

Observations on the power of climate over the policy, strength, and manners of nations.

Publication/Creation

London : Printed for J. Almon, 1774.

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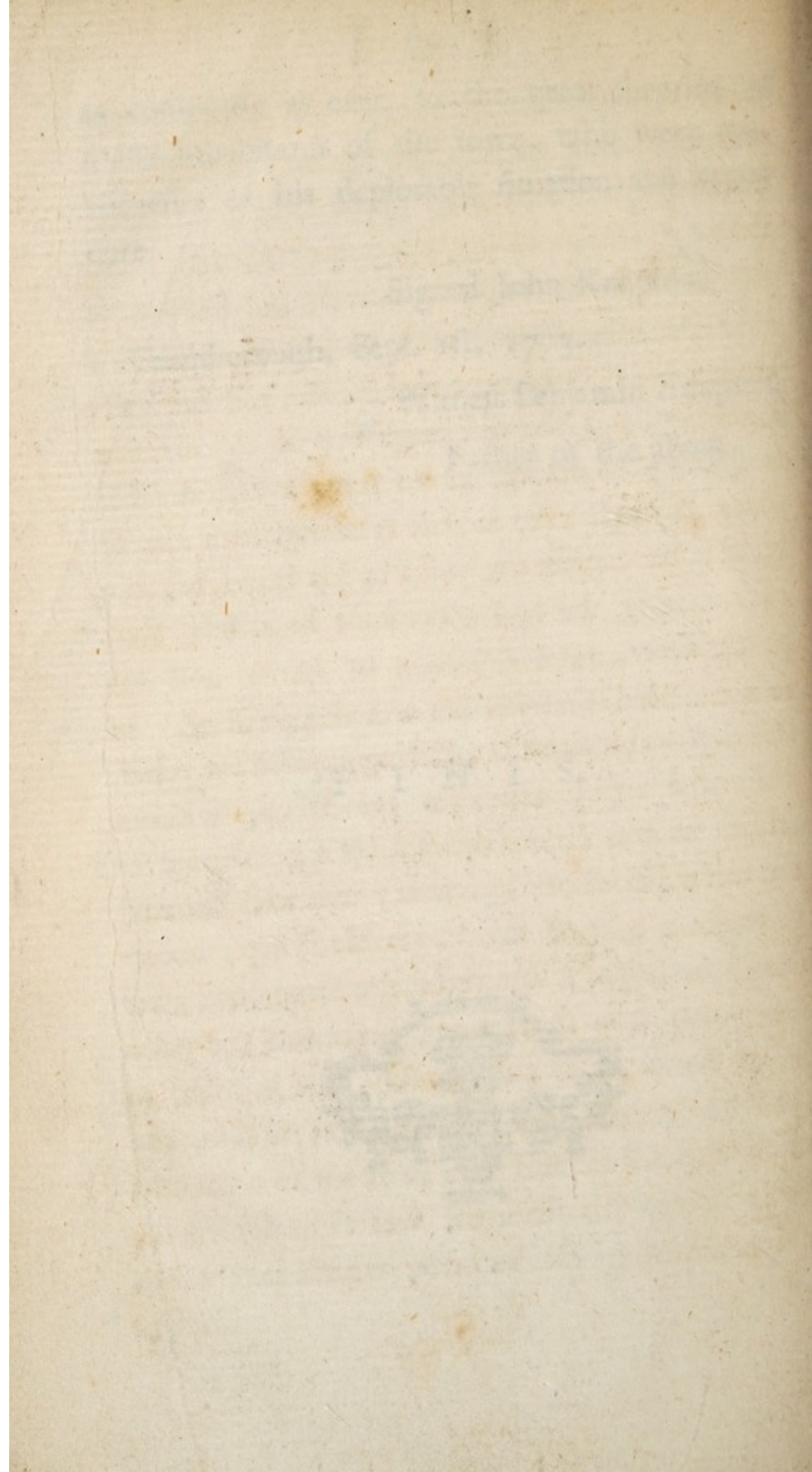
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OBSERVATIONS

9

ON THE

POWER OF CLIMATE

OVER THE

POLICY, STRENGTH, and MANNERS,

OF

N A T I O N S.

Quicquid, ad eos tractus mundique teporem

Labitur, emollit, gentis, clementia cæli.

PROP.

Gens effræna virûm, Riphæo tunditur Euro.

VIRG.



L O N D O N

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-house, Piccadilly.

MDCCLXXIV.

[Price Three Shillings.]

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C H A P. I.

*How the Strength and Power of Nations
are affected by Climate, and how good
Policy may correct original Defects.*

THE man who enjoys a reflective pleasure in the perusal of history, who looks for something more than bare amusement, who makes general inferences from the multitude of facts which pass in observation, may fix the origin of national superiority of power, in courage, in bodily strength, in policy, and in numbers to a certain point, at which they begin to lose their efficacy; an army equal to that of Xerxes would be as useless and unwieldy against modern discipline as his was found to be against the Greeks. That country which

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contains one million of men able to cultivate the soil, and manufacture what may be necessary, can furnish to a soldiery more than the country can provide for, more than are sufficient to defend it, unless sunk into effeminacy, or unless a general confederacy should be formed to destroy it; and to provide against such cases would be a vain attempt. These ingredients of superiority never were, nor never will be found co-existing in the same people, but the more of them are found together, the more powerful the nation where they are found will be; supposing then this globe divided into states possessed of competency as to number, the natural common and obvious causes of superiority will be bodily strength and courage, or the confidence arising from a knowledge of our own strength; for policy is merely artificial, the result of painful deliberation, but still within the human grasp: the natural causes of this superiority are the spontaneous growth of northern climates, until we arrive at the regions of intemperature; they belong to the body; that
ideal

ideal courage arising from honour, that *conscia virtus*, which roused Turnus to single combat with Æneas, is too scarce, too refined to be national; it is the child of imagination, and belongs entirely to the mind.

Yet however great and overbearing these natural causes may appear, Providence hath bestowed powers upon the mind able in every respect to controul them, I mean those of reason; but then an almost divine exertion of it becomes necessary. Reason or good policy will present to a sensible people a clear view of the condition in which they are placed, of their weakness or strength: if weak of body, if few in number like Portugal or Genoa, common sense will suggest, that quitting their present insecurity they should incorporate with greater powers, procure to themselves stability and real independence, by renouncing the phantom they call independency, whilst in truth their existence hangs upon the permission or assistance of others. The calamities of the Genoese

have made them sensible of their subordination to France; the prosperity of Portugal hath destroyed all recollection of its obligations to Britain. Nothing hath more fatally imposed on mankind than false notions of national liberty: of what importance can be the independence of a state if its people are vassals? The prince of such a state may flatter himself with ideas of sovereignty; the nobles of that monster amongst governments, a modern republick, may fancy themselves free, but the individuals in general must be unhappy, as well from internal oppression as from the constant apprehension of external violence. Human happiness, and not the honour of petty sovereignty, is the true object of government: from the very tenuity of a state the oppression of its subjects must follow; it must submit to heavy taxation, it must strain beyond its natural strength in order to defend itself: sovereignty is dearly purchased upon such terms, and after all it is no more than the creature of the real or imaginary interests of the great powers, who can transfer,
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dismember, or annihilate it at pleasure, and to whom it must yield advantages in trade or otherwise, as an equivalent for being permitted to call itself a sovereignty.

I would not be understood to want a thorough respect for every effort which can be made in favour of liberty, *the true fountain of virtue, and therefore of happiness*. The memory of Arminius, who fought to the last moment of life against the insolent ambition of Rome, I almost superstitiously revere; the Romans would have made the Germans vassals and not subjects; but that of the duke of Braganza, who detached Portugal from Spain, weakening both countries, which, united in situation, would have been so in manners and affections were it not for unnatural prejudices fomented by self-interested persons and states, I hold in the utmost detestation. The Scottish nation maintained an independent sovereignty for many ages, but their motives were just and sensible; their blood was not shed to support, and to pamper in luxury and vice, burthen-

some and effeminate tyrants; they suffered not their kings to tread upon the necks of better men than themselves; they held them down to a frugality every way suited and proportioned to the scantiness and sterility of their country; they would not become the same people with the English upon base or unequal terms, but when such were offered as a gallant people may honourably receive, they agreed to an union: the poverty of their country can reflect no dishonour upon the Scotch; but that so small a people hath made so respectable a figure in the annals of the world must redound to their immortal honour; they have partaken largely in the toil, hazard, and glory of supporting the British empire; but I must incline at the same time to believe, that during this reign, they have had more than their just proportion of the emoluments which prerogative hath bestowed.

The feudal regulation in favour of primogeniture with regard to estates was founded upon good policy, a supposition
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that the eldest son was most capable of performing the services of the tenure in defence of the realm; but the common law never intended to subject the free-born younger sons to villenage; it presumed that they should receive employment through the several offices military, civil, and ecclesiastical, which are at this day within the disposal of prerogative; it supposed the king a faithful trustee to these purposes, and that the younger sons of English families should be thus respectably provided for: since the abolition of military tenures the preference given to primogeniture continues, and as this preference cuts off the younger children from any part of the inheritance, the same obligation still remains upon prerogative of distributing these employments in as just and equal a proportion as before; this was undoubtedly the true spirit of that branch of the law of prerogative; for we cannot suppose these powers given to the purposes of gratifying the capricious predilections of our kings; they were given to be exercised in bestowing the employ-

ments within the gift of the crown upon the younger branches of English families, who, in return, were bound to dedicate themselves to the service of their country. Some indeed say, that by strict usage of law the king hath been long in possession of these powers, that the law hath not prescribed the mode or the proportion in which he should bestow, that he is left at large to the uncontrouled discretionary exercise of his bounty, and at liberty to chuse its objects; I acknowledge myself an absolute stranger to the idea of a discretionary power any where, in such an arbitrary eastern sense; legal discretion is, *discernere per legem*, which acknowledges a rule of direction; this sense of the word pervades the whole system of our jurisprudence, the discretionary powers of judges and juries, and all the branches of prerogative. I must therefore conclude that the law having destined the offices in that part of this island called England for the English, and as no article of the union hath abrogated that part of our law, or mentioned the least disqualification of an Englishman to
serve

serve his country, a disposal of employments almost entirely in favour of the Scotch ought to subject the minister, who hath advised it, to the most severe animadversions; he having advised a measure contrary to law, to justice, and to sound policy.

Let me return to my subject: Scotland hath exhibited a strong example of sound policy in correcting natural and original defects; but Roman story affords the clearest illustration of this matter; the ancestors of the Romans were placed in a part of Italy, the least promising of any ever to become mistress of the whole; the compliment of natural bravery was given by their great poet to the Mar-sians and other Italian nations preferably to the inhabitants of the district of Rome; and indeed ever since the power of ancient discipline, both civil and military, hath ceased in Italy, her inhabitants have appeared inclined rather to sloth and luxury; nor is it improbable, had the Romans in the infancy of their state, before

fore their political system was perfected, nations of a considerably more northern situation to engage, when policy and discipline could not have interfered, where courage and bodily strength were to decide, that they would have been overpowered; their first war with the Gauls is almost a proof of this, by whom they were immediately routed, and would have been deprived of their territory, had the Gauls any other than a desultory war in view; their invasion was unpremeditated and sudden, a resolution taken in the very heat of battle with the Tuscans, provoked by a scandalous breach of the law of nations committed by the Roman ambassadors, who from mediators became principals; they were unprepared for maintaining their ground in an enemy's country after their victory; Roman policy was far from being adult at this period, for they suffered the enemy to arrive at the river Allia, eleven miles from Rome, before they opposed them; they neglected to create a dictator in such an emergency; but to these at a more advanced period they

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attended, having met Annibal the moment he descended from the Alps, and having, as their distresses increased, made Fabius their dictator, which were manifest corrections of their former errors ; I must therefore impute to a want of experience the mother of sound precaution, what Livy would attribute to Fortune, “ who, says he, worked these things “ insensibly, in order to scourge the Ro- “ mans into future greatness.” The Romans had hitherto no experience in important events, their enemies heretofore were of small consequence compared with the Gauls, whom it is true they did afterwards conquer ; but their policy and discipline were arrived at maturity before the Gauls, or any other powerful people, had ever after an opportunity of attacking them ; the neighbouring Italian states they subdued one after the other, and having the good sense to melt their strength down into one common mass with their own, became a match for the more rude encounters of the north ; how admirable the institutions of that great

people must appear from hence, that when the operations of these institutions ceased, when the ancient education was neglected, when the exercises of the Campus Martius no longer gave to the limbs and body of their youth the manly northern tone, when their military discipline, and the guardianship of the empire were consigned to the Germans and other rude nations, the inhabitants of Italy shrunk instantaneously within the narrow circumscription of climate; great therefore must have been the efforts of sound reason, which could so long not only defeat the enervating and baneful effects of a soft climate, but supply all the advantages of a good one.

C H A P. II.

*Of those who neglected to correct original
Defects; and of Trade.*

CARTHAGE, on the other hand, so long the rival of Rome, was much behind her in that policy which can correct the natural imbecility of states; the wealth which trade bestows will always mislead its possessors, who should therefore never have any concern in the direction of a great nation; too partial to their favourite object, they attribute to riches almost omnipotence itself; such was the case of Tyre; its inhabitants wealthy beyond measure, but confined in their ideas of government as in territory, totally given up to the accumulation of money, they neglected such an acquisition of land as may form a respectable state, for Hiram refused the twenty cities of Galilee which Solomon offered him; they supposed no human force could take a city which contained
so

so many opulent merchants; numbers
 with valour however were found to pre-
 vail, and Alexander destroyed it. Carthage,
 a sucker from Tyre, struck root in a
 fruitful soil, where by degrees she might
 have flourished and extended her terri-
 torial branches; but relying upon trade
 and colonies too much, she had no atten-
 tion to internal strength; like a thin body
 with strong and athletick limbs, but with-
 out either a rest or support; too proud for
 incorporating with her neighbours she
 would rule them by her superior wealth,
 so that instead of faithful fellow citizens
 she was in the time of distress surrounded
 by nations who rejoiced at her ruin, and
 having no resource in a native soldiery
 was obliged to put her trust in perfidious
 mercenaries; such are the fatal consequences
 of throwing the management of a state
 into mercantile hands. A profession found-
 ed upon self-interest must contract a mind
 otherwise well enough disposed, but to-
 tally compress one which is originally in-
 different; it leaves no room for the great
 idea of a *whole*; the movement of the
 grand

grand machine is too large an object for that eye which hath been always rivetted to a single wheel; he who hath been labouring all the morning for narrow *self*, cannot leave that *self* behind him at the threshold of the senate house, nor can his mind bear an occasional sudden dilatation to the great patriot size. Particular men may be cited against this general doctrine, but no case, however distinguished for its singularity, can be imagined which hath not occurred at some one time or other: a mind might have been found most stubbornly unapt to the business it had been turned to, and by its innate vigour, in spite of all professional constraint, might have retained its original liberality; but, if a merchant can be a statesman, sure I am that he is so by nature and not education. The few merchants who have been distinguished as statesmen are much spoken of because they were but few: the many venal wretches who have crept into parliament without either virtue or capacity have escaped our observation, because such

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characters, in their class, were neither rare nor unexpected. I well know that I write in the very teeth both of fashion and prejudice, for I have not long since heard a noble lord, at the head indeed of a board of trade, declare, in the upper house, the British nation to be merely a nation of commerce : that commerce to a moderate degree is very useful to a people no person will deny ; but to make every consideration of honour and justice give way to commercial policy ; to put up with national indignities through a consideration of some petty advantages in trade, which indignities are much more durable in their bad effects, than a selfish unfeeling minister of a narrow department can foresee, is disgraceful to a nation, which has made a respectable figure in Europe, and must sink the spirits of her people much lower than those of a brave people ought to be. I do not write against trade, I speak against its excess, and if it should be said in reply, that moderation is not attainable, I shall candidly acknowledge that I look upon a total absence of trade as a lesser evil than that

that which must follow where a sordid commercial spirit is suffered entirely to predominate.

To detail the transactions of the East India Company would be to give a narrative of sundry monopolies, or of the most shocking and horrid crimes; amongst them we see the dreadful effects of letting a band of rapacious merchants, or those who assumed the mercantile character, armed with the powers of sovereignty, loose upon an innocent industrious people, who could be charged with no crime by the British nation except that of being rich, cowardly, and therefore of easy conquest: we have seen them plunder, murder, and starve these innocent wretches with impunity. The Peruvians and Mexicans were only deprived of their gold, the produce of their mountains; the East Indians were robbed of what they had acquired by their labour and industry. We have seen reprobates go out to India whose vices or incapacity made it impossible for them to be subsisted at home, and within a short time we have seen them return loaded with

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wealth

wealth and with iniquity ; by bribery and corruption we have seen them destroying the morals of the British constituents, and placing not only themselves in the seat of legislature, but carrying into the lower house a train of menial senators under their absolute direction ; and we must know, notwithstanding the art which has been made use of to persuade the world, that the court was sincere and in earnest when L. C. was attacked by the commons, that unless some persons very high in power had been corruptly obtained, this arch delinquent, with many others, even in these days of avowed peculation, could never have escaped ; but what is most to be regretted, we now despair of seeing any delinquent of magnitude sufficient to form an useful example, ever suffer for these enormities. These things have been caused by trade, or under colour of trade, and they are not punished, because men either concerned in like crimes, or who hope it may one day be their own turn to partake in emoluments of the same kind, who forgive that they may be forgiven, do constitute too great a part of the sovereign or legislative power.

Every

Every profession in a community should be subject to some kind of controul, and if a merchant wants controul, no persons so improper to be the controulers as merchants. A Roman Senator, we well know, was not suffered to have a vessel at sea containing more than a certain small measure, enough for the supply of his family. The profits accruing to a merchant ought to be sufficient to satisfy him; let him leave to the ensuing generation the enjoyment of honours, when the fæculencies of trade shall be purged away; for I am, and always shall be of Mr. Harrington's opinion, that no man was ever a legislator, who had not been a gentleman; a gentleman before he was a legislator, not a gentleman because he was a legislator. I know the estimation in which some writers have held the legislation of Mr. Penn, but were it not for the sword of the mother country, from the want of some military ingredients in the government of Pennsylvania, which a gentleman would have infused, its inhabitants, passive and inanimate, would be incapable of defending themselves.

C H A P. III.

Manufactures ; and America.

A Rage for manufactures is one powerful cause of the calamities now complained of, on account of the dearth of provisions; for the scarcity of the necessaries of life is in truth occasioned, by the disproportion between those who consume, and those who are employed in producing these necessaries. The modern manufactures (for I speak not of the staple manufacture of wool) together with the many sedentary callings which administer to luxury and to vanity, have drawn more than their share from the plough, men who would have raised provisions sufficient for themselves and many others; it is said they procure money to pay for provisions, but that will not answer the end of supply, for they now complain of want. Let us suppose ten thousand people in an island obliged to supply itself with victuals; one thousand of these cultivate the soil, and the rest of
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the inhabitants are supplied by their labour: if five hundred of the above thousand be taken from the account of provision, and added to that of consumption, that is, if they forsake the plough, and betake themselves to manufactures, or to any thing else, supposing the ten thousand only supplied before, there will, after such deduction from the stock of husbandry, remain five thousand five hundred without one morsel of food, *viz.* the five thousand which were supplied by the five hundred which formerly attended the plough, and the five hundred themselves: this will apply to the whole island of Britain. I know the sensible part of the French nation condemn the politics of Colbert for having carried the spirit of manufacture too far in prejudice of agriculture, which gave them plenty of victuals and of able soldiers; and when I contemplate the multitude of manufacturers, and retailers in this huge metropolis, and in every city, town, and village, in the island; bearded mercers, sturdy hosiers, able bodied masculine milliners and mantua-makers, attor-

nies clerks, hair-dressers, tavern, coffee-house, bagnio waiters, and the lacqueys of every hackney coachman, I am not surpris'd at the numbers of unhappy prostitutes who infest the streets, forced out of many of the above occupations, which are well suited to the weakness of their sex; and I must also say with the elegant poet, *squalent abductis arva colonis*. The calamity of war had stripp'd the Italian plains of its husbandmen, but luxury, dissipation, the scandalous inattention, or the infamous connivance of magistracy, and of legislature, have laid waste those of England.

Montesquieu, in speaking of trade, seems to want that consistency which marks his writings in general; "agreeable manners," says this writer, "and commerce are generally found together"; I hope he understood a moderate share of commerce, for he afterwards affirms that people "actuated by that alone, make a traffick of all the virtues": hospitality, a kind reception of strangers, an easy and affectionate

tionate intercourse between neighbouring families, belongs undoubtedly to *agreeable manners*; but it is scarce known in mere commercial countries. The Dutch, and a considerable part of the English have resigned it to uncivilized nations; and in England it is remarkable that the parts of the country most remote from commerce, afford the most agreeable manners, which any person can testify who has been at the Hot-wells of Bristol, and at Scarborough, at Harrogate, and at Margate. Trading countries have indeed the appearance of being possessed of a kind of political honesty, which can scarcely be called a virtue; it is rather a profitable punctuality which their interest for some time had constrained them to observe; but that punctuality no longer coinciding with their interests, since the passages through the laws of bankruptcy have been sounded by skilful pilots, and found not so dangerous as the ignorance of our forefathers supposed them to be, punctuality amongst merchants seems no longer in any repute.

“ Other nations,” says Montesquieu, “ made the interests of trade yield to politicks; the English have made those of politicks give way to those of commerce”. If by politicks is understood the *government of the whole community*, I cannot perceive the merit of making an attention to the whole give way to that of the part: that writer has however asserted the real truth, nor has it been more clearly proved than in the late disputes of administration with the Americans; government had rashly and ungenerously treated that worthy part of our empire, but fearing to lose so good a market for the manufactures of Britain, they corrected one error by plunging into another, and shewed such an instability in their counsels as would have encouraged a less sensible people to acts of violence; it hath not indeed shaken the British sovereignty in America, but it must have impaired the respect which it formerly had.

As Carthage was to Tyre, so is America to Britain; both laid down upon a larger
scale

scale than the respective mother country, both originated with a view to commerce. Carthage, as we have seen before, when she grew into power, might have corrected the error of Tyre, and, instead of sending forth distant colonies, might have strengthened herself at home: but the ancestors of the Americans coming into an almost uninhabited region, did not meet with the same difficulty in obtaining a sufficient extent of country, as the Tyrian adventurers are said to have done; trade therefore with the Americans, independent of manufactures, will in all probability go hand in hand with agriculture; the profusion of materials, which a vast continent must long supply, will furnish them with the manufactures of other nations, without stopping the plough, or silencing the ax, without drawing their common people out of the wholesome air, and affixing them to sedentary, unhealthy trades and occupations: no human power can impede the population of such a country; the luxury of Europe must impoverish its inhabitants; the oppression of the common people

people through all its kingdoms, the present desponding state of liberty in the three old decrepit quarters of the globe, will make multitudes of emigrants to the other; in short, all desirable circumstances seem to concur in accelerating the growth of that country.

Many nations have been born down by the weight of their dependencies, Carthage in particular: the root was unable to supply the stock and branches, and what root could be equal to such a supply, as the vast tract of America will require? The Athenians colonized the coast of Asia Minor, but when the Ionian cities were grown up to maturity, they were not subject to Athens, but its allies, its very faithful friends, and whilst well used were a powerful support to the Athenians in their wars with the Persians. It was the folly of Carthage to attempt, and to maintain whilst they could so, a domination both in Spain and Sicily; the attempt drew more from the state than the dependencies could return; and upon the smallest blast of fortune,

tune, their oppressed dependencies joined their enemies: had these been treated as equals and fellow citizens, the Carthaginians, a commercial people, would have drawn great emoluments from their traffick, and have found them firm to their common interests in the day of distress. It is true the Spaniards and Sicilians were not of Punick descent, the Americans, on the contrary, are of British origin; but men treated as aliens will in time begin to think themselves so; we know that an abused and much injured friend hath often become the most dangerous enemy. Britain and Ireland once consolidated (as all the contiguous parts of an empire ought to be, if it hopes for strength and agility) should their politicks, instead of a rapid accumulation of wealth to individuals, have the cultivation of their wastes, wholesome government, and the virtue of the people in general for their object, will find ample space, within the two islands, for a great and permanent empire; their happy situation, with their other great natural advantages, will command, for ages to come,

a most respectable trade; the Americans, both from interest and affection, will be always their friends, but it will be impossible to treat them much longer as vassals.

If the face of Europe continues of its present complexion, every power must be guarded against its neighbour; standing armies are ready both in peace and in war to take advantage of the feeble or of the indolent; this must draw home the general attention from distant objects; the strict letter of the law of nations is no longer regarded, for it seems neither express renunciation, nor length of time, can operate in bar of the rights of princes; they never die, they only sleep until opportunity shall awaken them; it will therefore be impossible for the powers of Europe, circumstanced as above, to afford great numbers or much expence in constraining distant colonies to submit to slavery.

England hath engaged herself too deeply in manufactures, and it will indeed be a
diffi-

difficulty almost insurmountable, to bring her sons back to her deserted plains: nothing more absurd than to suppose that America can think of rivalling her in manufactures, or of stooping to manufacture even what may be sufficient for herself, whilst a fruitful soil, enjoyed at an easy rate, supplies her with corn, hemp, flax, rice, tobacco, and will, in a short time, supply silk and wine; whilst their forests shall furnish timber, pitch, and tar, and whilst her mines are as rich as those of Sweden, which, without manufactures, commands all the labours and produce of the south, holding at the same time, through her valuable materials, a large balance of trade in her favour. The spirit of manufacture marks the old age of a state; laziness and luxury are the parents of manufacture; our colonies are so far from old age, that they are as yet some degrees removed from puberty; unless Britain, therefore, shall be so unfortunate as to chuse the model for governing the Americans, *her own descendants*, from that by which the Romans ruled the

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the provinces out of Italy, which they had *actually conquered*, compel her to administer, not to the reasonable exigencies of the mother country, but to her luxury and wasteful extravagance, she will ever have a vent for her manufactures in the colonies, and this vent will enlarge itself so expeditiously that she may soon look with contempt upon the markets of Europe : nor can I find that the Americans have as yet discovered any serious thoughts of a separation from Britain ; a powerful love of the native soil is essential to views of independency, which nothing impresses so deeply as an home education ; but they have never yet attended to a system of education suited to their particular climate, situation and interests, which may give their youth an early acquaintance with each other, and wrap them up in one common interest, create a national uniformity of manners, and, instead of the whole British empire, make America their focus of patriotism. Every nation should have some one political point in view, to which the cultivation of mind and body should have

have a tendency ; that of Rome was universal empire, commerce that of some, false glory of others ; liberty seems to be the American object of which their idea is vigorous and beautiful, but, wild and unformed ; it only comprehends the individual as yet, without any regard to the state ; cultivation of the soil, population, and the preservation of a simplicity of manners, so far as may consist with their intercourse with Britain, seem to be all they desire, and to disturb or traverse them in such designs, is not only impolitick in Britain, but brutal and barbarous ; but if it should be their hard fate to be separated from Britain, they will have the almost unparalleled advantage, of forming one or more states upon their continent, in a single day, by recurring to the English code, and transcribing thence whatever is best suited to their convenience : this will have a most salutary effect upon their manners, for here the manners are immediately committed to the charge of law, which brings them to its rule ; but when a state hath an infancy, and forms

its constitution by degrees, the manners do not spring out of the idea of the legislator ; law does not give the colour, but is itself tinged by the pre-existing virtues, vices, or propensities of the people, and instead of directing their manners, is rather bent and perverted by them.

RECAPITULATION.

WE have seen the southern countries of Europe neglecting the obvious substitutes to native strength and courage, which present themselves, numbers and extent of territory : a consciousness of their own weakness, and that the fertility, beauty, and the high cultivation of their country must hold forth a temptation to invaders, were I should imagine strong inducements to enlarge their communities, in order to become respectable ; yet such hath been their infatuation, that since the dissolution of the Roman empire, Italy hath been always breaking itself into petty dukedoms and principalities ; every intervening
river,

river, mountain, or lake, afforded reasons sufficient for erecting a separate state ; in short it was constantly relapsing into that divided condition in which the Romans found it, and has been therefore a prey to more conquerors than any other country upon earth. The divisions of Spain subjected it to the Moors, and was it not for the intermarriage of the houses of Arragon and Castile, these divisions would, in all probability, have still existed. The northern countries were formerly without these inducements to form large communities (for the relation between the members of the Germanick body, is not strong enough to make them be considered as one community) but the progress which trade and the arts have made into these once inhospitable regions, hath raised many rich and flourishing cities there, like diamonds set in a base metal ; they are become objects of enterprize, and the enlargement of territory, to the ends of national self-preservation, is as requisite now, in the north as in the south.

C H A P. IV.

Good Climates lose their Effects.

AS the enervating effects of a southern climate may be counteracted by wise institutions, which was manifest in the case of the Romans, so may the invigorating effects of a northern climate be relaxed by bad policy, by circumstances of soil, and peculiarity of situation, to such a degree, that the manners of the southern are often found in the north. National character is a peculiarity, not in all, but in a part of the manners of a people, and this partial variation forms the strong line of character; where the force of climate is stopped by an intermixture of these opponent circumstances, there we are to expect much changeability in the same people; uniformity of character is not to be found, because their climate is not always suffered to act uniformly upon them, and at different periods they will appear a different

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people ; riches and plenty will lead such a people to an almost unrestrained gratification of appetites, and it is the fear only of losing their strength, their courage, and of becoming the spoil of a more powerful neighbour, which can put them under any degree of controul ; but if insular situation should secure them against the probability of external danger, then would the indulgence of appetite be unbounded, and extreme luxury would be a great part of their national character ; such a people having little to fear from other nations, would be less cautious of offending ; savages for this reason, being by their ignorance discharged from any apprehensions, are generally insolent ; they enslave, they devour all who fall into their hands, not conceiving how the friendship of strangers can be in any respect material to them ; a law of nations they know not, that law is founded upon an idea of mutual convenience and a reciprocation of kind offices ; pirates indeed despise it, not because like savages they know not the advantages of it, but because their crimes have placed

them where they cannot enjoy these advantages; the opinion therefore of being secure from danger, whether arising from ignorance, notions of inaccessibility, or prepossession in favour of their own superiority, will have the same brutal effect: such it had upon the French, dazzled by the tinsel glories of their grand tyrant; Henry the Fourth left them a nation of gallant heroes and courteous knights, Lewis the XIVth made them an insolent aggregate of egregious coxcombs, nor has their present wretched condition as yet brought them to a proper sense of their insignificance; their fashionable writer is a type of his country, confident, uninformed, and all assuming; who treats the reputation of all foreign writers, as the French highwaymen do travellers, first murder and then plunder their treasure; such the insolence of the Turks until humbled by the heroine of the north.

C H A P. V.

P O L A N D.

POLAND may be considered as one example of those countries, where the good tendencies of climate are diverted by bad government and other circumstances. Poland lying within the northern latitude of 46 and 56 degrees, enjoys all the invigorating effects of climate; it produces more corn than any other country in Europe; its superficial contents 220,000 square miles, above 90,000 more than those of France; and yet, with all these natural advantages, we see to what a miserable weakness the corruption of that worst species of government, called an aristocracy, hath reduced them: we see how the fertility of their soil, softening the evils of slavery, hath reconciled its inhabitants to the tyranny of their oppressors; descended from those brave Tartars and Russians, who came into Sarmatia, when its old inhabitants had marched to

the more southern countries of Italy and Spain, they have patiently endured more than Asiatick servitude.

It is not for me to determine whether the great powers, who have made partition of some of the Polish provinces, are warranted by any law in this astonishing measure; however, in my own opinion, the great law of nature does supersede any compact or prescription derogatory from the liberties of mankind: no human creature can grant away, for any consideration, the liberty of the unborn child, because that child can have received no equivalent for such grant; nor can a slavery of ten thousand years establish the right of continuing it. The Poles, had they not been wrenched from their climatick character by some unnatural violence, or did they not conceive strong hopes of improving their condition by the late revolution, would have made some distinguished effort against the dividing powers, and have thereby encouraged other states to assist them; but they seem to acquiesce, and whe-

whether this acquiescence arises from a debasement of their ancient spirit by their hateful aristocracy, or from being thoroughly satisfied with the change, a philosopher, whose object is general good, cannot avoid being pleased with the event; and since that unhappy people could not relieve themselves, he must rejoice at seeing them receive that relief from others. But to consider this matter in a view relative to the interests of Europe, is the more contracted, though not less difficult, business of a politician. The weakness of states has been the cause of most of our modern wars; they have afforded temptation to avarice and to ambition; claims upon small territories are never wanting to a powerful prince; marriages have supplied them most plentifully; the duchy of Burgundy was erected into a state which became so formidable as to shake the French monarchy to its foundation; that duchy afterward passing to the house of Austria by marriage, with the claims of its sovereign still over it, was the cause of

continual wars for two centuries. To retain the sovereignty of a great fief was of little account if the vassal was in a condition to withhold the services: the design of infeudations was to strengthen the monarchy, upon a supposition of inviolable fealty in the feudatory; but if that end be not answered but rather disappointed by the feudatory, that king or sovereign is not only a patriot who snatches the first opportunity of crushing these turbulent vassalages, but does a general good by contributing to the general peace; hence it is that the politicks of Lewis the XIth of France do not appear to me in that odious light in which they are generally represented. The duke of Burgundy had certainly a right to enjoy his fiefs agreeable to the constitution of the monarchy; so had the other great vassals of the crown, but it was against the constitution to rise up in arms upon every trifling dispute with their sovereign, and enter into alliances with his enemies, because it disturbed the peace, and impaired the strength of the kingdom: so as I have shewn before that
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the individuals of a small state cannot be so happy as those of a large one, because less secure, I must wish to see Europe divided into respectable states, rather than see a continuation of its trifling principalities, for the prospect of advantages on the side of peace and tranquillity obtained by such divisions, will bear down many objections. Poland, in its present condition, I look upon as one of those weak states, but am far from insisting that the partition of its provinces between the three powers is absolutely necessary to remove that cause of frequent wars in Europe, imputed so long to the venality of the Polish nobility ; but must nevertheless be inclined to believe, as few states or indeed persons are found who will be the instruments of general good without regard to particular interest, that the increase of territory accruing to the three powers cannot be of so general evil, as to continue the Poles in their present weak condition would be ; but if these powers will, before they lay down their arms, bestow upon what shall remain of that extensive country, such a form

form of government as may answer the ends of internal happiness, and of security against external force, they will then deserve the acknowledgements and applause of the rest of Europe.

C H A P. VI.

Objections to a Division of Europe into large States answered; and of the Turks.

THE first objection to large states which strikes me, is, that a combination of such states, to an unbalancing purpose, is more easily formed than one of many small ones: it is granted, but not to mention the improbability that such a combination should last until much mischief could be accomplished, the objection vanishes when we reflect, that to oppose the schemes of ambition, a combination of great powers also is more easily formed

formed than one of many small ones; their weakness, their poverty, their fears, retard them. Whilst the French were so formidable, in the last century, we must remember the great difficulties William the Third encountered, in bringing about such a confederacy as was at length able to controul them; many of the small princes of Germany entered into an alliance with France against their own country, whereas had Germany been formed into powerful communities, its opposition to France would have been more effectual: the smaller a state the more narrow its interests, less actuated by general considerations, more subject to the sordid passions of individuals, and drawn with more facility from the line of publick good; but the operations of great states are quick and decisive, the ends effected at a lesser expence of blood; such was the case in the two last wars: the Russians did awe or compel the victorious party, which is seldom distinguished by any great share of moderation, into an equitable peace, and shews that powerful states can, by a seasonable

sonable and sudden exertion of their strength, do much good, whilst that strength will not be suffered to do much evil; its operation is favoured in one case, in the other it is checked and opposed.

Another objection arising from the danger of having two or more of these states united by the laws of inheritance, and becoming too powerful, is removed, when we consider, that should such an absurdity be allowed by the constitutions of Europe, as that the sovereignty of one kingdom directed by the municipal subordinate rule of inheritance, should, on extinction of the royal line, pass from the natives of that kingdom to the native of another, being a king, yet would the general policy of opposing such a pernicious junction be better seconded by a confederacy of great powers, than by a slow assemblage of small ones; but I will suppose a rule or constitution to prevent an accumulation of dominion to the same family, a perpetual congress held in the very center of Europe, charged with a general superintendency of
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of the whole ; watchful of only what relates to the balance, without respect to what I may call the private interest of any state : its idea may be taken from the council of the Amphictyones in Greece, but extended and amplified in proportion to the greatness of its object ; and I must conclude that no conspiracy against the general tranquillity could escape the eyes of such a political Argus.

The *pacta conventa*, or the limitations put upon the kings of Poland previous to their election, by the assembled gentry, are supposed to be unanimous resolutions ; but how is this unanimity obtained ? why if there should be any difference of opinions, the opposing parties engage in battle until the weaker is constrained to come over to the conquerors, and this is the conviction which prevails in a Polish assembly. The hereditary Lordships of the Polish nobles acknowledge no royal jurisdiction, and so great is their power, so extensive their dependencies, that prince Lubermiski is said to have been possessed of four hundred

dred cities and villages: their disputes about property are for the most part decided by force, which makes the country an almost constant theatre of violence and ravage; its situation makes it the frontier of Christendom, but so far from having any internal strength, it is as to its military force absolutely contemptible. Cracow, said to be its strongest fortress, did not, in the war between the Swedes and king Augustus, endure a siege of one week; and during the contest for the crown in 1733, the houses of the parties of Stanislaus and Augustus at Warsaw were plundered several times within the month, as each happened to obtain the superiority; so great was the animosity of Pole against Pole. Although by the treaty of Oliva, the Lutherans of Royal Prussia were to be protected in their civil and religious rights, and supported in the privilege of being advanced to magistracies; yet the severe and partial treatment of the magistrates of Thorn, who were executed in the year 1724, by the cruel arts of the Jesuits, in contempt of the most warm protests and

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remonstrances of the protestant powers, especially of his Prussian majesty, shews the violence and injustice of a Polish tribunal; and yet the nobility of this country, who hold their vassals under the most base subjection, had the effrontery to declare a jealousy that Augustus had a design to destroy their liberties, by making the crown hereditary in his family; the only step perhaps which could possibly be taken for removing the great defects of that government, and preventing this kingdom from being any longer the grand nuisance of Europe.

But nothing makes some reformation in their government so necessary, as that Poland furnishes the Turks (through the close alliance between the Polish and the Ottoman courts) with an occasion of interesting themselves in the politicks of Christendom, and that it is an inlet to their armies instead of being a barrier against these infidels: not to mention the great scandal to Christianity, that its most inveterate enemies should presume to meddle with the system of Christian princes, I dare to insist that hu-
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man nature is concerned in the humiliation of the Turks; the insolence and exorbitant power of this people have, ever since the fall of the Grecian empire, obstructed the passages between Europe, and the African and Asiatick continents in such a manner, that were it not for the Portugueze, we should at this day be totally unacquainted with either: such their brutal prejudices against our religion, that a Christian traveller, unprotected by an hired janizary, cannot take a view of their cities without being insulted by these barbarians, and if a resident Christian presumes to put on a white turban, or wear yellow slippers, he is buffeted by the next Turk he meets; in fact the rules of humanity, recognized by the European states, are by these trampled upon and despised. The communication of their respective discoveries by nations to each other, enlarges the comforts and conveniences of all, and their knowledge becomes a joint stock; an established intercourse reconciles them to each other; upon a close view their prejudices evaporate; the rancour of religious difference

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is softened ; they cease to consider themselves as animals of a different species ; universal benevolence takes place ; the inhabitants of the earth may come by degrees to look upon each other as the children of the same beneficent parent, and the whole globe, like Christendom, be at length formed into a community of states : this may indeed appear chimerical, but it surely is what he, who wishes the happiness of mankind, would be pleased to see effected : and if we consider the improvements which have been made in the modes of travelling by sea and by land, the great expedition with which vast journies are now performed, we shall find, that were all nations to concur in promoting it, an intercourse between the most distant parts of the world, may be easier supported at present, than it could in the time of Charlemagne, between the distant kingdoms of Europe. The great power of the Turks gives the principal impediment to this ; it is from their great power, that the contempt which they have always shewn to the law of nations hath arisen, and therefore it is incumbent upon all

nations to join in pulling down those who have so long spurned at what all the world should revere and hold sacred.



C H A P. VII.

S O U T H B R I T A I N.

I Now come to South Britain, a country in which I am more nearly concerned, and of all others it furnishes the strongest example of the powerful opposition which the fertility of soil, and the security of situation hath given to the invigorating virtue of climate, insomuch as to make it at particular times extremely doubtful, whether courage or pusillanimity be the strong line of national character in its inhabitants: these circumstances have often reduced them so low, that to guard against such attacks as may be made upon this weak condition, it would be prudent to
 resort

resort to that policy, to the good institutions and discipline which such southern nations as were wise have had recourse to; for certain it is that this country hath, notwithstanding its northern advantages, been often sunk almost to a southern level.

I well know the vehement desire of most nations to have it believed that they are descended from an ancient and honourable stock. I cannot perceive what compliment Livy and Virgil could suppose they paid the Romans by deriving them from a parcel of vanquished Trojan runaways, when Strabo has proved in his 13th book, in his description of Troas, and from the authority of Homer himself, that Æneas never left Troy, but succeeded to the throne after the death of Priam; be that as it will, unsollicitous about the opinion of those who lean upon the merit of ancestry, truth is my object, and in pursuing it, I must declare that the earliest account I can find of the South Britons, is in Cæsar's commentaries, when discoursing of the people of Gaul, he tells us, that the

Suessiones, an inconsiderable nation of that country in his time, had been once very powerful, and had *conquered the Britons*; so that the very first view we have of South Britain, is in a state of absolute subjection to a small district of Gaul, which inclines me to think, that the enervating circumstances before spoken of, had an early effect upon the Britons, and had slackened the genuine force of climate: unacquainted with refined luxury until the Roman conquest, they made a rapid progress under the instruction of that people, although they do not seem to have given any great attention to their military lessons, for we find the Picts, not one fifth of their number, upon the departure of the Romans, driving them in a most piteous condition to the sea in the south, the sea as unmercifully returning them back to the Picts in the north: to say the Romans had carried away their young men to serve in their armies is no apology, sufficient numbers were left behind, but in truth they were no longer men; their intercourse with Gaul, shews a probability that there was trade
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amongst them; the use of chariots, a custom truly Asiatick, to which they betook themselves in order to accelerate their flight, marks a strong providence to the means of escaping, and indicates an absence of determined resolution: these are clear proofs of a luxurious tendency; and that insular situation had affected their behaviour to strangers is evident, because so far as we are informed, it was such as must arise from too great a confidence in that situation—*hospitibus feros*--the consequence of being separated from the world; nations upon the same continent cannot be unacquainted with each other; they compare and respect, unless prepossessed by too exalted ideas of their own superiority.

C H A P. VIII.

How the Britons resisted Julius Cæsar.

BUT a short view of the behaviour of the Britons against the wanton invasion of the Romans, will put this matter in a clearer light, and facts will establish the general charge. I am confident that Cæsar deserves little credit when he gives the assistance afforded by Britain to the Gauls, as a reason for invading that country, because he hath almost in the same breath acknowledged, that the ports, the creeks, the towns of Britain were entirely unknown to the Gauls, and that he was therefore under the necessity of sending Volusenus to explore them, which ignorance of the Gauls could not have existed had there been an alliance between the two nations; but Cæsar would never wish to deceive us by representing the courage of the Britons as inferior to what it really was, for that would be in effect to depreciate
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his own merit in having beaten them. By his account when he approached the shore of this island, finding his transports too heavy to come near enough for landing his soldiers, he manned one of his long vessels, which did not draw so much water as the transport, with slingers, archers, legionaries, and fixing his projectile engine in the same vessel, presented her broadside to the enemy, who were drawn up on the beach; the novelty of these long vessels, the motion of the oars, and the sight of the engines, filled the Britons with consternation, under the cover of which consternation some of the Roman soldiers plunged into the water, and so soon as they had got a firm footing, at the very first charge the enemy fled. Upon this, I must observe, that the Mexicans, who are charged with cowardice, had much more reason to be terrified by the cannon of the Spaniards than the Britons at the warlike implements of the Romans; however, upon Cæsar's having made good his landing, the enemy send hostages and sue for peace, but being afterwards informed of the disaster which

happened to the Roman fleet, they surprised their foraging parties with a very superior force, of whom some *few are killed, but the Britons soon repulsed*; they in a short time after marched and attacked the fleet which had been hauled up on the shore, and surrounded by an entrenchment, but had scarce joined * battle with the Romans when they fled, and begged again for peace.

In Cæsar's second descent upon Britain, the seventh legion attacks the strong camp of the enemies, storms it, drives them out of it, and had only a few men wounded, *paucis acceptis vulneribus*; upon this, the whole British confederacy, under the command of Cassivelaunus, attack the trenches of the Romans, who made a sally upon them, and having sustained one shock of the legions, the enemy never appeared afterwards in a general body; Cæsar then marching farther into the country, crossed the Thames at Coway Stakes, where the

* *Commisso prælio diutius nostrorum militum impetum ferre non potuerunt.*

opposite bank was covered by British forces; here his men passed bearing their heads only above the water, nor did the enemy, although posted to such advantage, make a becoming resistance, but were instantly put to flight; at the attack of the *oppidum Cassivelauni*, a post very strong both by nature and art, after a short * dispute they fled as before; again when Cingetorix, taking advantage of Cæsar's absence, assaulted his camp, the Britons were repulsed in an instant, and the general was taken prisoner; upon which Cassivelaunus, who had been chosen general on account of his acknowledged superiority of talents, is deserted by the whole confederacy, and in an abject fit of despair they submit to Cæsar absolutely and without any stipulations whatever.

From this brief detail an unprejudiced reader must allow that in their first appearance upon the great stage of the world, the South Britons seem to have

* *Paulisper morati impetum nostrum non ferunt.*

given proofs of very little more than of a giddy puffillanimity with regard to their invaders, of perfidiousness and of levity with regard to each other.

C H A P IX.

What resistance the Britons made by the account of Tacitus.

TACITUS, who seems to have the glory of Agricola his father-in-law much at heart, cannot be suspected of underrating the South Britons : we will candidly examine their behaviour from his authority.—In the reign of the emperor Claudius, we find the Iceni, a numerous British tribe, at the head of a powerful confederacy ; they arm, they fortify themselves ; they are attacked by Ostorius, who had the allies only in his army, without the * strength of the legions, and

* *Sine robore legionum.*

they are routed, being caught and embarrassed by these very fortifications wherein they had placed their hopes of safety. The Brigantes are quelled the moment they rise, and the Silures, with great numbers of their confederates, drawn up with every advantage of situation, woods, rocks, walls, and a river in their front, fly to the mountains* at the first onset, whither they are pursued, and defeated; the wife and children of Caractacus are taken prisoners, he flies to Cartismunda, queen of the Brigantes, for protection, who sends him in chains to the Roman general. But the Silures, made desperate by a report that the Romans had resolved to exterminate their whole nation, continue the war, more however after the manner of robbers † than of warriors, in lakes and in fastnesses: the death of Ostorius roused their spirits once more; they sometimes made an attempt to surprize a detached legion in its quarters,

* *Decedere barbari in juga montium.*

† *Sæpius in modum latrocinii per saltus, per paludes.*

but

but were always repulsed. Ten years after we find them driven by Paulinus Suetonius into the island of Anglesea, who passing his troops over the sound, which separates that Island from the continent of Britain, routed their army, consisting of men, women, children, and druids, who were drawn up on the opposite shore, and were endeavouring to strike a terror into the Romans, by a shocking exhibition of their horrid religious ceremonies: but Roman tyranny forces the Britons once more into a general confederacy; the cunning of Prasutagus, in making Cæsar joint heir with his daughters, could not secure his family against the cruel injuries of these invaders: his queen Boadicea was whipped, his daughters were ravished by the centurions and soldiers; roused by these insufferable acts of violence to a resolution of taking a sudden revenge, they fall upon the garisons of London and Verulam, and massacre to the number of 70,000 Romans, before Suetonius had returned from his expedition: the Roman general taking with him

him the fourteenth legion with some auxiliaries, making, in the whole, a body of 10,000 men, fought the numerous army of the Britons, who turned their * backs at the first charge, and an immense army it must have been, where 80,000 were killed upon the spot.

When Agricola commanded in Britain, I really cannot find any thing bearing the appearance of what may be called a war, until he crossed the river Tay; there indeed he had a nation to encounter which retained the character they had brought from Germany, (for I am of the opinion of Tacitus as to the origin of the Caledonians) genuine and unimpaired, by the enervating circumstances; for they † *had neither cultivated fields, rich metals, nor convenient harbours for commerce to corrupt them*; there he found what kind of ‡ *men Caledonia had set apart for herself*:

* *Terga præbuere.*

† *Neque arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus.*

‡ *Quos sibi viros Caledonia seposuit.*

these

these Caledonians surprized the ninth legion, fought them into the very center of their camp, and would have cut them to pieces, had not Agricola come up, most seasonably, to their relief; they soon after, under their general Galgacus, engaged the Roman army at the foot of the Grampian mountains, in a close and bloody battle*, where after an obstinate resistance, by the superior skill of Agricola, and by a happy disposition of 3000 horse, this gallant people were defeated.

It cannot escape our observation, that as the Caledonians by acting in concert, by entering into solemn engagements with each other, by adhering to these engagements against a common enemy, had shewn more good sense than the Britons of the south, so did they display a much higher spirit, than is to be met with in any of the preceding wars of this island. Agricola's army was composed of 6000 auxiliaries, and of 3000 horse, beside the

* *Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fœdare.*

legions ; that of the Caledonians consisting of 30,000 men, there could be no great disparity of numbers. The Roman general employed every stratagem that could enter into the head of an experienced commander well acquainted with that perfection, to which the Romans had brought the military art ; he sent his fleet to perplex, to intimidate, to spread an uncertain* terror all *around*, by making descents upon the enemies coasts, (from whence our great minister snatched the idea of distracting the French in the late war) yet he could not bring the Caledonians to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome. Agricola fortified the Isthmus between Glota and Bodotria, that is between Dunbritton and Edenborough ; Adrian, assuming the appearance of moderation, drew his fortification from the river Eden, in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland, giving up the country of the Meatae, which was the space intercepted by the two walls, and the cause of contention between the Romans and Caledonians : in the

* *Magnum et incertum terrorem facere,*

the succeeding reign the latter were driven back by Lollius Urbicus to the barrier of Agricola, and although Severus, in his war with Fulgentius, marched to the extremity of the island but with a loss of 50,000 men, yet withdrawing himself to the wall of Adrian, and fortifying it, he seems to have acknowledged that as the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain, and to be sensible of the great difficulty of maintaining the sovereignty of Rome, in the disputed country of the Meatae. This indeed I am sorry to remark, that the South Britons, so far from joining those of the north in support of their common liberties, from the time of Agricola (except a slight insurrection of the Brigantes in the reign of Antoninus Pius) are not to be read of in any character, but in that of allies to the Romans, and this apostacy may be a just cause for the persecution which they suffered from the North Britons, when their masters had withdrawn themselves from the island. This short narration shews most clearly that the South Britons gave no proofs of a
courage

courage proportioned to the goodness of their climate; that richness of soil, and security of situation, had softened them into effeminacy and irresolution; that we have given them a credit for a bravery which it does not appear that they ever possessed; that their distance from Rome and their encompassed situation afforded them the most flattering hopes of recovering their liberties, and notwithstanding these advantages, that not one of the provinces submitted more patiently to the yoke of slavery than the province of South Britain.

C H A P. X.

How the Saxons were affected by the enervating Circumstances.

THE degeneracy of this people was the cause of introducing the Saxons into the island: they were the original inhabitants of part of that country lying along the coast of the German Ocean, almost from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Elbe, and of so brave a nature, that if honour can be conferred by the accident of descent, to be the posterity of such a people is undoubtedly an honour of the most exalted kind. I suppose them to be the people called Chauci by Tacitus; they had been long used to the arms of Rome; with agriculture they were well acquainted, for our terms of husbandry being chiefly in that language, proves that they exercised that art as their own, and the regard which the common law shews to the very beasts of the plough, as well as the favour shewn to the tenant in possession,

sion, upon a supposition of his care in cultivating the soil, are arguments of the high respect in which agriculture was held by our ancestors: the feudal system, upon the continent, had not arrived at its perfection when the Saxons were invited into Britain, and the tenure of gavelkind established in Kent by the first who arrived here is farther removed from what feudal tenures came in time to be, than the tenures in the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, which gave a general preference to primogeniture; in this crude state internal happiness was more equally provided for, but it was not sufficiently guarded against external violence; that harmony, that correspondence between the whole and its parts, which gives energy and dispatch to publick measures, which in cases of emergency concentrates the entire spirit and vigour of the community, was wanting; but although the fortunes of the Saxons might have been improved by their settlement in this island, their virtue I am sure was not: in their prime of courage, they soon dispossessed the poor

South Britons, and restrained those of the north within just limits; but when accustomed for some time to the ease and plenty of the countries which they had conquered, they seem to have lost their former valour; the Danes seized upon a great part of their country, imposed a tax upon them, forced them to acknowledge kings of their race; the Danes, although frequently waisted over, could not exceed the Saxons in numbers, but in reality the courage of the latter was abated, their publick spirit was lost, and were it not for a most abominable massacre, the Danes would have made themselves absolute masters of England; a massacre perpetrated in breach of treaties, in violation of all laws, divine and human, of every tie both of friendship and of blood, shews to what a baseness the Saxons were fallen; the Danes were invaders, so had the Saxons been; God hath given the whole earth to man, but no particular portion hath he allotted to any one people in such strict property, as to warrant the commission of such atrocious crimes, in maintenance of what
they

they may suppose to be a right ; it was not, however, untill after a long residence in this country that they had sunk into this baseness.

At the Norman conquest, a most extraordinary event, when the fate of a great kingdom was determined by a single battle, the Saxons gave just grounds for censuring both their policy and want of firmness. The supineness of the English court must have been scandalous, for it appears to have had very little intelligence of continental affairs, whilst William was solliciting the assistance of all the powers of Europe, except that of the king of France, whose dominions were to have been invaded by the emperor, if he should attempt to impede the enterprize against England ; notwithstanding all these preparations, Harold had made no alliances, he had not even concluded a peace with the Danes, who never would have made a diversion in favour of a claimant, whose design was to seize upon a kingdom to which they pretended a right : Philip would

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have

have interfered, had he any prospect of a steady ally in the English; the Scottish nation would have joined against these invaders, as appears by the aid they afterwards afforded to Edgar Atheling, and the discontents of Harold's brother must have given way to the considerations of family interest. But security and want of publick spirit, the result of a blind persuasion in the individual, that his own safety has no connection with that of the common-weal, have been always fatal to the country we speak of. Wrapped up in the confidence of a sea-environed situation, this gallant monarch, when William landed in Suffex, was almost unprepared to meet him; his army, after the battle of Burrow Bridge, was much reduced by desertion, being offended because Harold had preserved the Danish plunder from the soldiers, where-with to pay them, without loading the nation with taxes; but public consideration had little weight with a corrupt people: the personal bravery of the gallant monarch and his troops, at the ever memorable

battle

battle of Hastings, was eminently conspicuous; but to risque all upon a single action, where his resources were so great, where the interposition of other powers, had any time been allowed, must have been certain, was madness itself, and had more the appearance of ill grounded desperation, than of solid valour, which is often manifested in declining to bring matters of great importance to a sudden issue, which waits to take the advantage of opportunity in order to ensure success. That this was as compleat a conquest as had been ever accomplished, is beyond dispute. We talk of compact; is it not absurd to suppose that the English would have entered into a compact with the Normans, to give up all their lands, for domesday book shews clearly that scarce any Englishman retained his possessions? And as for the argument against conquest drawn from the establishment of Edward the Confessor's laws, is it not more probable, that the adventurers, who were rather volunteers than the vassals of William, finding a combination with their king

against the liberties of the people, to be not more their interest than that of the Saxons, and becoming well acquainted with the excellence of these laws, did insist upon a revival of them?

C H A P. XI.

Some Ages after the Norman Conquest.

BUT the glorious reigns of our kings of the Plantagenet race present an hostile countenance to that principle which I had endeavoured to establish from the effects of soil and situation upon the inhabitants of South Britain. I have wished to convey to my reader an idea, that the temperature of our climate is favourable to the growth of every virtue, but our soil and situation are enemies to the preservation of them, ever working to their corruption as they rise to maturity; that if accidents, lucky events, or good policy,

cy, shall remove the embarrassments of the enervating circumstances, and restore to climate a freedom of acting, its genuine force will then disclose itself, and virtue be again the characteristick of South Britain. What were the causes which restored this power to climate, and continued it almost without interruption, from the Conquest until the time of Henry the Seventh, I shall now endeavour to shew.

The Norman barons, from the time their ancestors had seized upon the province of Neustria, were obliged to wage almost perpetual wars with the kings of France, who were piqued, and with good reason, at seeing a feudatory imposed upon them, too proud and too powerful to be dependent upon the crown; the art of war through necessity was their chief study, and their wonderful achievements in Italy and Sicily shew the great excellence of Norman discipline; by force they became masters of England, and force was to be used in preserving it; the Scotch, who had

had espoused the interest of the Saxon royal family, were to be held in observation; a descent of the Danes was with reason to be apprehended; the Saxons, whom they had taken by surprise, indeed soon became incorporated with the victors; brave by nature as themselves, they soon caught their noble ardour, and became masters of their discipline. The encrease of territory accruing to our sovereigns by intermarriages with the houses of Anjou and of Aquitaine, enlarged their intercourse with the continent, and the claims upon the entire kingdom of France, which devolved upon Edward III. in right of his mother, opening that intercourse still wider, laid a foundation for almost continual wars, and gave so bright a glow to the military spirit of England as to dazzle the eyes of all Europe. When the prosecution of these claims was at any time remitted, the great struggles with the crown, the civil wars of York and Lancaster, kept up the national attention to arms; and when these principal causes were quiescent, the inroads from Scotland, the insurrec-

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tions of the Welch, or the troubles of Ireland, constantly agitating the people, made them ever warlike and alert: these were no seasons to sit down to a luxurious enjoyment of the things the country afforded; they could not hug themselves in the security which the sea presented them; strong continental connections had broken their insularity of situation; inattention to the schemes of foreign courts was shaken off; the want of a due information, which want had left the politicks of England, during the Saxon period, in a state of gross imperfection, was supplied; and these will, I hope, be admitted as sufficient reasons why England through these ages could not, by yielding to the circumstances of soil and situation, sink into the soft down of sloth and luxury; she was then a body healthy and athletick from temperance and exercise, by the absence of which invigorating causes, she became in succeeding ages languid, swollen, unwieldy, and distempered.

The civil wars of York and Lancaster had so called home the attention of the
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English, that Lewis XI seized the opportunity of rendering their re-establishment in France impracticable for the future, for the duke of Burgundy was destroyed; they began to feel the influence of trade however remote, and although Henry VII was a narrow-minded, contemptible, avaricious tyrant, yet not a spark of their former spirit could his oppressions strike out of the nation; as to the important change of property occasioned by laws enacted in his reign, it could not as yet have operated to the humiliation of the nobles, for Oxford dismissed his retainers through fear of Henry, not through want of means to support them; and if the commons had acquired property, it did not add to their resolution, for they endured the unwarrantable exactions of Dudley and Empson with a patience unexampled in former reigns: in short, so soon as peace, together with that commercial turn which Europe had then taken, had furnished the English with the means of indulgence and ease, they would not run the hazard of immediately losing them, by attempting to

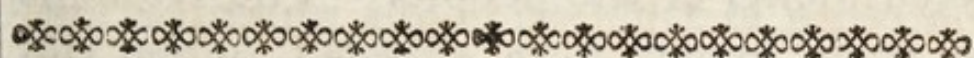
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give a check to this first of the Tudor race; nor did the despotism of this family arise from any extraordinary courage in them, but from the abject submission of the people: and here impartiality must allow, that although the former active periods had kept up the courage of the English, yet did all their domestick contention spring from implicit obedience to their great barons before the battle of Evesham, or from attachment to particular branches of the reigning family, until the distinction was lost in the union of the contending houses; it never arose from a just notion of civil liberty, which hath not the aggrandizement of barons, the pretensions of particular families to a crown, for its concern, as the above causes being removed, we see them tamely submitting to Henry VIII, the most bloody and brutal tyrant that ever deformed the annals of a nation; we cannot point out one well regulated effort in favour of liberty through the long course of his reign; the religious prejudices of a bigotted nation given up, the property of the church peaceably transferred

ferred to the crown and to a part of the laity, the fortresses of superstition entirely dismantled under him and his successor; and to prove that the nation did not submit from conviction, we have only to observe that what was done in his and Edward's reign was immediately reversed, with the like consent of the people, in the reign of Mary, whose gloomy and horrid cruelties were suffered until death removed her: these all are marks not of national patience but of national insensibility. As to Elizabeth, her greatest admirers must allow her to be no better than a sensible despot; she had occasion for the affection of her people, and she had the address to cajole them; but it is evident from what they had borne from her predecessors, that if she had Philip for her friend, instead of his being her enemy, she might not only have offended, but oppressed them with impunity: as to the boasted glories of her reign, it is true she preserved the peace of England, but what figure would she have made, if she had a principal part to maintain upon the continent,

continent, like some of our former monarchs? had she their extensive dominions in France to preserve? she who in the distracted state of the French monarchy, after the death of Henry II, had not even the spirit of making the smallest effort for the recovery of Calais.



C H A P. XII.

The State of English Spirit under the Stuart Race.

THE reign of James was a series of insults upon a people who had taken for their king a man whom they despised, merely because he was recommended by Elizabeth, who would not forsooth have her throne filled by any person who had not been a king; although I believe the real motive for her recommendation was to make atonement for the murder of his mother; the son of James, encouraged by
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the impunity of his father, was determined to pursue the scheme of uncontrouled kingship; the English beheld their laws broken through and trampled upon; their honour, as a nation, sullied for twelve years without any marks of resentment, unless we should look upon the assassination of Buckingham as bearing some relation to the resentments of the people. The Romans in their lowest state afforded, when the general mass was too inanimate to resist, some who were bold enough singly to revenge the injuries done to all; and let no man presume to take from assassination its due merit, that is, when no other means are left to stop the progress of tyranny: can it be moral, or can it be truly religious to endure the enormities of a Nero or of a Domitian, until after a long and bloody exercise of lawless power, they should cease at length, by the tedious course of nature, to be the curses of mankind; and this from an impious persuasion, that such calamities being sent by Heaven, we must wait until Heaven shall be pleased to remove them; whereas nothing can be more blas-

blasphemous than to charge those evils to the Almighty, of which our own vices, follies, and cowardice are the real causes : it is transferring the guilt from ourselves who will endure these things, and from the tyrant who inflicts, to the great author of our existence, which is surely the highest degree of impiety.---But to proceed, notwithstanding the appearance of a tremendous attack in parliament upon the ministers of Charles, a spirit of manly opposition did not appear amongst the English, untill their northern neighbours, impatient of oppression, had marched an army against their common tyrant ; the alacrity of the Scotch gave motion to their ponderous fellow subjects of the south ; fanaticism received, it propagated the impulse, and many circumstances concurred to bring the royal delinquent to the scaffold ; it was an example of glorious and unparalleled enormity, and transmitted many good effects to posterity : the learning, wisdom, and firmness of the long parliament did open the true fountains of legislation, in spite of the narrowing

schemes of crafty lawyers; the feudal vassalage was annihilated, and by the act of navigation, the benefit of our trade was rescued from foreigners. Such national advantages with many others we owe to these struggles, and consequently to the great men who conducted them; and yet must it be allowed, that their attacks were begun under the protection of the Scottish army, to which the English parliament would not send down their pay, (the want of which alone delayed their return to Scotland) until the king had made several concessions in favour of liberty, so conscious were they of the importance of the Scotch to the execution of their designs.

Charles the Second, after a long exile and a despair of returning, brought home some respect for his subjects; he was still afraid to provoke them; but seeing their headlong propensity to corruption, and to the vicious licentiousness of manners which he introduced and encouraged, and having judiciously measured the extent
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of what they would bear, he was preparing at the time he died, or was murdered, to give the last stroke to the good old English constitution. His successor had every thing ready for compleating the business, but his bigotry would arouse the jealousy of the ecclesiasticks, and thereby gave England the credit of having made one feeble effort more in favour of liberty.

C H A P. XIII.

What was the Merit of the English in the important Event of the Revolution.

WHEN James had invaded the civil and religious rights of his subjects, the prince of Orange, at the earnest, but clandestine intreaty of the greater part of the English nobility and gentry (for they dared not to invite him openly) came over to rescue three kingdoms, and ten millions of people, out of the hands of a weak, timid, bigotted king at the head of a small army, and out of the hands of a few inconsiderable papists, who could have no influence except what they derived from court favour. Having landed in Devonshire with his Dutch forces, to such an extremity was the caution of the English carried, such their apprehension of a tyrant whom they detested, to whom even the troops whom he paid had, upon the acquital of the bishops, shewn a disaffection, that the leading men of the kingdom for a long time delayed to join him; and such

such their irresolution, that, upon the abdication of James, who not able to get out of England, was brought back to London by the fishermen of Feversham, they had almost repented of having called William, and deliberated whether they should not receive the runaway for their king, infomuch that William was very glad to let him escape: this sure cannot be held up as the effort of a brave people, nor am I convinced, that the Dutch have not, with reason, looked upon this deliverance of the English from the thraldom of their oppressor, as a full satisfaction for all former obligations; and although the moderation of William hindered him from calling it a conquest, yet might he more reasonably expect to hold English protestants in subjection by an army of protestants, far more powerful than was that of James, than James could expect to do it, with an army, officered at least by papists. James certainly kept them in awe, and why might not William? The revolution was indeed glorious, but the whole glory belonged to our deliverer,

as we now acknowledge him, and to his army. Our long sufferance of ill usage is by no means a virtue; if a people is injuriously treated, it is pusillanimous to defer the measures of redress, and exceedingly injudicious, because the more inveterate a grievance is, the greater difficulty must attend the removal of it: patience and long sufferance in an oppressed people, quickens, strengthens and brings up to maturity in the mind of a prince, the smallest seed of despotick tendency, and from being only froward, weak, and wilful, raises him by degrees into an obstinate and confirmed tyrant.

William came over a brave and upright man, with the purest affection to the liberties of mankind; but his ministers, and the men of influence here endeavoured to corrupt him, so far as his honest nature was capable of corruption, for their own selfish purposes; the debt incurred by the wars in which he was necessarily engaged, might have been easily

easily discharged after queen Ann's last ministry had made a sacrifice of all the fruits of his grand alliance, if the several administrations during that torpid period from the peace of Utrecht until the war of 1740, had any other view, but the amassing of vast fortunes for themselves, and their adherents. We then learned to imitate Holland, we have done so in nothing that we have not abused to our ruin, their funding and their taxation; but their publick œconomy, and private frugality we have reprobated entirely. Dutch taxation had its original, and continuance in the real necessities of the state; English revenues of every kind are little more than the private property of successive administrations, who have sacrificed the honour and interest of the kingdom to their own emolument: such however is the partiality of men to their native soil, given, I must suppose, in general, for good purposes, that they are wonderfully sagacious in removing all blame from the body of their countrymen, charging national errors and crimes only to a part, or

to some other cause, whereby the rest may stand exculpated: they tell us, that the corruption, and want of spirit of an English or of a French minister, cannot, with justice, be imputed to either the French or English nation; the apology is ridiculous, nothing is more reasonable than to make the publick character of a people, accountable for the acts of government; the people disapproving by writing and speaking of an administration, without acting to any effect, argues want of resolution in that people, and that they will run no hazard in supporting what they are persuaded is right; to say they would if they dare, is a tacit acknowledgement of having deserved the contempt with which they are treated by those to whom they have trusted their concerns, is rather an aggravation than an excuse, and involves them deeply in the crimes or errors of their rulers. When nations are condemned for having made a poor resistance in defence of their liberties, a want of military discipline, or of good policy, is pleaded in excuse, whereas it is this very
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ignorance of the military art, of the arts of national self-preservation, that we condemn ; for such ignorance is not necessarily imposed upon them, it is not invincible, and is therefore imputable to them as a crime ; some nations have struck out these arts, and why may not others ? The Romans did not borrow from the Grecian phalanx, they invented the legion, but wherever they observed any thing worthy of imitation, neither vanity nor obstinacy could hinder them from adopting it. The Batavians, almost as soon as they knew the arms of Rome, studied their discipline, formed the cohort, and were almost invincible ; but the Gauls, through a ten years war with the greatest general of the age, never could put the Roman military art in practice : the same may be said of the South Britons, whereas the Highlanders arm in the Roman manner to this very hour, with the addition of the firelock at the first charge, and laying artillery out of the case, I am convinced, with equal courage and strength, that troops, armed
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in that manner, must be victorious. It is pretended that a want of intercourse with civilized nations, cuts them off from knowledge; let us pursue this thought: the Romans learned from the Greeks, the Greeks derived their arts and sciences from the Egyptians, we must come at length to some one nation or other, which self-instructed hath transmitted their lights to others; and until we find that the Egyptians, or whichever was that first informed nation, were so favoured as to receive this necessary art of self-preservation from heaven, I must condemn the supineness of those who, considering how little difference there is between the faculties of the various nations of the earth, have neglected to possess themselves, at least of those arts, which furnish the means of defending their lives and liberties.

C H A P. XIV.

*State of national Self-Preservation in
Britain.*

IT being clear that the bravery of such a nation as ours is inversely as the power which the enervating effects of soil and situation is permitted to exercise over its people, it is no less certain that the bravery of such a nation may degenerate into rank cowardice: to say the English are fallen so low would be unjust, and to deny that they are much beneath the same key of real courage, at which they formerly were, would be truly ridiculous. The lustre of the late war will be urged to the contrary; but there are many reasons why the entire credit of the war should not be given to English bravery. Its success was, in a great measure, owing to the extraordinary expence attending it, by which it was so perfectly served in every quarter of the globe; it was owing to the extensive
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genius of the man who planned its operations ; it was owing to the great numbers of Germans, of Scotch, of Irish, and of Americans, who served in our fleets and armies, paid indeed by English money, but English money is neither English strength nor courage : if we add to these considerations the wretched incapacity of the French ministry, under the direction of a weak woman, the war, on their side, strangled in its very birth by the want of an immediate conjunction of the houses of Bourbon, the one disabled before the other moved, which could then do little more than give additional splendor to the triumphs of Britain ; these things considered, from the uncommon lustre of the war we speak of, a superior courage of the present English, to their courage at former periods, cannot by any means be inferred, nor even an equality.

Europe seems to have a strong tendency into states of a respectable size, and however salutary this may be to the purposes of general tranquillity, I shall be
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pardoned if, from the love I bear to my own country, I should wish that no powerful prince may be able to possess himself of those ports which lie upon the German ocean ; because such a neighbour must be dangerous to this part of the island, which never was attacked by a northern people without being subdued. The Normans had such a contempt for the people of Neustria, that they would not be called, but by their old name, and I consider them as a northern people at the conquest ; since that time, no enemy out of Britain, of a situation more northern than ourselves, hath attempted us ; the French and Spaniards were inferior in strength of body and in courage ; of their numbers our situation prevented them from availing themselves ; the French never gave marks of an enterprizing spirit beyond the limits of the Rhine, and the inhabitants of this island have a prescriptive right of superiority over those of Gaul *, the only praise as I recollect which the ancients have

* *Plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt.*

given them; but had we a northern prince for our enemy, master of that number of ships which must naturally attend a well regulated trade to the ports in the German ocean, and of those great rivers which, running through Germany, discharge themselves into that ocean; of men who feel not the terrors of any element, who living poorly at home, may be stimulated, like their brave ancestors, to share in the spoils of a richer and more cultivated country than their own; should this prince look with a mixture of indignation and of contempt upon a people, who prized themselves for an imaginary wealth, a shadowy credit, chilled at the most distant sound of the blast of calamity, an apparition, which, upon the first rough touch, is found to be unsubstantial; if he should seize the opportunity of attacking this people, how should England be protected? The all-sufficiency of the British fleet presents itself forthwith to the imagination of my indolent and high-fed countrymen, miraculously surrounding a coast of two thousand miles;

upon this they bestow omnipresence, and every attribute of the Deity ; upon this they rest secure in the gratification of every sense, and in the practice of almost every vice. I affirm that no expedition has been ever conducted against this country with any degree of wisdom, or even of plausibility, which did not succeed ; since the Conquest that of Philip the second of Spain was the most tremendous in its apparatus, but this expedition could not succeed ; the alarm of invasion was spread so long before the embarkation, that every man in England had time to become a soldier ; and when the army was embarked, the procession of the Spanish fleet along our southern coast, in order to take on board the prince of Parma and his troops then waiting at Dunkirk, was so very slow, and pompous, that every English port and creek sent out its whole force to annoy them, so that they were exposed to the increase of enemies every moment, as well as to the dangers of a tempestuous sea ; nor is it to be forgotten that the Spaniards from the influx of American riches were at this time

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departed from their rigour of discipline, and had much abated of their former valour; let not therefore the impracticability of invading England be drawn from the failure of such random expeditions, if expeditions they can be called, which are embarrassed by such blundering delays.

I am well convinced that the chief military strength of this nation ought to be that of our fleet; but fleets have failed, fleets may fail, and will fail again; nothing is more natural than that the wind, which is favourable to the invading fleet, may keep the fleet that should oppose it in harbour: when Allectus possessed himself of the province of Britain and was master of the seas, Constantine sailed over, under the cover of a thick mist, and landing his troops overcame the usurper; the prince of Orange landed his army at Brixham in Torbay, having past the English fleet then lying in the Downs; but nothing proves the insufficiency of a fleet so forcibly, as the transportation
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of Cæsar's army from Brundisium to Dyrrachium in his pursuit of Pompey, at two embarkations: although the coast of Epirus was guarded by a much superior naval force, under the command of Bibulus* and Pompey's other lieutenants, an army was landed with the loss of only two transports, sufficient to decide the greatest contest for empire that time hath yet produced: much will be attributed of Cæsar's success to fortune; Cæsar himself hath attributed much to that goddess, in the second embarkation under Antony; but good troops, good officers, and the terrifying dispatch with which that great destroyer of Roman liberty animated all his military operations, are to me sufficient causes for his success, without any interposition of fortune.

In these circumstances of Europe, where the small German states, whose troops we were used to pay, are probably soon to be annexed to great

* *Stationes littoræ omnia longe lateque classibus occupavit.* CÆS.

monarchies, and no longer to be hired out for slaughter ; when the French, unequal to Britain in commercial contest, are willing to leave us without a rival, and give no interruption to our eagerness for remote, unnatural acquisitions ; we ourselves should bridle that avarice which is wasting our vigour in the burning heats of India, and leaving the center of the empire without defence : whilst other states are strengthening themselves at home, England is sending forth her strength, and bringing home the materials of her own destruction ; but, as I have observed before, we shall probably have the French and Spaniards no longer for our enemies, who having submitted in the contest of trade, no subject of dispute now remains, unless we should renew our old claims upon the French monarchy ; with some northern nation or confederacy, therefore, we are likely to contend for the future, against whom hardiness, strength, courage and publick spirit will be necessary, which afford a more certain protection than either fleets or armies without them.

them. Let us now see in what condition we are to receive such encounters as we have reason to expect; but in discussing this matter, I shall not enter into a state of the national debt, the amount of our revenue, nor enquire what sums can be spared to the support of armies and of fleets, by the mercenary vultures, who have so long preyed upon the vitals of their country, I mean placemen and pensioners of every denomination; but I will ask what stock of national virtue remains wherewith to oppose a brave and an enterprizing people, for we shall be then engaged in wars which it will be impossible to carry on by bills of exchange.

C H A P. XV.

Nobles. Gentry.

THERE is not a country in Europe, except England, where the nobility hath not at all times produced men, whose talents, as well military as civil, have been useful to the people; in England no person, born in that rank, hath, during this century, been found capable of commanding a great army: this did not proceed from a deficiency of wars in which we had a concern, or from want of genius, nature having scattered the seeds of genius pretty equally in all ages, and through every rank of life, but to the luxury and supineness, generally incident to that order, in our nation. In foreign courts a manly and heroic deportment opens the avenues to favour and preferment, but in England, a vote for administration supplies the want of every virtue, and of every accomplishment; some few indeed, not

not of the mere nobility, but of those who have risen from the degree of commoners to that rank, have approved themselves able statesmen, and deep philosophers; but the rest are either first dupes, and then sharpeners at play, awkward mimicks of French manners, or affected insipid admirers of the *virtù*: such is that order of men, which, by great and superior emoluments enjoyed in community, are bound by the most powerful ties, to stand foremost in the breach of danger, and to animate the body of the people by precept and example. Some pretensions they have of rendering to society one advantage only, I mean that of spending their fortunes amongst the people; and yet even this is done in such a manner, that we can scarce thank them for it. I do confess, since they are possessed of large estates, that an accumulation of their wealth would be of bad consequence; but must insist, that the modes they have chosen of scattering their wealth, are of all others which could be imagined, the most detrimental to society: of gamesters they are

the kind patrons, and the bright examples ; and I verily believe, that many a wretch hath quitted the plain honest road of profession and turned gambler, from the vain motive of keeping what he calls good company, that is, the company of lords : such is their encouragement of horse-racing and cock-fighting, the most baneful kinds of gaming, because most open to the trading, farming, useful, parts of the people, that they imitate the language, the manner, and the very dress of their menial assistants in these diversions, and their superfluity in the article of servants is such a drain from the general fund of labourers, manufacturers, and seamen, such a lazy dead incumbrance upon the provisions of the kingdom, that I know not so great a national nuisance as their supernumerary lacqueys, nor any luxury so deserving of being the object of taxation, and which we nevertheless must despair of ever seeing taxed ; their expences in supporting an influence in electing members of the lower house, although precluded by the sacred rules of
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our constitution, from interfering, assist powerfully in dispersing their wealth; and hence it is that this branch of legislature takes its complexion from the upper one. In the House of Commons scarce fifty members can be produced who really represent their constituents, who are returned to parliament upon the constitutional ground of confidence and of affection, arising from a personal knowledge of abilities and integrity; the rest either owe their senatorial existence to ministerial creation, or are the abject dependants of powerful lords, and of rich Asiatick upstarts, who glory in putting their king under the constraint of bestowing places and pensions upon their followers, that is, of paying their servants wages; and when any of these vassals becomes notorious by his petulance and noise in the house, make the insolent boast, of having brought him into parliament, feeling almost as much delight in seeing him outstrip the hackneys of other lords in impudent scurrility, as they would in winning an hollow match at Newmarket.

The greater part however of the old established English gentry being at this day excluded from the House of Commons, we, at first sight, should be inclined to acquit them of every part of what is imputed to the rest; but this we cannot do with justice, because considering, that the larger part of the national property is still out of the possession of the members of the two houses, it is certain, that was the influence naturally attending such a preponderancy in favour of the excluded gentry, under an honest, spirited, constitutional direction, it would change the face of publick affairs, and give the people a fair representation; but it is otherwise, and from the feeble opposition to the invasion of the counties, cities, and boroughs of the kingdom, it is plain, that this part of the gentry have either made a scandalous sale of their interest to those invaders, or resigning all pretension to representation themselves, have tamely submitted to be the humble instruments of raising a parcel of court sycophants and sharpers to the honours of legislation;

gillation ; and what is extremely farcical, that not having the courage to make a manly resistance, in order to cover their want of spirit, they belye their own judgment, and affecting an entire approbation of every ministerial measure, declare themselves of the court side as if upon deliberate conviction.

Superior property imposes upon those who possess it in society, the solemn obligation of thinking and of acting in the higher departments in order to procure a safe enjoyment of the reasonable comforts of life for the lower ranks of people, in consideration of their labour and industry, which supports the whole : wisdom and foresight ought to result from their leisure, and the fruits of them belong to the people. But the gentry of England have been remarkably remiss in this respect ; the abolition of military tenures hath discharged the nobility, and those who are seized of great fees, from bodily services, from being exposed to the dangers of war ; a land-tax is all they suffer at present, if
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they can be said to suffer, in whose favour there is so visible a partiality. The weight of a tax is not to be estimated by the sum paid by an individual, but by the manner in which the payment of this sum is felt. If a tax of two shillings in the pound deprives one man of the comforts of life, leaving to another its superfluities, the latter in effect is not taxed at all ; so that two shillings is heavier upon the man of small estate, than ten shillings upon another of a large one, who should not raise himself above the former, for having contributed more than he has done to the exigences of society ; but ought to recollect that he hath also more property under the protection of that society ; and yet in contempt of all these powerful motives to patriotism, so far from employing their fortunes, their talents, their industry, for the publick weal, by the influence of their bad example, and by the baneful misapplication of their wealth, our gentry are labouring to subvert a glorious constitution, and to destroy the morals of their fellow subjects.

C H A P. XVI.

T H E P E O P L E.

WE will now look into the condition of the people, and see what may be expected from them in case of real danger; whether their deplorable state be owing to their natural propensity to vice, or to the neglect of those whose wisdom, learning, and genius should have checked the force of those enervating circumstances, which I have so often mentioned.

Some vices are at maturity long before the man; so nature produces monsters of perfect enormity even at their birth; these do not belong to England; the greater number of our vices are generated by bad example, fostered into adult and confirmed habits by the means which fortune bestows of feeding them, and by the encouragement of impunity, which the villainy or the indolence of the magistrate affords. The vicious of the first class are less
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hurtful to society, because their example is rather shocking than alluring; they are soon severed from the community by the laws; the effects of their vices are neither permanent, nor extensive: but vices of the other class are insinuating, and therefore dangerous; they steal into the whole body, corrupt by insensible degrees, until at length they destroy it. I will undertake to prove, that the authoritative licentiousness of our second Charles, and of his court, caused greater and more general evil to this kingdom, than all the murderers and robbers since his reign; the one, a violent poison, is immediately felt, detected, and expelled by skill and attention; the other creeps into the whole mass, under the sly semblance of good, and, before it can be detected, hath worked its fatal purpose. Luxury in low life may be defined, whatever exceeds its decent necessities, and its useful recreations; every thing beyond this, in eating, in drinking, in amusement, or in dress, must be luxury; as to eating and drinking, however singular I may appear amidst a general outcry

outcry of a scarcity of provisions, I declare myself of opinion, that my countrymen are rather pampered than starved; provisions are dear, not scarce; all find means to supply themselves, except the lazy, or those whose hard fate it is to want health. It is evident from the numbers of Scotch, Welch, Irish, and foreigners, who are crowding into England, that they must live better here than at home; and although the prices of things are higher amongst us, that more money is to be had here to answer these higher prices. But the under classes of mankind have taken at least one step above their natural places; the labourer and manufacturer, in the matter of expence, have got into the places of the farmer, and of the retailer; the farmer and retailer into those of the landlord and of the merchant: instead of strong beer sometimes, animal food once in the twenty-four hours, spirituous liquors are now added to an almost constant use of strong beer, and without flesh at every meal, our common people are unhappy. Let any man consider the numberless
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beer-houses of this city; nay, he shall find the very porters disdaining to wait for a call in the streets; they are seated in their own coffee-houses until sent for, and get more in a day than a good subaltern's pay, for walking about the town upon easy errands. This is in a lower degree the case in all the cities and large towns in the kingdom, for they will imitate the metropolis, in play-houses, and in every other extravagance; but it is with more reserve, because they have better magistrates. I am not so rigid as not to bear with an accidental intemperance, which will sometimes catch the individuals of this class; it is the habit of intemperance I would proscribe, which must deprive them of the spirits and agility so necessary to the discharge of their duty, through their several trades and occupations: I would have them capable of enduring fatigue and hard living, should any heavy calamity fall upon them by war or otherwise, from which no nation under heaven can presume to be exempt; nor would I have them so entirely addicted to ease
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and the gratification of appetite, as through an unmanly impatience, like the nations of Asia, hastily to submit, upon the first disaster, to the terms of an invader. An English porter consumes within the space of one day what would support a German for a week; and my prejudices will not mislead me to such a degree, as to look upon an Englishman as either a braver or a better man than a German: if we ground our title to luxury upon the virtue or bravery of our ancestors, upon the strong, but not impenetrable, barrier of the sea, I should ask, what connexions had the Romans in the reign of Claudius, with the virtues of Camillus, and of his cotemporaries? whether they will be able to maintain this superiority of living? how miserable they must be when compelled to relinquish it? and whether the very excess which they contend for, will not, within a short time, disable them from maintaining it?

Nor are the amusements of the common people less expensive, nor less hurtful

ful to their morals ; our theatres (and we must observe that the dominion of Thespis is spread over the whole island) in their present condition, are far from being a proper amusement for the undiscerning ranks of society : our late comedies, being little more than cold translations from the French, cannot convey moral instruction to the common people ; the instructions they contain, are couched in such short obscure sentiments, that the vulgar may as easily comprehend the golden verses of Pythagoras ; and vicious characters again are so amiably depicted by the dramatick writers of the last age, as to make a very dangerous impression upon the mind of the uneducated parts of the audience, who taking every thing at the first view, and drawing no precept through the channel of reflection, go home rather delighted, than disgusted, with a Macheath, a Belmour, and a Pierre. It is for those of more refined understandings, to make the proper use of the representation of such characters, to conceive of them in the light they deserve, and in that which
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the authors wished to have them considered : the least noxious effect of these entertainments upon the common people, is, that they expend idly three or four hours of an evening, which may be much more profitably or innocently employed ; it is in the power of legislature to exclude the common people, without shutting the theatres or prohibiting any particular plays ; they may raise the price of these exhibitions by imposing a tax. Good and well acted plays are an article of refined pleasure, and ought to be well paid for ; so far from discouraging the stage, this would do it the highest service, by discharging writers of genius from their present constraint, from the fear of hurting the morals of the people, and from the tribute which both writer and actor have been too long compelled to pay to their want of taste ; at all events, the doors of the upper gallery should be for ever closed ; its honest customers would soon forget their play thing, they would be soon brought back to their manly exercises, innocent games and recreations, in

which their ancestors had so much delight; they would be too much fatigued to think of waiting out the end of a senseless pantomime entertainment, and their health and vigour would be revived. The common people of Athens were ruined by their theatres and demagogues; by these they were made turbulent, idle, self-sufficient, and corrupt: nothing without the walls of Athens deserved their smallest regard; give them their entertainments, and leave the world to Philip. Can we suppose that the mob of Athens, however celebrated for their penetration and wit, were capable of drawing the just moral from the distresses of *Œdipus*, *a resignation to those evils which Providence will permit, for wise purposes, to fall sometimes upon the innocent, as well as the guilty?* by no means; a people who could bear to see their Socrates murdered by a perversion of law, for having entertained and made publick his worthy notions of a Deity, were incapable of drawing such a moral; and the upper gallery of Athens would be rather inclined to charge their
 gods

gods with injustice, for plunging so guiltless a man as Oedipus into such a gulph of misery; they would correct them for not having undeceived him with regard to his father and mother, as the Portuguese are said to whip their tutelar saint, when any thing goes amiss.

As to the class immediately above the labourer and manufacturer, I mean the retailer and farmer, we scarce can conceive the idea of a more insolent and luxurious set of men, treading upon the heels of our gentry in every fashionable folly, and emulating them in the practice of every vice; they are the support of horseracing, bagnios, taverns, and of gaming clubs; and the unreasonable profit they exact, without which they could not afford this impudent extravagance, is become an heavier tax upon the people, who must buy from them, than those which are paid to the state; so that to the evils which they have brought upon their country, by their laziness and effeminacy, they have added the galling

burden of their luxuries : to these men, the indulgence of every folly and of every passion is become actually an absolute necessary of life, and they will obtain it at the risque of credit, and of every thing an honest mind should hold most dear. This may serve as an outline of the present state of English morals ; but to finish the picture, a short attendance at Sir John Fielding's office will be necessary ; murder, robbery, burglary, sodomy, and every vice which could disgrace the police of Naples, are here ready mixed for filling up the canvass, not one of which, as I said before, belong to England, but are produced by causes to be hereafter mentioned.

*Humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
Sufficit una domus. ——— Juv.*

C H A P. XVII.

*The Author's Reasons and Apology for his
Severity.*

THERE is nothing more baneful to the prosperity of an individual than flattery, which follows it nevertheless as its shadow : he who is prevailed upon to entertain too high an opinion of his own abilities, by as much as he hath overrated himself, by so much will he be found less capable in the hour of trial, because his caution and his application must abate in the very same proportion that the prepossession in his own favour increases. This truth applies to kingdoms and states, with as much exactness as it does to persons ; and the lightest reflection upon the accounts of nations will discover, that not prosperity alone, but the poisonous self-adulation which is suffered to attend it, hath been in general their ruin.

The Athenians, a most conceited people, whose city Cicero has honoured with the praise of being *omnium doctrinarum inventrices*, but with how much reason, I am greatly at a loss, for mathematicks, physick, and natural history have received greater improvements from Grecians, who were by no means natives of Athens; this city however, because she had a considerable share in a successful war against the effeminate Persians, because she took the lead for a short time amongst the petty districts of Greece, and was of some little distinction at an early age, before the nations of Europe could feel their strength, would not be persuaded that Philip could presume to enslave them; but through that excess of confidence, their liberties were destroyed. The Carthaginians, elated by the success of their illustrious Hannibal, were too hasty in despising their enemy, and left that great man to carry on the war for many years, unsupported by them, in an enemy's country; and yet foreseeing the occasion there must have been for supplies,

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he had even pointed out to them the method of conveying them, by the shape which he gave to the war, after his great victories; for failing in his attempt upon Neapolis, he seized the ports of Bruttium and Calabria, for the very purpose of a communication with Carthage; and as to his not having attempted Rome, that hackneyed subject of cold declaimers, who thought themselves competent judges of Hannibal's own war, all must acquit him who consider, that after the battle of Thrasymene, he was repulsed even from before * Spoletum, and that through a march from Spain to Italy, which lasted five months, it was impossible to carry the engines and proper apparatus for carrying on sieges of any difficulty: in truth, national self-sufficiency hath proved the reason why many modern kingdoms in Europe, after rising by their constancy and fortitude to glory, have dropt almost

* *Cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, conjectans ex unius coloniae haud nimis prospere tentatae viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter.* LIV. lib. xxii.

on the moment they had reached the summit, into mere insignificancy, as if fatigued with greatness, and willing to resign to others, as well the honour as the toil. Spain, France, Sweden, and England, I fear, have all had their turns.

The strictures which have been made in the course of these observations, upon that strong bias to degeneracy, which governed those nations who have successively inhabited South Britain, will, I fear, grate too harshly upon those soft ears, which delight in being tickled by constant accounts of the inflexible virtue of ancestry; for some are fond to be persuaded of our being so chosen a people, that the safety and happiness of England are placed beyond the stroke of fortune; but it is the duty of him who would be rather useful than pleasing, who would rather cure than palliate, to administer such wholesome severity, and shew to the patient his real danger, that he may be excited to give his assistance to nature, and to medicine, in the arduous task of restoring himself to health. My purpose

pose hath been to give my countrymen a survey of their defects, defects to which they are subjected, as inhabitants of a region most singularly peculiarized; I would hold their weak side up to their closest view, because if any thing will keep them always watchful, this must do it; in short I wish to see them draw example from their fellow subjects of the north, and work themselves up to that inestimable political virtue, called public spirit; I wish to see the English follow their neighbours in that indissoluble union of weight, of interest, of influence, and even of prejudices, which, after a steady unremitting pursuit through many ages, hath at length given to that sensible people, the real dominion of the British empire. It is far from my intentions to awaken the smallest jealousy between natives of the same island, the subjects of the same king; I desire to rouse the inhabitants of the south to such an exertion of talents, as to deserve, by a palpable capability of service, their natural share in the confidence of their sovereign, and in the

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employments which the crown bestows: nor have I the most distant wish, whatever may be my partiality to the English, unless they are already capable, or shall hereafter approve themselves so, to see them enjoy those things to which without merit no subject hath a just title. The Scotch have obtained, by their discernment, their firmness, and by their happy address, that which the smallness of their numbers had made impossible to be procured by force; they are in a fair way of getting entire possession of the national sword, in spite of the balance of property so strongly against them; and indeed there is but one instance more in history, where the powers, civil and military, have been lodged in the hands of men, who had not the smallest property in the country; the Egyptians buried in luxury and in effeminacy, lived comfortably nevertheless, cultivating their own lands, and following their respective trades and occupations for a long series of years, under the government of the Mamelukes,

malukes, a brave army of foreigners; and if the period is arrived, at which the English are pronounced to be fitter for arts than for arms, it is their great happiness to be under the protection of a people, who, born in the same island, must always treat them with tenderness and with regard.

C H A P. XVIII.

Drunkennes, Lewdness, Taxation, Magistracy.

TH E strong pre-disposition in my countrymen to corruption being pleaded, I hope with success, in excuse of my harsh manner of treating this subject, I shall proceed in pointing out the two grand sources of danger to England, profligacy at home, and the want of circumspection abroad.

The wisdom of the few ought to be the blessing of the many ; instead of this, I have shewn the wickedness or folly of the few, to be the curse of the many ; their foul example contaminates even to the lowest mechanick, and although the peer does not converse with him, still through a proper medium of subordinate ranks the infection is conveyed ; the indulgence of their own passions may appear to them a substantial

stantial reason, for being thus actively hurtful to society, but where there can be no temptation, why will they be passively mischievous? why tamely suffer those excellent laws which could not affect their pleasures, laws framed by our ancestors, who wisely foresaw how necessary they would be in such a country as ours, to lie prostrate and unexecuted? To enter into an examination of the multitude of vices which are permitted, without shame or fear, to stalk abroad through this great city, would swell this work into a volume; I will therefore only touch upon one or two of the leading vices, from which others shoot forth without number and without measure.

Drunkenness has at present such a prevalence amongst the common people, and is so fatal in its consequences, that it may be justly called the vice of England; it pursues an Englishman through every region of the world, as the sweating disease is said to have done, in the reign of Henry the VIIth; amidst the vanities

of Paris, amidst the elegancies of Rome, the real gratification of an Englishman is always sensual; even our gentry, who do so insult us upon their return from the continent, with their *virtù* and the *bon ton*, are well known to dedicate, whilst abroad, the greater part of their time and fortunes to burgundy, and to the Opera girls. To this potent vice the highwayman stands indebted for his courage; liquor rouses him to an insensibility of danger, to live in a state of declared warfare with the whole world, and to brave undauntedly the terrors of the gallows. But its power is best displayed over the other sex; it supports and at length confirms poor weak irresolute woman, in a wretched course of sin and of profligacy, at which, in her sober unintoxicated moments, her tender and delicate nature shudders and is appalled; by the aid of liquor, she can endure the exactions of bawds, of bullies, and of pimps; she looks defiance at the miseries of spunging houses, of gaols, of dungeons; and faces, with a frantick despair,

spair, the horrors of disease, of poverty, and of death. The lawless enjoyment of woman is one of the strongest incentives with the idle and abandoned members of community, to run every risque for procuring the means of purchasing it: whatever, therefore, increases the number of these unhappy creatures, who make a traffick of their favours, must increase the number of robbers, felons of all denominations, and of cheats and sharpers of every rank whatsoever. Drunkenness then being the grand pillar of robbery and of prostitution, it cannot be denied that the wisdom of the nation ought, with the utmost diligence, to put his baneful intemperance beyond the reach of the common people. Shall the honest liberty of questioning and endeavouring to controul the unconstitutional attempts of ministerial instruments be put under the most severe and heavy restrictions, whilst the horrid licentiousness of plunging into every vice, which can be ruinous to a nation, is connived at and thereby encouraged?

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In a well regulated state, taxation should undoubtedly fall upon luxury alone: the primary use of taxation should be, if possible, to prevent luxury; the secondary one, is to draw in case of the impracticability of entire prevention, and of supporting at the same time the liberty of the individual, to derive, I say, from that luxury, some advantages to the state, to extract some real good from the allowed existence of an evil; supposing then, in our refined age, the permission of political evil to be absolutely necessary, wisdom would certainly make that evil fall where it should be least detrimental; it should pale it in if possible, nor suffer it to have the whole range of society; luxury should be raised above the sight of the common people; they should be treated by legislature, as children in the house of their parent, and every thing hurtful be put out of their way, not like strangers in a tavern who may have what pleases them, provided they pay for it; to say that if they will indulge in what is pernicious to themselves, they must pay
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the state for so doing, is telling us plainly, that the common people may purchase a licence for destroying the only solid support of that state, the virtue, the health, and the industry of at least ninety-nine out of an hundred of those individuals of which that state is composed; but revenue must be supported, says the able financier the disciple of Mandeville, and if the drunkenness and dissipation of the people be retrenched, the revenues will in consequence be lessened: I allow the inference; the kingdom however cannot suffer, but must receive advantage by such a diminution, because the necessity of revenue must be diminished in a much greater proportion; drunkenness and dissipation being banished, the people demeaning themselves soberly and peaceably, no pretensions for keeping up a standing army can be taken from the purposes of supporting the civil magistrate, nor can it be supposed that any foreign power would dare to insult a people, thus armed at all points with courage and virtue; but the supreme advantage which must naturally

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arise from this diminution of revenue, would be the annihilation of the numberless burthenfome appointments maintained under colour of collecting those revenues, but in reality to feed a mercenary ministerial band; so that in truth the sole loss would fall upon placemen and upon pensioners, for whose sake it seems the people are to be indulged, in ale-houses, brothels, play-houses, shews, skittle grounds, and in the many other allurements to vice and idleness, which almost fill up, and totally environ this overgrown metropolis.

And here I stand forth boldly to arraign the magistracy of this nation, which hath shewn itself incompetent and unworthy of its sacred and important charge; let us look into these reverend authors of our ancient law, who have described the office of an English justice of the peace; there we shall see the excellent understanding, good education, respect amongst the people arising from fortune, integrity, and from family, which were required in
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that man, to whom the law did intrust the morals of its people; compare the graceful portrait which our books have presented of this officer, candid, humane, active, learned, and inflexible, with the modern exhibition of corrupt, partial, uninformed, hackneyed figures in town, or with the gross indolent dawbs of the country; a Middlesex justice is proverbially infamous, his office is an office of reproach, and is given to support some indigent *profligate*, some outcast of profession; his perquisites multiply by the increase of wickedness, every new rogue and whore is an addition to his income, and he flourishes by the decay, both of virtue and of religion; can we suppose that a creature thus circumstanced can entertain a wish, tending to the discouragement, or to the suppression of vice?

Draco punished, Lycurgus prevented crimes; the memory of the first is frightful, that of the latter revered, and the people of that state for which he framed

his laws, remained uncorrupted longer than those of any other we read of; his laws were so simple, his people so virtuous, that where there happened to be occasion for laws, they executed themselves; the whole nation was leagued against vice, as they seem to be against virtue amongst us, so that a magistrate there was almost unnecessary; the charge of prevention is in this country consigned to the magistrate we are speaking of, and the confidential powers with which he is vested by law are very extensive; I could trace these marks of prevention and of confidence through every title in law which lies within his verge of duty; let it suffice to produce one case most substantially to my purpose under the head of drunkenness; the power of licensing ale-houses, and of holding their keepers to good order by taking their recognizance, is a precious deposit in the hands of a magistrate of prevention; and as to the extensive discretion of the justice of peace in this, it cannot be more fully illustrated than by the case of the king against Pitts and Young, justices:

a motion had been made in the King's Bench by one Day of Evershall, and a rule granted to shew cause, why a mandamus should not issue to compell these justices to licence the house of Day; but upon solemn debate the rule was discharged, and Lord Mansfield declared, that the *justices could not be exposed to punishment for error of judgement only, or for any opinion about the expediency of licensing, or not licensing, or about the character of those who apply for licenses*; for of these the justices are the the more competent judges.

No magistrate surely can with any colour of reason complain of being clogged in the powers of prevention, after this determination of a judge, possessed of so much genius, learning, and experience, as Lord Mansfield's very enemies allow him to possess.

The most remarkable of our magistrates for his long and successful practice in bringing delinquents to justice, hath, it seems, after being glutted with execu-

tions, been at length prevailed upon to bestow a part of his attention, in stopping the rise and progress of vice ; he invites all who feel themselves annoyed by the vicinity of bad houses, to *give information*. This gentleman hath by his office a *power of enquiring into abuses, without any information*. Much care hath he taken to trace and to apprehend thieves and highwaymen, at a great expence to the state ; if government would be at half that expence in procuring materials for suppressing brothels, gaming houses, and disorderly taverns, the nurseries of profligacy, this necessity of thief-takers would cease, and many members be preserved to society : since then there is not virtue enough amongst individuals to make them volunteers in removing these nuisances, let it be made profitable to do so ; let it be as profitable to prevent the generation of ten thieves, as it is to bring one of them to execution ; let the clerk, the informer, and their whole suite, have their rewards for destroying these lawless seminaries ; Sir John's men (as they are called) are

said to get often into chaises, and assume the appearance of gentlemen, as a decoy to the highwaymen; why not personate in the same manner, in order to entrap the pimp, the bawd, the sharper? We all know that nothing can be an article of more convenience to the highwayman, the prowling night-walker, and to the lurking sharper, than access, at all hours, to bagnios, and to the lodgings of unfortunate women, because a fixed abode of their own may lead to detection; and yet it is generally acknowledged, that the neighbourhood, of this worshipful magistrate, affords more conveniencies of this nature, than twenty times its extent in any other part of the town.

I will not impute this negligence of the magistrate to the design of fostering vice for his own profitable purpose, but am not free from apprehensions, that the influence of some powerful men, whose rentals in and about Covent Garden would suffer great reduction, if decency should ever get an establishment there,

hath controuled his good intentions hitherto; and to our great misfortune, their parliamentary weight is of such importance to the crown, that they must not be offended by executing the laws; but although this particular magistrate may stand acquitted of self-interested views in suffering such enormities within his hearing, it should be a general rule in so corrupt an age as ours, not to *suffer any emolument whatever, to accrue either to the magistrate, or to any person about him from the punishment of culprits*, because that makes it more their interest to punish, than to prevent, and some amongst them may be better pleased to let the embryo rise to maturity, than to crush it in the egg. But if it should be our curse that this fatal disregard in the choice of magistrates does proceed from design, not from inadvertency, the design of enslaving the people by the grand preparative of vice, if the bud of virtue is suffered to be blighted, lest it should become troublesome by expanding itself into patriotism, then it is fruitless to expect

pect a reform of magistracy ; however I feel myself so concerned in this subject, that although I heartily wish it was in the hands of a more able writer, I cannot leave it without proposing, that a law should be enacted to preclude any man from the office of justice of the peace, who had not in possession at least one thousand pounds *per annum*, and considering that in these times, there must be some other spring of action beside publick spirit, I propose that a liberal stipend be allowed him by government, in lieu of these perquisites which increase with the increase of criminals ; and further, to destroy any motive to partiality or connivance, I would, if possible, exclude every gentleman in the commission from any connexion whatsoever with parliamentary disputes, either as a candidate, or as a canvasser, under severe penalties : the universal defects in our magistracy are indolence and avarice, which would, in my opinion, be greatly corrected, if not totally cured, by such a regulation ; prevention, instead of actual punishment, would

would be the wish of such a magistrate, because the former would save him much trouble, whilst no profit would arise from the latter; and the expence to government would be reduced, every day, because the number of the idle and of the vicious being reduced, that of magistrates also may be retrenched in course; but alas! whilst the power of appointing these officers is in the crown, whilst such strong inducements remain for securing a majority in the lower house on the side of prerogative, that is, whilst that majority is worth courting or bribing, as the instruments of plundering, or of enslaving the people, these officers must act in concert with the crown in all electioneering contests, and the scheme of a virtuous unbiaſſed magistracy will, I fear, be looked upon as truly Utopian.

C H A P. XIX.

Want of Circumspection abroad.

A Strict regard to the morals, and indeed to the spirit of a people, renders that watchfulness of continental movements less essential to national safety than in a state of corruption it must be.—Europe is very properly considered as a community of states ever ready to take advantage of the supineness of each other, which is one strong reason why the extensive despotisms of Asia were never known to prevail here; the subjection of Europe to the Roman government was in the opinion of many, a blessing to several nations; although they could not be said to enjoy pure independent liberty, yet their condition was far from being despotick; the natives of Spain, of Gaul, and of the other provinces, enjoyed indiscriminately most of the privileges of Rome, and many of them, as Trajan, Maximus,

Maximus, and Constantine, had been raised to the purple: they received a body of laws from Rome which is revered to this day throughout Christendom; all these considerations must clear the dominion of the Romans from any imputation of mere despotism; but although universal empire is never likely to be established in Europe, universal influence may, which would be a severe check upon that general independency which all desire; whilst we had no markets for our staple commodities but those of Europe, (since we would be a commercial people) more attention was required to the friendship of Spain, Portugal, and of other nations, than is at present, whilst Ireland and the colonies are already, or must be within a very short time, an equal mart to the whole; the power of France our ancient enemy is evidently in its wain, our circumspection therefore seems to admit of being considerably narrowed with regard to defensive alliances, to treaties of commerce and of subsidy; but then our fleet should be not only respectable, but tremendous.

mendous, and its glories displayed to all nations even during the most profound peace; it should visit the ports of our neighbours, and a British admiral, with a splendid naval retinue, should be vested with the powers of an ambassador wherever he went: as Scipio, who compared himself, whilst he surveyed, from an eminence, the armies of Carthage and of Numidia engaged, to Jove looking from Mount Ida upon the fight of the Greeks and Trojans, so should a British admiral be the cool, impartial, and revered spectator of the contests of nations. The naval parade of Portsmouth might have diverted the foreign ambassadors, but a summers progress of a grand fleet from the straits of Gibraltar to those of Dardanelles, would fill the nations on both sides with respect and admiration; this, together with a determined resolution not to suffer any great power to establish a maritime force between Dantzick and Embden, from whence such frightful swarms of Saxon, Danish, and Norman rovers and conquerors did formerly issue,

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fills up the measure of circumspection, provided we enjoy a good state of morality and of religion; the aid of hardy sailors which the Dutch drew from these northern coasts made them so dangerous a maritime enemy to England, during the commonwealth, in our greatest vigour; nor was it without reason, that the Hanse Towns became an object of jealousy to the states of Europe, who would not permit them to rise into a confederated sovereignty.

And here I cannot avoid making some observations under the head of circumspection, upon the difference between the tory and whiggish administrations in that respect; the tory, contracted in his ideas of our political relation to the continent, would either have drawn us entirely from any regard to the rest of Europe, have made us separate from the whole world, as were the ancient Brittons, or they would have placed us in a kind of secondary view, the appendant and the humble friends of France: this fatal
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party distinction had its rise in the time of Charles the Second, whose followers, during his exile, had entertained the most favourable opinion of whatever was French; they had conceived a prejudice in favour of the well regulated absolute power of that monarchy; they would have made it their protectress abroad, and their model at home, and almost relinquishing independency as a state, they had not that attention to things abroad, which a sovereign state must always preserve, if she would preserve her dignity. The Tory attachment to the house of Stuart proceeded from the probability of enjoying their darling mode of being governed, under princes of that line, and for such a prospect they would be reconciled to, and would cherish a prince of the Ottoman line; their concurrence at particular times with popular measures, is far from disproving these charges; when they found the sense of the nation strong against them, it was prudent to give way with a good grace; but their present junction with the Scotch (whose
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civil and religious principles they were used to detest) in order to bring about the establishment of absolute power, shews to what unwarrantable length a favourite object will carry a party of Englishmen.

The avowed principle of a whig is that of acknowledging the law to be possessed of a controuling power, as well over the prince as over the subject, and as our government is compounded of ingredients monarchical, democratical, and aristocratical, although willing to maintain the just balance of all, yet, if the æquilibrium must be destroyed, would be best pleased to see the democratical scale preponderate, not from a love of democracy, but because from the preponderancy of that, and not of any of the others, can the æquilibrium be ever again restored; but it would be the most glaring partiality to insinuate, that whiggish administrations have always adhered to this principle; it was an avowed whig administration, that would not trust the people with triennial parliaments,

ments, lest the disaffection of the Tories to the house of Hanover might have brought in a Pretender, which measure bore a strong appearance of having acted against the sense of the people; but these nominal whigs were still more flagrantly culpable, by never having suffered a revival of short parliaments, although the cause of discontinuing them hath long ceased. He who directed the business of the nation upon the death of Mr. Pelham, a professed whig, but who hath since proved himself to have been a Tory in masquerade, brought into England an inconsiderable number of foreign troops, to defend several millions of people, and created such an artificial pusillanimity through the inhabitants of this country, as would have delivered them up the tame victims of their own fears, was it not for the intervention of Mr. Pitt; this truly great man brought the whiggish principle into real action, and redeemed from the most deserved and from the lowest contempt the long reign of George the Second, which, had he not been called in, would

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have ended as it began, corrupt, spiritless, and inglorious; his administration was long enough to deliver his fame to future ages with honour and veneration, but his country hath just cause for lamenting its too short existence: his enemies object to him the heavy expence of the war, and the great debt incurred; but these very men are accountable for those evils of which they complain; had that minister been permitted to finish the war with that great masterly hand, with which he was carrying it on, little apprehensions would now remain of any thing in the power of France or of Spain; the peace establishment would have been small; trade with our colonies would have flourished; the revenues would have increased, without burthening the subject; great saving would have been made to the nation, by a total abolition of the arts of corruption; the interest of the several balances in the hands of paymasters and of the officers entrusted with the publick money, would be applied to other purposes, than those of securing the creditors
of

of profligate spendthrifts ; and in consequence the weight of our debt would soon be lightened by his extensive wisdom, and affectionate cares for his country ; a debt incurred by the most glorious war that England ever supported, and which would have been the most decisive of any since that which ended in the destruction of Carthage, had not the evil genius of this nation, been awakened too soon.

Yet with all these blemishes in whiggish administrations, they had the merit of preserving some respect for the people ; and while they were actually invading their rights, and sacrificing their wealth and property to the folly, passion, or caprice of our kings ; while they were raising their own private fortunes at the expence of the publick, they still appeared to do so with fear and trembling : although fully persuaded that the national spirit was abased, and that the subject would endure whatever burthen should be imposed upon him, they still, I say, had the merit of endeavouring to conceal

the weakness of their degenerate countrymen from the royal eyes, and to deceive our kings into an opinion that it was dangerous to offend them. This deception the candour of the tories has disdained; they have shewn by the most unreserved and wanton insults, how passive we really are, and that notwithstanding our clamours and our roarings for liberty, like arrant bullies, we shrink from the defence of our rights, when a daring minister attacks us with resolution: the whigs would have left both king and people in the error of our being free; the tories have put an end to that, perhaps useful, delusion, and have convinced us that we are absolute slaves.

With regard to circumspection, the whig certainly had a manifest advantage over the other party; they looked upon their country in the respectable light, in which it had a claim to be considered; not second to any other European power, but worthy of being the umpire, and of holding the balance of the rest: they bestowed

stowed much attention upon the schemes
 of their neighbours; they pryed narrow-
 ly into their councils; they interfered,
 perhaps too deeply, in their quarrels; I
 acknowledge that this was done at a great
 expence, and that the ambition or avarice
 of particular men did often carry our
 meddlings in continental dissensions to an
 excess; yet setting the inconveni-
 encies on one side of the question against
 those on the other, every unprejudiced
 man will allow it to be more safe, more
 honourable, and in the end more profit-
 able, to be declared principals although
 at this great expence, than to depend
 upon, or confide in the good offices of any
 other state, in matters of such high im-
 portance.

C H A P. XIX.

Conclusion.

THE force of invigorating climates we have shewn to be sometimes defeated by circumstances of soil and situation; so shall we find in many southern situations the appearance of more northern manners, which hath induced the ingenious author of the *Origin and Progress of Despotism*, to take away from climate every influence upon national manners whatever; he has seen a Frederick reign absolute in the north, the Danes surrender to their king the rights of human nature, and Russia under the domination of women; he hath seen the Arabs brave, fierce, and enjoying liberty, almost without the smallest particle of social alloy: but in the northern countries no uniform permanent despotism hath been established,

ed, no total absence of every idea of law or of constitution, which is the case in the soft southern regions of Asia, Africa, and America; nobility in the possession of property, and of privileges, instead of an indiscriminate mass of slaves, who neither hold nor pretend to hold their lives or fortunes, but by the permission of their despot; and in spite of the great progress of luxury and of the address of modern kings in corrupting and in terrifying by a constant armed force, yet are here notions still entertained amongst them of some other rule, beside the will of one man, which shews, that liberty is congenial to their souls, although withheld from them by the effects which trade, and its train of consequences had produced. The climate of the north cannot fill up the measure of contentment to its inhabitants; there ever remains a want, and it must be supplied by liberty or by honour, or by profit: it creates a degree of restlessness, which is always seeking for something more; and the nobility, who

command the armies of these several states, have it at all times in their power to restrain the prince, and indeed to dispose of the sovereignty : in short the support of the European monarchies is in the noblesse, so that monarchy here, is optimacy.

The effeminating effects of climate are checked by some counteracting causes, and the Arabs may be a brave people, without denying the general influences of climate ; there are causes which hinder even a southern people from sinking into luxury ; on elevated situations, amidst rocks and mountains, the people are driven to hard labour, to the exercise of hunting, or to a milk and pulse diet for their sustenance ; that is, they are forced into temperance and exercise, which are very powerful causes of being brave, active, and free : this however is seldom found ; a most rare case, one exception in the Saracens who issued from Arabia, and this exception instead of invalidating my general proposition helps to establish it : nor are we

we to forget, that when they marched into France, they were immediately defeated by Charles Martel, at the battle of Challons. Southern countries are for the most part blessed with all, or with more than what will supply the wants and gratifications of their inhabitants, at the expence of very little labour: the inclemency of their climate is heat, the distressing effects of which must be eluded by inaction, and by contrivances tending to enervation; whereas cold, the northern inclemency, calls forth labour in mitigation of its severities; food is produced by labour, in order to appease that hunger, which is caused by the keenness of their air; and inaction, far from guarding them against their inclemency, as it does in the case of violent heat, would increase and aggravate their sufferings. To conclude, something there must be to influence the human will: different objects rising in competition present themselves to the southern nations, of which to make election; a

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prospect

prospect of ease or of pleasure, or of both, on one side, that of liberty, fame, and glory, on the other; and that same indolence, which inclines them to the former, determines them to fly from the latter, terrified by the frightful apprehensions of toil, of hazard, and of enterprize. I have read of an Egyptian Hercules, but I always looked upon the authority as doubtful.

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