Sketches Of The History Of Man

In Two Volumes

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Sketch I. Appetite for society - Origin of national societies

SKETCH I.

Appetite for SOCIETY.—Origin of NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

THat there is in man an appetite for ſociety, 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 fitted for being uſeful members of civil ſociety, and for being happy in it, are

* This appetite is not denied by Vitruvius; but it ſeems to have been overlooked in the account he gives (book 2. ch. 1.) of the commencement of ſociety, which is as follows. " In ancient times, men, like wild beaſts, 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 preſerved it from being extinguiſhed. They then invited others to " take benefit of the fire. Men, thus aſſembled, endeavoured to expreſs their " thoughts by articulate ſounds; and by daily practice, certain ſounds, ſignifying " things in frequent uſe, came to be eſtabliſhed. From that caſual event, lan- " guage aroſe. And thus, fire having attracted many to one place, they ſoon diſ- " covered that they were by nature ſuperior 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; ſome dug caves in the mountains; " and, in imitation of a ſwallow's neſt, ſome ſheltered themſelves with ſprigs and " loam. Thus, by obſerving each other's work, and turning their thoughts to " invention,

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 abſtruſe.

As many animals, beſide man, are ſocial, it appeared to me probable, that the ſocial laws by which ſuch animals are governed, might open views into the ſocial nature of man. But here I met with a ſecond diſappointment: for after peruſing books without end, I found very little ſatisfaction; tho' the laws of animal ſociety 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 gratified.

Animals of prey have no appetite for ſociety, if the momentary act of copulation be not excepted. Wolves make not an exception, even where, inſtigated by hunger, they join in attacking a village: as fear prevents them ſingly from an attempt ſo hazardous, their caſual union is prompted by appetite for food, not by appetite for ſociety. So little of the ſocial 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

" invention, they by degrees improved their habitations, and became daily more " and more ſkilful." Has not the celebrated Rouſſeau been guilty of the ſame overſight 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.

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from ſuch 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 left to nature: a ram ſeldom attacks; but the rams of a flock exert great vigour in defending their females 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 ſecret means are employ'd by Providence, to keep ſuch 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 Theſſaly, 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 beaſt, and never a man. M. Buffon obſerves, that the bear, tho' far from being cowardly, never is at eaſe but in wild and deſert places. The great condor of Peru, a bird of prey of an immenſe ſize, bold, and rapacious, is never ſeen but in deſerts 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 ſeldom 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 ſagacity would ſcarce be ſufficient for ſelf-defence. Perpetual war would be their fate, without having a ſingle 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 ſociety of rooks join in attacking a kite when it hovers about them. A family of wild ſwine 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 ſort 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 ſocial appetite is to ſome 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 inſtincts of animals: he indeed ſcarce once ſtumbles 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 ſort 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 flock, join together; and no lion or tiger is able to reſiſt their united impetuoſity.

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cut down by united labour, and divided into ſmall portable parts (*a*). Bees are a ſimilar inſtance. Ariſtotle (*b*) ſays, "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 ſingle bee would be ſtill leſs able than a ſingle 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, ſufficiently capacious for lodging the whole tribe; covering the ground with withered graſs, which ſome 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 ſhare *. The baboons are ſocial 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, ſome place themſelves on the wall, the reſt form a line on the outſide, 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 ſociety 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

* 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. 8.

(*b*) Hiſtory of animals, b. 9. c. 40.

order

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

On ſome animals an appetite for ſociety is beſtow'd, tho' in appearance not neceſſary either for defence or for food. With regard to ſuch, the only final cauſe we can diſcover is the pleaſure of living in ſociety. That kind of ſociety 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 ſummer; but in winter, when the rivers are frozen, and the ground covered with ſnow, that they uſe ſledges drawn by horſes; that when the ſnow melts, and the rivers are open, the horſes, ſet looſe, 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 ſociety 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 ſwiftneſs. Nothing however is more common in a moon-light night, than to ſee hares ſporting together in the moſt ſocial manner. But ſociety for pleaſure only, is an imperfect kind of ſociety; and far from being ſo intimate, as where it is provided by nature for defence, or for procuring food *.

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* 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 flew directly to their

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

How far brute animals are by nature fitted for being uſeful members of civil ſociety, and for being happy in it, is a queſtion that no writer hath ſo much as ſtumbled 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 hiſſing ſound; upon which all take the alarm: if no enemy appear, they watch their time, return to the flock, and ſend out others in their ſtead. And in flocks that have an extenſive range in hilly countries, the ſame diſcipline obtains, even after domeſtication. Tho' monkeys ſleep upon trees, yet a ſentinel is always appointed, who muſt not ſleep under pain of being torn to pieces. They preſerve the ſame 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 ſort 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 habitation.

brouck, ſays, that they are fond of fruit, and of ſugar-canes; and that while they are loading themſelves, one is placed ſentinel on a tree, who, upon the approach of a man, cries, *Houp! Houp! Houp!* loudly and diſtinctly. That moment they throw away the ſugar-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 whiſtle, when it ſees 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 ſleep on the beach; and to prevent ſurpriſe, ſentinels are placed round at a conſiderable diſtance from the main body. Wild elephants, which always travel in company, are leſs 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 ſociety among ſome animals, and their mutual affection, may be ſo entire as to prevent all diſcord among them; which indeed ſeems to be the caſe of beavers. Such a ſociety, if there be ſuch, requires no government, nor any laws. A flock of ſheep occupies the ſame ſpot every night, and each hath its own reſting-place. The ſame is obſervable in horned cattle when folded. And as we find not, that any one ever attempts to diſlodge another, it is probable that ſuch reſtraint makes a branch of their nature. But ſociety among brute animals is not always ſo perfect. Perverſe inclinations, tending to diſturb ſociety, are viſible among ſome brute animals, as well as among rational men. It is not

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 inflicting the puniſhment, government among rooks appears to be republican. Apes, on the contrary, are under monarchical government. Apes in Siam go in troops, each under a leader, who preſerves ſtrict diſcipline. A female carnally inclined, retired from the troop, and was followed by a male. The male eſcaped from the leader, who purſued 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 ſo near to that of men. Government among horned cattle appears to have no other end but to preſerve order. Their government is monarchical; and the election is founded upon perſonal valour, the moſt ſolid of all qualifications in ſuch a ſociety. 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 ſubmit. 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 maſter-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 ſix ſcore of ſheep were purchaſed a few years ago by the author of

(*a*) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

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 disputed. 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 prosecuted by men of taste and enquiry, many final causes, I am persuaded, 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 simple, 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 society 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, tho' less advanced above brutes than any other known savages; and so intimate is their society, that they gather their food, and eat, in common. The inhabitants of the Canary islands

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lived in the ſame 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 flatter myſelf will give ſatisfaction.

The next queſtion is, Whether the appetite be limited, as among other animals, to a ſociety of moderate extent; or whether it prompt an aſſociation 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 ſmall tribes or ſocieties. Moſt of theſe, it is true, have in later times been united into large ſtates: ſuch 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 ſociety may indeed be too ſmall 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 aſſociate even with their enemies after a victory. But, on the other hand, a ſociety 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

ſociety,

ſociety, 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 ſcrutiny, that the ſocial 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 fitted for good government: and we ſhall ſee afterward, that they are alſo the beſt fitted 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 ſocial appetite within moderate bounds, ſuggeſts another final cauſe. An appetite to aſſociate 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

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

would

would diſtribute mankind into a very few ſocieties, conſiſting of ſuch multitudes as to reduce national affection to a mere ſhadow. Nature hath wiſely 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 ſhun danger; and fear, the firſt paſſion diſcovered in an infant, is raiſed 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 conſequently of averſion, which is generated by fear. Fear leſſens gradually as our circle of acquaintance enlarges, eſpecially in thoſe who rely on bodily ſtrength. Nothing tends more effectually to diſſipate fear, than conſciouſneſs of ſecurity in the ſocial ſtate: in ſolitude, no animal is more timid than man; in ſociety, 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

* 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.

cauſe. A neighbouring tribe, conſtantly in our ſight, 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, Indifference 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 ſubſtantial 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 ſociety. 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, ſay, that they are addicted to thieving; and their teſtimony occaſioned theſe iſlands to be called *Ladrones*. Pere le Gobien, on the contrary, ſays, that, far from being addicted to thieving, they leave every thing open, having no diſtruſt one of another. Theſe accounts differ in appearance, not in reality. Magellan was a ſtranger; and he talks of ſtealing from

from him and from his companions. Father Gobien lived long among them, and talks of their fidelity to each other. Plan Carpin, who viſited 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. Cæſar, ſpeaking of the Germans (*a*), ſays, "Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quæ extra fines cujuſque civitatis fiunt *." This was preciſely the caſe of our highlanders, till they were brought under due ſubjection 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 jealouſy. Ruſſian peaſants think it a greater ſin to eat meat in Lent, than to murder one of another country. Among the Koriacs, bordering on Kamſkatka, murder within the tribe is ſeverely puniſhed; but to murder a ſtranger is not minded. While Rome continued a ſmall 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

* "They hold it not infamous to rob without the bounds of their canton."

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

(*b*) Hoſtis.

ſtates 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 ſuch 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,

* "Becauſe they pour melted butter upon their roaſt veal."

(*a*) Lib. 6. c. 15. de bello Gallico.

(*b*) Baretti.

their

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

Infants differ from each other in averſion to ſtrangers; ſome being extremely ſhy, 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 ſuch favourites of all around them. The inhabitants of ſome South-ſea iſlands, mentioned above (*a*), appear to have little or no averſion to ſtrangers. But that is a rare inſtance, and has ſcarce a parallel in any other part of the globe. It holds alſo true, that nations the moſt remarkable for patriotiſm, are equally remarkable for averſion to ſtrangers. The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, were equally remarkable for both. Patriotiſm, 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 fleſh 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 of

* 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 ſuo genere probe degunt: congregari videmus,

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

From the foregoing deduction, univerſal benevolence, inculcated by ſeveral writers as a moral duty, is diſcovered to be erroneous. Our appetite for ſociety is limited, and our duty muſt be limited in proportion. But of this more directly when the principles of morality are taken under conſideration.

We are taught by the great Newton, that attraction and repulſion 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: repulſion yields to attraction, and people become fond to aſſociate with

" et ſtare contra diſſimilia: leonum feritas inter ſe non dimicat: ſerpentum mor-
" ſus non petit ſerpentes; ne maris quidem belluæ ac piſces, niſi in diverſa gene-
" ra, ſæviunt. At, Hercule, homini plurima ex homine ſunt mala." *Pliny, lib. 7. Proœmium.* [*In Engliſh thus:* " For other animals live at peace with thoſe of
" their ſpecies. 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-
" fer from them in nature: man alone of animals is foe to man!"]

their

their equals. The union of two tribes into one, is another circumſtance that converts repulſion into attraction. Such converſion, however, is far from being inſtantaneous; witneſs the different ſmall ſtates of Spain, which were not united in affection for many years after they were united under one monarch; and this was alſo the caſe of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. In ſome circumſtances the converſion is inſtantaneous; as where a ſtranger becomes an object of pity or of gratitude. Many low perſons in Britain contributed cheerfully for maintaining ſome French ſeamen, 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, ſanctoſque habent; iis omnium "domus patent, victuſque communicatur *." The ancient Spaniards were fond of war, and cruel to their enemies; but in peace, they paſſed their time in ſinging 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

* "They hold it ſacrilege 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

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 aſleep 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 patriæ*, 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.

(*a*) Saxo Grammaticus. Crantz.

Hitherto

Hitherto the road has been ſmooth, 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 ſociety, and for being happy in it, will, I ſuſpect, lead into a road neither ſmooth nor free from obſtruction. The ſocial branch of human nature would be wofully imperfect, if man had an appetite for ſociety 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 ſociety, ſeems doubtful. In examining the conduct of man, he is to us a diſguſtful object in his averſion to thoſe of a different tribe; and I violently ſuſpect, 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 uſeful member of a ſocial ſtate, and for being happy in it, appears from facts many and various. I inſtance firſt, ſeveral correſponding principles or propenſities, that cannot be exerted nor gratified but in ſociety, viz. the propenſities of veracity, and of relying on human teſtimony; appetite for knowledge, and deſire to communicate knowledge; anxiety in diſtreſs to be pitied, and ſympathy with the diſtreſſed; appetite for praiſe, and inclination to praiſe the deſerving *. Such correſponding propenſities, not only qualify men for the ſocial ſtate as far as their influence reaches, but attract them ſweetly into ſociety for the ſake 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-

* 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

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 ſociety, 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 poiſon ſociety? We meet every where perſons bent on the deſtruction of others, evincing that man has no enemies more formidable than of his own kind, and of his own tribe. Are not diſcord 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 ſcene of maſſacres, proſcriptions, and forfeitures; the leaders ſacrificing their firmeſt friends, for liberty to ſuck the blood of their enemies; as if to ſhed human blood were the ruling paſſion of man. But the Romans were far from being ſingular: the polite Greeks, commonly ſo 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-

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

"magogues,

" magogues, becauſe they had refuſed to carry their proſecutions " farther. The people alſo in Corcyra killed 1500 of the nobles, " and baniſhed 1000. Theſe numbers will appear the more ſur- " priſing, if we conſider the extreme ſmallneſs of thoſe ſtates. " But all ancient hiſtory is full of ſuch inſtances." Upon a revolution in the Saracen empire ann. 750, where the Ommiyan family was expelled by that of the Abaſſians, 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 monſter's cruelty, theſe princes, ſtill alive, were laid cloſe together, and covered with boards and carpets; upon which Abdolah feaſted his officers, " in order," ſaid he, " that we may be exhila- " rated with the dying groans of the Ommiyans." During the vigour of the feudal ſyſtem, when every man was a ſoldier 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 diſtreſs. 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, theft, ſacrilege, raviſhing of women, were but a *dalliance*. How ſimilar to beaſts of prey ſet looſe againſt each other in the Roman circus!

Men are prone to ſplit into parties for the very ſlighteſt cauſes; and when a cauſe is wanting, parties are often formed upon words merely. Whig and Tory ſubſiſted long in England, upon no better foundation. The Tories profeſſed paſſive obedience; but declared, that they would not be ſlaves. The Whigs profeſſed reſiſtance; but declared it unlawful to reſiſt, unleſs to prevent the being made ſlaves. Had theſe parties been diſpoſed to unite, they ſoon would have diſcovered, that they differed in words only. The ſame obſervation is applicable to many religious diſputes. One ſect maintains, that we are ſaved 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 conſequently under faith are comprehended good works. The other acknowledges, that good works imply good intention, or, in other words, faith; and conſequently, under good works faith is comprehended (*a*). The following inſtance, ſolemnly 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 ſplit into two parties, which renounced all ſociety 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 animoſity. But as all hiſtories are full of the cruelty and deſolation occaſioned by differences in religious tenets, I cannot bear to dwell longer upon ſuch horrid ſcenes.

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

What

What concluſion are we to draw from the foregoing facts, ſo inconſiſtent 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 ſame object. This obſervation ſerves indeed to explain a ſeeming inconſiſtency in our nature, as being at one time highly ſocial, and at another time no leſs diſſocial: but it affords not a ſolution to the queſtion, Whether, upon the whole, men be fitted for ſociety, and for being happy in it. In order to a ſolution, we find it neceſſary to take a ſecond view of the natural hiſtory of man.

In a naſcent ſociety, where men hunt and fiſh in common, where there is plenty of game, and where the ſenſe of property is faint, mutual affection prevails, becauſe there is no cauſe of diſcord; and diſſocial paſſions find ſufficient vent againſt neighbouring tribes. Such is the condition of the North-American ſavages, who continue hunters and fiſhers to this day; and ſuch is the condition of all brute animals that live in ſociety, 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 ſociety 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 ſeat 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 ſatisfied without matters of luxury over and above; ſelfiſhneſs and pride gain ground, and become ruling and unruly paſſions. Cauſes of diſcord multiply, vent is given to avarice and reſentment; and among a people not yet perfectly ſubmiſſive to government, diſſocial paſſions rage, and threaten a total diſſolution of ſociety: nothing indeed ſuſpends the impending blow, but the unwearied, tho' ſilent, operation of the ſocial appetite. Such was the condition of the Greeks at a certain period of their progreſs, as mentioned above; and ſuch was the condition of Europe, and of France in particular, during the anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem, when all was diſcord, blood, and rapine. In general, where-ever avarice and diſorderly paſſions bear rule, I boldly pronounce, that men are ill qualified for ſociety.

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 unfit 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 ſaid), that all men "were upright and honeſt; and that all of the ſame nation were "united

" united like a ſingle family in concord and mutual affection! Here " indeed would be perpetual ſunſhine, a golden age, a ſtate ap- " proaching to that of good men made perfect in heavenly man- " ſions." 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 ſuffer much diſtreſs from ſelfiſh and diſſocial 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 ſecure our perſons 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, ſuch particularly as proceed from refined delicacy and nice ſenſibility 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 pleaſure 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 ſoftneſs of temper which are produced by eternal peace and concord, would render ſuch evils unſupportable: the ſlight inconveniencies of a rough road, bad weather, or homely fare, would become ſerious evils, and afflict the traveller paſt enduring. The French,

French, among whom ſociety 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 aſleep 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 ſociety; yet to me it appears evident, that men as individuals would ſuffer more by that improvement, than they would gain as members of ſociety. In order to preſerve the rules of juſtice untainted, and to maintain perfect concord and affection among men, all diſſocial and ſelfiſh paſſions muſt neceſſarily be extirpated, or brought under abſolute ſubjection. Attend to the conſequences: they deſerve our moſt ſober attention. Agitation is requiſite to the mind as well as to the body: a man engaged in a briſk purſuit, whether of buſineſs or of pleaſure, is in his element, and in high ſpirits: but when no object is in view to be attained or to be avoided, his ſpirits flag, and he ſinks into languor and deſpondence. To prevent a condition ſo baneful to man, he is provided with many paſſions, 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 ſenſitive plant.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that an uniform life of peace, tranquillity, and ſecurity, 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 wiſe purpoſes impreſſed upon us a taſte for variety (*a*); and without it, life would be altogether inſipid. Paraguai, when govern-

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

ed

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 ſuffered to have any property, but laboured inceſſantly for their daily bread, which was delivered to them out of a public magazine. The men were employ'd in agriculture, the women in ſpinning; and certain preciſe hours were allotted for labour, for food, for prayer, and for ſleep *. They ſunk into ſuch a liſtleſs ſtate of mind, as to have no regret at dying when attacked by diſeaſe 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 conſideration. Familiarity with danger is neceſſary to eradicate our natural timidity; and ſo deeply rooted is that principle, that familiarity with danger of one ſort, does not harden us with reſpect to any other ſort. A ſoldier, bold as a lion in the field, is

* 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 inflicted a capital puniſhment, becauſe it deprived them of a profitable ſlave.

faint-hearted

faint-hearted at ſea, like a child; and a ſeaman, 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 ſeldom are in the way of harm, are remarkably puſillanimous. What would men be in the ſuppoſed condition of univerſal peace, concord, and ſecurity? they would rival a hare or a mouſe in timidity. Farewell, upon that ſuppoſition, to courage, magnanimity, heroiſm, and to every paſſion that ennobles human nature! There may perhaps be men, who, hugging themſelves in being ſecure againſt harm, would not be altogether averſe to ſuch degeneracy. But if ſuch 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 ſociety, before another has advanced much beyond the ſavage ſtate. What ſecurity hath the former againſt the latter? Preciſely the ſame that timid ſheep have againſt hungry wolves.

I ſhall finiſh with one other effect of the ſuppoſed perfection of ſociety, more degrading, if poſſible, than any mentioned. Exerciſe, as obſerved above, is not leſs eſſential to the mind than to the body. The reaſoning faculty, for example, without conſtant and varied exerciſe, will remain weak and undiſtinguiſhing to the end of life. By what means doth a man acquire prudence and foreſight, but by practice? It is preciſely 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 ſame means, is preſerved in vigour. It would have no ſuch exerciſe in the ſuppoſed perfection of ſociety; where there would be little to be deſired, 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 bleſſings 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 prœlia, "quæ ad tuas oras pervenire nequeunt, ſed florentiſſimas Europæ provincias et "urbes, unico momento, ſæpe dejiciunt et delent. Tu dormis hic ſub tua pelle, "ab omnibus curis, contentionibus, rixis, liber, ignorans quid ſit 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 ſylvis, "avis inſtar, nec ſementem facis, nec metis; tamen alit te Deus optimus optime." *Linnæus, Flora Lapponica.* — [*In Engliſh thus:* "O happy Laplander, who, on the "utmoſt verge of habitable earth, thus liveſt obſcure in reſt, content, and innocence. Thou feareſt not the ſcanty crop, nor ravages of war; and thoſe calamities 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 tranquil. Millions of diſeaſes which ravage the reſt of the world, have never reached thy happy climate. Thou liveſt as the birds of the wood, thou careſt not to "ſow nor reap, for bounteous Providence has ſupplied thee in all thy wants."

That curious writer Mandevil, who is always entertaining, if he does not always inſtruct, exults in maintaining a propoſition ſeemingly 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 ſelfiſh 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 flattering 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, friendſhip 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, ſigh inwardly, and muſt be ſilent *? But behold

—— 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 poûr 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 effet; et après ces jours de ſang et de carnage, lorſque la fumée de la gloire s'eſt diſſipée, il voit d'un oeil triſte la terre dévaſtée, les arts enſevelies,

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

ſevelies, 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 ſous vos pieds toutes les ſphéres céleſtes ſans choc et ſans confuſion; qui
" du ſein du repos, reproduiſez à chaque inſtant leurs mouvemens immenſes, et
" ſeul régiſſez dans une paix profonde ce nombre infini de cieux et de mondes;
" rendez, rendez enfin le calme à la terre agitée! Qu'elle ſoit dans le ſilence!
" 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 ſon ame d'une rayon de votre lumiére 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 ſource des générations; l'eſpéce humaine
" maintenant affoiblie, mutilée, moiſſonnée dans ſa fleur, germera de nouveau et
" ſe multipliera ſans nombre; la nature accablée ſous le poids de fléaux, ſtérile,
" abandonnée, reprendra bientôt avec une nouvelle vie ſon ancienne fécondité; et
" nous, Dieu Bienfaiteur, nous la ſeconderons, nous la cultiverons, nous l'obſer-
" verons ſans 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 conſiſts 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 inſatiable avarice, and blinded by ambition ſtill more inſatiable, he baniſhes from his breaſt every ſentiment 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 diſſipated, he looks around with a ſorrowful eye upon the deſolated earth, he ſees the arts extinct, the nations diſperſed, and population dead: his happineſs is ruined, and his power is reduced to nothing.

" Great God! whoſe ſole preſence ſuſtains the creative power, and rules the

than Pandora's box; a gift, ſweet 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 befals, 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 celeſtial throne beholdeſt " 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! vouchſafe at length to ſend a portion of that heavenly peace to " calm the agitated earth. Let every tumult ceaſe: at thy celeſtial 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 ſentiment, perva- " ding his nature, reconcile each warring and contradictory principle: man will " no longer dread the ſight of man: the murdering blade will ſleep within its " ſheath: the fire of war will ceaſe to dry up the ſprings of generation: the hu- " man race, now languiſhing and withering in the bloom, will bud afreſh, and " multiply: nature, which now ſinks beneath the ſcourge of miſery, ſterile and " deſolated, will ſoon renew her waſted ſtrength, and regain her firſt fertility. " We, O God of benevolence, we thy creatures will ſecond the bleſſing. It will " 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 ſacrifices, in endleſs gratitude and " adoration."

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

number

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!

SKETCH