

THE dimensions of this building are two hundred eighty-two feet in front, two hundred thirty-two deep, and one hundred sixteen high, exclusive of the cupola. It cost three millions of guilders<sup>a</sup>, when money was more valuable than it is now: this may be the more easily reconciled, if we consider that no less than thirteen thousand large piles were driven to make a foundation for this ponderous burthen. Whether in this sum they include all the plafonds, and other paintings, of which here are some very valuable, is not essential to our present purpose. Behind the seat of the presiding burgomaster is a complimentary inscription in DUTCH verse, wrote by C. HUYGENS, one of their most eminent poets, which seems to argue the sense they had of the secure establishment of the state at that time.

To give a minute description of this edifice, would require more labour and observation, than I had inclination, or leisure, to bestow on it. We may consider it as a very grand and useful building, but not elegant nor agreeable. It contains most of the offices and tribunals, for the execution of the laws, in the several branches of the military as well as civil government.

It is constantly remarked by foreigners, that the entrance of this building is very mean, and not worthy the other parts of the structure; the reason assigned for this is, that in consulting the strength and usefulness of this work, the architect purposely neglected the beauty of it. Had the doors been proportioned, they would have been more subject to be forced, upon occasion of those tumultuous assemblies of the people, which are not unfrequent in this country<sup>b</sup>. The stadthouse is guarded during the night by a body of the burghers, who are thus charged with the care of the great reservoir of the wealth of the UNITED PROVINCES. In the lower apartments of this building is the bank, in which are supposed to be deposited immense treasures: the keys of them are lodged in the hands of the four regent burgomasters. Some report that these treasures amount to three hundred tons of gold; and those who have faith enough to think it true, have this to say, that the value of so much gold is not above thirty-two millions sterling; and the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES is yet larger, as I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. The real sum here deposited, is perhaps not known to any one person living; and even the computation in the gross, except such as I have already mentioned, is kept as an impenetrable secret: and no doubt there are many good reasons why it ought to be so<sup>c</sup>.

THE notion of credit supports a great part of the commercial interest of mankind; as it had its original foundation in reality, the business of the world is carried on by means of it, perhaps as well as if that reality still existed. How long this fashion will last, I will not presume to foretell, probably as long as national faith. Banks are maintained upon a certain principle of social confidence; not so much I believe

<sup>a</sup> Three hundred thousand pounds.

<sup>b</sup> In 1525 the anabaptists formed a conspiracy, and six hundred men, during the night, forced the town-house. A burgher took the precaution to cut the ropes of the bells, by which means he prevented the alarm from spreading, and the rebels from strengthening their numbers; so that the next day they were taken in the town-house, and put to death. In 1535 the fanatics raised another commotion, and ran naked into the streets, men and women, intending by dreadful cries to intimidate the inhabitants, and seize on the town-house; but this piece of extravagant folly ended only in the chastisement of several of the promoters of it.

<sup>c</sup> They say king WILLIAM III. was once questioned on that subject, by one who perhaps was not distinguished for his understanding. This prince answered "Can you keep a secret?"

from any good opinion which men have of each other's justice, as from a mutual eye of interest, and to prevent that distress which might follow, should the knot be once untied.

THE bank of AMSTERDAM differs very much from that of LONDON. In the first, all the cash is lodged without paying any interest; in the last, as great sums are acknowledged to be lent to the government, which pays interest; that interest is again paid to the proprietors of the stock.

As the bank of AMSTERDAM receives only the best and purest coin or bullion; the bank-money, as properly denominated, bears a premium of four or five per cent. more than the current money. If a man is desirous to realize his estate, he sells his bank-money for current money, with greater facility than we sell bank-stock. Here they make payments after the manner of the bank of VENICE<sup>a</sup>; viz. by transfer in the books of the bank from the credit of one to the credit of another: these transfers are made by the personal appearance of the transferrer; by his order, for which there are printed forms; or by virtue of his power of attorney. No coin or specie whatsoever, when once delivered into the bank, is paid out again, unless in cases of deposits, where the identical gold or silver is reclaimed by him who delivered it in, and for that purpose he has a permit, renewable every six months, otherwise to become invalid; in the last case the cash or bullion so delivered, is blended with the common stock, and transferable only in the manner already mentioned. The accounts which are kept by the bank are remarkably regular and true, which is indeed the more essential as here are no bank-notes; so that the merchant or other creditor, has only to confer occasionally, in order to see that his accounts agree with those of the bank books. Tho' this bank pays no interest, yet it receives interest for the sums lent to the EAST and WEST INDIA companies; so that these companies trade, in some measure, for account of the state. The city is thus connected with the bank, as being so immediately under the direction of the chief burgomasters; so it is also bound for the LOMBARD<sup>b</sup>, where monies are lent on the security of all kinds of merchandize at a low interest.

THE large sums of money which have been lent to the DUTCH government, are intirely independent of this bank; the revenues of the respective provinces being engaged as a security for such sums, and for which they give bonds. These debts have been made into a stock, which bearing a reasonable interest, was at first above par; but that stock being taxed, or more properly the interest reduced, and not always paid in a punctual manner, the principal is fallen under par. This being considered as a kind of violation of national faith, necessarily sinks the credit of the state.

THOUGH the public interest in GREAT BRITAIN is also reduced, it is not felt in this manner; on the contrary, the principal stock, which is a token of great property, is lately much increased in value; whilst the DUTCH are obliged to submit,

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<sup>a</sup> The bank of VENICE is the more ancient of the two, and probably served as a model to this of AMSTERDAM.

<sup>b</sup> LEMBAERT, as denominated by the DUTCH.

not only to the reduction of interest, but also to the diminution of the value of the principal.

WITH regard to the government of AMSTERDAM, the subject has been exhausted by other writers. I will only take notice that there are twelve burgomasters, who change by rotation, and of these, four are regents annually, one of the former year always remaining. Proper officers are appointed to attend these burgomasters, who are in most respects of very great weight, as the chief directors in this popular government. As the senate has the legislative, the burgomasters have, for the most part, the executive power; and their influence is necessarily the cause of their being held in the highest veneration. The original frame of this government, seems to have been founded in the inclinations of the common people, and their rulers elected by their suffrage; but as liberty in low minds is naturally apt to breed licentiousness, and consequently to destroy itself; it was, in process of time, found necessary to confine those elections to particular bodies; that is in fact for the magistrates to chuse themselves: this also has produced its evils, and occasioned jealousies and tumults, to which we may add, instability, and consequently the insecurity of the state.

BEFORE I take my leave of AMSTERDAM, I must observe to the honour of the DUTCH, that as they acknowledge themselves to be a colony of merchants; and that civil government is essential to trade; they do not think the civil offices contemptible; nor do persons of high rank, from indolence, or a false delicacy, decline these offices, and leave them to the inferior inhabitants. It might be wished that LONDON, whose chief glory is her trade, paid the same regard to the offices of civil oeconomy: it is true, some of the most considerable citizens have lately taken the virtuous resolution of serving the community in this essential point; and it may be hoped that others will follow their example.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Comparison of the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES with that of GREAT BRITAIN.*

*The situation of BRITISH subjects in regard to their debt. The reduction of national interest. Moral reflections on the motives to oeconomy.*

FROM the consideration of the enormous debt of the UNITED PROVINCES, and the present condition of the DUTCH, the transition is natural to that of my own country. The circumstances of GREAT BRITAIN are incomparably better than those of the UNITED PROVINCES; the immoveable estate of the latter is not computed one fortieth part so good as ours, though their debt, at the lowest computation, is said to be half as great, and before the late war was near equal\*. It is remarkable that, in order to save their money, the DUTCH plead poverty, and report their debt to be rather greater, than some apprehend it really to be. However, I think it will appear to the inquisitive world, that in regard to venality, and the want of public love,

\* Four hundred millions of florins, or near forty millions sterling.



love, the people of the UNITED PROVINCES exceed those of GREAT BRITAIN. Whether I am partial to my own country, and that the test of this opinion will depend on which nation falls first, we must leave to futurity.

THE dangerous power exercised amongst the DUTCH, was demonstrated by the conduct of their rulers in the late war, and again by the occasional tumults of the common people: it is still a dangerous exercise of power, whether a mob or a magistrate governs without law. But in any case, that state would hardly submit to a sponge without a civil commotion: an attempt to wipe off their debt would probably involve them in a greater distress, than the heavy contributions of the opulent, which are necessary for the relief of it.

AT the close of king WILLIAM's war the province of HOLLAND was engaged only for sixty millions of guilders<sup>b</sup>. It was in this reign that GREAT BRITAIN began to contract debts. I know not if it is worth the pains to examine, how we came to be so deep in debt, unless that enquiry can diminish it: perhaps the rapid progress of this NECESSARY EVIL is owing to the ambition of the house of BOURBON, which has been the occasion of expensive wars. We know that the ambition of that very house has involved FRANCE in the same difficulty, perhaps in no less a degree; whilst property in an arbitrary government cannot be so secure as it is in a free state: consequently the people of FRANCE are so far in a worse condition, in respect to the debt of their government, than the BRITISH subjects. But may we impute this accident, with regard to ourselves, to the facility with which necessities or expences are created, when men know where there is a fund to supply them; or to a corruption of manners, and the profuse luxuries, which are become fashionable? Be this as it may, it must be obvious to every dispassionate enquirer, that the increase of property by trade, is a concomitant cause of the increase of the national debt in GREAT BRITAIN.

WE find political writers differ very much in their sentiments; and, from the comparison of the past and present times, draw very different conclusions: this must necessarily happen, whenever we compare things, which are not the proper object of comparison. It is very plain, that, before the revolution, the BRITISH nation was not incumbered with a debt: it is now deeply immersed, and engaged to pay a very large sum annually in interest; and yet, I hope, no one will doubt, that GREAT BRITAIN is at least as rich and powerful a nation now, as it was then. The œconomy of the state, and of the people, must consequently have taken a very different turn. Our wars have been more expensive, because honesty and national love have been less in fashion<sup>c</sup>. Perhaps, with more œconomy, we might have saved a considerable quantity of coin and bullion, which have been sent out of the nation:

<sup>b</sup> Six millions of pounds.      <sup>c</sup> To what other cause can we impute our wars being more expensive now than they were formerly? The value of things is not increased beyond the proportion of the increase of riches. As we are now better able to pay a tax of six millions, than formerly of three or four; if that which cost only three or four, is now worth six, there is no greater occasion to make war more expensive, in proportion to our revenues, now, than there was then: unless we come back to the same argument, that the formidable efforts of FRANCE have put us under a necessity of preparing greater fleets and armies than formerly. It would be very well if we could prove from thence, that the public is treated at present with as great respect as ever it was.



nation : but all this time it ought to be remembered, that such coin and bullion is but a small part of our riches. I know not what computation is made of the export of it on the account of war ; but I question if the whole value of the coin and bullion now in the nation amounts to four per cent. on our national stock.

WARS, though they are the chastisements of heaven, are also great incentives to industry, and create a more diffusive circulation of money. The same industry and circulation, are, among others, great causes of the accumulation of our national debt<sup>d</sup>; and this debt has also created a more extensive accumulation of property<sup>d</sup>: these seem to have acted reciprocally on each other; whilst the nation, as I just observed, has certainly acquired a great increase in riches by the general balance of her trade.

HENCE it arises that so much money is brought to market to be disposed of to the government upon very easy terms. Nothing can be plainer than this, that if we were to lose upon the general balance of our commerce, money would rise in value in proportion to such loss. But all things have their bounds: the very increase of private property would render the condition of the nation the more calamitous, should the legislature, which may be considered as the great merchant of the state, enter into such deep engagements as to become bankrupt: for if the government lives upon the principal, without fixing certain bounds, it will not signify that the people live on the interest, since their mutual preservation is inseparably connected.

FROM this general position it may be deduced, that although the public debt has been the cause of public taxes, yet it is owing also to the same cause, that thousands have lived upon the interest of their money, when they must have otherwise encroached upon the principal; and, impoverishing themselves, have done more injury to the state, than it now suffers by the public debt; because the state has so enlarged a credit beyond any private person.

ACCORDING to the present circumstances of things, a public debt is undoubtedly a benefit; but ours is too large: the great point is to observe the due measure and degree of it. Thirty or forty millions may be always convenient; and, if the state should require so much in time of war, even fifty or sixty millions may be supportable without danger to the constitution. There is a certain proportion of taxes, beyond which the inhabitants will not, or cannot pay, without danger to their liberty. If our debt should ever exceed a sum, for which the government cannot pay a PROPER interest, without exacting heavier taxes, than such as we are supposing to be consistent; though liberty may not be endangered to the present generation, yet we must entail such an encumbrance on posterity, as will hardly consist with their freedom.

THE BRITISH nation is now said to owe eighty millions: in case of a war this may be enlarged to an hundred, or an hundred and twenty millions: the interest of which, though at three and half per cent. is four millions two hundred thousand pounds.

<sup>d</sup> E. g. If the government buys of me for one thousand pounds value, what I should not otherwise have sold for above seven or eight hundred, the national debt is increased; but so is my property also.



*J. Hayman inv. et del.*

*C. Gignion sculp.*

*Alderman.*

pounds. So vast a principal sum would necessarily alarm the creditors on every occasion of the least danger. In proportion as that alarm increased, public love among the people would be changed into a timorous self-love, and a LOOKING OUT each for himself; and the state might thus be reduced to bankruptcy.

THE present reduction of interest to a standard of three and half per cent. seems to have all the marks of a judicious and equitable policy; but if we were to go much lower, the question is, if the state would not suffer more by the distress of individuals, than benefit by a saving in this manner? Supposing a farther reduction should no ways injure the national credit, yet it would fall too hard upon those who have no other possible dependance than that of national interest; consequently expedients of a more general nature seem eligible. Annuities on lives, for instance, have been recommended; these appear better for the state than the people; and yet numbers would accept of annuities\*. If the nation has patience to wait for twenty years, we may perhaps see thirty or forty millions of this debt paid off, in the method already established; perhaps we shall be able to support ourselves with honor and safety in so long a peace, or the accumulated strength of our neighbours may not, at the expiration of that time, render it necessary to swell the debt as great as it was before, and entail this incumbrance on posterity.

OF the two evils however, the more speedy diminution of the debt appears the most eligible, supposing that it would tend most to the security of this vast property. It is not a sufficient consolation to those who extend their views beyond the present hour, nor yet consistent with the dignity of the nation to say, "that so long as the government exists, the public security of the funds will be supported." As a commercial nation, we ought to calculate better, than to run a risk greatly exceeding all the advantages we can possibly propose. This is putting the thing upon a dangerous and fallacious issue; for it seems much less difficult to imagine a continuance of the independency of the nation, through the vicissitudes to which it is subject; than of the support of the public credit, through the necessities to which the government may be reduced; especially if we should be soon involved in another formidable war, that may shake the foundations of this constitution.

THOUGH GREAT BRITAIN has just grounds to complain of her vices and immoralities, there seems to be religion and virtue enough left in the island, to create a submission to the dispensations of providence, even in a case so shocking, as that of plunging eighteen or twenty thousand people, with ten times as many more who are their dependents, and the meanest of them above the labouring part of the people, at one stroke into the lowest poverty. But the evil would be extended to very remote consequences, whilst the national stock would not be in the least increased; unless we suppose foreigners who have their money in our hands, must also submit to see us turn bankrupts, and at the same time hold such a rich landed estate as ours, unengaged for any future payment. What politicians are these

\* It may be doubted which of the two is the greater evil, to suffer the diminution of interest, during life, or the loss of the principal after death. Where there are no families in the case, the latter seems the most eligible, otherwise it would certainly be a less evil to suffer a reduction of our revenues without affecting the principal, than for a man's children to be plunged into poverty.



these who suppose this nation so corrupt as to run such a risk without any general benefit? The property of the merchants is in a great measure connected with the public credit: if that credit should fail, what an immense circulation would cease! what a wound would our commerce receive, in consequence of the loss of that imaginary wealth which is now as good as real!

It is true, we have an example in FRANCE of no antient date, of a large national debt being paid with a sponge: but FRANCE was, and still is, under arbitrary power; the HONOR OF INDIVIDUALS is consequently at a much lower ebb than among us; and what could we expect for so national a crime as this, but the tenfold curse of despotic rule?

No man of common modesty, or common sense, will pretend to say that a nation, computed upon a fair calculation to be worth from six hundred to eight hundred millions, cannot pay off half a debt of eighty millions. The possibility is apparent; the great point is, to levy such an equal tax as shall not distress the poor, nor leave the rich any just cause of complaint. Whatever is done, ought to be calculated for the main end in view, which is the preservation of liberty, in the manner most practicable and agreeable to the genius of the people. The debt was contracted to supply the exigencies of the state, and to protect the whole body of the nation; the whole body of the nation then are obliged to repay it; and if the state requires it, not by taxes on the common people, but according to the proportions of the actual possessions of every individual<sup>k</sup>, in such a manner as should not appear in the least degree destructive of liberty. Those who urge that great part of this sum has been devoured in bribes, unjust accounts, and a whole list of crying enormities under past administrations, say very little to the purpose; for if this is NOT true, the argument amounts to nothing more than a calumnious report; and if it is true, though we must own they are injuries committed against the whole community, yet they are injuries of such a nature, that the whole community are answerable for them to themselves, and must for their own sakes make good the consequences of them.

MEN who think soberly on this subject, will hardly conceive that a BRITISH government has ever entertained so impious a thought, as to mean to annul this debt; or that any party secretly wish for it; consequently all POLITICAL PREDICTIONS on this principle ought to be treated as dishonorable reveries, and melancholy delusions. We ought rather to suppose, that the landed as well as monied interest of the nation, mean to pay off this debt in such a necessary proportion, as will strengthen our credit, already so justly superior to that of any other nation.

THAT GREAT BRITAIN is immensely rich, is indubitable. A land tax of one shilling produces half a million to the crown; and if the assessment was just and equal, and the charge of collecting reduced, it would then amount to a whole million: it follows, that the annual revenues of the proprietors of land only, are twenty millions; consequently at the moderate computation of twenty years purchase, the value is four hundred millions; may not the annual industry of this nation be deemed equal

<sup>k</sup> Even one per cent. per annum on real property, exclusive of other taxes, would, in six or eight years, produce a vast treasure.

equal to the produce of above half as much more ; not to mention the plate, jewels, money, mines and houses <sup>a</sup> ?

On the other hand, if the proprietors in good earnest felt the evil at their doors, and that they are the real debtors, and subject to be arrested by each other : if they were in danger of sequestration by civil war, or in consequence of foreign invasion, how greatly would this valuation sink ! I am not versed in political arithmetic, but I will suppose the value in question to be only six hundred millions in the whole ; would not a gradual diminution, or rather change of property of five or six in the hundred of this national stock, in the space of eight or ten years, and I hope there is no danger of being involved in a war sooner, be a less evil than to continue so deeply in debt as we now are ? Would not this method enrich the proprietors of the ninety-four parts ? By this means all taxes on every branch of trade, and on every article of consumption, would be diminished in so great a degree, that these ninety four parts would be then more valuable than the hundred are now <sup>b</sup>. If this can be demonstrated, we seem to be in the circumstances of that miser who offered a shilling to be bled ; but the surgeon demanding half a crown, before the contest was decided, the man died. This may be our case, for we are subject to a political, as well as a natural death.

SOMETHING of this sort would certainly be brought into execution, if every proprietor would say to his own heart, “ I am flattering myself into a belief that I owe nothing, when I really owe a tenth part of my estate ; which if I do not offer to pay off in part, though the government should not compel me to it, the danger my children are exposed to of losing the whole, is greater than the inconvenience of paying my share at this time. Can I answer it to my conscience to leave the poor to pay MY DEBT from their daily labour ? Is it possible they CAN pay it whilst the taxes do little more than answer the interest of this debt, and the current annual expence of the government in time of peace ? ”

THE reader may laugh at the expression MY DEBT, till he considers that the term MY COUNTRY in this land of liberty is adopted as proper ; the first indeed means a deprivation of a good, as the last implies the possession of one. The debt of the public is certainly a debt of a number of individuals ; but because every one considers the sum in the gross, and thinks but with repugnance on his proportion of it, the mind being lost on the one side in the greatness of the idea, and distressed on the other by the painfulness of it, turns to some other object.

ARE we not bound, in proportion to the degree of power and fortune we possess, to act as if this debt was our own, in the common sense of the word ? If every member of the body politic thus considered himself, he could not with common honesty avoid being anxious to clear himself of his share, in a necessary proportion, as already

<sup>a</sup> Some professed calculators make the revenues for the support of the people and the government forty-three millions, which corresponds with the supposition I have made above.

<sup>b</sup> The vast expence this government is at in collecting taxes would revert into the national treasuries, as well as the labour of collectors, who must find a different employment.

already observed; and to exert his utmost abilities that others should perform their duty in like manner, and make self-love and social the same common principle.

THOUGH the riches of some, or the poverty of others, may make them repugnant to the receipt of any part of their principal money; and though it may be imagined that national funds which pay interest are national benefits; yet it seems to be a glaring absurdity, that we had better remain so DEEP in debt, than discharge ANY PART of it; unless we had at the same time a sinking fund annually accumulating, and devoted to the support of a war, or any important call of the nation. Such a fund can hardly be supposed, for then the government would pay a large interest for a sum lying dead, out of pure love to such people who might be ignorant how to employ their money in any other way. It is, I presume, most natural to imagine, that the less we owe, the higher interest the public can afford to give upon an emergency: for that emergency we ought to be ready: we know it will come: if we judge from the experience of past ages, it is, humanly speaking, as certain as death, though we know not the time of either. Money is plenty now, but experience does not warrant its being so in time of war; on the contrary, an unprofitable peace is sometimes submitted to, merely for want of money, though we are at the same time so rich a nation; which proves how the want of public love may subvert a monarchy. The higher interest the nation gives, the greater sums it can raise<sup>a</sup>, and consequently whilst money, as well as good soldiers, is confessedly the sinews of war, the fairer we bid for a secure and lasting peace.

PERHAPS it may be also found, that this debt, as is generally experienced among private men, wounds the œconomy of the state; if it does not prevent such a number of ships of war being constantly employed, as might tend to the better support of our naval strength.

WHAT but the consideration of this debt could have so long induced a nation famed through the world for humanity, to raise a tax on the miserable poor, for the liberty of destroying themselves with liquid fire, whilst it became a provocation to them to destroy others also, and endanger the very foundations of society?

FROM hence it must appear of how great importance it is to diminish a national debt, when we see so striking an instance of the necessities of a government arising from that debt. No one will pretend to say that a minister, who is a man of sense and humanity, could be either ignorant or careless in this respect. Is it however possible that a minister should see the people indifferent with relation to the public, and without any scruple enriching themselves beyond the due measure out of the public money, without being alarmed? A ministry less moderate and disinterested than the present, might be almost tempted to consider the government and the people in a distinct view: for what is more according to the corruption of the human heart than this, that when a people do not observe their duty with regard to the government, the government should have the less tenderness for the people? Is not this consideration sufficient to rouse a nation to a sense of virtue?

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<sup>a</sup> The contrary is maintained by some, but that can be only in time of peace and safety, and at best proves only that the people know not how to employ all their money.



THERE are without doubt many political points of universal concernment to a nation, and yet not easy to be understood. It is the business only of a few to know all the secret springs which move a government; hence we may justly entertain a jealousy of our private apprehensions. Some points however will be canvassed, whether they are understood or not: every body can talk, though some may not clearly understand their own meaning.

WE ought to thank heaven for what is already done towards our relief. By the particular countenance shewn by the ministry, and the generous efforts of the PATRIOT CITIZEN, the interest of the national debt is reduced. There were some struggles in obtaining this necessary, great, and valuable point. That patriot citizen will not, I fear, live to see his scheme carried into execution in all its parts. The reduction of interest seems to be in effect a sumptuary law, which ought to extend to all ranks and orders.

I PRESUME that men even in the greatest offices, profess to be no more than servants of the people; the foundation of a free government supposes the first regard due to them: consequently if the necessities of the people, for the support of the state, require their living lower in THEIR rank; those whom they enable to live in splendor, according to the nature of their respective offices in the state, ought in all reason to contribute in PROPORTION; for this plain reason, that instead of weakening their own dignity, and by this means hurting the community, they will probably, do it the greatest service, and answer the wise ends for which the people have agreed to support them in that splendor.

A LIBERAL allowance is perhaps at all times necessary to the principal officers in a great state; and if some prodigality is countenanced when that state is in a flourishing condition, what mighty injury can it receive? But can a state be said to flourish in the sense of the present argument, when it is involved in a heavy debt? To make no distinction seems to argue as gross an impropriety as the conduct of that private man who, when his estate is without incumbrance, lives up to the height of it, and when it becomes deeply mortgaged, still makes the same expence. He may perhaps have the address to support himself for a considerable time; but if winds blow down his barns, or mortality rage among his cattle, what will become of his estate? Nations are subject to calamities as well as private men; and the exercise of human wisdom is as necessary in public as private affairs.

UPON the occasion of the late reduction of national interest, neighbouring nations began<sup>a</sup> to gaze with wonder as if the golden age was restored to this island, and that this reduction of national interest would be followed by that of national pensions, and of the great salaries annexed to some offices, so as to bear a proportion to the SAVINGS upon the article of interest, and thus enable the government to make great advances in the payment of the national debt. In this, THEIR opinion has outrun OUR virtue; but much may be expected from the equal spirit that prevails in the legislature. It is true, speculative and active virtue differ extremely. There are

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<sup>a</sup> The FRENCH ministers, I am told, declared without reserve, that they thought the thing impracticable.

always more philosophers in theory than in practice; yet it ought to be presumed that those who think justly, will endeavour to act consistently.

EVERY man of great rank and office in this nation must either believe that our debt is really an object of danger, or that we are conjuring up a spirit for the pleasure of being frightened; if the former, supposing he wishes the happiness of his country, which ought to be presumed, will he not in his serious hours reason, thus with his own heart? "I see my country involved in a heavy debt, which injures her foreign influence and her domestic security. It is true our affairs are mending; the interest of money is lowered, but can this produce so speedy a reduction of the national debt as our welfare requires? Is it in my power to do any real service to my country? Is it not my duty to contribute to her wants? The circumstances of the times are such, that I am not called upon for any reduction of the salary which I receive of the public, and perhaps my example will not make any impression; but if the thing is right and proper to me, it is so to all persons under the same circumstances as I am; nor will it be less right, though it should be deemed an affectation of popularity, an enthusiasm in politics, or a rank hypocrisy. Some body must begin: it may not be convenient for the minister: I confess it appears to me just and consistent; and my conscience dictates it to me; I can live with most HONOR on a smaller income; for instead of pampering my dependents in a luxurious superfluity, I MAY become an instrument of providence to save eight or nine millions of people, who are all dear to me, from the miseries of civil war, or the despotic tyranny of some bold invader: but it is certain I shall perform an act of justice to my country. I shall do a charity which I hope will be acceptable in the sight of God. I shall express my gratitude to the public, as that common benefactor by which my ancestors have been supported through so many ages; and by which I have myself enjoyed all the comforts and delights of the happiest government in the world, under one of the best of kings. Perhaps in the chain of effects, and the course of a wise and good providence, this single action might also be a means of preserving the welfare of a great part of EUROPE; for if the ancient virtue of this island is restored to it; the native valour of my countrymen may establish them as the arbiters of EUROPEAN liberty, or at least secure our own on the most permanent basis."

WERE such visionary speculations brought into action, which is at least possible; would a minister deny his acquiescence to SUCH A CONDUCT, and think SUCH A MAN a lunatic; or rejoice to see an instance of disinterested and generous regard to the community? Would he be sorry to find himself in a fair way of being relieved from those perplexities in which ministers in GREAT BRITAIN have been generally involved? Would he lament to see a large saving to the nation, instead of that anxiety which attends a want of money for the purposes of government?

IF SUCH A CONDUCT were the issue of a solid judgment and well-regulated affections; and if the necessities of the nation do require SUCH A CONDUCT; it may be asked why is not this, or something equal to it, brought into execution by the minister, who has the power? Is not this begging the question? Would a minister in GREAT BRITAIN have ANY POWER AT ALL, was he to attempt making the people

virtuous in despite of themselves? It is impossible that he can be ignorant of the inclination of the people; and if they have not virtue enough to save the nation, that ~~in~~ themselves, whenever the matter is brought to this issue, what power on earth can save them?

By operating with their bad affections, a minister might bring the people to a speedier ruin, or by a judicious opposition of them, ward off the blow for a time; but can he support the people against their wills? Let us consider the thing in another light: if those who enjoy places and pensions, and may, in some measure, have the power of acting in this respect as they please, have too much wit, or too little virtue, to renounce any part of the profits arising from such places and pensions, from a consideration that the state is in NEED; it will not follow that the landed and commercial interest, which is incomparably the most wealthy, may not contribute as largely as the state requires. Such an UNBIASSED DISINTERESTEDNESS would never be their ruin. The more virtue there is in the nation, the longer it will stand: therefore if the place or pension-man does not shew the nobility, or the country gentlemen an example of patriotism; if these begin, the effect will be near the same.

In short, if the ruling passion of persons in any state, is the preservation of their country, they will rather consider the END, than the MEANS. They will subscribe to any method not in itself inconsistent, rather than spend their time in a fruitless debate. I suppose we are still a free and a wise nation; whatever method then the legislature may appoint, the virtuous will unite in warding off every calamity to which the nation is exposed.

A RESOLUTION of the legislature to pay off a large proportion of the debt by taxes, unprecedented in these latter times, would appear to many as an invasion of liberty, and a greater evil than to suffer the debt to be paid in more moderate proportions. On the other hand, some apprehend it to be more inconsistent with liberty, that we should owe so heavy a national debt; and think it ought to be reduced by extraordinary taxes. If men of fortune are of this last opinion, and have virtue enough to act up to their principles, we shall soon owe a less exorbitant sum. If they are not of that opinion, or have not virtue to act up to their principles, with what countenance can they complain?

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## C H A P. IX.

*A description of HAERLEM. Reflections on retirement in advanced age. Of LEYDEN and the HAGUE. A brief account of the house of ORANGE.*

ON the 16th of OCTOBER I took my leave of AMSTERDAM, where it was my fortune to be at a season that was rude and disagreeable. Were the people in that city so disposed to kill themselves in an ill humour as they are in another great trading metropolis, I should think it at least as proper a place for this purpose, especially



cially in the present month. When the frost comes on, they are more braced and active, and at all times too busy to fall into this atrocious practice. I embarked at the HAERLEM gate, taking the roof the treckscoot: these stage-boats are extremely commodious, as they set out at stated hours, and perform their passage at a certain time almost to a minute; but the common part of the boat is often rendered insupportable, from the custom of smoking tobacco, so highly offensive to some persons.

THE HAERLEM canal is bounded by meadow-lands, well covered with horned cattle; but there are not many houses near the banks. In two hours and a half we reached HAERLEM. This is a town of very great note, and not less distinguished for its cleanness. It is remarkable for bleaching, also for the manufactory of linen, and several other material articles. Here was a considerable garrison of soldiers: the fortification, in some parts, is only a lofty brick wall. This place is said to have flourished so early as the year 1155. In 1292 a revolution happened, in which great part of it was burnt: a circumstance of the like nature happened by accident in 1347. In 1573 it was taken by the SPANIARDS, who treated the inhabitants with great cruelty; seventeen hundred men, the remains of the garrison, were either hanged, or put to the sword, for defending themselves eight months. Here are twelve churches, of which four only are of the established religion. HAERLEM lays claim to the invention of printing, which they attribute to LAWRENCE COSTER, who was born here about the beginning of the fifteenth century. A little to the south of this city is the HAERLEM MEER, which is a large lake, but as it abounds in shallows, and is too much exposed to the wind, the canal is much preferable for the commerce with AMSTERDAM.

AFTER a short stay I embarked for LEYDEN: the land behind HAERLEM is hilly and sandy, and the banks of the LEYDEN canal are higher than those of HAERLEM. Here they cover their cows with body-cloths, assigning this as a reason, that by keeping their backs warm, they give milk the more abundantly. There are several country houses and plantations of trees, and agreeable walks. About three miles from HAERLEM is HARTCAMP, the country-seat of old Mr. CLIFFORD; this gentleman is possessed of a considerable fortune, and having a taste for gardening, he passes his time mostly in the country.

THE acquisition of riches being, for the most part, the supreme object of a DUTCHMAN's attention; seldom any of them leave the world till the world leaves them, however indulgent providence may have been to them, with regard to the means of a comfortable and honorable retirement. It is no uncommon thing in all countries to grasp at the objects of avarice and ambition, even under the circumstances of age and sickness; and though such men see themselves, if they see at all, suspended by a hair, between the visible and invisible world, yet will they continue to be led by the delusions of the mind. It is true, there is nothing in which we are oftener mistaken, than in our apprehensions of the pleasures of retirement, after a life devoted to business. Men of contemplative minds are apt to think of this too early, and persons of a contrary turn never imagine it is late enough. Active vir-  
tue

tue is certainly preferable to that which is passive only; yet it seems unpardonable in old men of easy fortunes, who, having made the experiment, find that they can bring themselves to a relish of a contemplative life, that they do not devote the greatest part of their latter days to it. Every profession, I believe, has reason enough to rejoice in an opportunity of making up for the deficiencies of the earlier part of life; but some callings, in a more peculiar manner, keep the mind in a continual hurry; or, which is much the same, in a closer attention to the concerns of this world, than is consistent with the duties of religion. Old men ought to be ready to assist with their counsel: but is it not sometimes an injury to the society, for them to refuse giving up the more active scenes of life? Those who are best qualified, by their years and strength, for a greater fertility and energy of thought, should certainly have the office which God and nature seems to have appointed for them. Mr. CLIFFORD, in this respect, has judged like a man of sense and virtue.

It may be observed however, that, in commercial nations, men of the most advanced age, and greatest fortunes, seem to think it as consistent to die with a pen, as with a prayer-book, in their hands. The opulency of nations, in some measure, arises from this spirit; but it cannot be right policy to give more of ourselves to this world than belongs to it. Besides, most of the good purposes of life relating to national welfare, may be answered by initiating our sons or relations into an early taste of commerce, and committing it to their conduct before we die, under circumstances that may render it pleasant, as well as profitable; rather than to leave them immense fortunes, perhaps to be squandered after our death, merely for want of this precaution.

THE distance to LEYDEN is fifteen ENGLISH miles: we were four hours exactly on the way. On the bank of the canal, near this place, is the seat of the famous Dr. BOERHAAVE, now in the hands of a person of that name, who also professes physic. This place is well known for its university, and great antiquity. It is also remarkable for a considerable manufactory of woollen cloth, which however, for some years past, has very much decreased, partly owing to the decay of the PERSIAN trade carried on by the ARMENIANS, which equally affects the silk manufactories of AMSTERDAM<sup>b</sup>. There is a considerable number of students from all parts of EUROPE, and the university is of great reputation. They have generally a very large garrison: the city in itself is neat and agreeable; but, as most other places in the UNITED PROVINCES have too much water, this has not enough; nor has it such a communication with the sea as affords a proper motion by tides to keep the water sweet. The gardens about it are extremely fruitful, and land bears a prodigious price.

In the year 1574 the SPANIARDS besieged this town, upon which occasion the inhabitants, to the number of about twenty thousand, behaved with such intrepid valour during a siege of five months, that the very women performed the military duty. About six thousand died of the plague and famine; and being at length reduced

<sup>b</sup> It appears that the DUTCH were jealous of the ENGLISH trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA, and that Mr. DE DIEU applied in 1745 for the same privilege as the BRITISH subjects then enjoyed, in order to obtain an ample supply of silk. At present the great decline of this branch of trade is owing to the troubles in PERSIA.

duced to the last extremity, they were summoned by the SPANISH general FRANCIS BALDEZ to surrender; they answered bravely, that so long as they had a LEFT arm, they should not want provision; and that they would employ their RIGHT to defend their liberty. They say that ADRIAN DE WERF, a burgomaster, being importuned by some of the inhabitants to surrender the city, replied, "Since I must die, my friends, it does not signify whether it be by you, or the enemy; cut my body into pieces, and divide it amongst you; I shall expire contented, if I can be a means of preserving you, though it were for one hour only." Providence at length interposed in a signal manner for their deliverance; count LEWIS of NASSAU, brother to the prince of ORANGE, came to their succour, and obliged the SPANIARDS to retire.

FROM LEYDEN I went to the HAGUE, where we arrived in three hours. A place so renowned for political negotiations would, on that account, be celebrated in the journals of travellers, even though it was not in itself equal, in some respects, to the proudest cities in EUROPE. It has no inclosure, and is called a village; the streets are broad, and several of them are without canals: their houses for the most part are extremely well built. The number of coaches belonging to noblemen and gentlemen, and the gay appearance of dress, give one an idea of life very different from that of the trading cities. People here are more polite and easy in their carriage than in other parts of HOLLAND; this is a natural consequence of some of the most considerable persons in EUROPE meeting there continually for political affairs, in the service of almost every EUROPEAN prince: besides as the STATES GENERAL assemble here, this draws the greatest part of the people of the first distinction in the UNITED PROVINCES. The HAGUE may also be considered either as a great city, or a rural scene: for the ENVIRONS which immediately inclose it are extremely delightful; whilst they have plays, and other amusements, as customary in great cities.

THE air of this place is said to be very wholesome. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE attributes longer life to the inhabitants of this village, than to those of any other place in the UNITED PROVINCES; yet are the people more careless in cleaning their canals, than is consistent with the preservation of health. It is really amazing how men decline into neglects injurious to the society, which might be prevented with the least thought and industry. Near this place is the palace known by the name of the house in the wood, which belongs to the prince of ORANGE; as also RYSWICK, famous for the peace of 1697.

ONE of the finest houses in the HAGUE belongs to count WILLIAM BENTINCK, and was now occupied by the prince of ORANGE. As this nobleman had been so extremely obliging in HANOVER, as to invite me to his house at the HAGUE, I went to pay my respects to him at SORGVLIET, where he generally resides in the summer season; but he was gone to meet his BRITANNIC majesty in his return from HANOVER. This seat is near two ENGLISH miles distance, and much frequented by persons of taste. The house is of little note; but the gardens, though in many parts yet uncultivated, are delightful. They abound in lofty trees, and different kinds of hanging walks, which diversify the scene, and render them very pleasant, particularly





Gerard Sanders ad Viviani del.

Ant. Walker sculpit.

The Prince of Orange 1750.

cularly in a country where most of their country-seats are upon a dead flat: on the road to it there is a public garden, in imitation of VAUX-HALL.

AT the HAGUE are only two churches of any consequence. Though several of the streets abound in shops, their trade is mostly confined to their own consumptions; hence this place is preferred for the quartering of the soldiery, of whom here was a regiment of grey cavalry of HESSIANS, who made a gallant appearance, also a regiment of DUTCH dragoons, and two regiments of infantry. The pay of a common soldier in the DUTCH service is four stivers, cloaths deducted; but provisions are dear. I observed their cloathing, which is blue, is of much better cloth than that in which his PRUSSIAN majesty's soldiers are clad; the serjeants of the guards have silver-laced regimentals. The DUTCH are distinguished from the HESSIANS and SWISS by white breeches. They are extremely neat, their hair being dressed in the manner of the PRUSSIAN soldiers, but their cloaths are not quite so short: they are incumbered with heavier swords and larger hats, whilst their muskets are lighter. They perform their exercise with exactness, and are examined every fourth day that their arms be kept in order. In 1696 the DUTCH had sixty thousand men in pay, and four years after, at the general peace, upon the reduction of the army they continued twenty-six thousand two hundred men, which costing annually six millions of guilders, this we may reckon twenty-three pounds each man, officers included.

As this place might be considered more immediately the court of the prince of ORANGE, I hardly expected to hear any thing said of him disrespectfully. It is well known however with what reluctance a considerable party in the UNITED PROVINCES submitted to this prince's accession to the dignity enjoyed by his fore-fathers; though he had so just a title, not only on account of THEIR merit, but HIS OWN also; and not less from the nature of the constitution of that country, and the experience of past ages, than from the particular danger of the time, in which this event was brought about.

WILLIAM, surnamed the GREAT, was the FIRST STADT-HOLDER, and may be properly called the founder of the republic. He spent his life in the study of war and politics, in which he was a great proficient, and not less distinguished for his private virtues. He was at length assassinated, in consequence of the resentments of the SPANIARDS, and sealed the generous actions of his life with his blood. His son MAURICE, the second stadt-holder, adhering to the virtuous principles of his father, supported the independency of the republic. HENRY FREDERIC, the next brother, succeeding to the stadt-holdership, distinguished himself as a warrior and a patriot. The fourth stadt-holder was WILLIAM II. who married the eldest daughter of our king CHARLES I. This prince dying at the age of twenty-four, left a posthumous son, who was our WILLIAM III. In his infancy the dignity of the stadt-holdership was annulled; but the terror of FRENCH armies obliged the STATES to recur to that expedient to which they owed their very being, as a republic. King WILLIAM fought their battles, and saved them. After his decease, though the dignity of stadt-holder was not abolished, it was suffered to expire; nor did the STATES revive it till the sixth and present stadt-holder, WILLIAM CHARLES HENRY FRIZO, a collateral branch of the illustrious house of ORANGE, who by the salutary mediation of

a strong party of his friends, and the spirit of a mob, when a FRENCH army was already at their doors, had this dignity conferred on him in 1745. With what moderation he has used it, and what little respect has been shewed to it, the history of the times will make apparent. I only mention what fell under my notice of the general turn of the party in the UNITED PROVINCES, who were luke-warm friends, or no friends at all, to the prince; with this distinction however, that some who hated the STADT-HOLDER, loved the PRINCE.

CONSIDERING the neighbourhood and great power of FRANCE, the present, as they think, precarious peace, and the disunion of their councils; the DUTCH seem to be perswaded that there must be a power lodged in ONE, to unite and exert their force in case of danger. Reason and experience have taught them the necessity of this power: But a state must possess more virtue than I am afraid there is among the DUTCH, to suppress those prejudices and resentments which are apt to arise in the minds of one part of a people upon any change of government. The anti-stadt-holders, who wish to see the prince pulled out of his seat, operate with him most heartily in making provision for the very men they most despise, or hate, whenever they think they can, by this means, render his office odious to the people: thus his highness has to struggle with secret, as well as professed enemies. Men of moderation say, he does not want parts, that he is a man of a most amiable disposition, of an excellent heart, and yet he every day loses ground; alledging that "his disposition may be good; but the effects of it are bad, by his being too indulgent to men of no principles."

It is a common saying, we love the treason, though we hate the traitor. To save a state, can hardly be called treason; but it is generally thought a dangerous maxim in politics to put men in offices of trust, whose principles allow them to take any side that may afterwards appear to be their interest. But how will they prove, that the prince makes choice of such men? It may be suspected, that those who are not in office are, for that very reason, disaffected. It is granted that many persons, whose power is now eclipsed, ought not to be admitted to the offices of the state, because they have a rooted dislike to the prince, as well as to the stadtholdership: but then it is OBJECTED, that those who love the prince, and acquiesce sincerely in the power vested in him; who are capable of service, and beloved by the people, are notwithstanding kept out of office. They acknowledge that every honest man cannot be employed; but that such persons of worth and honor ought not to be rejected, to give place to the servile tools, and lower instruments, who brought the prince into office, but are by no means able to establish such a degree of power, as is essential to that office. That such men ought rather to be rewarded in a pecuniary way, or by employments abroad; but not to be preferred, so as to disgrace their very patrons, who are ashamed to own their having brought them into place: whereas by chusing men of worth and reputation, who are really the prince's friends, there would be no difficulty in his acquiring a proper ascendancy, and thereby establish himself in the minds of the people.

How the prince ought to act, is hard to say; but this is clear to me, that his very moderation which would render him amiable in a virtuous age, will make him



him contemptible in a vicious one; for, without a great share of resolution, it is not possible to govern men, who have been used to make their own will, the law and rule of their conduct.

To drop so critical a point, let us consider the authority of a stadtholder, which is very confined, unless when he appears at the head of an army, and then perhaps he is not only an object of jealousy, but his power too much circumscribed. The stadtholder sometimes signs public treaties in conjunction with the states, but such treaties do not derive from hence the greater weight or authenticity; for though he is supposed to represent the dignity of the republic, yet whilst the STATES possess the sovereignty, he cannot be considered but as a subject. He has indeed the power to pardon condemned malefactors; but he has not even a seat or vote in the assemblies of the STATES. There are certain prerogatives annexed to the office, which vary in the different provinces, and are alterable by the power from whence they are derived, that is, by the STATES GENERAL.

THE stadtholdership, which is now made hereditary in the house of ORANGE, was, from its original nature, elective; but the high and indelible obligations which the DUTCH owe to WILLIAM the GREAT; and the renowned patriotism and fidelity of the illustrious house of ORANGE, through every generation, have ever thrown the choice on this family as a kind of necessary consequence.

THE appointment of the stadtholdership from the STATES, is one hundred thousand guilders <sup>b</sup>, and the prince's paternal inheritance is far more considerable.

BUT, alas! while we are yet speaking, his candle is burnt out; and all our wishes for his temporal happiness vanish like a dream in the night. The memory of this excellent PRINCE will indeed ever retain a sweet savor, and must do honor to human nature, whilst probity is revered by mankind.

## C H A P. X.

*A general account of the commerce, and cause of riches, as also of the air, soil, &c. of the UNITED PROVINCES. Of the genius and manners of the DUTCH, their parcimony, cloathing, women, &c.*

IT may appear careless to leave the UNITED PROVINCES without some general reflections, especially as travellers, either in pursuit of learning or pleasure, seldom consider this country in the same light as ITALY or FRANCE; and consequently there is not much said of it, except in laborious historical accounts. Indeed it ought not to be expected from one who only rides post, that he should be able to give an accurate and circumstantial account of a foreign country, when perhaps he knows very little of his own, after living in it for many years.

<sup>b</sup> Nine thousand five hundred pounds.

I KNOW not if any body has given an account of the UNITED PROVINCES so worthy of esteem as that of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. His general idea of these people in his time is contained in these words: "HOLLAND is a country where the earth is better than the air, and profit more in request than honor; where there is more sense than wit; more good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleasure; where a man would chuse rather to travel than to live; shall find more things to observe than desire; and more persons to esteem than to love."

As a kind of contrast to what is remarked by this polite author, the following description will corroborate the notion which the unprejudiced reader may have received of the genius of the DUTCH, and the nature of their country. This burlesque, and perhaps obscure historian says, "In HOLLAND the four elements are good for nothing; it is a country where they worship a golden idol, seated on a throne of cheese, and crowned with tobacco; where art surpasses nature, and industry alone makes the state flourish; where rusticity of speech is preferred to the persuasive softness of gentle words, and a coarseness of manners makes a show of liberty; where the wives are mistresses, and the husbands servants; where the houses, by dint of frequent washings, appear as cabinets; and an excess of cleanliness is inconvenient: in a word, where butter and cheese is the harvest and reward of the peoples toil."

THE DUTCH are most certainly devoted to commerce, and, though in the midst of EUROPE, detached as it were from other nations: they are bred up in an abhorrence of regal power, and consequently have a distaste of the manners of the polite nations who are subject to this form of government. Under these circumstances they can hardly be supposed to raise many men of genius, or to cultivate the more refined arts of contemplative life and liberal science. It may be presumed that later ages have improved many of the higher ranks of their people, but perhaps some of them have at the same time exchanged their parcimonious simplicity for an expensive and luxurious manner of living, and by rendering themselves necessitous, opened a way to those temptations which their artful and ambitious neighbours have thought proper to play upon them.

THE ease, the gentleness, the sweetness of manners which we find in the polite nations, are seldom possessed, even amongst the higher ranks of the people in HOLLAND, though we often meet with an excess of complaisance: nor is this at all surprising if we consider that men devoted to the arts of gain from their earliest life, can with difficulty be formed to a true taste of society. The amusement in which the DUTCH have the greatest pretence to delicacy, is that of gardening, for which some of them contract so great a passion, that I have heard there is a law restraining the price of tulip roots.

THEY are so well convinced that much diversion not only creates expence, but calls off the mind from business and domestic duties, that in AMSTERDAM no public shows

shows are permitted within the walls<sup>a</sup>. After seven in the evening every person that passes the gates pays one stiver, and a coach five stivers; so that diversions are taxed with this impost. It is not however very considerable, for the people have not a great passion for theatrical entertainments. In the winter time skating is their greatest amusement. Their retired manner of living is often the occasion that the men when they affect a chearful, polite, and delicate turn of manners, are awkward; and when gay, wicked: the same remark holds with the women also, when they depart from a reserved habit of life.

THEIR notions of religion, which must ever influence the manners of a people, are not very liberal; and though the practice of it is strictly enjoined as a duty, it does not appear to be rendered delightful. I have heard a HOLLANDER ingenuously acknowledge, that their priests cannot be in any great reputation, for want of that politeness which is essential to all ranks of men in office in a civilized state. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's remark is, "That if religion does more good in other places, it does less hurt here."

THE same author imputes the grandeur of their state in a great measure to the modesty and simplicity of their manner of living, which was the general fashion among the first magistrates in his time; and he adds, that he never saw the great pensioner DE WIT in a coach, nor his cloathing, equipage, house, or furniture, beyond that of any private merchant.

It is not difficult to conceive, that constant application to business, and indefatigable industry, not diverted by any of the warmer passions, nor by the habit or temptation of pleasure, should produce that degree of wealth, power and influence, at which the HOLLANDERS once arrived, and of which, with respect to individuals, they may yet boast, though the state is sunk in reputation as well as power.

WITH regard to the air or water of the NETHERLANDS, the elements are in no country more blended than in this. The abundance of water must necessarily affect the air. At some seasons of the year, many of their most fertile spots are overflowed, which renders both land and water disagreeable. Those DUTCHMEN who know little but of their own country, ask, how we manage in ENGLAND to keep our cattle from being drowned in the field during the winter. Turf, which is reckoned much inferior to wood or coal, is the chief article of fuel to their inhabitants. But this land of moisture does not ordinarily prevent the people from enjoying a moderate share of health, though their lives seem to be shorter than with us in GREAT-BRITAIN. There are several instances of remarkable recoveries in HOLLAND, from consumptive cases, which I believe are not so general among them as in ENGLAND. The reason of this I impute not so much to their climate as their careful manner of cloathing. In ENGLAND people too often dress, feed, and expose themselves to heat and cold, without any regard to difference of constitution.

A care-

<sup>a</sup> It is a melancholy consideration how luxury and expence get ground even where the foundation of grandeur was parcimony. Since 1750 I am told ITALIAN operas are countenanced and even promoted by some of the burgomasters.



A careless indifference in this respect must be often attended with the same or worse consequences, than an injudicious solicitude.

THE vapours arising from the canals in HOLLAND, affect the air in such a manner that the fronts of the houses near the water side are frequently discoloured in one night; this occasions a particular attention to the outside as well as the interior part of their buildings. The manner in which the DUTCH cloath themselves, is a demonstration how subject they are to rheumatic pains, necessity having taught them that kind of habit, which we are inadvertently apt to ridicule.

THERE are many HOLLANDERS who think judiciously, and, in some respects, live elegantly; but I believe few philosophically. The common people are extremely boorish: I have seen a boatman in a great city, though indeed the distinction of city and village is very inconsiderable, strut up and down a room with his hat on, his hands on his hips, and, with a careless air of insolence, spit at the feet of a gentleman who was treating him with civility, and giving him an opportunity of gaining a guinea for an inconsiderable service. This sort of conduct they mistake for liberty<sup>b</sup>, whilst their knowledge is confined to the ordinary means of gain, and the gratification of the calls of nature. Cheese, beer and tobacco are the joys which seem to crown the labours of the common people: geneva, to which they are well known to be no enemy, and which is not altogether improper to their climate, contributes much to the circulation of their blood; but they are apt in their cups to mix cruelty with rusticity.

As they are not so much improved in their sentiments as our common people, neither are they so strong, active and capable of labour; this may be imputed, not only to the different genius's of nations, but also to the superiority of our climate, and the different nature of the liberty we enjoy: add to this, that the animal food which our common people eat, is incomparably more strengthening than their fish, cheese, milk and grout, to which the poverty of their own produce confines them. It is true the UNITED PROVINCES abound in pasture lands; but cheese being so great an article of commerce, as some of the inhabitants cannot, others will not, afford themselves flesh for their diet. A moderate use of animal food would in all probability, tend to the prolongation of their lives in that moist climate.

CONSTANCY of employment, coldness of complexion, and perhaps the nature of their food also, may contribute to their being but little given to amour. The women, I speak not of the higher ranks, adorn their heads with gold lace, and other such ornaments, but with more frugality than generally practised in GERMANY. Except a few court ladies, they have not much taste or delicacy in their manners. There are some of good complexions, but not many beautiful. Their teeth in general

<sup>b</sup> Foreigners make complaint also of the ill-manners of the common people in ENGLAND; but this is expressed rather by a libertine than a boorish conduct; and though we have some savages in human shape, yet the general turn of our people is humane: to this purpose I knew an instance of a common fellow who insulted a FRENCH lady in the street, by the name of FRENCH bitch. Before she advanced many paces she happened to fall, and the same man who had that moment treated her with such unworthy language, was the first who assisted her in rising, addressing her with great complaisance in these words, "I hope, madam, you have not hurt yourself."

ral are bad, probably owing to the use of hot liquors, as tea, coffee, &c. I observed, particularly at SAARDAM, that many of the women are pale and languid, and not a few crooked. They acknowledge that most of their children, till the age of eight or ten years are sickly; and indeed the women seem so incessantly employed in cleaning their houses, and other offices, of which some are in common with their husbands, that one would imagine they did not afford themselves rest enough to breed children, or at least not time to support them when they were born. The women in this country seldom breed after the age of thirty. As the men are remarkable for the many breeches they wear, the women, for the most part, use pots with live coals of wood or turf, which they set into boxes bored full of holes, and put under their petticoats, to warm themselves in cold weather; this is not only apt to make them old from the waist downward before the time ordained by nature, but the smell of the coals is offensive. Upon the whole, they have a proverbial saying, that the dirtiest piece of furniture in the house of a DUTCHMAN, is his wife.

WHETHER it is the remains of any jealousy which they have retained since the time of the SPANISH government, or the mere effect of prudence; I could not help observing that many of them will not mention their wives in company, nor do they seem pleased that others should speak of them; though in the most respectful terms. One would imagine where the laws are so favourable to the women, as to give them at least an equal share of dominion with their husbands, that conversation should be more free: this conduct however may be imputed to that incommunicative manner of life, in which the lower and middle sorts of the people are bred up.

It is no uncommon thing in HOLLAND, except among those who have travelled and acquired some generosity of behaviour, to treat strangers by whom they get nothing, with that sort of reserve as plainly indicates that you may go about your business as soon as you please. But there is nothing which lowers the reputation of the HOLLANDERS, or reflects greater dishonour on them than their cruelty. This does not arise so much from fiery particles in their blood, or warm passions, as the love of money, witness their sacrifices of human blood: but they have followed the example of their old masters, by taking the same steps to support themselves in the EAST as the others did in the WEST INDIES. In this, GREAT BRITAIN is distinguished, no part of her greatness being owing to unwarrantable slaughter.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the present situation of the DUTCH, and their partiality to FRANCE. Their prevailing opinions with regard to GREAT BRITAIN.*

IF we consider a government of so complex a nature as that of the UNITED PROVINCES, in which such a variety of interests and inclination are necessary to support it in full force and efficacy; it is rather amazing how it has lasted so long, than that of late years it has tottered, and been in danger of subversion. It is no mean entertainment to trace this republic to its origin. Historians seem to agree, that

that the people of which it is composed, so early as the time when the ROMAN commonwealth gave laws to a great part of the world, were in the highest degree impatient of any encroachments on their liberty.

UNDER PHILIP II. of SPAIN they groaned under heavy oppressions. Several formidable attempts were made from the year 1556 to 1579, to compel them to submit to an arbitrary power, extended not to their lives and fortunes only, but also to their consciences. Persecutions have often called forth such a degree of human strength, as seems to argue the interposition of the immediate hand of GOD. The treaty of MUNSTER in 1648, at length settled the independence of the republic: the deputies of the STATES were no longer denominated rebels by the SPANIARDS. The vigilance, sobriety, and industry of the DUTCH having supported their revolt against the crown of SPAIN, after many years spent in laborious trials of their own constancy, they at length formed that plan of government which now exists. How long it will last is hard to say; the foundation of it does not appear to be very stable. A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF, CANNOT STAND. Whilst these people are not agreed concerning their first magistrate, they will never invest him with power sufficient to answer all the various exigencies to which the state is subject.

It seems evident from their late conduct, from the present condition of that state, and from the nature of their constitution, that they are in no happy, or secure situation. Hence they require the help of a first magistrate, whose power, though limited, shall be sufficient to constitute him the umpire of all their interior contests, and who, by a proper direction of their strength, may restore them to a REAL independency. Their conduct in the late war was a demonstrative proof that themselves conceived their security was founded in the clashing interest of other princes, and that their country was not in such great danger as we commonly apprehended, because the division of the spoil would create difficulties among the neighbouring powers.

A FREE state, whose inhabitants are rich, surrounded by powerful neighbours, able to support a considerable military force, and yet unwilling to support it, can hardly be presumed to exist long without some change: at least we may conclude that such a system of politicks as that of GREAT BRITAIN contending for the independency of the UNITED PROVINCES, in the same manner as in the last war, without their exerting their own strength, cannot last long. Supposing that their preservation was not the sole motive on which we set out, yet it must be ever allowed, that if FLANDERS becomes a prey to FRANCE, and the barrier is lost, the liberty of the DUTCH is at the mercy of the FRENCH: and what would have become of the barrier in the last war, had it not been for GREAT BRITAIN, it is not difficult to determine.

If the DUTCH are incapable of defending themselves; if their state, though in its early period, is grown decrepit, and needs a support; can GREAT BRITAIN afford such a support, or must it come from another quarter on the continent? What quarter is hard to say. It seems more consistent with their interest to change to some more happy form of government, by a consent of the people, than to run the hazard of being compelled to change for the worse, by some bold invader: and  
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if their independency is of such moment to us, as it may be presumed they imagine, it might be more our interest to assist them in that change, than follow such a system as that of the late war. The DUTCH are tenacious of their liberty, but seem to fall into a belief that they need not provide the means of supporting that liberty, as their good friends the ENGLISH, and other allies, will do that business for them. We may see what notions Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had of this republic, when he says, "Thus these stomachful people, who could not endure the least exercise of arbitrary power, or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops, under the SPANISH government, have been since inured to all of them in the highest degree under their own popular magistrates, bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces, and oppressed with the most cruel hardship, and variety of taxes, that was ever known under any government." It might be expected, that the remembrance of these calamities, which did not arise from us, but from our common enemies, should, whilst that common enemy is in the same strength and inclination, bind them to us in the strongest friendship; but this is plainly not the case.

POLITICIANS seem to agree, that the interest of the MARITIME POWERS is mutual: that is, so long as they in fact continue to be maritime powers: and ought not the UNITED PROVINCES to continue a maritime power, if they mean to support an independency? The union of such maritime powers might be a counterpoise to that of the house of BOURBON; whereas if they aim at a counterpoise entirely by land, it is plain they must go much farther for it, engage in deeper expences, and complex treaties; and take share in the quarrels of other powers, which must render the welfare of their state the more precarious. Besides, as commerce naturally increases with naval strength; such union might prove the best means of checking the rapid progress of the trade of other countries, and particularly that of FRANCE, whenever it should prove prejudicial to this mutual and natural interest. However consistent this system may be, the fact is, that in the last war, either the timidity of the DUTCH; the artifices of FRENCH ministers, who disguised this matter; or perhaps that PERSUASION which is apt to conquer all mankind, inclined them more to see GREAT BRITAIN ruined, than erecting new trophies on the ruin of the FRENCH commerce. This is very certain, that the DUTCH looked with a jealous eye on the BRITISH trade, concluding that every step it was advanced, their own would be thrown back.

If our interest was really mutual, they were as blind to their own advantage and security as averse to ours: and if it was not mutual, the system of our politics was founded on a fallacy, which THEY easily saw through. It is a truth too obvious to be denied, that the DUTCH do receive some present advantages by their commerce with FRANCE; and this was one great obstacle to our detaching them from that delusive connexion. As to the FUTURE, it does not seem to be the fashion of mankind to consider; their thoughts are absorbed in present gratifications. If this were not the case, I presume the thing would have taken a different turn, and remoter consequences would have been examined into.

IF the game had been played fair, the question is, whether the bulk of the people of the UNITED PROVINCES would not have seen, that no point can be more essential to them, than to keep the wings of the house of BOURBON so well clipt, as to put it out of her power to fly away with their country, their riches, and their commerce; for probably they must ALL go together: it is impossible they can be the same people under an arbitrary monarchy.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the artful evasions, and ungenerousness of the DUTCH in the late war; it is hard to say what had been their fate, if BRITISH valour, and BRITISH treasure, had not been so much employed to keep FRANCE at bay. That the DUTCH set out upon false principles in the late war, I believe all the world will grant. Who can relate without sorrow, the event of the battle of FONTENOY, when victory was snatched from us, not so much by our enemies, as by our friends? We had indeed reason to suspect, that the DUTCH did not mean well to us: we knew their government was embarrassed, and wore a double face. SOME of their ministers were for fighting, OTHERS for a neutrality, and ALL for saving their money at the expence of their VERY GOOD AND GENEROUS FRIENDS AND ANTIENNT ALLIES. At length they compromised the matter, and made war in parade, as an excellent expedient to save appearances, and to quiet the minds of their own people, that no desperate attempt might be made to call the prince of ORANGE to the office of his ancestors. Those in office knew that such a step would eclipse that authority, by means of which they had so long lorded it over the state, and enriched themselves and their families.

IT is remarkable that our enemies, who knew the orders and inclination of the DUTCH, from a generosity peculiar to soldiers, at the same time they exulted in our credulity, laughed THEM to scorn. We PULLED them indeed to the scene of action; but we could not PULL the triggers of their muskets, nor secure their horses from being KILLED, if they had engaged.

BUT what shall we say of the friendship and good intentions of the DUTCH at that time, if to this very day they avow they COULD not fight. Morally considered, nations are not accountable to nations for errors in politics; but they are answerable to each other for the non-observance of treaties. Whatever motives biased the conduct of these republicans, the inference from real fact, cannot but raise an indignation in the breasts of those who are inclined to shed a tear to the manes of our brave countrymen, who fell in that unequal war. If the DUTCH had declared at that time that they WOULD not, or, which is the same, that they COULD not fight, and that their army was only for parade and observation; I presume, in such case, we could complain only of the inactivity of their AUXILIARY troops as stipulated by treaty; and the question is, if, in such cases, the party failing is not subject to all consequences. If this doctrine was proved good, the DUTCH might now owe us fifteen or twenty millions of pounds, with a further debt which they can never pay, the lives of fifteen or twenty thousand of the bravest troops in the world.

WHAT sense the people of HOLLAND had of their engagements to us, appears, in some measure, from their behaviour, when news arrived at the HAGUE of the battle  
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of FONTENOY. It went current that we had deserted the DUTCH, and left them to be cut in pieces; insomuch that the inhabitants were highly incensed, and exclaimed bitterly, as if the ENGLISH had completed that ruin, which our conduct in the QUEEN'S war, they said, had almost produced. When the real fact was known, and the tables turned on them, though it afforded consolation with regard to the safety of their army, the rulers of the STATE thought it necessary for THEIR own safety to retire out of the town: this was a tacit acknowledgment, that however disposed the people might be to push on the war, they themselves favoured the schemes of FRANCE.

To speak dispassionately of the conduct of the DUTCH, we may reflect on their specious manner of reasoning: "Did we desire you," say they, "to make war, much less to bring it to our doors? And, after all, what reliance could we make on you, when a handful of rebels in SCOTLAND occasioned the demand of six thousand of our best troops, at a time when we most needed them ourselves? If other powers do not keep FRANCE within bounds, the UNITED PROVINCES may become an easy conquest, in spite of all your endeavours to preserve us." This excuse carries with it some weight; but they forget that it was their conduct at FONTENOY which brought on those consequences; that their six thousand men were of no use to us with regard to the rebellion; and lastly, that the preservation of the UNITED PROVINCES, in spite of the FRENCH partisans, became at length one great object of the war: there must then be an unaccountable defection in the hearts of DUTCHMEN, to allow this reasoning to be good. The time may not be far off, when they will SOLICIT us to act in confederacy with them, and when they will not have any delusive reserves.

THE present political contest, if we can with propriety say there is any contest, seems to be, whether, in case of another war, GREAT BRITAIN ought to send her native troops abroad; or confine herself to the water, and make her money, in a reasonable proportion with other princes, fight her battles on the continent?

HAPPILY for EUROPE, FRANCE is not able to support a great army, and a great fleet also, for any length of time. But as we sometimes see national efforts, which baffle all the systems of the most acute politicians; and as FRANCE may make a formidable figure both by land and sea; can we consistently neglect our land-forces? If it is necessary to preserve the independency of the DUTCH; it may be also necessary to employ our troops, as well as our money, on the continent. It might be fortunate indeed to establish a system which would render a great land-force unnecessary. If it is inconsistent for us to attempt the support of great armies, and great fleets also, we may presume that GREAT BRITAIN will adhere to the system which renders that force least necessary, which is most expensive.

EMBARKATIONS of our land-men may sometimes be necessary for such purposes, as neither our ships nor money can execute without them; and in behalf of those states whom it is our duty, and may be our obligation by treaty to preserve on the general principle of commercial interest. But where, and in what numbers, seems to be a



point which the occasion only can determine. I apprehend one rule of politics cannot suit all times, more than one medicine all distempers.

THE sending great armies abroad has been, among others, a means of involving BRITAIN in a very large debt. But it is also true, that FRANCE has been greatly impoverished by her wars. That the latter has made vast acquisitions by commerce within fifty years past, must be granted; but yet it is disputed if she is now so rich, compared with other STATES, as she was in king WILLIAM's reign; and since money is the sinews of war, we must reckon the strength of STATES by their riches, compared with other states, as well as by their numbers, valour, and genius for war.

THERE are, I believe, some general maxims, which are necessary for every government to adopt, as far as they are practicable without adhering to a blind prejudice. If the naval force of GREAT BRITAIN is her proper and natural strength, considering her situation, produce, and the genius of the people; will it not follow, that the more of such strength she possesses, in proportion to other STATES, the greater will be her commerce, and consequently her riches? And if she is strongest at sea, may she not command the source of FRENCH power, which is almost the sole object she has to fear?

ENQUIRIES after political knowledge soon create difficulties, which suggest that the study of politics is no vulgar task, though we talk of it so familiarly. Ministers, like other men, are sometimes biased by their passions and prejudices, to commit absurdities; but it is their duty to study the interest of a nation, and their profession to manage it. Others ought to approve or condemn with moderation, as the surest way to come at the truth, without confounding themselves with the use of NAMES and WORDS, to which their ideas are not adequate.

## C H A P. XII.

*The author leaves the HAGUE. A description of DELFT. Of ROTTERDAM, its trade, and the BRITISH factory established there. A short account of HELVOET, and the present low state of the DUTCH navy.*

THE 22d of OCTOBER I left the HAGUE, and returning back part of the way on the same canal on which I came from LEYDEN, I arrived at DELFT in an hour, the distance being only three miles. The land here is low, and there is no particular object that strikes the eye.

DELFT is surrounded by a considerable extent of flat meadow lands: this place, which is very antient, is well known for its earthen ware, which goes by that name. It is a very pleasant town, and well peopled: the inhabitants are computed at above twenty thousand. Its situation has invited several persons of fortune and distinction to take up their habitations there; but the trade of the place is not considerable. It has however a chamber in the EAST INDIA company, and a rank in

the assembly of the STATES of the province of HOLLAND: This city was burnt down in 1536, and in 1654 the greatest part of it was blown up by an accident of the powder magazine taking fire; but these misfortunes have rather contributed to its beauty, than defects, as may be inferred from its present appearance.

FROM hence I departed for ROTTERDAM; the distance is hardly seven ENGLISH miles. This place may well be esteemed next in rank to AMSTERDAM; and, in regard to GREAT BRITAIN, and the southern trade of EUROPE, has many advantages beyond that city: the navigation of the MAESE being, without comparison, more safe and commodious than the passage of the TEXEL: the air and the water are also better than in AMSTERDAM. The canals here being broad and deep, convey ships of burthen into the heart of the city, and exhibit a view of a flourishing trade. Being thus a rival in commerce to the metropolis, it is considered as an object of some jealousy; but the power is, for the most part, in the hands of the merchants of AMSTERDAM. Many of the commodities imported here center chiefly in that city, consequently the spirit of competition does not rise very high. There is indeed business enough in both cities to furnish employment to a great number of hands.

ROTTERDAM has a further advantage: the passage of the MAESE is generally open, particularly in hard winters, sooner than that of the TEXEL. They have great magazines of EAST-INDIA goods, this city having its quota of that trade. Tobacco, corn, and rice are also considerable articles, and chiefly imported from GREAT BRITAIN: they have great quantities of tallow from IRELAND, for which they return flax, which is a commodity much cultivated in the UNITED PROVINCES, as it will bear a high rent of land, if properly conducted.

IN this city is a very good exchange, where the merchants meet, and transact their business; it was finished so late as the year 1736. Here are several public buildings of note; but the most remarkable is the great church dedicated to St. LAWRENCE, in which are the monuments of several persons of distinction, particularly of their most celebrated sea-officers, among whom is that of admiral DE WIT. On the great bridge is a statue of the famous ERASMUS, who was born in 1467 in a small house very near to the statue.

THE BRITISH factory in this place is very considerable, and is, for the most part, composed of north BRITAINS of the church of SCOTLAND, for which they have a church or meeting-house. During the war in FLANDERS under the duke of MARLBOROUGH, an episcopal church was built by the contribution of the ENGLISH officers, merchants, and mariners; and this is said to be the only regular episcopal church countenanced and established, belonging to BRITISH subjects out of GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. DAVIDSON, and several others of the factors, received me with great marks of regard and politeness, as well in consequence of the several letters of recommendation, which my friends at AMSTERDAM had given me, as the hospitality for which the factory is distinguished. Provisions here are not cheap, though plenty. The factors live parsimoniously, after the manner of the country, without parade, but with

with great satisfaction and convenience. Expence, noise, and shew, are indeed, but the shadows of pleasure, to minds not spoiled by a habit of living in a crowd or in pursuit of trifling amusements. The expence of eating and drinking, IN THE HIGHEST TASTE, as is ordinarily understood, generally serves but to remove us the farther from the happiness we seek. The true end of these supports of nature, is better answered by a little, than much; by a dish or two, rather than by a multiplicity; if we consider what is due to health, to a clear understanding, to moderate passions, submissive appetites, to a virtuous cast of thought; and, in a word, to the true felicity of life.

THE 27th I left ROTTERDAM; the most speedy conveyance is said to be to NEWSLUYS in a yatch, and from thence by land to HELVOET. It was my desire to see the banks of the MAESE, I therefore preferred going all the way by water. There are many fertile and agreeable spots of land, but the whole did not answer the idea I had conceived of DUTCH industry, and knowledge of improvement as extended to every part<sup>a</sup>. HELVOET SLUYS is well known, as the port from whence the HARWICH packet boats set off on WEDNESDAYS and SATURDAYS. Though this is esteemed one of the best harbours in the UNITED PROVINCES, yet the town is in itself very inconsiderable, having only three small streets, and a quay; the last is of some extent, and borders a great part of the harbour. From this place the island of GORRE appears to the south, as a sandy country, and ZEALAND is to the north of it.

HAVING often heard of the naval strength of the UNITED PROVINCES, so formidable at sea within little more than half a century; and as I had hardly seen a ship of war in any other port of these PROVINCES, I entertained some expectation of being agreeably surprized at HELVOET. However all the naval strength which I could discover, amounted only to ten capital ships; these indeed appeared to be clean and in good order, but without any modern improvement in their structure. In this particular the DUTCH are said to be forty years behind the ENGLISH; nor ought we to be surprized, considering how great a decline there has been of DUTCH naval strength. Whether this wondrous change is an effect of unavoidable calamities; or of voluntary national defection from their ancient maxims of government, the reader will best judge from the modern accounts of these PROVINCES. It is not one hundred years since the DUTCH were able to vie with ENGLAND; and, towards the close of the last century, even in the time of peace, they thought it their interest to employ between thirty-five and forty ships of war. Upon an emergency they were able to send a hundred sail to sea: it was computed, that the support of thirty capital ships then cost them annually only six millions of guilders<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps the time is not far off when they will be again obliged to fight at sea, as well as by land: but if this power is departed from them, which seems to be the case, and GREAT BRITAIN left to take care of herself, the larger portion of commerce must fall to her share, in order to the support of a greater naval force. This consideration seems to put us in mind of the present situation of GREAT BRITAIN, and the necessity of application to our marine; not only as counterbalance to the accumulating strength

<sup>a</sup> We must make great allowances, in all countries, with regard to those lands contiguous to the sea.

<sup>b</sup> Five hundred fifty thousand pounds. In ENGLAND, reckoning five hundred men in each ship, it would be seven hundred twenty thousand pounds.



strength of FRANCE, but as an easy and natural expedient to compensate for the insufficiency of the DUTCH.

I HAD the pleasure to find here a small squadron, with four yachts, belonging to the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, under the command of lord ANSON, his BRITANNIC majesty being expected to embark in a few days. This sight gave me the more pleasure, as I had not seen a BRITISH ship of war for near eight years before. It also afforded me an opportunity of seeing some of my old acquaintances, particularly my honoured friend captain EDWARDS, who commanded the CHARLOTTE yacht. I had no time to accept his civilities, as I embarked in the packet a short time after my arrival there.

THE packets are built commodiously for passengers, and have about fourteen beds, or cabbins. In these vessels there seems to be a certain degree of equality observed between the officers and men, which slackens the reins of discipline; and perhaps it is from the shortness of the passage, that there is not such a regard to œconomy, as one would expect where no merchandise are supposed to be carried. They talk much of the dangerous navigation between HELVOET and HARWICH; but at the same time confess, that only one packet has been lost within the compass of any memory. The 28th, after a passage of twenty-two hours, the wind blowing hard from the east, I landed at HARWICH.

P A R T II.

M O R A L and P O L I T I C A L

R E F L E X I O N S

In relation to

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

C H A P I.

*Reflections on the use of travelling. The difficulty of taking up a political faith. Thoughts on public love in a free state. Irreligion the ordinary source of national calamities.*

**T**HANKS to the goodness of providence, I am now returned into this HAPPY ISLAND; happy, in spite of all its blemishes, compared with any country that I have yet been acquainted with. Perfect happiness most certainly is not the lot of mortals on this side the grave. The portion of bliss, which heaven has granted to this nation, like the disorders arising from sanguine health, seems to create a satiety, even in those who have a claim to the reward of virtue; as if we were to learn from hence, that there is yet a better country, whither we are travelling, where only the mind can possess an entire satisfaction.

THE passage of a merchant from one country into another, in pursuit of commercial affairs, ought not to be considered in the same light, as the travels of a man of letters, in search of arts or learning. But if in the course of their observation they have supported one common spirit of national affection; in proportion to their advantages of education and natural abilities, the effect will be in a great degree similar. Their own country must necessarily become the dearer to them, according as they discover the superiority it enjoys in laws and government, above other nations. Being thus excited by a generous emulation, instead of bringing home the vices of other nations, they will strive to plant the virtues which are more peculiar to foreign climes, and not the proper growth of their own soil.

THE ravages of time; the ruins of cities; the desolation of countries; the tyranny of kings; the folly and iniquity of subjects, in selling themselves like beasts  
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to the slaughter ; with all the pernicious effects of arbitrary power, must, in a serious mind, draw reflections on the uncertainty of human affairs. By tracing these events as near as possible to their source, the heart will be lifted up to the great AUTHOR of nature, and, by observing how vice is ever productive of misery, we shall adopt a consistent principle concerning the GENERAL law of his moral government. Though the dispensations of his providence are oftentimes incomprehensible, yet this ought not to weaken a steady persuasion, that virtue is, in every region, and under every government, acceptable to him ; “ THAT WHAT HE DELIGHTS IN MUST “ BE HAPPY,” however the face of things may appear. And to check every fond presumption of independency ; though we grasp the fleeting moments, it is but as to-morrow when a curtain will be drawn over all the glories, as well as the miseries of this world. In the mean while, whether we go abroad, or remain at home ; enjoy a profusion, or mediocrity of the gifts of providence, we are travelling to another country. Our noblest science, our highest accomplishment, our supreme felicity, is the knowledge and observance of that compass, whose needle points to our proper home ; to those regions, where millions of blessed spirits inhabit ; where the eye will be satisfied with seeing, the understanding with knowledge, and the heart with delights, of which this world can give but faint ideas.

WHETHER hackneyed in the paths of gain and ambition ; or pursuing the delights of a philosophic and religious cast of thought ; life still ebbs out much faster than we can easily discover, or deal fairly enough with ourselves to acknowledge. But a day, an hour, employed in the exercise of reason, and the practice of religion, is upon the whole, preferable to an age wasted in foolish pursuits which rise no higher than this world.

THE soul is ever active : this world is its scene, as a prelude to the next : some ruling principle will always possess and lead us on to action. To be idle, and to be happy, is a contradiction : but however employed, he has no mean lot who glides through life in tranquil silence, though unobserved. Perhaps he is one of the most happy of men ; but all are not capable of this felicity.

WE cannot reflect too often, that “ True self-love and social are the same ;” yet considering man as a unity, SELF must, and ought to predominate. That is best for him which is most productive of his particular happiness, with respect to the scene in which he takes his part ; and in which he is best qualified to act with dignity, and with a due regard to both worlds. We are happy only when we are employed, and when some PARTICULAR object governs the lesser passions and desires. The wise author of nature certainly intended, that this OBJECT should be HIMSELF ; and that all the various connections of our animal, our social, our intellectual nature, should ultimately terminate in him, and be subservient to this end. Here then let our enquiry rest ; and since every day brings eternity the nearer ; the contemplation of that eternity, ought in all reason to increase, as our hours are fleeting away. Without neglecting the ordinary course of his affairs, the merchant who is wise, will apply most vigilantly to that business, in which his WHOLE FORTUNE is embarked.



As the peculiar happiness of this government leads every thinking subject to disclose freely his sentiments, as far as he may judge them conducive to the national welfare, may I finish my journal with some indulgence of this sort? But in speaking of public affairs, the mind ought, in a more peculiar manner, to be divested of all prepossession, or it can answer no end but to adopt or confirm a principle, which, though true, loses its charms by being founded in prejudice. If the pursuit of wisdom and virtue is the proper business of life, we ought to examine before we pronounce sentence; and always to be diffident where we have not had opportunities of knowledge. I am very sensible that even general reflections on political interest, belong to those who are grown grey in experience, rather than to transient spectators.

THE knowledge which I have of my own country being acquired abroad, and very limited; the affairs of it now appear to me, in a great measure, as matter of enquiry and curiosity, as well as interest. Things ever strike us most, while they are most new: the indulgent reader may consider me yet as a traveller, who gives his thoughts of things as their novelty, their variety, or their singularity affect him; with some distinction however in regard to the motive; as well as some previous knowledge, derived from the early impressions of youth.

It is the happiness of a free state, directed by good laws, that every member belonging to it is entitled to protection, so long as he obeys those laws. The dignity he derives from hence raises him in his own esteem: this is apt to render him inquisitive in matters of which he is not qualified to judge, and is the cause of infinite follies. Even those who are bred up in the knowledge of national affairs in ENGLAND, are generally swayed by their prejudices in favour of some person or party; in the mean while, the number of the judicious and unprejudiced is so small, that a man has hardly any opportunity of learning how to settle his mind.

How can it be imagined in an age in which corruption abounds, not in ENGLAND only, but in every country, that only virtuous men should be in office? To rail at them, without considering the corruption of mankind in general, must render the complainant suspected of discontent, because he is not in office himself. When the influence of the crown preponderates; and the measures which are pursued do not immediately produce all the good we fondly expected; the subjects who do not receive any PECUNIARY ADVANTAGES from the government, for others have generally the wit to hold their tongues, are apt to cry out against the court; or against the minister; forgetting that the true source of national calamities, in a free state, is the venality and impiety of the people.

It must be apparent to men who make any observations, that those who bellowed loud for liberty, and were impatient to pull down those in power, have generally given the same offence themselves, when they became vested with authority; whence it has been natural to conclude, that the people were capricious, and not capable of contentment; or, with some few exceptions, all equally corrupt; and changed their principles, or their conduct, with their outward condition.

BE this as it may, it is surprizing to me, how little the people of this island generally seem to know of their own advantages and happiness. Complaints are so often the subject of discourse, even among the more sober part, that one would imagine the state was under the greatest distress; and in imminent danger of ruin. "How great, say they, are the emoluments of offices, and how little is done for them! vanity and ambition, and a devotion to luxury, reign in the breasts of THOUSANDS; and the robbery of their country, by every base artifice, is either openly countenanced and protected, or connived at and left unpunished: whilst the freedom established in the original plan of this government, exists in little more than a name. To one person who even pretends to love his country, there are a hundred who are cherished, if not openly applauded, by their friends or confederates, in consequence of their fortune or address in pillaging the public. The way of doing this with dexterity and address, is a science of the most profitable kind. Shall we draw a curtain over our nakedness, and hide our shame? Alas it is too apparent to be an object of concealment! Foreigners see it, and will condemn us till they perceive a change in our condition, by the exertion of national virtue. And what satisfaction ought it to afford us, if other nations are more vain and abandoned than this? Do we desire to put on the same kind of chains as they wear; and, with all the advantages of our glorious constitution, become yet more wretched than they? Things are come to that pass, that if this nation does exist, it must first fall a sacrifice to venality, and rise again out of its own ashes. Are we not eighty millions in debt, and consequently our credit plunged deep? We are threatened with a war in a few years, but what measures are taken to reduce that debt, and enable us to support a war? 'Tis hard to say what all this will come to. Observe the conduct of some men of the greatest quality in the kingdom; persons who in MANY respects are worthy of great honor and esteem; and whose rank and fortune set them in a point of view, to make their examples of the greatest moment; and YET these men indulge themselves in a passion for GAMING, in violation of those very laws they themselves made, and by which the state is to be supported. What can afford more delight to an ambitious FRENCHMAN, than to see such men promote a contempt of our own laws by the weight of their example? If the GREAT amuse themselves with unlawful games, the LOWER CLASSES of the people will have THEIRS also; and the breach of laws must terminate in our SHAME, OUR DISHONOR, OUR DECLINE, OUR RUIN. Nor will our seeming affluence avail us; if by gradations of splendid infamy, our very leaders conduct us into that slavery, under which almost every nation of the world already mourns."

Now what impressions ought a man to receive upon hearing such sort of complaints? Are they true in the whole, or in part? Are they the effects of PARTY ZEAL, of PREJUDICE, of a natural propensity in the people of this country to murmur, notwithstanding ALL the GOOD they enjoy; or a want of that very national love which is the subject of complaint; or in short, is it a compound of all these? Under our present circumstances, and the riches and liberty which we really enjoy, complaints can mean no more nor less than this; that we are become so weak as not to discern our own interest, or so vicious as not to regard it, any farther than the present momentary gratification. If this be true in any degree, the evil is rather

increased than diminished by such liberal complaints. Some may talk in this manner, from an honest resentment of national vices; yet it is to be doubted, whether their resentment is not blended with a share of that very immorality which is the subject of complaint. That we possess a great deal of virtue is as clear, as that we are a free people. But that we have not virtue enough to be so formidable, or so secure, as providence seems to invite us to be, is the complaint of those who wish well to their country: perhaps it is equally true also; though it cannot be demonstrated so easily as presumed. Surely it is a fault to indulge ourselves in complaints at a venture, and to fling at men in public life, though we are tender of private characters.

If to rob a nation by collusive or injurious practices, is an atrocious crime, with what consistency can we believe that those who pass for honest men have been guilty of it? We certainly ought to be tender in our accusations of this kind. Credulity does not argue any strength of judgment: and the virtue of the mind ever rises or falls, with the charity which we cherish or suppress.

To consider things and persons according to the common sense and reason of mankind: "There are few, very few, says a great author<sup>c</sup>, who have the OPPORTUNITY, and the WILL, and the ABILITY to represent things TRULY. Besides the matters of fact themselves, there are many CIRCUMSTANCES which before sentence is past, ought to be known and weighed, and yet scarce ever CAN be known, but to the person himself who is concerned. He may have other views, and another sense of things than his judges have; and what he UNDERSTANDS, what he FEELS, what he INTENDS, may be a secret confined to his own breast." If this is generally true in common life, it must often hold, with regard to those who are charged with the GOVERNMENT OF A NATION: their task requires GREAT labor and abilities; and proper allowance must be made for the imperfections of human nature, especially with regard to the fallacies of mens judgments. Hence if we ought to be slow in believing injuriously of mankind in general, on the authority of dubious reports, or by opinions drawn from consequences, without regard to the motives of action: by the calumnious echo of words against men in high office, we are very subject to err with regard to our morals, as well as our judgment. If our complaints prevent that unanimity on which the good of every state depends, we may imagine ourselves to be patriots, and yet do an injury to our country.

In private life, a disposition inclined to the submissive, is not that which makes the greatest ECLAT; but it certainly is most agreeable to the dignity of human nature, because it was practised by HIM who was the great pattern of human perfection. In spite then of the suggestions of pride, this rule of conduct must be the most amiable. In order to be free, is it necessary to be querulous or turbulent? Freedom must arise from a steady, even principle; a determined resolution not to offend against our own minds; or, in other words, to adhere to what is right. To this we may add vigilance and care in our respective stations, that those who are our immediate guardians take no steps destructive of our safety.

<sup>c</sup> WOOLASTON on the religion of nature.



OUR compassion for HUMAN INFIRMITIES, is generally in proportion to the degree of knowledge we have of HUMAN NATURE. This consideration in GOOD MINDS, will check the spirit of national complaint upon trivial evidence, and consequently restore a greater national virtue. If those hours spent in political satyr, were applied to the cultivation of knowledge and virtue; even granting there is sufficient occasion of complaint, what good might we not expect? Among the lower classes of the people, COMPLAINTS are seldom without great ignorance; and those of the higher rank generally include a secret desire of the emoluments possessed by the very persons who are the subjects of such COMPLAINTS. And of whom should we complain, but of ourselves? What is our boasted constitution? What our darling liberty, but that we cannot be ruined without our own consent? Was the making complaints the characteristic of virtue, we should then be our own panegyrists; but still they would answer little purpose, till we brought that virtue into action. One vigorous and well concerted remonstrance of a real evil, must be ever more effectual than a thousand vague complaints.

IF we consider that this is a mixed government, and that the parts of which it is composed are numerous, we may indulge a jealousy; but hard words can be warrantable only when the iniquity is flagrant. Let us call to mind the advantages we enjoy above any people in the world, and that the flaws in some characters and dispositions, are hid by the lustre of those virtues and talents which shine forth in others. If we ever looked to our OWN rather than to our NEIGHBOURS faults, the state would CERTAINLY be the better; for nothing is more plain than this, that every individual, who governs his life by the rules of right reason, contributes to the government of the kingdom. We all know that government must be maintained; power must be lodged somewhere. We know that we enjoy liberty; those who doubt whether we are free or not, certainly do not know what slavery is.

THE spirit of contest in the different branches of the legislative body of this island, seems to subside; and yet it is remarkable, that the words PUBLIC DEBT are no sooner mentioned, than the people start, as if they saw an apparition. Talk of obedience to the laws, and they shake their heads and cry, "Alas, the laws are trampled upon." If this repose means an union of councils, it is a happy circumstance with regard to the DEBT, as well as to that libertinism, against which we have reason to complain. It cannot be presumed that such an union will decline into a supine negligence, much less be employed to distress the state.

IT may be observed further, that many of the people of this ISLAND, who have high notions of liberty, are offended at the name and power of a FIRST MINISTER; as one of the great officers of the state is generally called. They figure to themselves that his power is very extensive; and, from an observation of the strong connexions between his office and their own representatives, imagine that he may do WHATEVER HE PLEASES: but as, in fact, he DOES NOT every thing THEY think is right; they conclude immediately, that he is omisive in his duty; pursues the gratifications of his own ambition; and therefore his power tends rather to destroy, than support the common-wealth.

OPINIONS taken up in a hurry, and with prejudices, are hardly ever just, with regard to persons, or things. A minister, who should happen to be a man of great dissimulation and ambition, joined to great parts, is indeed an object of JEALOUSY; but if the people are true to themselves, how can such a man support himself in his power? We must be the instruments of our own ruin whenever that happens. On the other hand, let us consider this office in the hands of a man, who MEANS WELL; whose ambition is MOST APPARENTLY limited, and whose PRIVATE CHARACTER has nothing dangerous in it; such a person will appear as necessary, as he is a valuable subject. Liberty, in the highest sense, has been ideal ever since the crime of our first parents; we can only preserve such a portion of it, as we justly dignify by that venerable name. To prevent perplexities in the councils of a nation; and irresolution in the conduct of government; it is become necessary, in some measure, that there should be, as I believe there is, in almost every department of the government, a person whom they call a LEADING MAN. This seems to be the natural effect of superior talents, or superior industry; of some distinguished power of doing good, or at least a reputation of integrity and disinterestedness. These men however are not the lords, but the servants of the public; and so long as they behave with moderation; and in the general tenor of their conduct, act with a view to the good of society, though with some imperfections, ought they not to be considered as USEFUL, and even as ESSENTIAL, to the well-being of the state? Thus the matter will rest on the degree of vice or imperfection, that should render a MINISTER odious or disagreeable; and in our estimate of such defects, we must compare MEN with MEN, and not with angels.

WITH regard to the legislative body of this nation, the FIRST MINISTER, for this is the term that all parties adopt, I presume is a kind of representative on behalf of the regal prerogative; and his office, as such, is understood to reconcile the difficulties that may occur, concerning the interests and inclinations, of the sovereign and his subjects. How any particular man arrives at this office, is as easy to comprehend, as that kings, like other men, chuse such instruments for their purposes as they think best; and sometimes they chuse with great propriety. If there was no such person FOR the crown, it seems as if there would be one AGAINST it; and might not HE hurt the constitution yet more; since it is a principle established, that the state must be supported by MONARCHICAL, though limited, POWER?

ALL periods of time produce a numerous train of discontented subjects, some WITH, and many more WITHOUT reason. Partiality to our own faults is apt to make us ascribe the evils we suffer, real or imaginary, to any cause, rather than to our own vices and imperfections. The comparison of characters renders them odious, or amiable; but we ought not, I think, to judge from a few choice spirits, but consider what is the general turn of a people.

LIBERTY, NATIONAL HONOR, or whatever idea of moral excellence charms us, never DID, nor never CAN exist long, without virtue. Virtue is the only stable foundation on which the happiness of a private man, a family, or a nation CAN be built. The experience of all ages proves, that every refinement foreign to this motive, must ultimately terminate in ruin. Vice may reign for a season; but the supreme

preme governor of the world will vindicate his authority : and though this does not always happen within the short compass of human life ; yet NATIONAL vices have been ever corrected by NATIONAL calamities, and, I presume, ever will be so. It cannot possibly be otherwise in the nature of things ; for if there is a God who governs the world ; with respect to men, RELIGION must be the rule of that government. The coercive power of human legislatures, can no more support a state without the superior law of religion, than due order can be maintained, where the judge is as corrupt as the criminal ; or the father as vicious, as his offending son. The history of the world proves this assertion ; and I believe it is generally found true, that some evils which happen to the body politic, have a great analogy with wounds in the natural body ; that is, that they prove extremely difficult to cure when the HABIT is bad, though they might otherwise be easily healed.

TRUE politics are undoubtedly built on true religion : a nation long accustomed to be governed by laws founded in reason, and a defence of the rights of mankind, cannot submit to any other, without the convulsive pangs of expiring liberty. But it is as easy to conceive that any state may be dissolved by the immorality of the people, as that there are countries, which having once been free, now groan under arbitrary power. Let the miseries of such countries be truly known, and a free nation will tremble at every act of injustice that may produce them. What avails the superiority of this constitution, if the virtue in which it is founded, does not continue to support its influence ? The notion of liberty would only serve to delude us with an imaginary phantom ; the real excellency of it must ever be connected with the hearts, and minds of the people, corresponding with the laws ; their knowledge and riches being only means subservient to its support.

WERE we to lose our VIRTUE, in the strictest sense, we must lose our liberty also. The arbitrary power which prevails in some other nations, would be a compulsive means of employing THEIR strength to OUR ruin ; whilst our freedom of withholding our assistance in support of the commonwealth, might, by our acting contrary to the apparent designs of providence, prepare an easier way to their conquest, if we did not fall by our own hands. In proportion to the disobedience of laws, divine or human, by the observance of which the constitution has been so long and so happily supported, it must tend to its dissolution ; for the contrary of that which set it up, must throw it down again. I think nothing can be more demonstrable than this ; if LIBERTINISM is carried to a certain degree, the COERCIVE power must become ARBITRARY, in the rigid sense of that word. A nation which has not virtue enough to be ruled by the laws of reason, must submit to military force, as is now the case of much the greatest part of the world. Thus LIBERTY ceases, and when that is gone, it is no impropriety to say the nation is UNDONE. Has ever so formidable a state as this, fallen, but under the weight of its own vices ? Great monarchies have been dissolved only by great corruption and civil discord ; so that the Almighty has certainly annexed temporal felicities to nations, as well as eternal rewards to men, in consequence of their virtue.

I HOPE this nation will continue great and happy, till TIME shall end his reign ; but if the inscrutable wisdom of providence has ordained the period of BRITISH happiness



pineness to draw to an end, by any rule of his government of which we have no experience, we must submit to the decrees of heaven: but it will ever be in our POWER, I am sure it ought to be in our CHOICE, to welcome an HONOURABLE DEATH, rather than INGLORIOUS CHAINS. If we do fall, our hearts ought to bleed as victims to liberty and virtue.

THE name of a free state has something divine lodged in it: whilst EVERY ONE is solicitous to preserve EVERY ONE, they perform the office of a guardian angel. On the other hand, where public spirit ceases to prevail in the minds of a people; how can they long subsist in that state without arbitrary power? The notion of a public spirit cannot be confined; its object is ages past, and it looks forward to the verge of time. We have no certainty how long the world will last; and little can we presume on the existence of a particular nation, however wise the government of it may be: but how much greater is the probability of that existence, than of the duration of any particular man's life? Man, as considered separate from the community is, in the most emphatical sense, "a thing of nought, his time passes away like a shadow:" but with regard to the duties of society, he not only exists as long as TIME, but is partaker of a glorious IMMORTALITY.

WHAT constitutes the greatness or goodness of a man but his regard to the society? or why is a prince called good, and his people ready to offer themselves as VICTIMS for his safety, but as he honors, loves, and respects the community, of which he professes to be the guardian.

THE present and future happiness of individuals, as well as the felicity of the state, are all intimately dependent on each other. True politeness is but humanity refined, which ultimately centers in CHARITY, PUBLIC LOVE is but the same CHARITY, adapted to the dignity and prosperity of the community, of which we are members. A free government is moreover the STATE OF NATURE, with regard to the EQUALITY of men and of their COMMON RIGHTS. PUBLIC LOVE cannot be separated from the idea of such a state; and as the notion of this love, implies a desire of the virtue, and TEMPORAL felicity of men; it is analogous with that charity, which the ALMIGHTY has appointed as the GREAT RULE of conduct; and WITHOUT WHICH he has given mankind no title to ETERNAL happiness.

THE liberty for which we pretend to be ready to die, necessarily includes the love of posterity; but an immoderate tenderness of ourselves, on the NARROW PRINCIPLE of a vicious self-love, is injurious to posterity. Upon this NARROW PRINCIPLE it is, that we do not consent to a small change of our manner of life, that would enable us to support the state in greater safety, reputation, and splendor. Without a submission to some acts of self denial, we can neither be politically, nor morally virtuous: we cannot support such an equality of strength, nor such a consistency of conduct, as are essential to the maintenance of so admirable a constitution as ours; nor be enabled to guard against the over bearing insolence and superior numbers of our enemies. It must needs be, that either we are not aware of the end of the course we run; or we do not mean what we say, when we talk of spilling our blood in the cause of liberty. If the former, we only want CONSIDERATION: if the latter, we want EVERY THING for which life ought to be desirable.

It is a very familiar, but no less just thought, which we find in a late celebrated writer\*, in allusion to the present state of things in this ISLAND. There have been times of much greater danger than the present; yet if we consider what the ordinary consequences of human actions are; and by what means nations, yet more formidable than this, have come to ruin, we shall understand the force of what the author has remarked: "From their<sup>b</sup> railleries, on the barbarity and misery of our ISLAND, one cannot help reflecting on the surprizing fate and revolution of kingdoms: how ROME, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition, and religious imposture; whilst this remote country, antiently the jest and contempt of the polite ROMANS, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life, yet running perhaps the same course, which ROME itself had run before it; from virtuous industry to wealth, from wealth to luxury, from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corruption of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it fall a prey at last to some hardy oppressor; and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sink gradually again into its original barbarism."

HUMAN nature being ever the same, to form a just idea of things, we must trace them to their fountain. Self-preservation is the first and strongest law in nature. What is our duty in obedience to this law? We know that a nation is composed of many individuals, who have one common interest; that the different ranks, employments, and circumstances of a people, are only means essential to the support of the public; and that every condition of life has its peculiar happiness, as well as misery. Providence has been indulgent to us all; do we move on this great plan, and according to the orders of that providence? Do we not rather vie with each other; not who shall be wisest, but who shall excel most in vanities, and expensive follies; and thus deviating from the great principle laid down, at least, PREPARE a way for ruin?

## C H A P. II.

*The prevalency of example. The great riches and advantages which this ISLAND enjoys. A militia proper as the guard of these national blessings. Conclusion.*

IT is a general, and perhaps just complaint, that whilst we aim at imaginary perfection in theory, our real conduct falls short of the virtue that is practicable, and within our reach. Superior opportunities of knowledge ought to produce superior degrees of virtue: and can it be expected, that the lower classes of the people will be virtuous, whilst the higher neglect to instruct them by their example? The reformation of manners called for by one part of the nation, and universally acknow-

\* DR. MIDDLETON'S life of CICERO.

<sup>b</sup> Meaning the ancient ROMANS.

acknowledged to be necessary, must then be most countenanced by persons in the most eminent life ; a gradation to the lower classes will be easy and familiar.

UNDER the laws and the sovereign, persons of high rank and great fortunes are the parents and guardians of the people : in their hands, more immediately, is deposited that glorious plan which our great ancestors have transmitted to us : if THEY are not careful to preserve it from violation, what are we to expect from the DREGS of the people ?

CUSTOM and imitation generally prescribe and support the rule of mens conduct ; and what have been the consequences of the modern custom of following a CONTINUED ROUND of amusements by persons of distinction of both sexes, but idleness and vice of every denomination among the lower class ? The present fashionable manner of life, to minds yet unformed, must, in the very nature of things, enervate that firm and serious cast of thought, which is the true source of virtue and public love. When the soberer duties of life become as things accidental, and which we have no inclination to attend to, it ought not to be expected, that the interest of the community will be regarded. If the duty we owe to one private family be irksome, what must be the consideration of that which we owe to a million of families ? If religion is the true foundation of the virtue in question ; will it not startle us to think of the inconsiderable number of opulent families in this ISLAND, that inculcate the FEAR OF GOD in the minds of their numerous dependents, as a principle essential to the well-being of the state ?

HEAVEN has been indulgent to men, by endowing them with an imitative faculty ; though our perverseness often converts that faculty into a curse. Example can certainly make saints or devils ; and every day's observation must convince us, that there is a generous pride in human nature, which perpetually carries us to worthy actions when the pattern is set before our eyes : especially if by a skilful conduct it is brought down to the level of our comprehensions. Nothing can strike more forcibly on the minds of the lower orders of men, than the personal attention, and religious, as well as humane conduct of the rich, the wise, the noble, in that vast scene of action, the public good. It is this which affords infinite entertainment to the different dispositions and capacities of men ; particularly of those whom providence, by a liberal indulgence, has, in a more peculiar manner, appointed for this great work. The measures of compulsion, in a free state, cannot, in all respects, quadrate with the minds of the common people, more than with persons in high life. Public love, so little understood in arbitrary governments, must be a free effort of the mind, and brought into action by the force of a virtuous example.

It is undoubtedly true, in the present state of mankind, that the pure dictates of reason and religion are insufficient to the support of any state, without the coercive power of human laws ; the assistance of those laws must be frequently called in ; and happy is that people, who are obedient to them ; but still example will never lose its force, whilst human nature continues the same.



I HAVE often heard this nation described, as a country where no-body <sup>a</sup> regards the laws. Whatever degree of truth there may be in this harsh imputation, it is certain that numbers are obliged to submit to them; or the gallows would not exhibit so frequent and so hideous a spectacle! How ought we to endeavor, by every art of EXAMPLE and PERSWASION, to do that, which EXPERIENCE evinces cannot be effected by FORCE?

It is really amazing to consider how much the lower classes of the people are TAUGHT to break the laws of this country. The fact is, that the end proposed by many of the laws is continually defeated; and that by means so REFINED, that, one would imagine, here were people who make the evasion of laws a regular study; and in which they acquire a greater proficiency, than others in making laws. Is it the excellency or defect of this constitution, that the legislature is so tender, in punishing offenders for base subterfuges and equivocations, in regard to the laws?

In consequence of the common people being thus TAUGHT the ART of violating the laws, liberty is frequently converted into licentiousness; or at least into a neglect of that conduct which the laws require for the GOOD of the WHOLE COMMUNITY. It may be observed that whatever they do not find for their PRIVATE CONVENIENCE, they are apt to think a violation of their freedom. Thus they neglect the cultivation and improvement of their manners; and hence it follows, that foreigners are apt to say, that the LIBERTY of ENGLAND is confined to those who have no property <sup>b</sup>.

To trace these lesser evils to their source, we shall find they arise from others, which are of greater moment, but pass uncorrected. Can the artful defeat of the intention of the legislature be a subject of wonder, when the informer is held, in some degree, infamous? Here also the want of example seems to threaten us. Informations have, no doubt, been often prostituted to villainous purposes; hence the common people, who have no immediate share in making laws, adopt it as a kind of principle of honor to conceal the transgression of them <sup>c</sup>. Men of education and sentiment see the absurdity of this proceeding: they know that, next to

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<sup>a</sup> The conduct of some of our people has sometimes brought to my memory a conversation of no ancient date, between a certain person of distinction and a POLISH lord: the latter maintained that the POLES enjoyed the most liberty of any people in the world, and might be properly denominated the only free nation: the other replied, that he knew a people superior to the POLES, meaning the KHALMUCKS; for, says he, these may not only kill, but also eat one another.

<sup>b</sup> I remember the story of an ENGLISH gentleman, who, being just come from PARIS, complained loudly of the insolence of the footmen in LONDON, and wished to see some of them pulled from behind their masters coaches. His father, who was a MASTER of the GREAT SCIENCE of liberty, reproved him, by observing, that though it was true, many of these men were very insolent, this abuse ought to be regarded as a natural effect of liberty in vulgar minds; that the remedy of this might be worse than the disease; for the authority which should extend to pull the footman from BEHIND the coach for such offences, might also pull the master out of it. In opposition to this instance of abused liberty, what shall we say of the insolence of arbitrary power, where servants partake of the authority of their masters, and even in so polite a city as PARIS, men in high rank and office seem to delegate a kind of arbitrary power to their domestics; and perhaps the footmen there are frequently more insolent than those of LONDON.

<sup>c</sup> What false notions of honor prevail in some countries, even among the better sort of people! I have been told in PORTUGAL, that, if the murderer of the father has taken shelter under the roof of the son, he thinks himself bound in honor, if not to protect him, to screen him from justice, till he is safely removed from such house, which has been thus chosen as an asylum.

the law-giver, the most valuable member of the community is HE, who executes the laws with justice; and that HE, who upon a principle of public love, will not be an idle spectator of the breach of them, comes in for the next share of honor. But whether it is from a jealousy, that he who is charged with the execution of the laws will not perform his DUTY; or from a dastardly fear of the resentment of those who transgress; how rare is it to hear of any information being lodged by a gentleman, though he is always supposed the best judge of the propriety of such complaints, and his veracity most to be depended on?

HAPPY is it for us, that, if we will not exert ourselves in setting good example, we are restrained in some polite mischiefs! MEASURES are taken to fix some bounds to idleness and dissipation, at least in that part of the day<sup>d</sup>, which in all ages, and in all civilized countries in the world, has been ever devoted to instruction, to domestic oeconomy, and all the various duties of sober life. It ought to be presumed, that even the young and gay, will cheerfully submit to so salutary a law.

It is some consolation also to reflect, that our deviations from virtue are not constant; we sympathize with the inequality of our climate; so that supposing virtue at present to be in no great veneration, it may become fashionable again. Nor ought the most serious to imagine, that we are without a large portion of it: To believe the contrary, is not only an injustice with regard to the people at large, but it would also weaken the cause of VIRTUE, by misrepresenting the strength of her forces.

If the motives derived from the fear of national punishment, do not inspire us with an higher sense of public love; yet we can never forget the pleasures and advantages we enjoy. We ought to make these a motive to gratitude, so as to produce the same effect. Look round, and survey the noble structures, and the profusion of their useful, their magnificent, their superb appendages, in this great metropolis. Consider the flourishing state of every branch of learning, art, and science. Let us send our thoughts abroad to the numerous regions of the earth, to which our commerce is extended, and from whence such sources of wealth flow in upon us. Let us consider what an increase of riches our AMERICAN colonies produce, which is so much the more valuable, as it is more independent of the politics of other nations. But, above all, let us contemplate the beauteous face of this ISLAND, and the various delights it affords: the noble fabrics, with the several proud monuments of antiquity, in almost every part of ENGLAND: gardens unequalled by any in the world; mines rich in fuel and useful metals; hills and vallies, rivers and seas, all conspiring to render us rich and happy. The ALMIGHTY seems to have made choice of this ISLAND as the great granary of EUROPE and AMERICA.

He

<sup>d</sup> Act for preventing houses of diversion being opened till five in the evening.

<sup>e</sup> I am not rightly acquainted with the computation of our growth of corn. The bounty allowed by parliament in one year amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds at five shillings a quarter, which is one hundred and twenty-eight thousand tons exported in one species of grain only. Some late political remarks in relation to taking off the bounty, are much labored, upon this principle, that it makes bread, and consequently labor, dearer. But there is not a word mentioned of the industry it has been the cause of promoting; of the improvement of the lands; nor that the cheaper we sell our bread, like other commodities, the greater will be the demand abroad; and lastly, that the price of bread among us might not be lowered to the benefit of the nation. It may perhaps prove more than is necessary; but it is a fact, that

He has enabled us also to befriend mankind, in cloathing them in every quarter of the globe. Our wool is computed to near twelve millions when manufactured; this is four times the revenues of one of the greatest empires<sup>1</sup> in the world, and which now seems to hold the balance of EUROPEAN power.

BUT when we consider the admirable laws to which we are subject; the good government we are under; and the pure religion we profess, can we forbear exulting in the thought of being born members of such a community; or sending up our prayers in incense of gratitude, to beg that generations yet unborn may enjoy all these good things? Shall we however presume to ASK this blessing, and at the same time INDULGE a conduct derogatory to religion, and repugnant to those laws? With what consistency CAN we ask it, whilst we know that immorality has subverted monarchies through all ages of the world? It must then be presumed upon the whole, that every subject will stand self-condemned; or shun those actions, which tend to hurt the community, of which he is himself a member; and, as far as in his power, promote the general good. Thus he will increase his own felicity, and whilst the scene of his temporal joys is enlarged, it will naturally be attended with a firm persuasion of a glorious immortality.

THERE is yet one reflexion which flows from a general view of our circumstances. Nothing can be held without certain conditions of tenure: happily for mankind, nations are generally apt to think more highly of themselves than of others; and in that opinion they might remain self-satisfied, if the other passions were at rest; but that seldom happens. A people distinguished among the nations of the earth, must expect to be the occasional object of envy, if not of ambition. We are led both by reason and experience, to know that these passions are the chief motives to wars: and that they do in fact produce wars almost periodically. It is not the politics of this nation to attempt the conquest of any country in EUROPE; and the waters which surround us are a great security against invasion. But do the same reason and experience teach us, that this just system of politicks, or even that the waters and our ships, are so secure a safeguard, under the several accidents to which naval affairs are subject, as the liberty and riches of this nation, or, in other words, the just esteem we ought to have for ourselves, demand? If they are not, we seem to need a militia.

PROVIDENCE within a short period, confounded a formidable attempt against us. We might have defeated that attempt in the ordinary course of things; but if one expedient had failed, we should, methinks, have had another at hand, on which we might make a reliance. I hope we have virtue enough left, to trust ourselves with arms: it is high time to reform, if we have not. We cannot indeed support a very large army, nor is it deemed proper that we should. At the same time experience proves, that the friendship of other nations is not to be relied on; and that princes seldom do any thing for each other but upon mercenary principles. We are in the neighbourhood of a formidable power, and know their temper and disposition.

that, among the manufacturers, they do much the LEAST work when provisions are cheapest. Be this as it may, I am persuaded, that if the national account was stated with regard to the bounty on corn, we should find ourselves very considerable gainers by this public expence.

<sup>1</sup> RUSSIA.



tion. Could we be sure of foreign succours upon any extremity, would it be prudent to trust to the courage, or strength, or honesty of such soldiers, to fight our battles at our own doors; when our property, our religion, and consequently our liberty, might be at stake? And if such an ally were able to protect us, there could be no solid security against his exacting what conditions he pleased, for the defence he had afforded? History, I believe, furnishes us with reasons to be jealous of foreign forces in this island.

If it is power which governs states; if no compact, or law, except the law of arms, can ordinarily answer the events which happen to nations in consequence of invasions and wars; if monarchies, humanly speaking, stand on this foundation; should we not adapt our strength, in some measure, to the worth of the object to be defended? If men were more in a state of nature, nations would suffer each other to be at rest. But I am afraid the golden age never existed since the FALL, though some nations in the world, from their virtue, their situation, and the genius of their neighbours, may have enjoyed, for ages, an uninterrupted peace. In the present condition of EUROPE, and the well known corruption of mankind, what state can long promise itself that happiness? The depravity of its inhabitants will not permit it. All we can do, is to live as if we desired peace; but were neither afraid of war, nor unable to bear the inconveniencies which attend it; least of all should we be unprepared for self-defence.

NUMEROUS armies are every where kept up on the continent; there are also few places of any moment, but what are well fortified. If we HAVE a sufficient bulwark by means of our ships, it is certainly better to learn how to use the shuttle and plowshare, than the sword. But if our ships are NOT sufficient, to put us ENTIRELY on an equality; or, as we ought to wish, to render us superior in strength to other princes; there is, at least there SEEMS to be, something wanting to our security. Perhaps it will be our fortune to make war again upon the continent: a militia, were it well ordered, could in such case, be no unhappy appendage to those advantages which nature has so liberally bestowed on this island. However the notion may be exploded concerning FRANCE's aspiring at universal monarchy; it is, I believe, undenied, that the genius of that people ever leads them to military exploits. This does not promise any good to themselves or to mankind in general, but so it is: they are bred to arms, and delight in them: they are active, enterprising, and never long at rest. How often have they lost fifty or an hundred thousand men in pursuit of a point, which, if obtained, could be of no consequence to the happiness of the people of FRANCE? Besides, their desire of conquest for the GLORY of their MONARCH<sup>s</sup>, or, in other words, for their own vanity, however fantastic a principle it may be, is generally as strong on their minds, as the jealous care of securing our LIBERTY, is, and ought to be, among us.

BUT granting that a militia, such as would be essentially serviceable, might be attended with some inconveniences: it may still be asked, Is this island in a state of proper defence? If it is, it seems reasonable to think we are best as we are; if it is not,

<sup>c</sup> This notion at present seems to be languid, but must necessarily revive whenever their king becomes popular, unless they change their genius and government.

not, there is one common interest, abstracted from all the low principles of contending parties, which calls on us to rectify this part of our oeconomy.

NATIONS have been undone by indolence; and by their ignorance of the use of arms, as well as for want of courage. If gentlemen of property, mechanics, or men bred to and supported by labor and every honest art of industry, were taught how to defend their own houses against a foreign enemy, if such should dare invade the island, surely they could be no objects of jealousy or fear to the nation. Should we be so lost to all sense of duty to ourselves, as to employ the means of our SECURITY TO OUR OWN DESTRUCTION? Such must every attempt be deemed which is injurious to the present family on the throne, or to the present constitution: but if the interest of the sovereign and his people are the same, as who can doubt they are, that which will secure THEIR interest, must establish HIS also. There is reason enough to think in the case before us, that the crown is as much interested as the people. But it seems to have been the peculiar unhappiness of this nation, to entertain jealousies on this subject, sometimes WITHOUT reason; and, what is worse, sometimes WITH reason. It may be hoped for the future no cause will be given for suspicions, which prepare the way for national evils. There have been men, whose conduct no lover of his country can mention without sorrow; men who, tired of THEIR OWN happiness, and regardless of the GENERAL GOOD, chose to run the greatest risk of being miserable, out of a wanton desire of change. And are there yet remaining such persons, whose secret inclinations are the cause of obstructing those measures which the wisdom of the government might otherwise think necessary to our present security, or to that of posterity?

THE safety of nations, under providence, is their vigilance, and care in providing themselves with that which experience proves to be most essential to their defence; that is, money, and men inured to toil and discipline. The genius of the BRITISH nation is military; yet it seems as if ease and plenty had rendered us in some respects averse to arms, and that we have more occasion for a spur than a bridle. But it is confessed that we make a brave figure in fighting abroad, for our friends; should not we at least LEARN how to fight for ourselves, when much more may be at stake?

MANY of the officers of our army are not only persons of the first quality, but men of the greatest bravery and sense of honor. There are some of considerable property; and it seems to be an indignity to suppose, that the bulk of them do not understand the duty they owe their country, for the advantages they enjoy as members of the community, abstracted from their pay as officers. Our common soldiers also, loose and immoral as they are, possess a certain innate humanity, inseparable from that courage by which they have always distinguished themselves. Is there any fear that such an army can be prostituted to any vile purpose, whilst the land is ruled by a JUST and a WORTHY prince?

A STANDING army, such as the revenues of the state can bear, according to the present appearances of things, seems necessary, even now in time of peace; not to awe the people, but for the dignity of the crown give it a necessary weight,  
and

and to provide for war; especially whilst great standing armies are so much in fashion all over EUROPE, and particularly in FRANCE. But, with regard to a free and commercial people, there will ever be this material difference between a militia, and a standing army; that the one are supposed never to be idle, and the other but seldom employed; consequently the state gets by the former in proportion to their labor, whilst the latter are of no use except upon emergencies<sup>d</sup>. The difficulty is, upon what footing to establish a militia so as to remove all occasion of jealousy. If a convenient number was supported in such counties, as the situation, or reasons of state may render most proper, under the command of a lord lieutenant, who might be a nobleman of honor and discretion, and appointed by his majesty's council; such a step might perhaps give the nation a weight, which upon a general view of things it now seems to want.

AT the same time, if we consider the freedom of this state, and the genius of the people, perhaps the only expedient to animate a peasant to do the duty of a soldier, whenever he is called upon, is, that he be under the command of the gentleman, who is his familiar neighbour, and who engages to share with him in one common labor. This perhaps is the only method to inspire him with just sentiments, and render him obedient to discipline. Those who urge that the officers of the army ought not to be admitted into the militia, seem to give greater proof of their jealousy of the crown, than of their love to the people. Might not such officers be extremely serviceable under particular circumstances<sup>e</sup>? And were some of these such as have property in their particular counties, might they not be a means of conciliating those interests and tempers which too frequently clash amongst country gentlemen? Nor is there such a difference between scarlet and any other colour, but that a gentleman of the country and another of the army, might agree perfectly in the same common interest. In short, whether any thing of this kind can CONSISTENTLY be done for us or not; let us keep up a sense of VIRTUOUS LIBERTY, and that I hope will ever render us INVINCIBLE.

WRITING to the public, whatever the subject be, implies a desire to propagate an opinion, or to recommend some particular rule of conduct: but in subjects of this nature we are apt to write, or read, with prejudice, which is certainly not the true way to benefit by either; or, in other words, it cannot be the way to acquire just notions of things, or to render us wiser and better.

To be entirely of neither side, in some controverted cases, is perhaps the ONLY WAY to have a due love and respect for both; or, to speak more clearly, it is the best means of acquiring such a degree of knowledge, of the interest of our country, as will render us good subjects, and good men. If those who ACT ought to be circumspect in their determination; surely others, who have not such opportunities of information, should deliver their opinion with care. Prejudices will ever divide mankind, and support different opinions: the people of a free state have the liberty of declaring their sentiments; nor is there any danger from thence, except from men

<sup>d</sup> In FRANCE soldiers are employed in making roads and other public works, but that does not seem to be practicable in this country.

<sup>e</sup> Suppose a general, or lieutenant colonel, and adjutant in particular, to discipline and exercise a regiment.



of fierce and turbulent spirits. Common sense teaches us to compassionate the false judgments which arise from education or interest; but to observe the errors on both sides, and leave reason to judge what is best upon the whole, and what is practicable under particular circumstances, is, the task of an honest and a wise statesman. The same rule is necessary, in judging of these matters, as spectators only. The passions being thus restrained; and the judgment left to its natural freedom; we shall require nothing more than goodness of heart, to become a NATION OF PHILOSOPHERS and PATRIOTS.

P A R T III.

A

S U M M A R Y V I E W  
OF THE  
PERSIAN MONARCHY,  
FROM THE  
FIRST FOUNDATION BY CYRUS  
TO THE  
REIGN OF HUSSEIN, THE ELEVENTH AND LAST  
KING OF THE SEFFIE DYNASTY.

C H A P. I.

*A chronological account of the PERSIAN empire, from its foundation by CYRUS the GREAT, in the year of the world 3426, to the invasion of ALEXANDER the GREAT.*

CYRUS the GREAT, *A. M.* 3426 <sup>a</sup>.

**T**HE PERSIAN empire, founded by CYRUS the GREAT, was the <sup>b</sup> second of the four antient monarchies which have been established in the world. It is remarkable that this wise and formidable prince was mentioned by name in the sacred scriptures two hundred years before his birth ; for God was pleased to declare that he would be his guide, and lead him by the hand to subdue all nations before him.

King of LY-  
DIA taken  
prisoner.

THIS prince was the son of CAMBYSES king of PERSIA, by MANDANA daughter of ASTYAGES king of MEDIA. CYAXARES, who succeeded his father ASTYAGES, <sup>c</sup>being

<sup>a</sup> It must be observed there are very few dates in which historians agree exactly.

<sup>b</sup> The first was the ASSYRIAN.

being threatened with an invasion by the king of BABYLON, entered into an alliance with the king of PERSIA, and several other princes bordering on his dominions; on this occasion CAMBYSES sent CYRUS with thirty thousand foot to join the MEDES. CYRUS entered the enemy's country, and gained a compleat victory over the BABYLONIANS in the first engagement, in which their king fell in battle. He then marched up to the walls of BABYLON, but finding that the garrison consisted of an hundred thousand men, he retired with CYAXARES into MEDIA, to strengthen their alliance and augment their forces. CYAXARES, sensible of the merit of his nephew CYRUS, gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him heir to his MEDIAN dominions; upon which CYRUS returned towards BABYLON, leaving CYAXARES in MEDIA. He surpris'd the BABYLONIANS before they joined their forces, and marching with the utmost expedition, gave them battle, and was a second time victorious. He took SARDIS, and making CRÆSUS king of LYDIA<sup>b</sup> prisoner, possess'd himself of all his treasure and the wealth of that opulent city; but restored CRÆSUS to his throne.

AFTER subduing the LESSER ASIA, SYRIA, and part of ARABIA, CYRUS marched a second time to the walls of BABYLON. He caus'd a number of canals to be made, and on the evening of the feast, cutting the banks of the EUPHRATES, the water of that river being let into the canals, fell so low, that he march'd several bodies of forces on both sides of the city, along the bed of the river. The BABYLONIANS were then solemnizing a grand festival, so that he found an opportunity of entering the brazen gates which the drunken BABYLONIANS had left open; and taking BALSHAZAR the king and his whole court prisoners, put them to the sword, fulfilling the prophecy of DANIEL, that the cruelties which the BABYLONIANS had exercis'd upon others, should be return'd upon themselves.

CYRUS, after being twenty-six years general of the forces both of his father and uncle, at length recovered all the countries in AFRICA and LESSER ASIA, which had been in subjection to the ASSYRIAN empire. He then returned to BABYLON, and both his father CAMBYSES and his uncle CYAXARES dying, he became the sole monarch of this vast empire of PERSIA.

In the first year of the reign of CYRUS<sup>c</sup>, expired the seventieth year of the JEWISH captivity in BABYLON, and by the advice of the prophet DANIEL he published an edict for rebuilding the temple of JERUSALEM and repeopling that city with its ancient inhabitants: he restored all the vessels of the temple, which NEBUCHADONOSOR had taken from thence and placed in the temple of BAAL at BABYLON. Upon this the JEWS returned to their own country under the conduct of ZOROBABEL. In CYRUS's time the PERSIAN empire extended from the gulph of ORMUS and the RED SEA and from ETHIOPIA on the south, to the EUXINE and CASPIAN SEAS on the north; and from the river INDUS<sup>d</sup> on the east, to the deserts of LYBIA<sup>e</sup>, the MEDITERRANEAN and EGEAN<sup>f</sup> SEAS on the west.

M 2

CYRUS

<sup>b</sup> Situate in the present NATOLIA.<sup>c</sup> A. M. 3426.<sup>d</sup> Now called the SCIND.<sup>e</sup> That part of AFRICA bordering on EGYPT.<sup>f</sup> ARCHIPELAGO.



CYRUS made it the business of his reign to exercise justice, and to relieve the oppressed; governing the nations he had conquered with such humanity and tenderness, that they became his faithful subjects. He reigned sole monarch of PERSIA only seven years, and died in BABYLON leaving his son CAMBYSES his successor.

#### CAMBYSES, *A. M.* 3433.

SOON after CAMBYSES ascended the throne of PERSIA; AMASIS the tributary king of EGYPT, endeavoured to render himself independent of the PERSIAN crown. CAMBYSES invaded EGYPT, but AMASIS dying, he gave battle to his son PSAMENITUS, and entirely defeated him: this prince flying to MEMPHIS<sup>a</sup> his capital, was taken prisoner, and the city surrendered; on which not only the EGYPTIANS submitted to CAMBYSES, but LIBYA, CYRENIACA<sup>b</sup>, and other distant countries sought his protection. But the ETHIOPIANS, and the inhabitants of that part of AFRICA where stood the temple of JUPITER AMMON, refusing to submit, he invaded both at the same time. The army he sent against the AMMONIANS<sup>c</sup> was destroyed by a tempest, which raised the sands in such a manner that his troops were suffocated. In ETHIOPIA he succeeded but little better, the greatest part of his troops were destroyed by famine, and reduced to the necessity of eating human flesh. With the small remains of his army he returned to THEBES, where he plundered the temples of that opulent city of all their valuable moveables, and demolished those beautiful structures.

CAMBYSES became so jealous of his brother SMERDIS, who had accompanied him in this war, that he sent him into PERSIA, and there caused him to be murdered. His sister MEROE, whom he had married, suffered the same fate, for making some reflections on this act of cruelty. This prince, who was proud, had so little sensibility of the laws of humanity, that he caused many of his great officers to be buried alive. He one day asked PREXASPES what the people said of him? That minister replied, they admired his many good qualities, but wished that he had not such an inclination for wine. "That is, returned CAMBYSES, they imagine that "wine deprives me of my senses, but you shall judge of that immediately." Having drunk more than usual, he ordered his cup-bearer, who was son to PREXASPES, to stand at the further end of the room, and taking a bow and arrow, declared he aimed at his heart; after he had shot him, he ordered the young lord to be opened, and his heart to be brought to him; the arrow having pierced it, he shewed it to his father, and asked him if he had not a steady hand? The unhappy parent replied, with the flattery of the modern times to PERSIAN kings; "APOLLO himself could "not have shot better."

In the eighth year of the reign of CAMBYSES, an impostor, resembling his brother SMERDIS who had been put to death, usurped the crown. CAMBYSES, who was then absent, marched against the usurper, but, as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipping out of its scabbard gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died. This CAMBYSES is supposed to be the AHASUERUS mentioned in the scriptures.

SMER-

<sup>a</sup> A city of EGYPT in the island of DELTA.

<sup>b</sup> Now called BARCA in AFRICA.

<sup>c</sup> Inhabiting a part of LYBIA.

SMERDIS, *A. M.* 3441.

THE usurper SMERDIS, the ARTAXERXES of the scripture, was the son of one of the MAGI, who was governor of BABYLON, and is therefore usually stiled the MAGIAN. He endeavoured by all means to gain the affections of the people; and, to prevent his being discovered, concealed himself in the royal palace; but this precaution served only to raise the suspicion of the great men, among whom was OTANES, whose daughter PHEDYMA, SMERDIS had taken to his bed. This lady finding that her husband had lost his ears, which for some offence had been cut off by CYRUS, discovered the deceit; on which several of the nobility entered into a conspiracy, and assassinated the usurper in his palace.

DARIUS son of HYSTASPES, *A. M.* 3443.

THE nobility then proceeded to the choice of a successor, and DARIUS son of HYSTASPES was elected. This prince married two of the daughters of CYRUS the GREAT. In the third year of his reign, he gave orders that the building of the temple of JERUSALEM should be carried on at the expence of the state, requiring the JEWISH priests to pray for him, and to denounce curses against all who should obstruct the work.

THE PERSIAN court being removed from BABYLON to SUSA, the former revolted, and DARIUS in the fifth year of his reign marched his army, and besieged it. He met with but little success for eighteen months: at length ZOPYRUS, one of his generals, cut off his own nose and ears, and then fled to the city, pretending that he had been thus mangled by order of DARIUS. This astonishing stratagem gained him the confidence of the BABYLONIANS, who readily entrusted him with the command of their troops in several sallies, and in a short time engaging them to confide entirely in him, he betrayed the city to DARIUS. When this prince took possession of it, he caused three thousand citizens to be impaled, and the walls to be demolished.

DARIUS next invaded SCYTHIA with an army of six hundred thousand men; but the enemy retiring before the PERSIANS, drew them into their country then covered with snow, where DARIUS lost great part of his army, without fighting, and with difficulty made his retreat. The SCYTHIANS soon returned the visit, invaded THRACE; and plundered the country as far as the HELLESPONT. While DARIUS was engaged in this expedition against the SCYTHIANS, MEGABYSUS the PERSIAN governor of THRACE subdued the MACEDONIANS, and made them tributary to PERSIA.

HE then invaded INDIA,\* and, as some historians say, made an entire conquest of all that country. He was soon after engaged in suppressing a rebellion of the IONIANS, who had drawn the ATHENIANS and other GRECIAN states into the plot; but the IONIANS, being deserted by all their allies, were entirely subdued. DARIUS resenting the injury done him by the ATHENIANS in joining the IONIANS, who had burnt the city of SARDIS, determined to invade GREECE by sea and land: he therefore sent an army under the command of MARDONIUS a young lord who had married his daughter. This fleet meeting with a storm in the EGEAN SEA, he lost three

hundred of his ships, and twenty thousand men, and the army being surprized by the THRACIANS, it was with great difficulty MARDONIUS made his retreat over the HELLESPONT INTO ASIA.

AFTER this, DARIUS again invaded GREECE, utterly destroyed the city of ERETRIA in EUBÆA\*, and made himself master of all the islands of the EGEAN SEA. He then marched towards ATHENS; the ATHENIANS sent to the LACEDEMONIANS to join them, but before they arrived they fought the famous battle of MARATHON†, in which MILTIADES the ATHENIAN general, though his forces did not amount to ten thousand men, not only repulsed the PERSIANS, but entirely defeated them; many thousands fell by the sword, and more perished in the sea, endeavouring to get on board their ships.

DARIUS now made great preparations for invading GREECE in person, and also to reduce EGYPT which had revolted; but he died before his armies took the field, and was succeeded by his son XERXES.

#### XERXES, A. M. 3479.

THIS prince no sooner ascended the throne than he marched with a powerful army into EGYPT, and compelled that people to submit again to the dominion of PERSIA. To revenge the overthrow which the PERSIANS had suffered at MARATHON, he made great preparations for conquering GREECE, and began his march with an army which some historians say amounted to three millions of men‡. LEONIDAS, one of the kings of SPARTA, defended the streight of THERMOPILÆ with four thousand men. This streight, which is only twenty-five feet broad, lies between THESALY and PHOCIS; and was thought the only passage by which the PERSIANS could enter ACHAIA by land. Here after losing twenty thousand men, XERXES was ready to despair of forcing his way, when a native of the country discovered to him a secret passage up the mountain which commanded the streight. A detachment went thither, and the SPARTANS seeing the PERSIANS above them, and finding it impossible to defend the post, LEONIDAS commanding the rest of his troops to retire, staid in the pass with only three hundred men, who after making an obstinate defence were all cut to pieces except one man, who escaped to SPARTA, and was there condemned for cowardice.

THE day the battle was fought at THERMOPILÆ, the GRECIANS with four hundred sail obtained a victory at sea over the PERSIAN fleet of a thousand sail of ships: the weather being stormy, above two hundred of the PERSIAN fleet were cast away, and the GRECIANS falling upon them before their scattered ships were joined, obtained an easy victory at ARTEMISIUM a promontory of EUBÆA.

XERXES now dividing his army, sent one part to DELPHOS, where they plundered the temple of an immense treasure, and with the other he marched to ATHENS, which finding abandoned by the inhabitants, he plundered and burnt it.

A PER-

\* An island belonging to GREECE. † A town of ATTICA in GREECE. ‡ Some think it more consistent to read three hundred thousand; and this number is probable, considering they carried their wives and children.