several of our duties on importation, are far from being conformable to the foregoing rule; many raw materials necessary for our manufactures being loaded with a duty on importation, and fome with a heavy duty. Barilla, for example, is a raw material used in the glass-manufacture: the exportation from Spain is loaded with a very high duty: and to raise the price still higher, we add another duty on importation; without having the pretext of encouraging a raw material of our own growth, for barilla grows not in this island. Hair is a raw material employ'd in feveral manufactures; and yet every kind of it, human hair, horse hair, goat's hair, &c. pays a duty on importation; which confequently raifes the price of our own hair, as well as of what is imported. Nor has this duty, more than the former, the pretext of being an encouragement to our own product; for furely there will not on that account be reared one child more, or foal, or kid. The fame objection lies against the duty on foreign kelp, which is very high. Rancid oil of olives, fit for foap and woollen manufactures, pays upon importation a high duty: were it free of duty, we should be able to serve ourselves with Castile soap of home manufacture; and likewise our colonies, which are partly supplied by the French. Each of the following raw materials ought in sound policy to be free of duty on importation; and yet they are loaded with a duty, some with a high duty; pot-ashes, elephant's teeth, raw silk from the East Indies, lamp-black, bristles dressed or undressed, horns of beeves. Undressed skins, tho' a rude material, pay a duty on importation; and French kid-skins are honoured above others with a high duty: to reject a great benefit to ourselves rather than afford a small benefit to a rival nation, savours more of peevishness than of prudence.

For encouraging our colonies, coffee is permitted to be imported from the plantations free of duty, while other coffee pays fix pence per pound. The heavy duty on whalebone and whaleoil imported, which was laid on for encouraging our own whalefishing, is taken off with respect to the importation from our American colonies (a). This may put an end to our own whalefishery: but it will enable the Americans to cope with the Dutch; and who knows whether they may not at last prevail? For encouraging the culture of hemp and flax in America, there is a bounty given upon what is imported into Britain. One would imagine, that our legislature intended to enable the colonies to rival us in a staple manufacture, contrary to the fundamental principle of colonization. But we did not fee fo far: we only forefaw a benefit to Britain, in being fupplied with hemp and flax from our colonies, rather than from Russia and the Low Countries. But even abstracting from rivalship, was it not obvious, that a bounty for

(a) 40 George III. cap. 29.

encouraging

encouraging the culture of hemp and flax at home, would be more fuccefsful, than for encouraging the culture in America, where the price of labour is excessively high, not to talk of the freight *?

The encouragement given to foreign linen-yarn, by taking off the duty on importation, is a measure that greatly concerns Britain; and how far falutary, shall be strictly examined, after stating some preliminary observations. The first is, That as the price of our own commodities can never rise above that of foreign commodities fold here, the price of imported linen must regulate the price of home-made linen. The next is, That tho' the duty on importation is paid by the merchant at the first instance, he relieves himself of it, by raising the price on the purchaser; which of course raises the price of the same fort of goods made at home;

* Between the mother-country and her colonies the following rule ought to be facred, That with respect to commodities wanted, each of them should prefer the other before all other nations. Britain should take from her colonies whatever they can furnish for her use; and they should take from Britain whatever she can furnish for their use. In a word, every thing regarding commerce ought to be reciprocal, and equal between them. To bar a colony from access to the fountain-head for commodities that cannot be furnished by the mother-country but at fecond-hand, is oppression: it is so far degrading the colonists from being free subjects to be slaves. What right, for example, has Britain to prohibit her colonies from purchasing tea or porcelane at Canton, if they can procure it cheaper there than in London? No connection between two nations can be fo intimate, as to make fuch reftraint an act of justice. Our legislature however have acted like a stepmother to her American colonies, by prohibiting them to have any commerce but with Britain only. They must land first in Britain all their commodities, even what are not intended to be fold there; and they must take from Britain, not only its own product, but every foreign commodity that is wanted. This regulation is not only unjust but impolitic; as by it the interest of the colonies in general is facrificed to that of a few London merchants. Our legislature have at last fo far opened their eyes, as to give a partial relief. Some articles are permitted to be carried directly to the place of deftination, without being first entered in Britain, wheat for example, rice, &c.

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and accordingly a duty on importation is in effect a bounty to our own manufacturers. A third observation is, That the price of our linen-cloth ought to be divided between the spinner and the weaver, in such proportion as to afford bread to both. If the yarn be too high, the weaver is undone; and if too low, the spinner is undone. This was not attended to, when, for encouraging our spinners, a duty of three pence was laid on every pound of imported linen-yarn; which had the effect to raise the price of our own yarn beyond what the weaver could afford. This mystery being unvailed, the duty was first lowered to two pence, and then to a penny: our spinners had tolerable bread, and our weavers were not oppressed with paying too high a price for yarn.

Some patriotic gentlemen, who had more zeal than knowledge, finding the linen-manufacture benefited by the feveral reductions of the duty, rashly concluded, that it would be still more benefited by a total abolition of the duty. The penny accordingly was taken off (a), and linen-yarn was permitted to be imported duty-free; which, if matters had continued as at the date of the act, would have left us not a fingle spinner by profession; because it would have reduced the price of our yarn below what could afford bread to the fpinner. Lucky it has been for our linen-manufacture, that the German war, which foon followed, fufpended all their manufactures, and fpinning in particular; which proved a favourable opportunity for diffusing widely the art of spinning, and for making our fpinners more and more dexterous. And yet, now that the war is at an end, it is far from being certain, that our varn can be afforded as cheap as what is imported from Silefia. We have good authority for afferting, that the English spinners have fuffered by that flatute: from the books of many parishes it appears, that soon after the statute, a number of wo-

(a) 29° George II.

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men,

men, who had lived by fpinning, became a burden upon the parish. One thing is evident, that as spinning is the occupation of females who cannot otherwise be so usefully employ'd, and as more hands are required for spinning than for weaving, the former is the more valuable branch of the manufacture. It ought then to be the peculiar concern of our legislature, not to destroy that branch by impolitic regulations. And yet very little attention feems to have been given to the public interest, in passing the act under confideration. Why was it not enquired into, whether the intended reduction of the price of yarn, would leave bread to the British spinner? The refult of that enquiry would have been fatal to the intended act; for it would have been clearly feen, that the Scotch spinner could not make bread by her work, far less the English. Other particulars ought also to have been fuggested to the legislature, that flax-spinning is of all occupations the fittest for women of a certain class, confined within fmall houses; that a flax-wheel requires less space than a wheel for wool; and that the toughness of British flax makes it excel for fail-cloth, dowlas, ticking, and fheeting. The British spinner might, in a British statute, have expected the cast of the scale, had it been but a halfpenny per pound on importation.

At the same time, why should there be any inconsistency in our commercial regulations, when the wisest heads of the nation are employ'd about them? Flax rough or undressed, being a rude material, is imported duty-free, but dressed flax pays a high duty; both of them calculated for encouraging our own manufacturers. Behold now a flat inconsistency: tho' dressed flax, for the reason given, pays a high duty; yet when by additional labour it is converted into yarn, it pays no duty. How absurd is this! Further, foreign yarn is not only made welcome duty-free, but even receives a bounty when converted into linen, and exported to our plantations. Have we no reason to be assaid, that such indul-

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gence to foreign yarn will deprive us of foreign rough flax? The difference of bulk and freight will determine the Germans to fend us nothing but their yarn, and equally determine our importers to commission that commodity only.

Goods imported, if fubjected to a duty, are generally of the best kind; because the duty bears a less proportion to such than to meaner forts. The best French wines are imported into Britain, where the duty is higher than in any other country. For that reason, the best linen-yarn was imported while the duty subfifted; but now the German yarn is forted into different kinds,

of which the worst is reserved for the English market.

Regulations concerning the exportation of commodities formerly imported, come next in order. And for encouraging fuch exportation, one method practifed with fuccefs, is, to reftore to the merchant the whole or part of the duty paid at importation; which is termed a drawback. This in particular is done with refpect to tobacco; which by that means can be afforded to foreigners at two pence halfpenny per pound, when the price at home is eight pence halfpenny. But by an omission in the act of parliament, a drawback is only given for raw tobacco; which bars the exportation of fnuff or manufactured tobacco, as foreigners can underfell us five-and-thirty per cent. Tobacco being an article of luxury, it was well judged in our legislature to lay a heavier duty on what is confumed at home, than on what is exported. Upon the same principle, the duty that is paid on the importation of coffee and cocoa from our American plantations, is wholly drawn back when exported (a). But as China earthen ware is not intitled to any encouragement from us, and as it is an article of luxury, it gets no drawback, even when exported to America (7° George III. cap. 46.). The exporter of rice from Britain, first imported from

(a) 7° George III. cap. 46.

America,

America, is intitled to draw back but half the duty paid on importation. Rice imported duty-free might rival our wheat-crop. But the whole duty ought to be drawn back on exportation: it ought to be afforded to our neighbours at the lowest rate, partly to rival their wheat-crop, and partly to encourage our rice-colonies.

Tobacco is an article of luxury; and it is well ordered, that it should come dearer to us than to foreigners. But every wife administration will take the opposite side with respect to articles that concern our manufactures. Quickfilver pays upon importation a duty of about 8 d. per pound; 7 d. of which is drawn back upon exportation. The intention of the drawback was to encourage the commerce of quickfilver; without adverting, that to afford quickfilver to foreign manufacturers cheaper than to our own, is a gross blunder in commercial politics. Again, when quickfilver is manufactured into vermilion or fublimate, no drawback is allowed; which effectually bars their exportation: we ought to be ashamed of such an absurdity. In the reign of Queen Elifabeth, dyers were prohibited to use logwood, which was ordered to be openly burnt. But the English dyers having acquired the art of fixing colours made of logwood, it was permitted to be imported (a), every ton paying on importation L. 5; L. 4 of which was to be drawn back upon exportation. That law, made in the days of ignorance, was intended to encourage the commerce of logwood; and had that effect: but the blunder of difcouraging our own manufactures, by furnishing logwood cheaper to our rivals, was overlooked. Both articles were put upon a better footing (b), giving a greater encouragement to the commerce of logwood, by allowing it to be imported duty-free; and

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(d) to George III, eap, 35

⁽a) A& 13. & 14. Charles II. cap. 11. § 26. 27.

⁽b) A& 80 George I. c. 14

by giving an advantage to our own manufactures, by laying a duty of 40 s. upon every hundred weight exported. Laftly, Still more to encourage the commerce of logwood (a), the duty upon exportation is discontinued. It will have the effect proposed: but will not that benefit be more than balanced by the encouragement it gives to foreign manufactures? By the late peace, we have obtained the monopoly of gum-fenega; and proper measures have been taken for turning it to the best account: the exportation from Africa is confined to Great Britain; and the duty on importation is only fix pence per hundred weight: but the duty on exportation from Britain is thirty shillings per hundred weight (b); which, with freight, commission, and insurance, makes it come dear to foreigners. Formerly, every beaver's skin paid upon importation feven pence of duty; and the exporter received a drawback of four pence; as if it had been the purpose of the legislature, to make our own people pay more for that ufeful commodity than foreigners. Upon obtaining a monopoly of beaver-skins by the late peace, that abfurd regulation was altered: a penny per skin of duty is laid on importation, and seven pence on exportation (c). By that means beaver-skins are cheaper here than in any other country of Europe. A fimilar regulation is established with respect to gum-arabic. A hundred weight pays on importation fix pence, and on exportation L. I, 10s. (d). As the foregoing articles are used in various manufactures, their cheapness in Britain, by means of these regulations, will probably balance the high price of labour, fo as to keep open to us the foreign market.

James

⁽a) 7° Geo. III. cap. 47.

⁽b) 50 George III. cap 37.

⁽c) 4º George III. cap. 9.

⁽d) 50 George III. cap. 37.

James I. of England iffued a proclamation, prohibiting gold and filver, whether in coin or plate, goldfmith's work, or bullion, to be exported. Not to mention the unconflitutional step of an English King usurping the legislative power, it was a glaring abfurdity to prohibit manufactured work from being exported. Gold and filver, coined or uncoined, are to this day prohibited to be exported from France; a most absurd prohibition, for a merchant will never willingly export gold and filver; but if the balance be against him, the exportation is unavoidable. The only effect of the prohibition is, to swell the merchant's debt; for he must have recourse to a smuggler, who must be tempted with a high bribe to undertake the exportation.

A French author remarks, than in no country are commercial regulations better contrived than in Britain; and inflances the following particulars. 1st, Foreign commodities, such as may rival their own, are prohibited, or burdened with duties. 2d, Their manufactures are encouraged by a free exportation. 3d, Raw materials which cannot be produced at home, cochineal, for example, indigo, &c. are imported free of duty. 4th, Raw materials of their own growth, such as wool, fuller's earth, &c. are prohibited to be exported. 5th, Every commodity has a free course through the kingdom, without duty. And lastly, Duties paid on importation, are repaid on exportation. This remark is for the most part well founded: and yet the facts above set forth will not permit us to say, that the English commercial laws have as yet arrived at perfection.

HAVING thus gone through the feveral articles that enter into the present sketch, I shall close with some general reslections. The management of the sinances is a most important branch of government; and no less delicate than important. Taxes may be so contrived as to promote in a high degree the prosperity of a state; and without much contrivance, they may do much mischief.

chief. The latter, by rendering the fovereign odious, and the people miferable, effectually eradicate patriotism: no other cause is more fruitful of rebellion; and no other cause reduces a country to be a more easy prey to an invader. To that cause were the Mahometans chiefly indebted for their conquest of the Greek empire. The people were glad to change their master; because, instead of multiplied, intricate, and vexatious duties, they found themselves subjected to a simple tribute, easily collected, and easily paid. Had the art of oppressive taxes been known to the Romans, when they put in practice against the Carthaginians the utmost persidy and cruelty for making them abandon their city, they probably would have chosen the softer method of imposing high duties on exportation and importation, which would have gratified their avarice, and at the same time have emaciated Carthage, and reduced it to beggary.

But fuch taxes require not the aid of external force to fubdue a nation: they alone will reduce it to the most contemptible weakness. From the union of the different Spanish kingdoms under one monarch, there was reason to expect an exertion of spirit, similar to that of the Romans when peace was restored under Augustus. Spain was at that period the most potent kingdom in Europe, or perhaps in the world; and yet, instead of slourishing in that advantageous condition, it was by noxious taxes brought down to poverty and depopulation. The political history of that kingdom with respect to its finances, ought to be kept in perpetual remembrance, that kings, and their ministers, may shun the destructive rock upon which Spain hath been wrecked. The cortes of Spain had once as extensive powers as ever were enjoy'd by an English parliament; but at the time of the union their power being funk to a shadow, the King and his ministers governed without much control. Britain cannot be too thankful to Providence for her parliament. From the history of every modern European nation, an instructive lesson may be gathered, that the three estates, or a parliament in our language, are the only proper check against the ignorance and rapacity of ministers. The fertility of the Spanish foil is well known. Notwithstanding frequent droughts to which it is liable, it would produce greatly with diligent culture; and in fact during the time of the Roman domination, produced corn fufficient for its numerous inhabitants, and a great furplus, which was annually exported to Italy. During the domination of the Moors, Arabian authors agree, that Spain was extremely populous. An author of that nation, who wrote in the tenth century, reports, that in his time there were in Spain 80 capital cities, 300 of the fecond and third orders, befide villages fo frequent, that one could not walk a mile without meeting one or more of them. In Cordova alone, the capital of the Moorish empire, he reckons 200,000 houses *, 600 mosques, and 900 public baths. In the eleventh century, another author mentions no fewer that 12,000 villages in the plain of Seville. Agriculture at that period must have been in the utmost perfection, when Spain could feed fuch multitudes. What was the extent of their internal commerce, is not recorded; but all authors agree, that their foreign commerce was immense. Beside many articles of smaller value, they exported raw filk, oil, fugar, a fort of cochineal, quickfilver, iron wrought and unwrought, manufactures of filk, of wool, &c. The annual revenue of Abdoulrahman III, one of the Spanish califs, was in money 12,045,000 dinares, above five millions Sterling, befide large quantities of corn, wine, oil, and other fruits. That prince's revenue must indeed have been immense to supply the fums expended by him. Befide the annual charges of government, fleets, and armies, he laid out great fums on his pri-

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^{*} Dwelling-houses at that time were not so large, nor so expensive, as they came to be in later times.

vate pleasures. Tho' engaged continually in war, he had money to spare for building a new town three miles from Cordova, named Zebra, after his favourite mistress. In that town he erected a magnificent palace, sufficiently capacious for his whole seraglio of 6300 persons. There were in it 1400 columns of African and Spanish marble, 19 of Italian marble, and 140 of the finest kind, a present from the Greek Emperor. In the middle of the great saloon, were many images of birds and beasts in pure gold adorned with precious stones, pouring water into a large marble bason. That prince must have had immense stables for horses, when he entertained for his constant guard no fewer than 12,000 horsemen, having sabres and belts enriched with gold. Upon the city of Zehra alone, including the palace and gardens, were expended annually 300,000 dinares, which make above L. 100,000 Sterling; and it required twenty-five years to complete these works **.

The great fertility of the foil, the industry of the Moors, and their advantageous fituation for trade, carried on the prosperity of Spain down to the time that they were subdued by Ferdinand

* A present made to Abdoulrahman by Abdoulmelik, when chosen prime vizier, is a specimen of the riches of Spain in that period. 1st, 408 pounds of virgin gold. 2d, The value of 420,000 sequins in silver ingots. 3d, 400 pounds of the wood of aloes, one piece of which weigh'd 180 pounds. 4th, 500 ounces of ambergrease, of which there was one piece that weigh'd 100 ounces. 5th, 300 ounces of the finest camphire. 6th, 300 pieces of gold-stuff, such as were prohibited to be worn but by the Caliph himself. 7th, A quantity of fine fur. 8th, Horse-furniture of gold and silk, Bagdad fabric, for 48 horses. 9th, 4000 pounds of raw silk. 10th, 30 pieces Persian tapestry of surprising beauty. 11th, Complete armour for 800 war-horses. 12th, 1000 bucklers, and 100,000 arrows. 13th, Fifteen Arabian horses, with most sumptuous furniture; and a hundred other Arabian horses for the King's attendants. 14th, Twenty mules, with suitable surniture. 15th, Forty young men, and twenty young women, complete beauties, all of them dress'd in superb habits.

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of Arragon. Of this we have undoubted evidence, from the condition of Spain in the days of Charles V. and of his fon Philip, being effected at that period the richest nation in the universe. We have the authority of Ustariz, that the town of Seville, in the period mentioned, contained 60,000 filk looms. During the fixteenth century, the woollen cloth of Segovia was esteemed the finest in Europe; and that of Catalonia long maintained its preference in the Levant, in Italy, and in the adjacent islands. In a memorial addressed to the second Philip, Louis Valle de la Cerda reports, that in the fair of Medina he had negotiated bills of exchange to the extent of one hundred and sifty-sive millions of crowns; and in Spain at that time there were several other fairs, no less frequented.

The expulsion of the Moors, deprived Spain of fix or feven hundred thousand frugal and industrious inhabitants; a wound that touch'd its vitals, but not mortal: tender care, with proper remedies, would have restored Spain to its former vigour. But unhappily for that kingdom, its political physicians were not skilled in the method of cure: instead of applying healing medicines, they enslamed the disease, and rendered it incurable. The ministry, who, instigated by the clergy, had prevailed on the King to banish the Moors, dreading loss of favour if they should suffer the King's revenues to fink, were forc'd, in self-defence, to double the taxes upon the remaining inhabitants. And what could be expected from that fatal measure, but utter ruin; when the poor Christians, who were too much of gentlemen to be industrious, had searce been able to crawl under the load of former taxes?

But a matter that affords a lesson so instructive, merits a more particular detail. So late as the beginning of the last century, there were extensive plantations of sugar in the kingdom of Granada, which upon the occasion mentioned were deeply taxed, so as that with the former taxes sugar pay'd 36 per cent. This branch

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of hufbandry, which could not fail to languish under fuch oppresfion, was in a deep confumption when the first American fugars were imported into Europe, and was totally extinguished by the lower price of these sugars. Spain once enjoy'd a most extensive commerce of spirits manufactured at home, perhaps more extensive than France does at prefent. But two causes concurred to ruin that manufacture; first, oppressive taxes; and next, a prohibition to the manufacturer, of vending his spirits to any but to the farmers of the revenue; a flavery past all endurance. Spanish falt is fuperior in quality to that of Portugal, and still more to that of France: when refined in Holland, it produces 10 per cent. more than the former, and 20 per cent. more than the latter; and the making of falt, requires in Spain less labour than in Portugal or in France. Thus Spanish falt may be afforded the cheapest, as requiring less labour; and yet may draw the highest price, as superior in quality: notwithstanding which shining advantages, scarce any falt is exported from Spain; and no wonder, for an exorbitant duty makes it come dearer to the purchaser than any other falt. A more moderate duty would bring more profit to the government; beside easing the labouring poor, and employing them in the manufacture. The fuperior quality of Spanish raw filk, makes it in great request; but as the duty upon it exceeds 60 per cent. it can find no vent in a foreign market: nor is there almost any demand for it at home, as its high price has reduced the filk-manufacture in Spain to the lowest ebb. But the greatest oppression of all, as it affects every fort of manufacture, is the famous tax known by the name of alcavala, upon every thing bought and fold, which was laid on in the fifteenth century by a cortes or parliament, limited expressly to eight years, and yet kept up, contrary to law, merely by the King's authority. This monstrous tax, originally 10 per cent. ad valorem, was by the two Philips, III. and IV. augmented to 14 per cent.; fufficient of itself to de-3 T 2 Aroy

flroy all internal commerce, by the encouragement it gives to fmuggling *. The difficulty of recovering payment of fuch oppreflive taxes, heightened the brutality of the farmers; which hastened the downfall of the manufactures: poverty and distress banished such workmen as could find bread elsewhere; and reduc'd the rest to beggary. The poor husbandmen funk under the weight of taxes: and as if this had not been fufficient to ruin agriculture totally, the Spanish ministry superadded an absolute prohibition against exporting corn. The most amazing article of all is, that it has been the practice, for more than three centuries, to fet a price on corn; which ruins the farmer when the price is low, and yet refuses him the relief of a high price. That agriculture in Spain should be in a deep confumption, is far from being a wonder: it is rather a wonder that it has not long ago died of that difeafe. Formerly there was plenty of corn for twenty millions of inhabitants, with a furplus for the great city of Rome; and yet at prefent, and for very many years back, there has not been corn for feven millions, its prefent inhabitants. Their only refource for procuring even the necessaries of life, were the treasures of the new world, which could not last for ever; and Spain became so miferably poor, that Philip IV. was necessitated to give a currency

^{*} The following paffage is from Ustariz, ch. 96. "After mature consideration of the duties imposed upon commodities, I have not discovered in France,
England, or Holland, any duty laid upon the home-sale of their own manufactures, whether the first or any subsequent sale. As Spain alone groans under the
burden of 14 per cent. imposed not only on the first sale of every parcel, but
on each sale, I am jealous that this strange tax is the chief cause of the ruin of
our manufactures." As to the ruinous consequences of this tax, see Bernardo de
Ulloa upon the manufactures and commerce of Spain, Part 1. ch. 3. ch. 13. And
yet so blind was Philip II. of Spain, as to impose the alcavala upon the Netherlands,
a country flourishing in commerce both internal and external. It must have given
a violent shock to their manufactures.

to his copper coin, almost equal to that of filver. Thus in Spain. the downfall of husbandry, arts, and commerce, was not occafioned by expulsion of the Moors, and far less by discovery of a new world *, of which the gold and filver were favourable to husbandry at least; but by exorbitant taxes, a voracious monster. which, after fwallowing up the whole riches of the kingdom, has left nothing for itself to feed on. The following picture is drawn by a writer of that nation, who may be depended on for veracity as well as knowledge (a). " Poverty and distress dispeople a " country, by banishing all thoughts of marriage. They even " destroy sucking children; for what nourishment can a wo-" man afford to her infant, who herfelf is reduced to bread and " water, and is overwhelmed with labour and defpair? A greater " proportion accordingly die here in infancy, than where the la-" bouring poor are more at ease; and of those who escape by " ftrength of constitution, the scarcity of cloathing and of nou-" rifhment makes them commonly fhort-lived."

So blind however are the Spaniards in the administration of their finances, that the present ministry are following out the same measures in America, that have brought their native country to the brink of ruin. Cochineal, cocoa, sugar, &c. imported

^{*} Ustariz, in his Theory and practice of commerce, proves from evident facts, that the depopulation of Spain is not occasioned by the West Indies. From Castile few go to America, and yet Castile is the worst peopled country in Spain. The northern provinces, Gallicia, Asturia, Biscay, &c. send more people to Mexico and Peru than all the other provinces; and yet of all are the most populous. He ascribes the depopulation of Spain to the ruin of the manufactures by oppressive taxes; and afferts, that the West Indies tend rather to people Spain: many return home laden with riches; and of those who do not return, many remit money to their relations, which enables them to marry, and to rear children.

⁽a) Don Gievonimo de Ustariz.

into Spain duty-free, would be a vast fund of commerce with other nations: but a heavy duty on importation is an absolute bar to that commerce, by forcing the other European nations to provide themselves elsewhere. Spanish oil exported to America would be a great article of commerce, were it not barred by a heavy duty on exportation, equal almost to a prohibition: and the Spanish Americans, for want of oil, are reduced to use fat and butter, very improper for a hot climate. The prohibition of planting vines in Mexico, and the excessive duty on the importation of Spanish wines into that country, have introduced a spirit drawn from the sugar-cane, which, being more destructive than a pestilence, is

political under severe penalties. The prohibition however has no effect, but to give the governors of the provinces a monopoly of those spirits, which, under their protection, are sold publicly; a commerce no less shameful than destructive.

But this fubject feems to be inexhaustible. The filver and gold mines in the Spanish West Indies are, by improper taxes, rendered less profitable, both to the King and to the proprietors, than they ought to be. The King's share is the fifth part of the filver, and the tenth part of the gold, that the mines produce. There is befide a duty of eighty piastres, upon every quintal of mercury employ'd in these mines. These heavy exactions, have occasioned an abandon of all mines but what are of the richest fort. The inhabitants pay 33 per cent. on the goods imported to them from Spain, and they are subjected beside to the alcavala, which is 14 per cent. for every thing bought and fold within the country. The most provoking tax of all is what is termed la cruciade, being a fum paid for indulgence to eat eggs, butter, and cheefe, during Lent, which is yielded by the Pope to the King of Spain. The government, it is true, obliges no perfon to take out fuch an indulgence: but the priefts refuse every religious consolation to those who do not purchase; and there is not perhaps a single person in Spanish Spanish America who is bold enough to stand out against such oppression.

There is recorded in history, another example of destructive taxes similar to that now mentioned. Augustus, on his conquest of Egypt, having brought to Rome the treasure of its kings, gold and silver overflowed in Italy; the bulk of which found its way to Constantinople, when it became the seat of empire. By these means, Italy was fadly impoverished: the whole ground had been covered with gardens and villas, now deserted; and there was neither corn nor manufactures to exchange for money. Gold and silver became now as rare in Italy as they had been of old; and yet the same taxes that had been paid with ease during plenty of money, were rigidly exacted, which ruined all.

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