AN

ESTIMATE

OF THE

MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES

OF THE

TIMES.

By the AUTHOR of
ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Silvæ filia nobilis,
Jactes & genus & nomen inutile.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *leading Principles*, which run thro' the following *Eſtimate*, make a ſmall Part of a much more extenſive Work, planned on the general Subject of *Manners*. In the mean time, the Writer thought it not amiſs to offer his Sentiments on the preſent State and Situation of his Country, at a *Criſis* ſo important and alarming.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

A Delineation of the ruling Manners and Principles.

SECT.

SECT.

SECT.

PART I.

A

DELINEATION

OF THE

RULING MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES.

PART I.

A DELINEATION OF The RULING MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

THE DESIGN.

SUPERFICIAL, though zealous, Obſervers, think they ſee the Source of all our public Miſcarriages in the particular and accidental Miſconduct of Individuals. This is not much to be wondered at, becauſe it is ſo eaſy a Solution. SECT. I.

SECT. I.

THIS pretence, too, is plauſibly urged upon the People by profligate Scribblers, who find their Account in it. It is a ſort of Compliment paid to the Public, to perſuade them, that they have no Share in the Production of theſe national Misfortunes.

BUT a candid and mature Conſideration will probably convince us, that the Malady lies deeper than what is commonly ſuſpected: and, on impartial Enquiry, it will probably be found ſpringing, not from varying and incidental, but from permanent and eſtabliſhed Cauſes.

IT is the Obſervation of the greateſt of political Writers, that "it is by no means "Fortune that rules the World: for this "we may appeal to the *Romans*, who "had a long Series of Proſperities, when "they acted upon a certain Plan; and an "unin-

SECT. V.

"uninterrupted Courſe of Misfortunes, "when they conducted themſelves upon "another. There are general Cauſes, na-"tural or moral, which operate in every "State; which raiſe, ſupport, or overturn "it *."

AMONG all theſe various Cauſes, none perhaps ſo much contributes to raiſe or ſink a Nation, as the Manners and Principles of its People. But as there never was any declining Nation, which had not Cauſes of Declenſion peculiar to itſelf, ſo it will require a minute Inveſtigation into the lead-

* "Ce n'eſt pas la Fortune qui domine le Monde: "on peut le demander aux Romains, qui eurent une "ſuite continuelle des Proſperités quand ils ſe gou-"vernerent ſur un certain Plan, & une ſuite non in-"terrompue de revers lors qu'ils ſe conduiſirent ſur "un autre. Il y a des Cauſes generales, ſoit morales, "ſoit phyſiques, qui agiſſent dans chaque Monarchie, "l'elevent, la mantiennent, ou la precipitent."—*Grandeur*, &c. *des Romains*, c. 18.

SECT. I.

ing Manners and Principles of the preſent Times, to throw a juſt Light on the peculiar Cauſes of our calamitous Situation.

To delineate theſe Manners and Principles without Aggravation or Weakneſs, to unravel their Effects on the public State and Welfare, and to trace them to their real though diſtant Sources, is indeed a Taſk of equal Difficulty and Importance.

It may be neceſſary therefore to apologiſe even for the Attempt: as being ſuppoſed to lie beyond the Sphere of him who makes it. To this it can only be replied, that a common Eye may *poſſibly* diſcover a lurking Rock or Sand, while the able and experienced Mariners overlook the Danger, through their Attention to the Helm, the Sails, or Rigging.

He

SECT. I.

He will be much miſtaken, who expects to find here a Vein of undiſtinguiſhing and licentious Satire. To rail at the Times at large, can ſerve no good Purpoſe; and generally ariſeth from a Want of Knowledge or a Want of Honeſty. There never was an Age or Nation that had not Virtues and Vices peculiar to itſelf: And in ſome Reſpects, perhaps, there is no Time nor Country delivered down to us in Story, in which a wiſe Man would ſo much wiſh to have lived, as in our own.

Notwithstanding this, our Situation ſeems moſt dangerous: We are rolling to the Brink of a Precipice that muſt deſtroy us.

At ſuch a Juncture, to hold up a true Mirroir to the Public, and let the Nation ſee *themſelves* as the Authors of their own

SECT. I.

Misfortunes, cannot be a very popular Design, But as the Writer is not sollicitous about private Consequences, he can with the greater Security adopt the Words of an honest and sensible Man.

"Most commonly, such as palliate "Evils, and represent the State of Things "in a sounder Condition than truly they "are, do thereby consult best for themselves, and better recommend their own "Business and Pretensions in the World: "But he who, to the utmost of his Skill "and Powers, speaks the Truth, where "the Good of his King and Country are "concerned, will be most esteemed by "Persons of Virtue and Wisdom: And to "the Favour and Protection of such, these "Papers are committed*."

* Dr. *Davenant*, on Trade.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the Spirit of Liberty,

SECT. II.

BEFORE we enumerate the concurrent Causes of our present Misfortunes and Decline, let us, by way of Contrast, muster the few remaining Virtues we have left; to which, in part, it is owing, that our Misfortunes are not heavier, and our Decline more rapid.

AMONG these, the first and most important, is the Spirit of Liberty. This, happily, still subsists among us: Not indeed in its genuine Vigour; for then, it would work its genuine effects. Yet, that the Love of Liberty is not extinguished, appears from the *united Voice* of a *divided People*. It still animates their Conversation, and invigorates their Addresses: tho' in

SECT. II.

in their Conduct it appears no more. But it is remarkable, that in Proportion as this Spirit hath grown weak in *Deeds*, it hath gained Strength in *Words*; and of late run out, into unbounded Licenſe.

THIS, however, appears beyond a Doubt: that we all wiſh to continue free; tho' we have not the Virtue to ſecure our Freedom. The Spirit of Liberty is now ſtruggling with the *Manners* and *Principles*, as formerly it ſtruggled with the *Tyrants* of the Time. But the Danger is now greater, becauſe the Enemy is *within*; working ſecretly and ſecurely, and deſtroying all thoſe *internal Powers*, from which alone an effectual Oppoſition can ariſe.

WHEREVER this Spirit of Liberty ſubſiſts in its full Vigour, the Vigilance and Power of impotent Governors are vain: A Nation can neither be ſurpriſed nor compelled

SECT. II.

pelled into Slavery: When this is extinguiſhed, neither the Virtue nor Vigilance of Patriots can ſave it. In the Reign of JAMES the Second, *Great Britain* was free, tho' a deſpotic Prince was on the Throne: At the Time when CÆSAR fell, *Rome* was ſtill inſlaved, tho' the Tyrant was no more.

THIS great Spirit hath produced more full and compleat Effects in our own Country, than in any known Nation that ever was upon Earth. It appears, indeed, from a Concurrence of Facts too large to be produced here, that whereas it hath been ingrafted by the Arts of Policy in other Countries, it ſhoots up here as from its natural Climate, Stock, and Soil. From this Diſtinction, if laid in Nature, two or three Conſequences will fairly ariſe. Its Effects muſt, of courſe, be more vigorous and

SECT. II.

and full. It's Deſtruction, by external Violence, will probably be no more than temporary. Its chief Danger muſt ariſe from ſuch Cauſes, as may poiſon the Root; or attack, and deſtroy the natural Spirit itſelf: Theſe muſt be ſuch Cauſes, as can ſteal upon, and ſubdue the *Mind:* that is, they muſt be "ſome Degeneracy "or Corruption of the Manners and Prin-"ciples of the People."

SECT. III.

Of the Spirit of Humanity.

SECT. III.

LET us now trace the Spirit of Liberty through ſuch of its Effects, as are not yet deſtroyed by oppoſite Principles and Manners.

THE firſt that occurs, is *Humanity*. By this, is not meant that Smoothneſs and refined Poliſh of external Manners, by which the preſent Age affects to be diſtinguiſhed: for

SECT. III.

for this, it is apprehended, will belong to another Claſs. By *Humanity*, therefore, is meant, "that Pity for Diſtreſs, that Mo-"deration in limiting Puniſhments by their "proper Ends and Meaſures, by which "this Nation hath always been diſtin-"guiſhed."

THE Lenity of our Laws in capital Caſes; our Compaſſion for convicted Criminals; even the general Humanity of our Highwaymen and Robbers, compared with thoſe of other Countries; theſe are concurrent Proofs that the Spirit of Humanity is natural to our Nation.

THE many noble Foundations for the Relief of the Miſerable and the Friendleſs; the large annual Supplies from voluntary Charities to theſe Foundations; the frequent and generous Aſſiſtance given to the Unfortunate, who cannot be admitted into theſe Founda-

SECT. III. Foundations; all theſe are ſuch indiſputable Proofs of a national Humanity, as it were the higheſt Injuſtice not to acknowledge and applaud.

SECT. IV.

Of the civil Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

SECT. IV. ANOTHER Virtue, and of the higheſt Conſequence, as it regards the immediate and private happineſs of Individuals, yet left among us, is the pure Adminiſtration of Juſtice, as it regards private property.

MANY Cauſes may be aſſigned, for the Continuance of this public bleſſing. The Spirit of Liberty and Humanity beget a Spirit of Equity, where no contrary Paſſion interferes: The Spirit of Commerce, now predominant, begets a kind of regulated Selfiſhneſs, which tends at once to the Increaſe and Preſervation of Property. The Difficulty of corrupting Juries under the Checks

Checks of their preſent Eſtabliſhment, in moſt Caſes prevents the very Attempt. And the long-continued Example of a great Perſon on the Seat of Equity, hath diffuſed an uncorrupt Spirit through the inferior Courts, and will ſhine to the lateſt Poſterity. SECT. IV.

SECT. V.

Of the Ruling Manners of the Times.

HAVING made this prefatory Eſtimate of thoſe remaining Manners which may demand Eſteem and Applauſe, let us now proceed to the ruling Manners of the Times; from which this Age and Nation derives its preſent and particular Complexion. SECT. V.

IT may be neceſſary to remark, that this deſigned Eſtimate extends not to the comparative Excellence of Manners and Principles,

SECT. V.

ciples, conſidered in every View, and in all their Variety of near and remote effects. It relates not to the immediate Happineſs or Miſery, which Individuals, Families, or Nations, may derive from the Force of prevailing Principles and Manners. Theſe Effects branch out into an Infinity of intricate Combinations, which cannot be comprehended in the preſent, but will make a material Part of ſome future Enquiry. This Eſtimate, therefore, confines itſelf to ſuch Conſequences only, as affect the *Duration* of the *public State:* So that the leading Queſtion will be, "How far "the preſent ruling Manners and Princi-"ples of this Nation may tend to its Con-"tinuance or Deſtruction."

In Conſequence of this Reſtriction, the Manners and Principles of the common People will ſcarce find a Place in the Account. For though the Sum total of a Nation's

SECT. V.

tions immediate Happineſs muſt ariſe, and be eſtimated, from the Manners and Principles of the Whole; yet the Manners and Principles of thoſe who *lead*, not of thoſe who *are led*; of thoſe who *govern*, not of thoſe who *are governed:* of thoſe, in ſhort, who *make* Laws or *execute* them, will ever determine the Strength or Weakneſs, and therefore the Continuance or Diſſolution of a State.

For the blind Force or Weight of an ungoverned Multitude can have no ſteady nor rational Effect, unleſs ſome *leading Mind* rouze it into Action, and *point* it to its proper *End:* without this, it is either a *brute* and random *Bolt*, or a *lifeleſs Ball* ſleeping in the *Cannon:* It depends on ſome ſuperior *Intelligence*, to give it both *Impulſe* and *Direction*.

Indeed, were the *People* remarkably corrupt, they might properly make a Part

SECT. V.

of this Enquiry: But in moſt of thoſe important Circumſtances to which this Eſtimate refers, they are in general much more irreproachable than their Superiors in Station: eſpecially, if we except the lower Ranks of thoſe who live in great Towns. It will therefore be unneceſſary to mark the Character of their Principles or Manners, unleſs where they appear evidently poiſoned by the Example or other Influence of the higher Ranks in Life.

Now the ſlighteſt Obſervation, if attended with Impartiality, may convince us, that the Character of the Manners of this Age and Nation, is by no means that of *abandoned Wickedneſs* and *Profligacy*. This Degree of Degeneracy, indeed, is often imputed to the Times: But, to what Times hath it *not* been imputed? Preſent Objects are naturally magnified to the human Eye, while remote ones, though larger

SECT. V.

ger in Dimenſions, vaniſh into nothing. Hence the Speculative and Virtuous, in every Age, confining their Views to their own Period, have been apt to aggravate its Manners into the higheſt Degree of Guilt; to *ſatyrize*, rather than *deſcribe*; to throw their reſpective Times into one dark Shade of *Horror*, rather than mark their peculiar *Colour* and *Complexion*.

HERE, a large Field of Compariſon and Debate would open, were it neceſſary or even expedient to enter upon it. We might caſt our Eye upon the Manners of ROME, CARTHAGE, and many other States, in their laſt declining Period; where we ſhould behold ſuch tragic Scenes of Cruelty, Impiety, and Oppreſſion, as would confound the moſt ſanguine Advocate for the Manners of Antiquity. But, in Truth, there can be no Occaſion for this Diſplay of *Profligacy*: For if the previous Eſtimate,

 already

SECT. V.

already given, be juſt; if the Spirit of *Liberty*, *Humanity*, and *Equity*, be in a *certain Degree* yet left among us, ſome of the moſt eſſential Foundations of abandoned Wickedneſs and Profligacy can have no Place: For theſe are *Servility*, *Cruelty*, and *Oppreſſion*. How far we may be from this laſt Period of Degeneracy, it were Preſumption to affirm: At preſent, it is certain, we are not arrived at it. Whenever this fatal Time approaches, it will come diſtinguiſhed by its proper and peculiar Characters; and whoever ſhall eſtimate ſuch Times, will find himſelf under the ſame Circumſtance with the great Hiſtorian, who, in the profligate Period of declining ROME, tells us he had nothing to relate, but "falſe Accuſations, bloody "Proſcriptions, treacherous Friendſhips, and "the Deſtruction of the Innocent *."

* "Sæva juſſa, continuas accuſationes, fallaces "amicitias, perniciem innocentium." *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv.

THIS,

SECT. V.

THIS, we may truly affirm, is far from the Character of the Manners of our Times: which, on a fair Examination, will probably appear to be that of a "*vain*, *luxu*-"*rious*, and *ſelfiſh* EFFEMINACY."

THIS will be evident from a ſimple Enumeration of acknowledged Facts: many of them indeed in Appearance, too trite to merit Notice, and too trifling for Rebuke; were they not in their Tendency, as fatal to the Stability of a Nation, as Maxims and Manners more apparently flagitious.

As the firſt Habits of Infancy and Youth commonly determine the Character of the Man, we might trace the Effeminacy of modern Manners, even to the unwholeſome Warmth of a Nurſery. As ſoon as

SECT. V.

the puny Infant is ſuffered to peep from this Fountain of *Weakneſs* and Diſeaſe, he is confirmed in the Habits already contracted, by a miſtaken Tenderneſs and Care. The "School Boy's Satchel, and ſhining "Morning-Face," once the Characteriſtic of the Age itſelf, are now only to be ſeen among the Sons of Villagers and Peaſants; while the Youth of Quality and Fortune is wrapt up from the wholeſome Keenneſs of the Air: And thus becomes incapable of enduring the natural Rigours of his own Climate.

'Tis odds, indeed, but the Prevalence of Faſhion places him in ſome public School, where the learned Languages are taught: And, to do Juſtice to the Times, the moſt conſiderable among theſe Seminaries were never more ably ſupplied than at preſent. But whatever be the Maſter's Ability, the Scholar's can in general reach no

SECT. V.

no farther than to *Words*; this firſt Stage of Education, therefore, can only be preparatory to a higher; without which, the other is defeated of its Purpoſe.

Here, then, lies an eſſential Defect in modern Education. The Pupil is not carried on from *Words* to *Things*. The *Univerſities*, where the Principles of *Knowledge* ſhould be imbibed, are growing daily thinner of young Men of Quality and Fortune. Inſtead of being initiated in *Books*, where the Wiſdom of Ages lies repoſed, our untutored Youth are carried into the *World*; where the ruling Objects that catch the Imagination, are the Sallies of Folly or of Vice.

Thus like *Plants* haſtily removed from their firſt Bed, and expoſed to the Inclemencies of an unwholſome Air, without the Intervention of a higher and more enlarged *Nurſery* where ſtronger Shoots might be

SECT. V.

be obtained, our rising Youth are checked in their *first Growths*; and either *die away* into Ignorance, or, at most, become *Dwarfs* in Knowledge.

BUT here, it must not be disguised; that an Abuse, through Time, hath insensibly crept upon the *Universities* themselves, and greatly impaired their Use and Credit. The public Fountains of Instruction are at length dried up; and the *Professorships*, founded as the Means of general Instruction, degenerated into gainful *Sine-cures*. Instead of these, where, by a proper Choice, every Department would naturally be filled with Ability in its respective Science; the *private* Lectures of *College-Tutors* have usurped and occupied their Place. Thus the great Lines of Knowledge are broken, and the Fragments retailed at all Adventures, by *every Member* of a College who chuseth to erect himself into a *Professor of every Science.*

SECT. V.

What can be the Consequence of this Practice, but a *partial* and *superficial Instruction?* 'Tis true, there are in this Sphere, who would do Honour to the highest Academical Station: But what an Accession of Lustre, Fame, and Knowledge, would our Universities receive, were these *few*, now confined to the narrow Sphere of *particular* Colleges, ordained and *appointed* to *illuminate* the *whole?*

NEITHER would it reflect any Dishonour on our Universities, if the few young Men of Fashion yet found there, were laid under the same Restraints of moral and literary Discipline with those of inferior Quality.

THE next Error that presents itself to Observation, is that of sending our ignorant Youth abroad. A Mind stored with Taste and Knowledge, will indeed naturally refine

SECT. V.

fine that Taſte, and increaſe that Knowledge, by ſeeing and *judging* of foreign Countries. For thus he acquires a large Addition of new Experiences and Examples, which may confirm and rectify his prior Obſervations. On the contrary, we may affirm, with Truth, that no Circumſtance in Education can more ſurely tend to ſtrengthen Effeminacy and Ignorance, than the preſent premature, and indigeſted *Travel*. For as the uninſtructed Youth muſt needs meet with a Variety of Example, good and bad, vile and praiſe-worthy, as his Manners are childiſh, and his Judgment crude, he will naturally imbibe what is moſt conſentaneous with his puerile Habits. Thus, while Wiſdom and Virtue can find no Place in him, every Foreign Folly, Effeminacy, or Vice, meeting with a correſpondent Soil, at once take Root and flouriſh.

BUT

SECT. V.

BUT ſuppoſe him *not* of that Rank or Fortune, which may demand or admit of the grand Tour: he is then brought up to *London*, and initiated in the Pleaſures of the Metropolis. Here then let us view him, inſpired with every faſhionable Ambition; while we take an impartial Eſtimate of thoſe Amuſements, or rather Employments, which attract the Attention of the Town, and form the Genius and Character of the preſent and riſing Generation.

THE firſt and capital Article of Town-Effeminacy is that of *Dreſs*: which, in all its Variety of modern Exceſs and Ridicule, is too low for ſerious Animadverſion. Yet in this, muſt every Man of every Rank and Age employ his Mornings, who pretends to keep *good Company*. The wiſeſt, the moſt virtuous,

SECT. V.

virtuous, the moſt polite, if defective in theſe exterior and unmanly delicacies, are avoided as *low People*, whom *Nobody knows*, and with whom one is *aſhamed to be ſeen*.

How would he have been derided in the Days of ELIZABETH, when a great Queen rode on Horſeback to *St. Paul's*, who ſhould have foretold, that in leſs than two Centuries no Man of Faſhion would croſs the Street to Dinner, without the effeminate Covering and Conveyance of an *eaſy Chair*?

YET thus accoutred the modern Man of Faſhion is *conveyed* to Company. Whereever he goes, he meets the ſame falſe Delicacy in all: Every Circumſtance of modern Uſe conſpires to ſooth him into the Exceſs of Effeminacy: Warm Carpets are ſpread under his Feet; warm Hangings

SECT. V.

ſurround him; Doors and Windows nicely jointed prevent the leaſt rude Encroachment of the external Air.

VANITY lends her Aid to this unmanly Delicacy: Splendid Furniture, a ſumptuous Sideboard, a long Train of Attendants, an elegant and coſtly Entertainment, for which Earth, Air, and Seas, are ranſacked, the moſt expenſive Wines of the Continent, the childleſs Vagaries of a whimſical Deſert, theſe are the ſupreme Pride of the Maſter, the Admiration or Envy of his Gueſts.

LUXURY is not idle in her Province, but ſhares with her Siſter Vanity, in the Labours of the Day. High Soups and Sauces, every Mode of foreign Cookery that can quicken Taſte, and ſpur the lagging Appetite, is aſſiduouſly employed. The End of Eating is not the allaying of natural Hunger,

SECT. V.

ger, but the Gratification of ſordid and debaſing Appetite. Hence the moſt inflaming Foods, not thoſe which *nouriſh*, but thoſe which *irritate*, are adopted; while the cool and temperate Diets that purify the Blood, are baniſhed to inferior Tables. To this every Man of Taſte now aſpires, as to the true *ſçavoir vivre*.

Do you expect in theſe faſhionable Meetings, to hear ſome Point of Morals, Taſte in Arts or Literature, diſcourſed or canvaſſed? Alas! theſe are long ſince expelled from every modiſh Aſſembly. To ſpeak any thing that carries Weight and Importance, is an Offence againſt Good-breeding. The ſupreme Elegance is, to trifle agreeably.

BUT as Inſipidity of Converſation is ſoon worn out, and as Intemperance in Wine is not

SECT. V.

not of the Character of refined Luxury; ſo, to prevent the Stagnation of Folly, ſome awakening Amuſement is naturally ſought for.

WE read in ancient Story, that in the moſt poliſhed Court of the moſt refined Period, a Reward was proclaimed to him, who ſhould invent a new Pleaſure. This may juſtly be ſtyled, the laſt wretched Effort of bungling and deſpairing Luxury.— The great Deſideratum is at length found: A Pleaſure which abſorbs the whole Man; a Pleaſure in which there is no Satiety; which cloys not by Uſe, but gains new Vigour from Enjoyment. The Vulgar only can need to be informed, that the Pleaſure here alluded to, is that of GAMING.

BUT

SECT. V.

BUT as the preſent increaſing Splendor of Dreſs, Equipage, Furniture, Entertainments, is enormouſly expenſive; what can ſo naturally create a Luſt of Gold, as the vain Ambition of Equality or Superiority in this Syſtem of effeminate Shew? Hence, *Rapacity* attends *Profuſion*; till the Spirit of Avarice glides ſecretly into the Soul; and impels the Man of Faſhion to that *Gaming*, as a *Trade*, which he had before adopted as a *Pleaſure*. But as we read that CÆSAR's Luſt was only the *Servant* of his *Ambition*, ſo this Luſt of Gold is no more than the *Handmaid* to vain *Effeminacy*.

THUS we ſee *Gaming* eſtabliſhed on the two great Pillars of *Self-intereſt* and *Pleaſure*: and on theſe Foundations ſeems to reſt the midnight Riot and Diſſipation of modern Aſſemblies.

BUT

SECT. V.

BUT tho' Gaming be now the capital Pleaſure, as well as Trade, of moſt Men of Faſhion; yet other incidental Amuſements intervene at vacant Times. Neither can it be affirmed with Truth, that all are immerſed in this faſhionable Folly. Nor let any one imagine, that he ſtands clear of the ruling Manners of the Times, becauſe not infected with the Rage of *Gaming*. Let us then proceed to examine the other reigning Amuſements of the Age; and ſee how far they are, or are not, ſubject to the Charge of *unmanly* Delicacy.

A KNOWLEDGE of Books, a Taſte in Arts, a Proficiency in Science, was formerly regarded as a proper Qualification in a Man of Faſhion. The Annals of our Country have tranſmitted to us the Name and Memory of Men, as eminent in Learning and Taſte, as in Rank and For-

SECT. V.

tune. It will not, I preſume, be regarded as any kind of Satire on the preſent Age, to ſay, that, among the higher Ranks, this literary Spirit is generally vaniſhed. *Reading* is now ſunk at beſt into a Morning's *Amuſement*; till the important Hour of Dreſs comes on. Books are no longer regarded as the Repoſitories of Taſte and Knowledge; but are rather laid hold of, as a gentle Relaxation from the tedious Round of Pleaſure.

BUT what kind of Reading muſt *that* be, which can attract or entertain the languid Morning-Spirit of modern Effeminacy? Any, indeed, that can but prevent the unſupportable Toil of *Thinking*; that may ſerve as a preparatory *Whet* of *Indolence*, to the approaching Pleaſures of the Day. Thus it comes to paſs, that weekly Eſſays, amatory Plays and Novels, political

SECT. V.

cal Pamphlets, and Books that revile Religion; together with a general *Haſh* of theſe, ſerved up in ſome *monthly Meſs* of *Dulneſs*, are the meagre *literary Diet* of Town and Country.

TRUE it is, that, amidſt this general Defect of Taſte and Learning, there is *a Writer*, whoſe Force of Genius, and Extent of Knowledge, might almoſt redeem the Character of the Times. But that Superiority, which attracts the Reverence of the *Few*, excites the Envy and Hatred of the *Many*: And while his Works are tranſlated and admired *Abroad*, and patronized at *Home*, by thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in Genius, Taſte, and Learning, himſelf is abuſed, and his Friends inſulted for his Sake, by thoſe who never read his Writings, or, if they did, could neither *taſte* nor *comprehend* them: While every little

SECT. V.

little aspiring or despairing Scribbler eyes him as CASSIUS did CÆSAR, and whispers to his Fellow,

> Why, Man, he doth bestride the narrow World
> Like a *Colossus*; and we petty Men
> Walk under his huge Legs; and peep about,
> To find ourselves dishonourable Graves.

No wonder then, if the Malice of the *Lilliputian* Tribe be bent against this dreaded GULLIVER; if they attack him with *poisoned Arrows*, whom they cannot subdue by *Strength*.

BUT in Justice to the present Age, another Observation must be added. As Excess of Delicacy hath destroyed our *Force of Taste*; it hath at least had one laudable Effect: For along with this, it hath carried off our *Grossness* of *Obscenity*. A strong Characteristic, this, of the Manners of the Times: The untractable Spirit

SECT. V.

Spirit of Lewdness is sunk into gentle Gallantry, and *Obscenity* itself is grown *effeminate*.

BUT what *Vice* hath lost in *Coarseness* of Expression, she hath gained in a more easy and general *Admittance*: In ancient Days, *bare* and *impudent Obscenity*, like a common Woman of the Town, was confined to *Brothels*: Whereas the *Double-Entendre*, like a modern fine Lady, is now admitted into the *best Company*; while her *transparent Covering* of Words, like a *thin* fashionable *Gawze* delicately thrown across, *discloses*, while it seems to *veil*, her *Nakedness* of Thought.

No wonder, if these leading Characters of false Delicacy influence our other Entertainments, and be attended with a low and unmanly Taste in *Music*. That divine

SECT. V.

Art, capable of inſpiring every thing that is great or excellent, of rouzing every nobler Paſſion of the Soul, is at length dwindled into a Woman's or an Eunuch's effeminate Trill. The chaſte and ſolemn Airs of CORELLI, of GEMINIANI, and their beſt Diſciples; the divine and lofty Flights of CALDARA and MARCELLO; the elegant Simplicity of BONONCINI; the manly, the pathetic, the aſtoniſhing Strains of HANDEL, are neglected and deſpiſed: While inſtead of theſe, our Concerts and Operas are diſgraced with the loweſt Inſipidity of Compoſition, and unmeaning *Sing-Song*. The Queſtion now concerns not the Expreſſion, the Grace, the Energy, or Dignity of the Muſick: We go not to admire the *Compoſition*, but the *Tricks* of the *Performer*; who is then ſureſt of our ignorant Applauſe, when he runs thro' the Compaſs of the *Throat*, or

SECT. V.

or traverſes the *Finger-board* with the *ſwifteſt Dexterity*.

WHILE *Muſic* is thus debaſed into Effeminacy, her Siſter-Art of *Painting* cannot hope a better Fate: For the ſame Dignity of Manners muſt *ſupport*; the ſame Indignity *depreſs* them. Connoiſſeurs there are, indeed, who have either *Taſte* or *Vanity*: Yet even by theſe, the Art is conſidered as a Matter of *Curioſity*, not of *Influence*; a Circumſtance which proves their Taſte to be ſpurious, undirected, or ſuperficial. But with regard to the public Eye; this is generally depraved. Neither the comic Pencil, nor the ſerious Pen of our ingenious Countryman*, have been able to keep alive the Taſte of Nature, or of Beauty. The fantaſtic and groteſque have baniſhed *both*. Every Houſe of Faſhion is

* Mr. *Hogarth's* Treatiſe on the Principles of Beauty.

SECT. V.

now crowded with Porcelain Trees and Birds, Porcelain Men and Beaſts, croſs-legged Mandarins and Bramins, perpendicular Lines and ſtiff right Angles: Every gaudy *Chineſe* Crudity, either in Colour, Form, Attidude, or Grouping, is adopted into faſhionable Uſe, and become the Standard of Taſte and Elegance.

LET us then ſearch the Theatre for the Remains of manly Taſte: And *here*, apparently at leaſt, it muſt be acknowledged we ſhall find it. A great Genius hath ariſen to dignify the Stage; who, when it was ſinking into the loweſt Inſipidity, reſtored it to the Fulneſs of its ancient Splendor, and, with a Variety of Powers beyond Example, eſtabliſhed *Nature*, *Shakeſpear*, and *Himſelf*.

BUT as the Attractions of the Theatre ariſe from a Complication of Cauſes, beyond

SECT. V.

yond thoſe of any other Entertainment; ſo while the judicious Critic admires his original Excellencies, it may well be queſtioned whether the Crowd be not drawn by certain ſecondary Circumſtances, rather than by a Diſcernment of his real Powers. Need we any other Proof of this, than the Conduct of his faſhionable Hearers? Who ſit with the ſame Face of Admiration at LEAR, an OPERA, or a PANTOMIME.

THESE ſeem to be the main and leading Articles of our unmanly Winter-Delicacies. And as to our Summer-Amuſements, they are much of the ſame *Make*, only *lighter*, and, if poſſible, more *trifling*. As ſoon as the Seaſon is grown ſo mild, as that the Man of Faſhion can ſtir abroad, he is ſeen lolling in his *Poſt-Chariot*, about the Purlieus of the Town. The manly Exerciſe of *Riding* is generally diſuſed, as too

SECT. V.

too coarſe and indelicate for the fine Gentleman. The Metropolis growing thin as the Spring advances, the ſame Rage of Pleaſure, Dreſs, Equipage, and Diſſipation, which in Winter had chained him to the Town, now drives him to the Country. For as a vain and empty Mind can never give Entertainment to itſelf; ſo, to avoid the Tædium of Solitude and Self-Converſe, *Parties* of Pleaſure are again formed; the ſame Effeminacies, under new Appearances, are acted over again, and become the *Buſineſs* of the Seaſon. There is hardly a Corner of the Kingdom, where a *Summer Scene* of public *Diſſipation* is not now eſtabliſhed: Here the Parties meet till the Winter ſets in, and the ſeparate Societies are once more met in *London*.

THUS we have attempted a ſimple Delineation of the ruling Manners of the Times: If

SECT. V.

If any thing like Ridicule appears to mix itſelf with this Review, it ariſeth not from the *Aggravation*, but the natural *Diſplay* of *Folly*.

IT may probably be aſked, Why the ruling Manners of our Women have not been particularly delineated? The Reaſon is, becauſe they are eſſentially the ſame with thoſe of the Men, and are therefore included in this Eſtimate. The Sexes have now little other apparent Diſtinction, beyond that of Perſon and Dreſs: Their peculiar and characteriſtic Manners are confounded and loſt: The one Sex having advanced into *Boldneſs*, as the other have ſunk into *Effeminacy*.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of Principles.

SECT. VI.

MOST Writers, who have attempted to prove the Efficacy of Principle, have ſuppoſed it to be the great and univerſal Fountain of Manners: They who have eſpouſed the oppoſite Syſtem, obſerving this Theory to be at Variance with Fact, have raſhly concluded that Principle is void of all real Influence.

THE Truth ſeems to lie between theſe two Opinions. Principles cannot be the Fountain of Manners, becauſe Manners precede Principles: That is, in our Progreſs from Infancy, Habits of *Acting* are *prior* to Habits of *Thinking*. Yet on the other hand, Principles, early and deeply ingrafted in the Mind, may grow up with Manners;

SECT. VI.

Manners; may be at Variance with Manners; may yield to Manners; or, gathering Strength by Cultivation, may check, controll, or deſtroy them.

THIS Diſtinction is proper for many Reaſons. One is evident: It ſhews the Propriety of treating of the Manners *firſt*, and *then* the Principles of the Times.

THE Principles here to be eſtimated are ſuch only as tend to counterwork the *ſelfiſh Paſſions*. Theſe are, the Principle of *Religion*, the Principle of *Honour*, and the Principle of *public Spirit*. The firſt of theſe has the *Deity* for its Object; the ſecond, the *Applauſe* of Men; the third, the *Approbation* of *our own Heart*. Let us examine the preſent Influence of theſe ſeveral Principles on the Manners already delineated.

DID

SECT. VI.

Did the Writer court the Applauſe of his polite Readers (if any ſuch peradventure may honour him with their Regard) he would preface this Part of his Subject with an Apology, for the Rudeneſs of hinting at *religious Principle*. To ſuppoſe a Man of Faſhion ſwayed in his Conduct by a Regard to *Futurity*, is an Affront to the Delicacy and Refinement of his *Taſte*. Hence the Day ſet apart by the Laws of his Country for religious Service, he derides and affronts as a *vulgar* and *obſolete* Inſtitution: Should you propoſe to him the Renewal of that *Family Devotion*, which concluded the guiltleſs Evening Entertainments of his Anceſtry; you would become an Object of his Pity, rather than Contempt. The ſublime Truths, the pure and ſimple Morals of the Goſpel, are deſpiſed and trod under Foot. Can we wonder, if that Profeſſion

SECT. VI.

feſſion which aſſerts theſe Truths, and preaches theſe Morals, be treated with a ſimilar Contempt? But Irreligion knows no Bounds, when once let looſe: and Chriſtianity herſelf hath been obliquely inſulted within thoſe *conſecrated* Walls, where *Decency* and *Policy*, in the Abſence of *Reaſon* and *Virtue*, would for ever have held her in *legal Reverence*.

But notwithſtanding the general Contempt of Religion among the faſhionable World, the uninformed Reader is not to imagine, that the preſent Age is deep in the *Speculations* of *Infidelity*. No ſuch Matter: for that would imply a certain *Attention* to theſe Subjects; a certain Degree of Self-Converſe and Thought; and this would claſh with the ruling Manners of the Times. Indeed there have not been wanting laborious Huſbandmen, who have painfully

SECT. VI.

fully sown their Tares; not in the Night-season, but in broad Day-light. These have at length shot up into a large and fruitful Crop of *irreligious implicit* FAITH: For implicit Faith is *Belief* or *Disbelief*, without Evidence; and *why* they disbelieve, I trow, few of the present Age can tell. They have other Attentions, than the meagre Sophisms of Irreligion; and are therefore well content with the *Conclusions*, without the *Premises*. This Distinction will lead us to the plain Reason, why, in an Age of Irreligion, so capital a Book as the Writings of Lord BOLINGBROKE, met with so cold a Reception in the World. Had they appeared under the inviting Shape of "ESSAYS *philosophical and moral*," they might have come within the Compass of a Breakfast-reading, or amused the Man of Fashion while under the Discipline of the *curling Tongs*: But five *huge Quarto* Volumes (like five

SECT. VI.

five *coarse* Dishes of Beef and Mutton) tho' fraught with the very *Marrow* of Infidelity, what *puny* modern *Appetite* could possibly *sit down to?*

IN Confirmation of these Truths, we may conclude this Part of our Subject with a not incurious Anecdote. A certain Historian of our own Times, bent upon *Popularity* and *Gain*, published a large Volume, and omitted no Opportunity that offered, to disgrace Religion: A large Impression was published, and a small Part sold. The Author being asked, why he had so larded his Work with Irreligion, his Answer implied, "He had done it, that his Book "might sell."—It was whispered him, that he had totally mistaken the Spirit of the Times: that no Allurements could engage the *fashionable* infidel World to travel through a large Quarto: And that as the few

SECT. VI.

few Readers of Quarto's that yet remain, lie moſtly among the ſerious Part of Mankind, he had offended his beſt Cuſtomers, and ruined the Sale of his Book. This Information had a notable Effect: for a ſecond Volume, as large and inſtructive as the firſt, hath appeared; not a Smack of Irreligion is to be found in it; and an Apology for the *firſt* concludes the whole.

THIS being the State of religious Principle, let us next examine how it fares with the *Principle* of *Honour*. By this is meant, "The Deſire of Fame, or the Ap-" plauſe of Men, directed to the End of " public Happineſs." Now this great Ambition, which in other Times or Nations hath wrought ſuch wonderful Effects, is no longer to be found among us. It is the Pride of *Equipage*, the Pride of *Title*, the Pride of *Fortune*, or the Pride of *Dreſs*, that have

SECT. VI.

have aſſumed the Empire over our Souls, and levelled *Ambition* with the *Dirt*. The honeſt Pride of *Virtue* is *no more*; or, where it happens to exiſt, is overwhelmed by inferior Vanities. A Man who ſhould go out of the common Road of Life, in Purſuit of Glory, and ſerve the Public at the Expence of his Eaſe, his Fortune, or his Pleaſure, would be ſtared or laughed at in every faſhionable Circle, as a ſilly Fellow, who meddled with Things that did not belong to him: as an Ideot, who preferred Shadows to Realities, and needleſs Toil to pleaſurable Enjoyment. The Laurel Wreath, once aſpired after as the higheſt Object of Ambition, would now be rated at the Market-price of its Materials, and derided as a *Three-penny Crown*. And if its modern Subſtitutes, the *Ribbon* or the *Coronet*, be eagerly ſought for, it is not that they are regarded as the *Diſtinctions*

SECT. VI.

of *public Virtue*, but as the *Enſigns* of *Vanity* and *Place*.

But what implies or proves the general Extinction of the Principle of Honour, is a peculiar Circumſtance, which at firſt View ſeems to challenge Praiſe. It hath been weakly attributed to the moderate and forgiving Spirit of theſe Times, that no Age ever ſo patiently ſuffered its ruling Follies to be laughed at. But this, in truth, is a ſuperficial and inadequate Repreſentation, as well as Solution, of the Fact. We not only ſuffer our ruling Vices and Follies to be ridiculed, but we cordially join in the Laugh. Was there ever a juſter Picture drawn, than of modern *Effeminacy* and *Nonchalance* in the Characters of Fribble and Lord Chalkstone? Did ever dramatic Characters raiſe louder Peals of Laughter and Applauſe, even among thoſe

SECT. VI.

who ſat for the Likeneſs? They hear with Pleaſure, they acknowledge the Truth of the Repreſentation, they laugh at the Picture of their own Follies; they go home, and *without a Bluſh repeat them*. The Truth is, therefore, that we can ſee and own our Vices and Follies, *without being touched with Shame*: a Circumſtance, which ancient Times juſtly regarded as the ſtrongeſt Indication of degenerate and incorrigible Manners.

It appears then, that the Principle of Honour is either loſt, or totally corrupted: That no generous Thirſt of Praiſe is left among us: That our Ambitions are trifling and unmanly as our Pleaſures: That Wealth, Titles, Dreſs, Equipage, Sagacity in Gaming or Wagers, ſplendid Furniture and a Table, are the ſole Fountains, from which we deſire to draw Reſpect to ourſelves, or Applauſe from others: We aſ-

SECT. VI.

pire to Folly, and are proud of Meanneſs: Thus, the Principle of *Honour* is perverted and dwindled into *unmanly Vanity*.

CAN it be imagined, that, amidſt this general Defect of *Religion* and *Honour*, the great and comprehenſive Principle of *public Spirit*, or *Love of our Country*, can gain a Place in our Breaſts? That mighty Principle, ſo often feigned, ſo ſeldom poſſeſſed; which requires the united Force of upright *Manners*, generous *Religion*, and unfeigned *Honour*, to ſupport it. What Strength of Thought or conſcious Merit can there be in effeminate Minds, ſufficient to elevate them to this Principle, whoſe Object is, "the Happineſs of a Kingdom?" To ſpeak therefore without Flattery, this Principle is perhaps leſs felt among us, than even thoſe of Religion and true Honour. So infatuated are we in our Contempt of this powerful Principle, that we deride the

SECT. VI.

the Inhabitants of a *Siſter-Kingdom*, for their *national Attachments* and *Regards*. So little are we accuſtomed to go, or even *think*, beyond the beaten Track of private Intereſt, in all Things that regard our *Country*; that he who merely does his *Duty* in any conſpicuous Station, is looked on as a Prodigy of public Virtue. But in other Times and Nations, when this Principle was in Force, Enterpriſes were formed, and Deeds done, which it would now be thought Phrenzy to attempt. Think what a Friend will do for a Friend, a Siſter for a Brother, a Lover for his Miſtreſs, a Parent for his Child; even *that*, in all its Fulneſs of Affection, in other Times and Nations, hath been the Aim and the Work of public Virtue, *doing* or *ſuffering* for it's *Country's Welfare*.

DOMESTIC Affections are not yet generally extinguiſhed: There are kind Fa-

SECT. VI.

thers, kind Mothers, affectionate Children, Sisters, Brothers: Humanity to Distress, we have already marked as another Character of the Times: But whether our very Effeminacy be not one of its Sources, might probably be a Question more *curious* in its Progress, than *agreeable* in its Solution.

HOWEVER that be, let us be modest in our Claims, and confess, that our Affections seldom reach farther than our Relations, our Friends, or Individuals in Distress. Happy (in the present) it is for us, that they reach so far. Happy were it for us, or our Posterity, that they were of more inlarged Extent. In the mean Time, let us with due Abasement of Heart acknowledge, that the *Love* of our *Country* is no longer felt; and that, except in a few Minds of uncommon Greatness, the Principle of *public Spirit* EXISTS NOT.

IT

SECT. VI.

IT is not affirmed or implied, in this general Review, that *every Individual* hath assumed the Garb and Character of false Delicacy, and uncontrolled Self Love: As in *manly* Ages, some will be *effeminate*; so, in *effeminate* Times, the *manly* Character will be found: As in Times of Principle, some will be void of Principle; so, in Times when Principle is derided, in some superior Minds Principle will be found. But from the general Combination of Manners and Principles, in every Period of Time, will always result one ruling and predominant Character: as from a confused Multitude of different Voices, results one general Murmur, and strikes the distant Ear; or from a Field covered with Flocks, Herds, or Armies, though various in themselves, results one general and permanent Colour, and strikes the distant Eye:

Nam

SECT. VI.

Nam sæpe in colli tondentes pabula læta
Lanigeræ reptant pecudes, quo quamque vocantes
Invitant herbæ gemmantes rore recenti;
Et satiati Agni ludunt, blandeque coniscant:
Omnia quæ nobis *longe confusa* videntur,
Et veluti in viridi *candor consistere* colli *.

IT is enough, then, if, from a proper *Point of View*, we have fixed the *ruling Colour* of the Manners and Principles, for on this will depend the *ruling Character* of the *Times*.

As it appears, therefore, from this Delineation, that SHOW and PLEASURE are the main Objects of Pursuit: As the general Habit of *refined Indulgence* is *strong*, and the Habit of *induring* is lost: As the general Spirit of *Religion*, *Honour*, and *public Love*, are weakened or vanished; as

* Lucretius, l. ii.

SECT. VI.

these Manners are therefore left to their own Workings, uncontrolled by *Principle*; we may with Truth and Candour conclude, that the ruling Character of the present Times is that of "a vain, *luxurious*, and *selfish* EFFEMINACY."

PART II.

PART II.

OF THE

PUBLIC EFFECTS

OF

THESE MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES.

PART II.

OF THE PUBLIC EFFECTS OF These MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

What conſtitutes the Strength of a Nation.

HITHERTO, we have done little more than *delineate* the ruling Manners and Principles of the Times: we muſt now aſſume a ſeverer Tone, and *reaſon* upon the *Facts* thus eſtabliſhed. SECT. I.

THERE

SECT. I.

THERE are three leading Circumstances, on which the *internal Strength* of every Nation most essentially depends: These are, the *Capacity*, *Valour*, and *Union*, of those who *lead* the People. The first may be called, "*the national Capacity*; the second "*the national Spirit of Defence*; the third "*the national Spirit of Union*."

THE next Step, therefore, will be, to consider all that Variety of Respects, in which the ruling Manners and Defect of Principle, already delineated, must naturally weaken or destroy these Sources of *internal* Power.

As this Enquiry will of Course lead to a particular View of those several Ranks, Departments, Employments, or Professions, into which such a Nation is divided; it

SECT. I.

it is presumed that no Instances alledged, or Facts alluded to, will be weakly construed into the Wantonness of licentious Satire. Every Profession is honourable, when directed to its proper End, the Publick Welfare: And the Intention of this Estimate is not to *defame*; but to *enquire* how far the several *Departments* or *Professions*, on which the internal Strength of this Nation depends, are *properly* or *improperly* directed.

SECT. II.

Of the national Capacity.

LET us then first enquire, how far the false Delicacy and Effeminacy of present Manners may have weakened or destroyed the *national Capacity*.

SECT. II.

It was a ſhrewd Obſervation of a good old Writer, "How can he get Wiſdom, "whoſe Talk is of Bullocks*?" But *Ruſticity* is not more an Enemy of Knowledge, than *Effeminacy:* With the ſame Propriety therefore it may now be aſked, "How can he get Wiſdom, whoſe Talk "is of *Dreſs* and *Wagers*, *Cards* and "*Borough-jobbing*, *Horſes*, *Women*, and "*Dice?*" The Man of Faſhion is indeed cut off from the very Means of ſolid Inſtruction. His late Hours occaſion a late Riſing; and thus the Morning, which ſhould be devoted to the Acquiſition of *Knowledge*, is devoted to *Sleep*, to *Dreſs*, and *Ignorance*.

How weak then muſt be the national Capacity of that People, whoſe leading

* Book of Wiſdom.

SECT. II.

Members in *public Employ* ſhould, in general, be formed on ſuch a Model? If inſtead of a general Application to Books, inſtead of inveſtigating the great Principles of *Legiſlation*, the Genius of their national Conſtitution, or its Relations and Dependencies on that of others, the great Examples and Truths of *Hiſtory*, the Maxims of generous and upright *Policy*, and the ſeverer Truths of *Philoſophy*, on which all theſe are founded;—if inſtead of theſe, they ſhould ſeldom riſe in *political* Study higher than the ſecuring of a *Borough*; inſtead of *Hiſtory*, be only read in *Novels*; inſtead of *Legiſlation*, in *Party Pamphlets*; inſtead of *Philoſophy*, in *Irreligion*; inſtead of manly and upright *Manners*, in trifling *Entertainments*, *Dreſs*, and *Gaming*:—If this ſhould ever be their ruling Character, what muſt be expected from ſuch eſta-

SECT. II.

bliſhed *Ignorance*, but *Errors* in the firſt Concoction?

In a Nation thus circumſtanced, it is odds but you would ſee even ſome of its moſt public and ſolemn Aſſemblies turned into Scenes of unmanly Riot; inſtead of the *Dignity* of *Freedom*, the *Tumults* of *Licentiouſneſs* would prevail. Forwardneſs of young Men without Experience, intemperate Ridicule, diſſolute Mirth, and loud Peals of Laughter, would be the ruling Character of ſuch an Aſſembly.

This Reflexion, ſome how or other, calls up the Memory of a Circumſtance or two, peculiar to the public Meetings of the *Athenians*. In the Court of *Areopagus*, ſo little was *Ridicule* regarded as a *Teſt of Truth*, that it was held an unpardonable Offence, for any Member to *laugh* while the

SECT. II.

the Aſſembly was ſitting.—Another wiſe and prudent Regulation was the Practice of the *Cryer* in the *Senate*; who, before Buſineſs began, called out aloud, "*Who will* "*ſpeak, that is turned of Fifty?*"

It is true, that in every Aſſembly of this Kind, the public Meaſures will generally be determined by the *Few*, whoſe Superiority is approved and acknowledged: By the *Few*, who have been ſo unfaſhionable as to deſpiſe the ruling Syſtem of Effeminacy: And before they had appeared on a *higher Stage*, had *laboured* and *ſhone* in a *College*. But what an Increaſe of *national Capacity* muſt ariſe, if thoſe *Maſter-Spirits* were aided, and their Plans of Government examined and improved, by Men of the like *Application* and *Ability?*

SECT. II.

BUT if, in any Nation, the Number of theſe ſuperior Minds be daily decreaſing, from the growing Manners of the Times; what can a Nation, ſo circumſtanced, have more to fear, than that, in another Age, a general Cloud of Ignorance may overſhadow it?

How much, or how little, in this Particular, *we* reſemble the declining State of the *Roman* Republic, let any one determine from the following Paſſage: Where the great Author, after celebrating the general *Ability* of thoſe who were *formerly* in public Station, concludes thus: "Nunc contra, plerique ad honores adipiſcendos, et ad rempublicam gerendam, *nudi* veniunt atque *inermes*, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla ſcientia ornati*."

* Cic. De oratore, l. iii.

LET

SECT. II.

LET us next conſider the natural Effects of theſe effeminate Manners, on *Fleets* and *Armies*. And here, 'tis ſuppoſed it will be readily acknowledged, that the Conduct and Fate of Fleets and Armies depend much on the Capacity of thoſe that lead them through every Rank of Office. Chiefly, indeed, of thoſe who are *higheſt* in Command; but in Part too, of thoſe who fill the *lower* Stations: The more, becauſe they in inferior Rank *aſpire*, and by Degrees *aſcend*, to the higheſt.

Now, I apprehend, it would be ill taken, to *ſuppoſe*, that the faſhionable and *prevailing Manners* abound not in the *Army* and *Navy*. The Gentlemen of theſe Profeſſions are even *diſtinguiſhed* by their Taſte in *Dreſs*, their Skill at *Play*, their Attendance on every *Amuſement*, pro-

SECT. II.

vided it be but *fashionable*. And sure, it must be by Miracle, if this trifling and effeminate Life conduct them to *Knowledge*, or produce *Capacity*. It were unjust to deny, that Men of Ability in this Order, are *yet* among us. But it would be Matter of great Pleasure and Satisfaction to the Public, to find *Ignorance*, in this *Profession*, either *uncommon* or *disgraceful*.

WOULD these Gentlemen please to look into History, they would find, that in *polished Times*, few have ever distinguished themselves in *War*, who were not eminent or considerable in *Letters*. They would find PISISTRATUS, PERICLES, ALCIBIADES, DION, AGESILAUS, EPAMINONDAS, among the *Greeks:* in the *Roman* Lists, both the SCIPIO's, CATO the elder and the younger, LUCULLUS, POMPEY, BRUTUS, CÆSAR, distinguished in *Letters* as in *War*.

'Tis

SECT. II.

'TIS true, indeed, that in barbarous Ages, there want not Instances of unlearned Leaders, who have done mighty Actions in Battle. But we must observe, that these were, at least, practised in their own Profession. It is farther to be observed, that in such Times, the Fate of War depends little on *Stratagem* or *Discipline*. But it is chiefly to be observed, that no general Rule can be drawn from a few Instances. A Man of great natural Talents takes mighty Strides in any Science or Profession: He is self-taught: While the common Run of Men, whom Nature hath destined to travel on to Improvement by the beaten Track of Industry, through a blind and ill-understood Imitation of his superior Conduct, must for ever fall the Victims of their *Vanity* and *Ignorance*.

HERE then we find another ruling Defect in the national Capacity of an effeminate

SECT. II.

nate People. How few can ariſe, amidſt this general *Diſſipation* of Manners, capable of conducting its Fleets and Armies? Or even ſuppoſe a Man of Application and Ability poſſeſſed of the chief Command; yet, in Caſe he falls in Battle, how ſmall muſt be the Chance that the next in Succeſſion, upon whom his Command naturally devolves, can be *equal* to the Importance of his *new Station?*

THERE is another *Profeſſion*, which, under this Article of the *national Capacity*, the vulgar Reader will naturally expect to find conſidered; I mean, that of the *Clergy*. But the general Defect of religious Principle among the higher Ranks, hath rendered this order of Men altogether uſeleſs, except among thoſe in *middle Life*, where they ſtill maintain a certain Degree of Eſtimation. The Contempt with which not *they*, but their *Profeſſion*

SECT. II.

Profeſſion is treated by the *Ignorant* and *Profligate*, is equally common indeed to *high* and *low* Life: A Circumſtance, which may be an Occaſion of *Pride* in the *one*, but ought rather to be Matter of *Humiliation* to the other. 'Tis true, a modern Writer felicitates the preſent Times, and makes it their Boaſt, that "the Clergy "have loſt their Influence*." By which he evidently means, that Religion hath loſt its Influence. Yet of this, at leaſt, one of the Order may decently remind his Countrymen; that when the *Engliſh Proteſtant Clergy*, and that Chriſtianity which they teach, were moſt *honoured* and reſpected at *Home*, *England* was then moſt honoured and reſpected *Abroad*.

AND although the preſent faſhionable Contempt that is thrown upon their

* See Mr. *Hume's* Eſſays.

Profeſ-

SECT. II.

Profeſſion, preclude the Clergy from the *Opportunity*, had they the *Will*, to practice that Chriſtian Duty of "overcoming Evil "with Good;" yet they need not bluſh to find, that they have *fallen* with the *Fame*, the *Manners*, and *Principles* of their Country: Nor can the worthy Part of them, ſure aſpire to *truer Glory*, than to have become the *Contempt of thoſe*, who are become the *Contempt of* EUROPE.

BUT while I defend and *honour* the *Profeſſion*, I mean not to flatter the *Profeſſors*. As far, therefore, as the Influence of their Conduct and Knowledge can be ſuppoſed to affect the *national Capacity*; ſo far, they ſeem falling into the ſame unmanly and effeminate Peculiarities, by which their Contemporaries are diſtinguiſhed: Such of them, I mean, as have Opportunity of converſing with what is called *the World*, and

SECT. II.

and are ſuppoſed to make a Part of it. In their Conduct they *curb not*, but *promote* and encourage the trifling Manners of the Times: It is grown a faſhionable Thing, among theſe Gentlemen, to deſpiſe the Duties of their Pariſh; to wander about, as the various Seaſons invite, to every Scene of falſe Gaiety; to *frequent* and *ſhine* in all *public* Places, their own *Pulpits* excepted.

OR if their Age and Situation ſets them above theſe puerile Amuſements, are we not to lament, that, inſtead of a manly and rational Regard to the Welfare of Mankind, the chief Employment of many a clerical Life is, to ſlumber in a *Stall*, haunt *Levees*, or follow the gainful Trade of *Election-jobbing*?

IF falſe Pleaſure and Self-Intereſt thus take Poſſeſſion of the Heart, how can we expect

SECT. II.

pect that a Regard for Religion and Chriſtianity ſhould find a *Place* there?

In Conſequence of theſe ruling Habits, muſt we not farther lament, that a general Neglect of *Letters* is now creeping even upon this Profeſſion, which ought to maintain and ſupport them? Inſtead of launching into the *Deeps* of Learning, the faſhionable *Divine* hardly ventures on the *Shallows*. The great Works of *Antiquity*, the Monuments of ancient Honour and Wiſdom, are ſeldom *opened* or *explored*: And even mere *modern* Books are now generally read at *ſecond Hand*, through the falſe Mediums of bald *Tranſlations* or ſorry *Abſtracts*.

This ſeems to be the real State of the *clerical* Profeſſion, ſo far as it hath Influence on the *national Capacity*.

The

SECT. II.

The Writer pretends not in any Caſe to impoſe his Opinions; but ſubmits them to the Conſideration of the Public. There is a wide Difference between the *Remonſtrances* of *Reaſon*, and the *Inſults* of *Malice* or *Contempt*.

SECT. III.

Of the national Spirit of Defence.

SECT. III.

Having ſeen how the Manners of the Times have levelled the national *Capacity*; let us next enquire how it fares with the national Spirit of *Defence*.

As this Part of our Subject naturally involves a larger Number of the Community than the laſt, it will be neceſſary, here, to take a larger Compaſs.

The national Spirit of *Defence* then, to ſpeak with Preciſion, will always be compounded

SECT. III.

pounded of the national bodily *Strength*, *Hardiness*, *Courage*, and *Principle*.

THE *common People* of this Nation seem possessed of the *three* first of these four Qualities, in a Degree sufficient to form an effectual and national Spirit of Defence. And though they who are selected for public *Service* be commonly most *profligate* in Manners, yet as their *Sphere* of Action is *confined*, they commonly have a proportioned *kind of Principle*, which works its Effect in Battle. In the Land Service, they are zealous for the *Honour* of their *Platoon*, their *Company*, their *Regiment*. At Sea, there is the same Emulation, whose *Gun*, whose *Ship*, whose *Squadron*, shall be best *served* and *fought*. It is well known there are no better fighting Men upon Earth. They seldom turn their Backs upon their Enemy, unless when their Officers

SECT. III.

Officers shew the Way; and even then, are easily rallied: and return to the Charge with the same Courage.

THUS our *Villages* and *Ports* are an effectual Fund of Supplies for the national Spirit of Defence, in its inferior Departments.

BUT if we rise, or rather *descend*, to an impartial View of those who are called the *better Sort*, we shall find such a general Defect in the Spirit of *Defence*, as would alarm any People who were not lost to all Sense of *Danger*.

OUR effeminate and unmanly Life, working along with our Island-Climate, hath notoriously produced an Increase of *low Spirits* and *nervous Disorders*, whose

SECT. III.

natural and unalterable Character is that of *Fear*.

AND even where this Diſtemper *is not*, the preſent falſe Delicacy of the faſhionable World effectually diſqualifies them from *enduring Toil*, or *facing Danger*.

ENTHUSIASTIC Religion leads to *Conqueſt*; rational Religion leads to rational *Defence*; but the modern Spirit of *Irreligion* leads to *raſcally* and abandoned *Cowardice*. It quencheth every generous Hope that can enlarge the Soul; and levels Mankind with the Beaſts that periſh.

CAN the Debility of modern Honour produce the manly Spirit of Defence? Alas, if ever it is put in Action by any thing beyond the *Vanity* of *Shew*; it is rouzed by an *Affront*, and dies in a *Duel*.

How

SECT. III.

How far this daſtard Spirit of Effeminacy has crept upon us, and deſtroyed the national Spirit of Defence, may appear from the general *Panic* the Nation was thrown into, at the late *Rebellion*. When thoſe of every Rank above a Conſtable, inſtead of arming themſelves and encouraging the *People*, generally fled before the *Rebels*; while a Mob of ragged Highlanders marched unmoleſted to the Heart of a populous Kingdom.

NAY, ſo general was this cowardly and effeminate Spirit, that it was not confined to the *Friends* of Liberty and *Britain*: In *England*, it infected even their *Enemies*: who, while the hardy *Scots* riſqued their Lives in a ſtrange Country, amidſt the Inclemencies of a ſevere Seaſon, ſat like Cowards by the Chimney Corner, tamely

SECT. III.

wiſhing the Succeſs of that Miſchief, which their effeminate Manners durſt not propagate.

It hath been urged indeed, as a Proof that the national Spirit of Defence is not yet extinguiſhed, that we raiſed ſuch large Sums during that Rebellion, and ſtill continue ſuch plentiful Supplies for the Support of our Fleets and Armies. This is weak Reaſoning: For will not *Cowardice*, at leaſt as ſoon as *Courage*, part with a Shilling or a Pound, to avoid *Danger?* The capital Queſtion therefore ſtill remains, not "Who ſhall *Pay*, but Who ſhall "*Fight?*"

Money, it is true, hath of late more than ever, been among *us* regarded as the main *Engine of War:* How truly, let our *Succeſſes* tell the World.—This Point will hereafter

SECT. III.

hereafter be treated more at large *. In the mean Time, it cannot be amiſs to obſerve, that *a little* of the active *Spirit* of *Courage* would do well, in order to *give Play* to this boaſted *Engine*, which otherwiſe may ſink into a *dead* and *unactive Maſs*.

For a natural Diſplay, therefore, of the Genius of the Times, commend me to the frank Declaration of an *honeſt* Gentleman, during the impending Terror of a *French* Invaſion. "For my Part, I am no *Sol-* "*dier*; and therefore think it no Diſgrace, "to own myſelf *a Coward*. *Here* is my "Purſe, at the Service of my Country: If "the *French* come, *I'll pay:* but —— "take me, *if I fight*."

* See Part the Third.

SECT. III.

How many modern fine Gentlemen, notwithſtanding the warlike Weapon at their Side, would make the ſame *Declaration*, had they the ſame *Sincerity*?

THERE is another Circumſtance in modern Manners, the Conſideration of which muſt not be omitted, becauſe at firſt View it bids fair for the Spirit of Defence among the *Great*; I mean, the Spirit of *deliberate Self-murder:* For this ran high in ancient GREECE and ROME, when the Spirit of *Defence* was *ſtrong*.

FOR the clearing of this Point, it muſt be premiſed and confeſſed, that ſomething *like* the Principle of *Honour*, that is, the *Dread* of *Infamy* and *Shame*, appears the leading Motive in both Inſtances.

BUT

SECT. III.

BUT a farther Diſtinction is to be made with Regard to the different Objects of this *Fear:* And for this, we muſt refer to a former Section*. There we have ſeen, that the ruling *Pride* of a *modern* Man of Faſhion, lies in the Parade of *Dreſs*, *Gaming*, *Entertainments*, and *Equipage*; whereas, on the contrary, the *Ambition* of an old *Roman*, was, to excel in *military Virtue*. Now this Diſtinction at once clears up the Queſtion we are upon, and confirms much of what hath been advanced on modern Principles and Manners. The *Roman* killed himſelf, becauſe he had been unfortunate in *War*; the *Engliſhman*, becauſe he hath been unfortunate at *Whiſt:* The *old* Hero, becauſe he had *diſgraced* his *Country*; the *modern*, becauſe he dares not ſhew his Head at *Arthur's:* That,

* Part I. Sect. 6.

SECT. III.

becauſe he was deprived of his *Glory*; this, of his *Ortalons* and *Champaigne*: The firſt was encouraged by a *miſtaken* Principle of Religion; the latter, by his being *void* of all Religion: The one, becauſe he had loſt a *Battle* or a *Province*; the other, becauſe the Bailiff hath ſeized his *Equipage*: The *Roman* was impelled to *Self-Deſtruction* by the Strength of *warlike Honour*; the *Briton*, by *deſpicable* and *effeminate Vanity*.

WHERE then ſhall we ſeek for the genuine Spirit of Defence? Where, in Truth, ſhould we moſt ſeek for it, but among thoſe who are our *Defenders* by *Profeſſion*?

BUT, "what Probability is there, that "the Spirit of Defence ſhould be ſtrong in "any Profeſſion, when the Members of "that Profeſſion are all choſen, without "prior

SECT. III.

"prior Culture or Preparation, from a "People among whom the Spirit of De-"fence is loſt?" The Truth implied in this Queſtion is ſo evident in itſelf, that it is hard to go about to prove it. Can a mere Change of *Dreſs* or *Title*, or the buckling on a military *Weapon*, infuſe Strength, Hardineſs, Courage, or Honour? Theſe are Qualities that muſt either be natural, which ſeldom happens; or they muſt be infuſed by an early and continued Diſcipline; or elſe, they come not at all. Schools and Seminaries of this Kind we have none; or none that are in any Degree attended to. The young Men deſigned for the military Profeſſion are bred up to the ſame effeminate Maxims and Manners, which their Fathers are proud of: Can we wonder, if theſe ſhoot into Action, and form parallel Characters? Well might we wonder, if they *did not*.

So

SECT. III.

So then, if it appear by our preſent Succeſs in War, that our naval and military Spirit of Defence is ſtrong, it muſt be evident at the ſame Time, that this great Spirit is infuſed by ſome Means altogether ſupernatural.

In the mean Time, what becomes of the four great natural Hinges, on which the true Spirit of Defence muſt hang, *Strength*, *Hardineſs*, *Courage*, and *Principle?*

Can the modern Syſtem of falſe Delicacy nerve the Warrior with Hardineſs and Strength? Theſe Qualities, I believe, are hardly *boaſted*, as making any Part of the modern warlike Character. It is a prudent, as well as a modeſt Part, indeed, not to throw theſe rough and antiquated Weights

SECT. III.

into the preſent military Scale: For every common Eye would detect the falſe Pretenſion.

But tho' brutal Strength and unpoliſhed Hardineſs be gone, are not our *Army* and *Navy* the great *Schools* of *Courage* and *Honour*; where theſe ſhining Qualities are of Courſe obtained?—Truly, it hath long been ſo affirmed: So long, that the *Affirmation* hath, till of late, paſſed for *Proof*. But the Nation is now beginning to grow *ſceptical* in this Point: and requires ſomething more than *Affirmation*, for the Support of an Article of ſuch *Importance*.

Let us firſt weigh the Probability of this, from the Nature of Things and Men. True *Courage* and a Principle of *Honour*, if they be not the rare and generous Growths of *Nature*, are the Effect of

SECT. III.

early and *continued Habits*. Tho' *grown* Gentlemen may learn to *Dance*; yet, their Movements will be none of the most *graceful*: And tho' grown Gentlemen repair to the School of Courage and Honour; yet, with all their pre-conceived Maxims of false Delicacy, their trifling Ambitions, and effeminate Manners about them, I ween, they are like to make a *sorry Progress*. Long before this, the Mind hath taken its *decisive Cast* of *Thought*, and can but rarely be brought back from it's first *Obliquities*.

But suppose the Possibility of this sudden Infusion: It is to be feared, the Consequence would fail us. It is true, that when *Armies* take the *Field*, and *Fleets* put to *Sea*; when Sieges are undertaken, and Battles fought, and Glory is the Prize of Toil and Danger; —— then indeed, Armies

SECT. III.

Armies and Navies become the Schools of Courage and warlike Honour: Here is a strong and continued Bias put upon the Mind of every Individual, of Force to conquer it's earliest Obliquities. But where nothing of this happens; where *Land Officers* in the Capital are occupied in *Dress*, *Cards*, and *Tea*; and in Country Towns divide their Time between Milleners *Shops* and *Taverns*; and *Sea Officers*, even in Time of War, instead of annoying their Enemies Fleets, are chiefly busied in the gainful Trade of catching *Prizes*;— in such a Case, the Army must of necessity be the *School*, not of *Honour*, but *Effeminacy*; the *Navy* the School of *Avarice*, to the *Ends of Effeminacy*.

How far these general Reasonings are confirmed by a Series of *recent Events*, the World is left to judge. It is not the Writer's

SECT. III. Writer's Intention to make personal Applications, but to trace acknowledged *Facts* to their *Principles* and *Consequences*.

SECT. IV.

Of the national Spirit of Union.

SECT. IV. THESE accumulated Proofs may convince us, that the national Spirit of *Defence* is not less weakened than the national *Capacity*, by the Manners and Principles of the Times. Let us next weigh their various Effects on the national Spirit of *Union*.

IT may be proper to preface this Part of the Estimate, by observing, that, whereas a national *Capacity* and Spirit of *Defence* are not necessarily affected by a national Form of *Government*; the national Spirit of *Union*,

Union, on the contrary, is naturally *strong* under *some* Forms, and naturally *weak* under *others*. SECT. IV.

IT is naturally *strong* in *absolute Monarchies*; because, in the Absence both of Manners and Principles, the *compelling* Power of the *Prince* directs and draws every thing to one Point; and therefore, in all common Situations, effectually supplies their Place.

BUT in *free Countries* it is naturally *weak*, unless supported by the generous Principles of Religion, Honour, or public Spirit: For as in most Cases, a full national Union will require, that the separate and partial Views of private Interest be in some Degree sacrificed to the general Welfare; so where Principle prevails not, the national Union

SECT. IV.

Union muſt ever be thwarted or deſtroyed by ſelfiſh Views and ſeparate Intereſts.

ANOTHER Circumſtance muſt be remarked, by which, in free Countries, the national Union will accidentally be often checked, but not deſtroyed: I mean, by the Freedom of *Opinion* itſelf, urged into Act by the very Strength of generous and prevailing *Principle*.

THIS Diſtinction leads us to obſerve what may perhaps be deemed an Overſight or Inaccuracy of the celebrated MONTESQUIEU. He hath often given it as his Opinion, that *Factions* are not only natural, but neceſſary, to *free* Governments: And this general Rule he gives without Reſtriction. Thus he ſpeaks of *Rome*. "On n'entend parler dans les "auteurs, que des diviſions qui perdirent "Rome:

SECT. IV.

"Rome: mais on ne voit pas que ces "Diviſions y étoient *neceſſaires*, qu'elles y "avoient toujours été & qu'elles y *devoi-* "*ent toujours etre* *."

How far this Propoſition is *true* or *falſe*, the Diſtinction made above will lead us to diſcover. When the Spirit of Union is checked, and Diviſions ariſe, from the Variety and *Freedom* of *Opinion* only; or from the conteſted Rights and Privileges of the different Ranks or Orders of a State, not from the detached and ſelfiſh Views of Individuals; a Republic is then in its *Strength*, and gathers Warmth and Fire from theſe Colliſions. Such was the State of ancient *Rome*, in the ſimpler and more diſintereſted Periods of that Republic.

BUT when Principle is weakened and Manners loſt, and Factions run high from

* Grandeur des Rom. l. ix.

SECT. IV.

ſelfiſh Ambition, Revenge, or Avarice, a Republic is then on the very Eve of it's Deſtruction: And ſuch was the State of Rome, in the Times of MARIUS and SYLLA, POMPEY and CÆSAR, ANTHONY and AUGUSTUS.

THEREFORE, before we can determine whether the *Factions* that divide a *free* Country be *ſalutary* or *dangerous*, it is neceſſary to know what is their *Foundation* and their *Object*. If they ariſe from *Freedom* of Opinion, and aim at the public Welfare, they are *ſalutary*: If their Source be *ſelfiſh* Intereſt, of what kind ſoever; they are then *dangerous* and *deſtructive*.

IT was neceſſary to make theſe Diſtinctions, before we could ſay with Preciſion, how far, in our own Country, a *national Spirit of Union*, is in Reality a *national* GOOD.

THE

SECT. IV.

THE Point therefore to be examined, is, "How far our national Spirit of Union is "weakened or deſtroyed by ſelfiſh Views "of Good, by ſeparate Intereſts, and De-"fect of Principle?"

Now, if the Delineation already given of our ruling Manners and Principles be true, the Conſequence muſt needs follow, that our national Spirit of Union muſt be ſhaken by them.

NEITHER ſhall we need to caſt about for evident Facts, that will confirm this Theory. Glaring Proofs will meet us at every Turn and not only make good this Concluſion, but throw new Light on the Delineation already made.

THE Reſtraints laid on the royal Prerogative at the Revolution, and the Acceſſi-

SECT. IV.

on of Liberty thus gained by the People, produced two Effects with Reſpect to Parliaments. One was that, inſtead of being *occaſionally*, they were thence-forward *annually* aſſembled: The other was, that whereas, on any trifling Offence given, they had been uſually *intimidated* or *diſſolved*, they now found themſelves poſſeſſed of new *Dignity* and *Power*; their Conſent being neceſſary for raiſing the *annual Supplies*.

NO Body of Men, except in the ſimpleſt and moſt virtuous Times, ever found themſelves poſſeſſed of Power, but many of them would attempt to turn it to their own private Advantage. Thus the Parliaments finding themſelves *of Weight*, and finding at the ſame Time that the Diſpoſal of all *lucrative Employments* was veſted in the *Crown*, ſoon bethought themſelves, that

SECT. IV.

that, in Exchange for *their* Concurrence in granting Supplies, and forwarding the *Meaſures* of *Government*, it was but equitable that the Crown ſhould *concur* in veſting *Them*, or their *Dependants*, with the *lucrative Employs* of State.

IF this was done, the Wheels of Government ran ſmooth and quiet: But if any large Body of Claimants was diſſatisfied, the political Uproar began; and public Meaſures were obſtructed or overturned.

WILLIAM the *third* found this to be the national Turn; and ſet himſelf, like a Politician, to oppoſe it: He therefore ſilenced all he could, by Places or Penſions: And hence the Origin of MAKING of PARLIAMENTS.

SECT. IV.

BUT the Art, as yet, was but in it's *infant* State. The ruling Principles, which had brought about the REVOLUTION, had not as yet loſt their Force: And the firſt Eſſays of Art are always rude: Time only, and Variety of Trial and Experiment, can form them into perfect Syſtems.

IN the mean Time, this new Principle of Self-Intereſt began to work deeper every Day in its Effects. As a Seat in Parliament was now found to be of conſiderable ſelfiſh Importance, the Contention for *Gain*, which had begun in *Town*, ſpread itſelf by Degrees into the *Country*. *Shires* and *Boroughs*, which in former Times had *paid* their Repreſentatives for their Attendance in Parliament, were now the great Objects of *Requeſt*, and *political Struggle*.

AND

SECT. IV.

AND as the *Repreſentatives* had already found their Influence, and made their Demands on the *Crown*; ſo now, the *Conſtituents* found *their* Influence, and made *their* Demands on the *Repreſentatives*.

THUS the great Chain of political Self-Intereſt was at length formed; and extended from the *loweſt Cobler* in a *Borough*, to the *King's firſt Miniſter*.

BUT a *Chain* of *Self-Intereſt* is indeed no better than a *Rope* of *Sand*: There is no *Cement* nor *Coheſion* between the Parts: There is rather a mutual *Antipathy* and *Repulſion*; the Character of *Self-Intereſt* being in a peculiar Senſe, that of "*teres atque rotundus*;" wrapt up wholly in *itſelf*; and unconnected with others, unleſs for its own Sake. Here then we ſee even this Chain

SECT. IV.

itſelf ready to fall in Pieces, and on any ſudden Thwart or Concuſſion, break into an Infinity of Factions.

Besides this, the lucrative Employs of our Country not being near ſo numerous as the Claimants are, in every Degree of political Power and Expectation; the Spirit of ſelfiſh Faction aroſe of Courſe in its Strength, from unſatisfied Demands, and diſappointed Avarice.

It hath much been debated, whether the Miniſters or the People have contributed more to the Eſtabliſhment of this Syſtem of Self-Intereſt and Faction. On Enquiry it would probably appear, that at different Periods the Pendulum hath ſwung at large on both ſides. It came down, in former Times, from the Miniſter to the Repreſentative, from the Repreſentative to the

SECT. IV.

the managing Alderman, from the Alderman to the Cobler. In later Times, the Impulſe ſeems to have been chiefly in the contrary Direction: From the Cobler to the managing Alderman; from him, to the Member; from the Member, to the *great Man* who ruled the Borough; and thence to the Miniſter. Thus, what was formerly, in the Miniſter, an Act of *ſuppoſed Prudence* has of late grown into an Act of *ſuppoſed Neceſſity*. The *Cobler* by this Time had found his *Strength*; ſo the Preſſure went *upwards*, till it came upon the *Miniſtry*.

To ſuppoſe that the Servants of the Crown never attempted Meaſures that were known to be bad, nor ever *made* Parliaments, in order to carry their Attempts into Action, would be ridiculous: But on the other hand it is equally true, what

SECT. IV.

what MACHIAVEL ſomewhere delivers as a Maxim, "That an ill-diſpoſed Citizen "can do no great Harm, but in an ill-"diſpoſed City." Bribery in the Miniſter ſuppoſes a corrupt People.

AND, to venture a plain, tho' perhaps an unpopular Truth on this Occaſion; it muſt be owned that a Miniſter is not therefore *certainly* corrupt in his *Intention*, becauſe he *makes* a Parliament by indirect and corrupt *Means*. This Conduct, however indefenſible, may ariſe from two oppoſite Cauſes. He may be *afraid* of the *Virtue* of a Nation, in it's *oppoſing bad* Meaſures: Or he may not dare to *rely* on the *Virtue* of a Nation, in *ſupporting* him in *good ones*.

THERE was a noted Miniſter in this Kingdom, who, during his long Reign, ſeems

SECT. IV.

ſeems to have put theſe two Maxims in Practice, as Occaſion offered. For if it was his Maxim, "that every Man had his "Price;" it was his Maxim too, "That he "was obliged to bribe the Members, not "to vote *againſt*, but *according* to their "*Conſcience*."

HOWEVER, this is not meant as a Vindication of his Meaſures. On the contrary they ſeem generally to have aimed no higher than to ſecure preſent Expedients, to oblige his Friends and Dependants, and provide for his own Safety. His Capacity, even when he meant well, ſeems to have been too narrow to comprehend any *great Plan* of Legiſlation; and perhaps his Character might be drawn in theſe few Words, "That while he ſeemed to *ſtrengthen* the "*Superſtructure*, he *weakened* the *Foundations* of our *Conſtitution*."

BUT

SECT. IV.

BUT however defective Miniſters may have been in making the public Welfare the *main Object* of their Views, we may be ſatisfied by this Eſtimate of Things from the *Revolution* to the preſent Times, that the Nation hath at leaſt marched "*Paſſibus æquis*." And tho' this Work is not intended either as a Defence or an Accuſation of Miniſters; yet, for the ſake of Truth, it muſt be ſaid, that the eternal Clamours of a ſelfiſh, and a factious People, againſt every Miniſtry that ariſes, puts one in Mind of thoſe *Carthaginian* Armies, which being at once cowardly and inſolent, ran away at Sight of an Enemy, and then *crucified* their *General*, becauſe he did not gain the *Victory*.

To return therefore to our Subject, (if, indeed, we have departed from it) evident it

SECT. IV.

it is, that the want of Principle hath at length firmly eſtabliſhed a Syſtem of political Self-Intereſt among us, which muſt at all times break out into Factions; and prevent the great Effects which a national Spirit of Union would produce. Former Times, we plainly ſee, have been fatally infected with the ſelfiſh Spirit. Preſent Times, *in this reſpect*, are *ſacred*; and therefore we ſpeak not of them. But if the ruling Manners and preſent want of Principle in this Kingdom be not checked in their Carriere; we muſt expect that future Times will be more ſelfiſh, and therefore more factious, than thoſe former ones, we have already deſcribed.

FOR Vanity, Luxury, and Effeminacy, (increaſed beyond all Belief within theſe twenty Years) as they are of a *ſelfiſh*, ſo are they of a craving and unſatisfied Nature:

SECT. IV.

ture: The preſent Rage of Pleaſure and unmanly Diſſipation hath created a Train of new Neceſſities, which in their Demands outſtrip every poſſible Supply.

AND if the great Principles of Religion, Honour, and public Spirit, are weak or loſt among us, what effectual Check can there be upon the Great, to controul their unbounded and unwarranted Purſuit of lucrative Employments, for the Gratification of theſe unmanly Paſſions?

AND whenever this happens, what can we expect as the Conſequence, but a general Anarchy and Confuſion? what, but that diſappointed *Avarice* will kindle *Faction?* that national Union muſt be thwarted by ſelfiſh Regards? That no public Meaſure, however ſalutary, can be carried into Act,

SECT. IV.

Act, if it claſh with any foreſeen private Intereſt?

NAY, is it not the Duty of every Well-wiſher to his Country, to conſider, not only how ſoon this *may be*, but how far *it is* our preſent Situation?

WHAT other Effect can naturally ariſe from the Vanity, Diſſipation, and Rapacity of a diſſolute People? For in a Nation ſo circumſtanced, 'tis natural to imagine, that, next to Gaming and Riot, the chief Attention of the great World muſt be turned on the Buſineſs of *Election-jobbing*, of ſecuring *Counties*, controuling, bribing, or buying of *Burroughs*, in a word, on the Poſſeſſion of a great Parliamentary Intereſt?

BUT

SECT. IV.

BUT what an Aggravation of this Evil would ariſe, ſhould ever thoſe of the higheſt Rank, tho' prohibited by Act of Parliament, inſult the Laws by interfering in Elections, by ſolliciting Votes, or procuring others to ſollicit them; by influencing Elections in an avowed Defiance of their Country, and even *ſelling* vacant *Seats* in Parliament to the *beſt Bidder?*

WOULD not this be a faithful Copy of degenerate and declining *Rome?* "Ea demum Romæ libertas eſt, non Senatum, "non Magiſtratus, non Leges, non Mo-"res Majorum, non Inſtituta Patrum ve-"reri."—

AND what, can we ſuppoſe would be the real Drift of this illegitimate Waſte of Time, Honour, Wealth, and Labour? might not the

SECT. IV.

the very Reaſon publickly aſſigned for it be this, "That they may ſtrengthen them-"ſelves and Families, and thus gain a "*laſting Intereſt* (as they call it) for their "Dependants, Sons, and Poſterity?" Now what would this imply but a ſuppoſed Right or Privilege of demanding lucrative Employs, as the chief Object of their View? And whence can this ſuppoſed Privilege of Demand derive it's Force, but from a foreſeen Power, and determined Purpoſe, of kindling Faction, and obſtructing all public Meaſures, in caſe of Diſappointment and Diſguſt?

WE ſee then, how the Political Syſtem of Self-Intereſt is at length compleated; and a Foundation laid in our Principles and Manners for *endleſs Diſſenſions* in the State.

SECT. IV.

THUS *Faction* is eſtabliſhed, not on *Ambition*, but on *Avarice*: on *Avarice* and *Rapacity*, for the Ends of *Diſſipation*.

NEED we point out particular Facts, in Confirmation of theſe Truths? Is not the Nation even now labouring under this fatal Malady? Is not the deadly *Bow-ſtring* already ſtretched, and the *Public* gaſping and expiring under the Tugs of oppoſed and contending Parties?

"Diſtractam, laceratamque Rempub-
"licam—magis *quorum in manu ſit*, quam
"*ut incolumis ſit* quæri *."

* Liv.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the Conſequences of national Diſunion.

SECT. V.

IT is not enough to have ſhewn in what Manner our Defect of Principle and ruling Manners have compleated the Ruin of the national Spirit of Union: If we would obtain a full View of our Subject, it is a neceſſary, tho' diſagreeable Taſk, to trace this *Diſunion* thro' it's *particular Effects*.

Now theſe will always vary along with the Character of the People thus divided. If the Nation be *warlike*, and the Spirit of Defence be *ſtrong*, the Danger will generally ariſe from *within*. If the Nation be *effeminate*, and the Spirit of Defence be *weak*, the Danger will generally ariſe from *without*.

SECT. V.

THE firſt of theſe was the Situation and Fate of the ancient military Republics. That of *Corinth* was deſtroyed by the Faction of the *Prætor* DIÆUS and his Party. The *Athenian* Commonwealth was again and again ſhaken and overturned by the Weight of oppoſing Parties: inſomuch that the Hiſtory of this *Republic* may juſtly be ſtyled the Hiſtory of *Faction*. When degenerate Manners had deſtroyed the Purity of the *Spartan* Conſtitution and Laws of LYCURGUS, AGIS attempted to reſtore them, but was murdered in the generous Attempt by a Faction headed by the *Ephori*. The *Roman* Commonwealth, in its later Periods, was thrown into perpetual Convulſions by ambitious and warlike Faction, and died at laſt of the Malady. And, to paſs by many other Proofs that might be alledged,

SECT. V.

alledged, what Rivers of Blood have been ſpilt in *our own Country*, among contending Factions, while the Spirit of Arms and Honour remained among us?

BUT to give every Period of Manners it's due Character, it is confeſſed that in the preſent *effeminate* tho' *factious* Times, we have no Danger of this kind to fear. For as our Manners are degenerated into thoſe of Women, ſo are our Weapons of Offence.

BUT as this *Home-Security* ariſes only from the common *Impotence*; it is probable, that other Nations may ſoon know of what Materials we are made; and therefore our Danger is likely to ariſe from *without*.

LET us then examine what Effects this national Spirit of *Diſunion* muſt have upon us,

SECT. V.

us, as we stand affected by any *foreign Enemy*.

It weakens the *Consistency* of all public Measures: So that no great national Scheme of Thought can be carried into Action, if it's Accomplishment demands any long Continuity of Time.

It weakens not only the *Consistency*, but the *Vigour* and Expedition of all public Measures: So that while a divided People are contending about the Means of Security or Defence, a united Enemy may surprize and invade them.

These are the apparent Consequences of national Disunion: There is another not so obvious, and therefore more likely to be fatal.

We

SECT. V.

We have seen that in a Nation circumstanced like *ours*, the great Contention among those of Quality and Fortune will probably lie in the Affair of *Election Interests*: That next to effeminate Pleasure and Gaming, this (for the same End as Gaming) will of Course be the capital Pursuit: That this Interest will naturally be regarded as a kind of *Family-Fund*, for the Provision of the younger Branches: and that it's Force must arise from this Principle, that in Case the Head of the Family is not *gratified* in his lucrative Demands, he and his Dependants will raise a *Combustion* in the State.

Viewing the Affair, then, in this Light; we shall see, that, besides the general ill Influence of Faction, this Principle of Disunion must farther tend to weaken or de-

SECT. V.

ſtroy both the national *Capacity* and the national Spirit of *Defence*.

FOR, in a Nation ſo circumſtanced, thro' the Strength of this Principle, many high and important Poſts, in every public and important Profeſſion, muſt of Courſe be filled by Men, who, inſtead of *Ability* and *Virtue*, plead this *Intereſt* for their *beſt Title*.

THUS in a Time when Science, Capacity, Courage, Honour, Religion, Public Spirit, are rare; the remaining *Few* who poſſeſs theſe Virtues, will often be ſhut out from theſe Stations which they would fill with Honour; while every public and important Employ will abound with Men, whoſe *Manners* and *Principles* are of the *neweſt Faſhion*.

'TIS acknowledged there are Exceptions to the Truth of this Remark. Nay, were it

SECT. V.

it neceſſary, the Writer could gratify his Vanity, by ranking ſome of theſe Names in the Number of his Friends. But notwithſtanding theſe Exceptions, the general Obſervation will maintain it's Truth.

How indeed can it be otherwiſe, while the Conſciouſneſs of this Principle has any Place in the Mind? Is not the Parliament-Intereſt of every powerful Family continually rung in the Ears of it's Branches and Dependants? And does not this inevitably tend to relax and weaken the Application of the young Men of Quality and Fortune, and render every Man, who has Reliance on this Principle, leſs qualified for thoſe Stations *which* BY THIS VERY PRINCIPLE he *obtains?* For why ſhould a Youth of Family or Faſhion (thus he argues with himſelf) "Why ſhould *He* ſubmit to the "Drudgery of Schools, Colleges, Aca-

"demies,

SECT. V.

" demies, Voyages, Campaigns, Fatigues, " and Dangers, when he can riſe to the " higheſt Stations by the ſmooth and eaſy " Path of Parliamentary Intereſt?"

'Tis granted, indeed, that the Sons and Relations of Men of Quality and Fortune, have not only an equal, but even a prior Claim to all high Employments in the State, provided only, they are *qualified to fill them honourably*.

We may truly add to this, that in that Period of a State, when Capacity, Courage, and Honour, form its ruling Character; thoſe of high Quality and Degree, are generally of all others the moſt capable, moſt couragious, moſt honourable.

On the contrary, where Effeminacy and ſelfiſh Vanity form the ruling Character of a People;

SECT. V.

a People; there we may be no leſs certain, that thoſe of high Rank and Quality will in general be of all others moſt vain, moſt ſelfiſh, moſt incapable, moſt effeminate.

The Reaſon is permanent, and the ſame in both Caſes: " Becauſe in every Period " of every State, the Influence of the " *leading People*, ſoon or late, will form it's " *leading Character*."

How far theſe Truths are verified by preſent Facts, it were *needleſs*, perhaps *dangerous*, particularly to ſay. Let it therefore be left to the candid Conſideration of every honeſt and impartial Man, how far ſeveral recent Events, by which both the Honour and outward Strength of this Nation have been impaired, have ariſen from the prevailing Principle here delineated.

We

SECT. V.

WE may conclude this Subject with a general Remark, which, together with the Reſult of theſe Obſervations, may form a general Maxim: That "when Factions ariſe from the Exceſs of military Spirit and the Ambition of Dominion, they increaſe the national Capacity and Spirit of Defence: On the contrary, where Factions ariſe from ſelfiſh Effeminacy, the national Capacity and Spirit of Defence will certainly be weakened or deſtroyed *.

* We muſt not omit to obſerve, that there are two Profeſſions which, even in the moſt ſelfiſh and effeminate Times, will generally maintain their proper Vigour: Theſe are the Profeſſions of *Law* and *Phyſic*. For as their Object is the Security of the *Property* and *Health* of Individuals, the moſt ſelfiſh and effeminate of Mankind will always be more attentive to the Preſervation of *theſe*, in proportion as they are *leſs attentive* to the public Welfare, and loſt to all generous Affections and Regards. Thus, even in the

SUCH

SECT. V.

SUCH are the Effects of this prevailing Principle of Self-Intereſt and Diſunion, in *high Life*. But if we take into the Account all that deſpicable Train of political Managers, Agents, and Borough-Jobbers, which hang like Leeches upon the Great, nor ever quit their Hold till they are full gorged; we ſhall then ſee this reigning Evil in its laſt Perfection. For here, to Incapacity and Demerit, is generally added *Inſolence*. Every low Fellow of this Kind looks upon the Man of Genius, Capacity, and Virtue, as his natural Enemy. He regards him with an evil Eye; and hence undermines or defames him: as one who thwarts his Views, queſtions his Title,

moſt ſelfiſh and effeminate Times, the ableſt *Lawyers* and *Phyſicians* will generally be at the Head of their Profeſſion.

and

SECT. V.

and indangers his Expectations. He muſt have had little Experience in the World, who has not, among *every Order*, met with flagrant Characters of this Kind, and Inſtances of this Truth.

THUS the public Body is *again* weakened, or rather *mutilated* in all its Limbs. And that national Spirit of *Diſunion* which our Principles and Manners have produced, comes not only attended with its proper and *immediate Effects*, but hath completed the Ruin of the national *Capacity*, and the national Spirit of *Defence*.

SECT. VI.

An Objection, drawn from the Manners of the French *Nation, conſidened.*

WE might here cloſe our Eſtimate of the public Effects of the ruling Manners and

SECT. VI.

and Principles of the Times; were not the Theory here eſtabliſhed on a Number of concurrent Facts, apparently liable to an Objection.

THIS ariſeth from the ruling Manners of the *French* Nation: Which being as *vain* and *effeminate* as our own, and the very Archetype from which our own are drawn, ſhould of Courſe involve that Nation in the ſame Conſequences, the ſame Defect of national *Capacity*, *Defence*, and *Union*: But as theſe Principles of national and internal Strength are, on all hands, acknowledged to maintain their proper Vigour in *France*, where the ruling Manners are effeminate; therefore, ſay the Patronizers of our modern Manners, *theſe* cannot be the Cauſe of our national Miſcarriages and Defects.

'TIS

SECT. VI.

'Tis granted, then, that their Manners are of the ſame Kind: But on Examination it will appear, that whereas *ours* (as we have ſeen) are ſuffered to go on to all their proper and natural Effects; *theirs*, on the contrary, are checked and counteracted in their Effects, by a Variety of Cauſes and Principles wholly diſſimilar.

Their effeminate *Manners* affect not their national *Capacity*, becauſe their Youth are aſſiduouſly trained up for all public Offices, civil, naval, military, in Schools provided at the national Expence: Here the Candidates for public Employ go thro' a ſevere and laborious Courſe of Diſcipline, and only expect to *riſe* in *Station*, as they *riſe* in *Knowledge* and *Ability*.

Their

SECT. VI.

Their effeminate Manners affect not their national Spirit of *Defence*, becauſe they are controuled by the Principle of military *Honour*. This, for ſome Ages hath been early inſtilled into every riſing Generation; and is at length become ſo ſtrong and univerſal, as to form the *national Character*. It ſpreads thro' every Rank; inſpires even the meaneſt in the Kingdom; and pervades and actuates the whole Machine of Government, with a Force little inferior to that of public *Virtue*.

It were no incurious Subject to inveſtigate this peculiar Principle to it's firſt Cauſes: But *that* lies beyond the Intention of the preſent Deſign. It may be called a *peculiar* Principle, in *France*, becauſe it is *unconnected*, nay even at *Variance* with it's Manners; and in no other Country did this

SECT. VI. Principle ever subsist in it's Strength, when *other* Principles were *weakened*, and *Manners lost*.

IT may seem, perhaps, at first View, to have arisen from the civil Wars that rent the Kingdom in the Time of HENRY the *Great*, to have been transfused from thence into the gallant Reign of LOUIS, and thence heightened and delivered down to present Times.

BUT tho' it received great Heightenings in these two Reigns, yet it produced signal and peculiar Effects, before the first of these Periods. In Proof of this, we need only alledge the famous Route called the *Battle of Spurs*, when HENRY *the Eighth* of *England* invaded *France*. On this Occasion the Body of the *French* Army giving Way thro' some sudden Panic, the Officers kept their Ground, and rather chose

chose to be slain or taken Prisoners, than give Countenance to such an ignominious Flight. SECT. VI.

THIS Principle, so remarkable at this Day among the FRENCH, *we* stigmatize with the Name of *false Honour*. Such as it is, it were to be wished we had more of it. It aims not, indeed, at *generous* Ends, beyond a *certain Sphere*: But it is plausible, polite, and splendid, in the Pursuit even of it's ungenerous Ends. In short, the Honour, like the Religion of *France*, is not *void* of Benevolence, but *confines* it's Benevolence within a *certain Pale*. 'Tis *false* Honour, as it regards *other* Nations; as it regards *their own Country*, it is *true*.

As this Principle in *France*, secures the national Spirit of Defence; so the *Power*

SECT. VI.

of their Monarch, aided by this Principle, ſecures their national Spirit of *Union*. In conſequence of this, the World has accidentally ſeen their vaſt Plan of Power (formed by the great *Colbert* almoſt a Century ago) carried on, tho' with frequent Interruptions, and in a great Degree now accompliſhed, thro' a Variety of Reigns, Wars and Adminiſtrations. The *Monarch's* Power gives *Unity* and *Steddineſs*, the Principle of *Honour* gives *Vigour*, to every *Moment* of the State.

THUS, in Contradiction to all known Example, *France* hath become powerful, while ſhe ſeemed to lead the Way in Effeminacy: and while ſhe hath allured her neighbour Nations, by her own Example, to drink largely of her *circæan* and *poiſoned Cup* of *Manners*, hath ſecured her own *Health* by the *ſecret Antidote* of *Principle*.

FORCED

SECT. VI.

FORCED by this, the Character of the *French* Nation, tho' inconſiſtent, is reſpectable: They have found, or rather invented, the Art of uniting all Extremes: They have Virtues and Vices, Strengths and Weakneſſes, ſeemingly incompatible. They are effeminate, yet brave: inſincere, yet honourable: hoſpitable, not benevolent: vain, yet ſubtile: ſplendid, not generous: warlike, yet polite: plauſible, not virtuous: mercantile, yet not mean: In Trifles ſerious, gay in Enterprize: Women at the Toilet, Heroes in the Field: profligate in Heart; in Conduct, decent: Divided in Opinion, in Action united: In Manners weak, but ſtrong in Principle: *Contemptible* in *private Life*; in *public*, *Formidable*.

SECT. VII.

Of the moſt probable Tendency of theſe Effects.

SECT. VII.

NOTWITHSTANDING this apparent Objection, therefore, the Principles here advanced maintain their Force. And thus we ſee, how our *effeminate Manners* and *Defect* of *Principle* have weakened the national Capacity, and Spirit of Defence; and by giving a new Turn to our national *Diſunion*, have ſtill farther aggravated theſe ruling Evils in the State.

WHAT then is the moſt probable Conſequence of this *national Debility?*

'TIS from an *outward Enemy*, as hath been obſerved, that Danger is moſt to be apprehended.

THE

SECT. VII.

THE FRENCH, in Land Armies, are far our Superiors: They are making large and dreadful Strides towards us, in *naval Power*. They have more *than diſputed* with us the Empire of the *Mediterranean*. They are driving us from our Forts and Colonies in *America*.

THESE are the ſteddy Effects of *their* Principles of Union; of *our* Deficiency in *both*.

THESE Cauſes reach to, and operate, even in the *new* World. *Their Governors* of Colonies are actuated by *Honour* and their *Monarch's Power: Ours*, too commonly, by *Self-Love* and uncontrouled *Rapine*. *Their* Zeal and Policy direct them to make *Converts* and *Friends* of the *Indian Nations: Our* Irreligion prevents

SECT. VII.

the *one*; our diſhoneſt Treatment, the *other*. For by the beſt Accounts, our Colonies have in general copied, and even outgone us, in every *faſhionable Degeneracy*.

SHOULD the *French*, then, poſſeſs themſelves of *North America*, what Eye can be ſo weak, as not to ſee the Conſequence? Muſt not a naval Power come upon us, *equal*, if not ſuperior to our own?

THUS by a gradual and unperceived Decline, we ſeem gliding down to Ruin. We laugh, we ſing, we feaſt, we play: We *adopt* every *Vanity*, and catch at every *Lure*, thrown out to us by the *Nation* that is *planning* our *Deſtruction*; and while Fate is hanging over us, are *ſightleſs* and thence *ſecure*. Were we but as *innocent* as *Blind*, we ſhould, in our *Fondneſs*

SECT. VII.

neſs for *French* Manners, completely reſemble the *Lamb* deſcribed by the *Poet*:

The Lamb thy Riot dooms to bleed to Day,
Had he thy Reaſon, wou'd he ſkip and play?
Pleas'd to the laſt he crops the flow'ry Food;
And *licks* the *Hand* that's *rais'd* to *ſhed his Blood.*

PART III.

PART III.

OF THE

SOURCES

OF THESE

MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES.

PART III.

OF THE SOURCES OF Thefe MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

Of a general Miftake on this Subject.

THE public Effects of our Manners and Principles here enumerated, begin now to appear too manifeft in our public Miſcarriages, to be any longer derided. The Nation ſtands aghaſt at SECT. I.

SECT. I.

at it's own Misfortunes: But, like a Man ſtarting ſuddenly from Sleep by the Noiſe of ſome approaching Ruin, knows neither whence it comes, nor how to avoid it.

In Proof of this, we need only look into the late Inſtructions from Conſtituents to Repreſentatives. Theſe, we ſee, ſeldom look farther than the immediate and incidental Occaſion of each particular Miſconduct: While the grand general Principles in which theſe Miſconducts have been chiefly founded, are neither ſeen, nor ſuſpected: Nay, an impartial Enquiry will probably convince us, that, while they ſtrike at the Shoots and Branches, they feed the Root from whence theſe Miſconducts have been originally derived.

For it ſeems to be the ruling Maxim of this Age and Nation, that if our Trade and Wealth

SECT. I.

Wealth are but increaſed, we are powerful, happy, and ſecure: And in eſtimating the real Strength of the Kingdom, the ſole Queſtion for many Years hath been, "What Commerce and Riches the Nation "is poſſeſſed of?" A Queſtion which an ancient Lawgiver would have laughed at.

There never was a more fatal Error more greedily embraced by any People.

Sect. II.

Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on Manners.

SECT. II.

By Wealth is underſtood, every kind of uſeful Poſſeſſion; or Money, which is it's Sign, and may be converted into it.

By Commerce is underſtood the Exchange of Wealth, for mutual Benefit.

The

SECT. II.

THE Effects of Commerce on Manners have by moſt Writers, I think, been conſidered as *uniform*. Even the ſage and amiable MONTESQUIEU ſays only, in general Terms, " That Commerce poliſhes " Manners, but corrupts Manners *." Whereas, from a candid View of it's Nature and Effects, we ſhall probably find, that in it's firſt and middle Stages it is beneficent; in it's laſt, dangerous and fatal.

IF we view Commerce in its firſt Stages, we ſhall ſee, that it ſupplies mutual Neceſſities, prevents mutual Wants, extends mutual Knowledge, eradicates mutual Prejudice, and ſpreads mutual Humanity.

IF we view it in its middle and more advanced Period, we ſhall ſee, it provides

* L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xx. c. 1.

Conve-

SECT II.

Conveniencies, increaſeth Numbers, coins Money, gives Birth to Arts and Science, creates equal Laws, diffuſes general Plenty and general Happineſs.

IF we view it in it's third and higheſt Stage, we ſhall ſee it change it's Nature and Effects. It brings in Superfluity and vaſt Wealth; begets Avarice, groſs Luxury, or effeminate Refinement among the higher Ranks, together with general Loſs of Principle.

CONCERNING the two firſt Stages of Commerce, I ſhall have no Diſpute with the preſent Times: It's Benefits are generally acknowledged. The dangerous Effects of it's Exorbitance or Exceſs have not yet been ſufficiently developed.

SECT. II.

THAT Commerce in it's Exceſs brings a general Superfluity of Goods; that this general Superfluity ſettles in particular Hands into vaſt Wealth, will be readily acknowledged.

THE next Step is, to conſider how vaſt Wealth naturally produces Avarice, Luxury, or Effeminacy, according to the Genius or Circumſtances of the People among whom it comes.

INDUSTRY, in it's firſt Stages, is *frugal*, not *ungenerous*: It's End being that of Self-Preſervation and moderate Enjoyment, it's little Superfluities are often employed in Acts of Generoſity and Beneficence. But the daily Increaſe of Wealth by Induſtry, naturally increaſes the *Love* of

SECT. II.

of Wealth. The Paſſion for Money, being founded, not in Senſe, but Imagination, admits of no Satiety, like thoſe which are called the natural Paſſions. Thus the Habit of ſaving Money, beyond every other Habit, gathers Strength by continued Gratification. The Attention of the whole Man is immediately turned upon it; and every other Purſuit held light when compared with the Increaſe of Wealth. Hence, the natural Character of the Trader, when his final Proſpect is the Acquiſition of Wealth, is that of *Induſtry* and *Avarice*.

WHAT is true, in this Reſpect, of *trading Men*, is true of *trading Nations*. If their Commerce be that of Oeconomy in the Extreme, if the laſt Object of their Purſuit be Wealth for it's own Sake, if the Leaders of ſuch a People be *commercial*, the Cha-

SECT. II.

racter of that People and it's Leaders will be found in *Induſtry* and *Avarice*.

But if a trading Nation hath a large *Territory*, ſufficient to create a *Landed Intereſt*, Commerce will produce very different Effects.

For as it multiplies Inhabitants, and brings in Wealth, it naturally increaſes the Value of landed Eſtates. Barren Grounds are cultivated, and cultivated Spots are made more fertile. Hence a vaſt Acceſſion of Income to the Nobility and Gentry.

These Ranks of Men being not bred up to Habits of Induſtry; on the contrary, their increaſed Rents coming in unſought for, and their Time being often a Load upon them, thro' want of Capacity and Employment, the Habit of *Indulgence* comes on, and grows of Courſe. Additional

SECT. II.

tional Weath gives the Power to gratify every Deſire that riſes, Leiſure improves theſe Deſires into Habits; thus Money is at length conſidered as no more than the Means of Gratification; and hence the genuine Character of a rich Nobility or Gentry, is that of Expence and Luxury.

But the firſt Eſſays of Luxury, like thoſe of every other Art, are coarſe and rude: The natural Character of Luxury, therefore, is to refine by Degrees: Eſpecially, when, aſſiſted by Commerce, it advances apace into Refinement. For Commerce ſearches every Shore and Climate for it's Supplies; and Art is ſtudious, becauſe rewarded, in arranging and applying theſe Materials to the moſt exquiſite and delicate Uſe. Thus every coarſer Mode of Pleaſure is by Degrees deſpiſed; new Habits of higher Indulgence come on:

SECT. II.

groſs Luxury is baniſhed, and Effeminacy takes it's Place.

BUT Luxury, in this *laſt* Period, being exhauſted in it's Courſe; and turned, for want of new Objects of Indulgence, into Debility and Languor, would expire or ſleep, were it not awakened by another Paſſion, which again calls it into Action. Nothing is ſo natural to effeminate Minds, as *Vanity*. This rouſes the luxurious and debilitated Soul; and the Arts of pleaſurable Enjoyment are now puſhed to their higheſt Degree, by the Spirit of delicate Emulation.

THUS the whole Attention of the Mind is centred on *Brillancy* and *Indulgence*: Money, tho' deſpiſed as an *End*, is greedily ſought as a *Means*: And *Self*, under a different

SECT. II.

ferent Appearance from the trading Spirit, takes equal Poſſeſſion of the Soul.

THUS as the Character of a State altogether commercial in the higheſt Degree, is that of Induſtry and Avarice; ſo, in a Nation of extended Territory, where Commerce is in it's higheſt Period, while it's trading Members retain their Habits of Induſtry and Avarice, the natural Character of it's landed Ranks, it's Nobility and Gentry, is that of "a vain, luxurious, "and ſelfiſh Effeminacy."

WE ſpeak here of the ſimple and proper Effects of Trade and Wealth, uncontrouled by oppoſite Manners or Principles; which, it is to be obſerved, never exiſted probably, at leaſt in the mixed State, in their full Extent: Individuals there are, and will be, in almoſt every State and Period, who are

SECT. II.

influenced by diſſimilar Manners or Principles: There are Traders who are generous; Nobles and Gentry whoſe ultimate Paſſion is for Gold; But ſuch Exceptions affect not the general Principle: And tho' theſe incidental Mixtures *weaken* the different Colours of different Ranks or States, yet ſtill the different Colours remain in their Nature diſtinct and invariable.

'Tis probable, the Reader will have diſcovered, that this Reaſoning is ſtrengthened by, or rather built upon, the Examples of two neighbour Nations; one wholly commercial, that of *Holland*: The other a mixed State, compounded of a commercial and landed Intereſt; I mean *our own*. And to ſay the Truth; no two Nations perhaps ever exiſted, which approached ſo near to the full and proper Effects of the Cauſes here alledged.

It

SECT. II.

It will appear immediately why the Genius of the Republic of *Holland* is here analyſed into its firſt Principles; which are ſimply, thoſe of Induſtry and the Love of Gain.

In the mean Time, we may juſtly conclude from this Argument, that the exorbitant Trade and Wealth of *England* ſufficiently account for it's preſent *Effeminacy*.

SECT. III.

Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth, on the religious Principle.

Such therefore are the ruling Manners which may naturally be expected in a Nation thus circumſtanced, unleſs they be counter-

SECT. III.

counteracted by oppoſite Principles: 'Tis now Time to conſider the natural Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth, on all thoſe ſalutary Principles by which theſe effeminate Manners can moſt effectually be controuled.

LET us ſtill carry the two characteriſtic States of *Holland* and *England*, in our Eye.

WHETHER, then, we view the commercial State, where the Love of Money rules; or the mixed State, where vain Effeminacy predominates; we ſhall find both theſe national Characters have but a bad Aſpect and Influence on every Kind of Principle. Let us firſt conſider that of Religion.

AVARICE

SECT. III.

AVARICE ſeems not, in it's own Nature, prone to deſtroy *ſpeculative* religious Belief; but effectually to extinguiſh *active* religious Principle.

IT tends not to deſtroy ſpeculative Belief, becauſe this Effect muſt be a Work of Application, Time, and Labour: Now the Labour of Avarice is naturally bent on it's main Object, *Money*; therefore, to waſte this Labour on the Propagation of the unprofitable and fruitleſs Doctrines of Irreligion, muſt ever be contrary to it's ruling Character.

BUT Avarice naturally tends to the Deſtruction of active religious Principle; becauſe this is chiefly a Matter of *habitual Impreſſion*; and therefore, in order to accompliſh it's Deſtruction, nothing more is neceſſary

SECT. III.

neceſſary than to *forget*. Now this requires no poſitive Act or Labour of the Mind, but is the natural Reſult from an attentive Purſuit of the favourite Object, *Money*.

HENCE, in a mere commercial State, actuated by the Love of Gain, Religion is not railed or diſputed againſt, but only *neglected* and *forgot*. And thus, the *genuine Trader*, who never queſtioned the Articles of his national Faith at home, ſcruples not to forſwear *Chriſtianity*, and tread upon the Croſs of *Japan*, and returns the ſame good *Chriſtian* as he went.

BUT in the mixed State, where national Effeminacy forms the *primary*, and Avarice only the *ſecondary* Character, the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on religious Principle, will be widely different.

LORD

SECT. III.

LORD *VERULAM* hath ſomewhere obſerved, that "Times of Atheiſm are civil "Times." He had been much nearer the Truth, had he affirmed, that "Civil "Times are Times of Atheiſm." He miſtook the Cauſe for the Effect.

THIS Effect of national Luxury and Refinement, in producing national Irreligion, is not difficult to account for. In ſome Periods of a State, Opinions controul Manners; but in moſt Periods, Manners controul Opinions. Where the ruling Manners coincide with the common Good, as in the middle Periods of a State, there we commonly find that a rational and beneficent Syſtem of Religion prevails: This comes to paſs, becauſe the Principles of the received Religion contradict not the ruling Manners.

BUT

SECT. III.

BUT in the State and Period of Luxury or Refinement, active religious Principle is loſt thro' the attentive Purſuit of *Pleaſure*; as in the commercial State, it is loſt thro' the attentive Purſuit of *Gain*.

AND *ſpeculative* Belief, in this Period, muſt naturally be loſt along with *practical*; becauſe *Leiſure* and *Literature* having opened the Field of *Diſputation*, Vice as well as Virtue will of courſe arm herſelf with every Weapon of Preſervation and Offence. Luxury therefore will generally liſt under the Banner of Irreligion; becauſe Religion condemns her Manners; Irreligion ſuffers or approves them.

To confirm the Truth of this Reaſoning, we need only obſerve, that in the Period of refined Luxury, *few* but they who are involved

SECT. III.

volved in the *Vices*, are involved in the *Irreligion* of the Times.

ONE Exception, however, muſt be made, with Regard to the *Writers* againſt Religion. For *theſe*, though they *promote*, yet are not often *involved* in the common Degeneracy. This Fact hath been regarded as unaccountable: that *ſober* Men, of Morals apparently *unblameable*, ſhould madly unhinge the great Principles of Religion and Society, without any viſible Motive or Advantage. But by looking a little farther into human Nature, we ſhall eaſily reſolve this ſeeming Paradox. Theſe Writers are generally Men of Speculation and Induſtry; and therefore though they give themſelves up to the Dictates of their ruling Paſſion, yet that ruling Paſſion commonly leads to the Track of *abſtemious* Manners. That Deſire of *Diſtinction* and *Superiority*, ſo natural

SECT. III.

tural to Man, breaks out in a thouſand various and fantaſtic Shapes, and in each of theſe, according as it is directed, becomes a Virtue or a Vice. In Times of Luxury and Diſſipation therefore, when every Tenet of Irreligion is greedily embraced, what Road to *preſent Applauſe* can lie ſo open and ſecure, as that of diſgracing religious Belief? Eſpecially, if the Writer help forward the Vices of the Times, by *relaxing Morals*, as well as *deſtroying Principle*. Such a Writer can have little elſe to do, but to new model the Paradoxes of ancient *Scepticiſm*, in order to *figure it* in the World, and be regarded by the Smatterers in Literature and Adepts in Folly, as a Prodigy of Parts and Learning. Thus his *Vanity* becomes deeply criminal, and is execrated by the Wiſe and Good, becauſe it is gratified at the Expence of his Country's Welfare. But the *Conſolation*, which degenerate Manners receives from his fatal Tenets, is repaid

SECT. III.

repaid by eager *Praiſe*: And *Vice* impatiently drinks in and *applauds* his hoarſe and boding Voice, while, like a *Raven*, he ſits croaking univerſal Death, Deſpair, and Annihilation to the human Kind.

THUS, where Manners and Religion are oppoſed, nothing is ſo natural, as that the *one* ſhould bear down the *other*. If Religion deſtroy not the ruling Manners, *theſe* will gather Strength, and deſtroy Religion.

ESPECIALLY, in a Country where Freedom is eſtabliſhed, and Manners loſt through the Exorbitance of Wealth, the Duration of religious Principle can be but ſhort. Deſpotiſm arms itſelf with Terror; and by checking the open and avowed *Profeſſion*, checks in a certain Degree the *Progreſs* of *Impiety*. Whereas it muſt be acknow-

SECT. III. acknowledged and lamented, as one of the unalterable Defects of a free Government, that *Opinion* muſt have its Courſe. The Diſeaſe is bad; but the Cure would be fatal. Thus Freedom is compelled to admit an *Enemy*, who, under the Pretence and Form of an *Ally*, often proves her *Deſtroyer*.

SECT. IV.

Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on the Principle of Honour.

SECT. IV.

IN the mixed State, where Luxury and Effeminacy form the ruling Character of a People, the Exceſs of Trade and Wealth naturally tends to weaken or deſtroy the Principle of *Honour*, by fixing the Deſire of Applauſe, and the Fear of Shame, on improper and ridiculous Objects. Inſtead of the Good of others, or the Happineſs of the

the Public, the Object of Purſuit naturally SECT. IV. ſinks into ſome unmanly and trifling Circumſtance: The Vanity of Dreſs, Entertainments, Equipage, Furniture, of courſe takes Poſſeſſion of the Heart.

BUT in the pure commercial State, where the Love of Gain predominates among the higher Ranks, the Deſire of Applauſe and Fear of Shame are not *perverted*, but *extinguiſhed*. The Luſt of Gold ſwallows up every other Paſſion: and a Nation of this Character can without Emotion ſtand the Laughter and Contempt of *Europe*, and ſay with the Miſer,

> Populus me ſibilat; at mihi plaudo
> Ipſe domi, ſimulac nummos contemplor in arca.

IN whatever Shape, therefore, the Paſſion for Applauſe appear, whether it aſſume

SECT. IV.

the fantaſtic Form of Vanity, the more ſolemn one of Pride, or the ſteady and elevated Deſire of rational Eſteem; we ſhall find this Exceſs of national Avarice tends to its Extinction. A great Writer indeed hath told us, that "Vanity creates "Induſtry *;" which is true: Notwithſtanding this, we have ſeen above, that Induſtry in the Exceſs naturally begets Avarice; and Avarice in the Exceſs works a total Change in the Soul, and expels that Vanity which gave it Birth.

THE ſame great Writer hath told us, "that Pride deſtroys Induſtry †;" the Reverſe of which holds equally true: "that "Induſtry deſtroys Pride:" We ſpeak here of Pride in the blameable Senſe, as when it riſeth into blind and overbearing *Inſolence*.

* L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xix. c. 9. † Ibid.

Induſtry

SECT. IV.

Induſtry in the moderate Degree tends to deſtroy this contemptuous Spirit, by introducing Knowledge and Equality: and in this Reſpect, as in moſt others, is attended with excellent Effects.

BUT the Spirit of Trade in its Exceſs, by introducing Avarice, deſtroys the Deſire of *rational Eſteem*. In Confirmation of this, we need only caſt our Eyes on the HOLLANDERS and CHINESE, among whom the trading Spirit is almoſt in its unmixed Perfection: The one is the moſt *mercenary*, the other the moſt *thieving* of all Nations.

SECT. V.

Of their Effects on public Spirit.

SECT. V.

THIS Part of our Subject needs little Inveſtigation. For both in the commercial

SECT. V.

and mixed State, it appears, that exorbitant Trade and Wealth tend naturally to turn all the Attention of Individuals on *selfish* Gratification.

THEREFORE they must of course generally tend to destroy the Principle of public Spirit: because *this* implies, that our Attention and Regard is turned on *others*.

IN the commercial State, Avarice represents *Wealth*, in the mixed State Effeminacy represents *Pleasure*, as the *chief Good*. Both these Delusions tend to the Extinction of public Spirit.

THESE Delusions create a new Train of Wants, Fears, Hopes, and Wishes: All these terminating in selfish Regard, naturally destroy every Effort of generous and public Principle.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Farther Remarks on this Subject.

SECT. VI.

IN Consequence of these Remarks some farther Distinctions will arise.

THUS, the religious Principle will *seem* to exist in the commercial State, where Avarice forms the national Character; while in the mixed State, where Luxury and Effeminacy predominate, it is evidently destroyed. The Reason is, that in the first, although active Principle is lost, speculative Belief is not controverted: Whereas, in the latter, not only active Principle is lost, but Religion itself (if such a State be free) is publickly insulted and derided. Thus in *Holland*, Religion *seems* yet to exist; while in *England*, it is evidently destroyed.

SECT. VI.

ON the contrary, the Principle of Honour will ſeem to exiſt in the mixed State, where luxurious Effeminacy forms the primary Character of the Nation; while in the commercial State, where Avarice predominates, the Principle is evidently no more. The Reaſon is, that in the former, the Love of Applauſe and Fear of Shame are not wholly deſtroyed, but perverted, and turned upon unworthy Objects; while in the latter, the Paſſion itſelf is totally extinguiſhed. Thus the faint Appearance of Honour yet remains in *England*, while in *Holland* it is manifeſtly deſtroyed.

BUT as modern *Dutch* Religion, and modern *Engliſh* Honour ſeem no more than the Ghoſts of departed Principles, ſo they have preciſely thoſe Effects, which may

SECT. VI.

may reaſonably be expected from ſuch ſhadowy Non-Entities.

AGAIN: The Colours or Characters of Induſtry and Avarice will naturally be *ſtrong* in the commercial State: becauſe, being almoſt wholly unmixed with Manners of a diſſimilar Nature, the ruling Genius of the State is left uncontrouled, to its proper Operations and Effects.

BUT in the mixed State, where Induſtry and Love of Gain form the Character of the *ſecondary* Ranks; Diſſipation and Effeminacy, of the *higher*; there the two ſeparate Characters, by the Force of incidental Coalition and Example, will always influence each other in a certain Degree. Some ambitious Traders will aſpire to luxurious Effeminacy: Some, of the higher Orders, will deſcend to Induſtry and Merchandiſe.

SECT. VI.

chandiſe. Thus each Rank muſt be tinctured with a Colour different from its own; and hence, the general Colour or Character of each of theſe Ranks, will, in ſome Meaſure, be controuled and *weakened.*

THIS Circumſtance is favourable to the mixed State, beyond that which is purely commercial; as it checks in a certain Degree the Virulence of the Exceſs; and produceth a national Character in ſome Meaſure approaching that of more moderate Trade and Wealth.

HENCE too it follows, that a State purely commercial, when once arrived at the Period of exorbitant Wealth, will naturally degenerate *faſter* than that which is compounded of Commerce and Luxury. For whatever Cauſes check the ruling Manners

SECT. VI.

ners in their *Degree*, will check them in their *Conſequences.*

BUT beyond this, there is another Reaſon, why the State purely commercial will degenerate faſter than the mixed State. In the commercial State, the ruling Manners go Hand in Hand with the Exorbitance of Wealth; becauſe the Love of Gain, which forms the leading Character, being likewiſe the leading Motive, muſt be even prior to this Exorbitance in the Order of our Ideas; and therefore, in its Effects, muſt be at leaſt contemporary.

BUT in the mixed State, there will always be a ſhort Period between the national Exorbitance of Wealth, and the national Increaſe of luxurious Effeminacy: becauſe Manners, once got into a certain Track, are not at once thrown out of it. There

SECT. VI.

There muſt be a ſhort Period, before the leading Parts of the Nation can *feel* their Increaſe of Wealth; and after this, another Period, before new and more refined Modes of Pleaſure can be invented.

HENCE a neighbouring Republic ſeems to have well nigh filled up the Meaſure of its Iniquities; while *ours*, as yet, are only riſing towards the *Brim*.

LASTLY; though the ruling Manners of ſuch a mixed State are luxurious and effeminate, yet its public Meaſures will be *commercial*. Firſt, becauſe Commerce is the Hand-Maid of *Wealth*, and therefore of *Pleaſure*. Secondly, becauſe the Idea of national Strength as well as Happineſs being degenerated into that of Wealth and external Good, Commerce will above all Things be naturally encouraged, becauſe it is the Means of procuring them.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

A Review of the Argument.

SECT. VII.

THUS our preſent exorbitant Degree of Trade and Wealth, in a mixed State like that of *England*, naturally tends to produce luxurious and effeminate Manners in the higher Ranks, together with a general Defect of *Principle*. And as the internal Strength of a Nation will always depend chiefly on the Manners and Principles of its leading Members, ſo theſe effeminate Manners and this Defect of Principle operate powerfully, and fatally, on the national Conduct and Affairs. They have produced a general Incapacity, have weakened the national Spirit of Defence, have heightened the national Diſunion: And this national Diſunion, beſides its proper and immediate Effects, being founded in Avarice

SECT. VII. Avarice for the Ends of Diſſipation, hath again weakened the ſmall Remainder of public Capacity and Defence; and thus ſeems to have fitted us for a Prey to the Inſults and Invaſions of our moſt powerful Enemy.

SECT. VIII.

An Objection conſidered.

SECT. VIII. Tho' this Eſtimate may appear *juſt* to thoſe who take an enlarged View of Things in their Principles and Conſequences; yet I am not ignorant of certain Maxims, generally approved, and hardly even diſputed among modern Politicians, which, if true, would weaken or overturn theſe accumulated Proofs.

THE capital Maxim, which ſeems to include the reſt, is this; "That vaſt Trade "and

"and Wealth, above all Things, make a "Nation powerful and invincible, as they "increaſe it's Numbers, enable it to pay "it's Fleets and Armies, provide conti-"nual Supplies for War; and thus, in the "End, tire out and defeat every Enemy, "whoſe Wealth and Commerce are in-"ferior." SECT. VIII.

THE Examination of this Maxim will throw many ſtrong collateral Lights upon our main Subject.

FIRST it affirms, "That Trade and "Wealth make a Nation ſtrong, becauſe "they make it populous." This indeed is true of the firſt and ſecond Periods of Trade and Wealth: That it is true of the *third* or *higheſt* Period, of which *England* is now poſſeſſed, may very reaſonably be queſtioned. In the firſt Period, Induſtry is chiefly employed

SECT. VIII.

employed in cultivating the Lands, in encreaſing, manufacturing, and exchanging the Produce of the Mother Country. Theſe Branches of Trade call for vaſt additional Numbers of Hands; and hence an Increaſe of Numbers naturally ariſeth.

THE ſame Effect takes Place in the ſecond Period of Trade; ſo far as home Productions are *exchanged* for foreign ones. This Stage of Commerce brings on a freſh Demand of Artificers of new and various Kinds, produces an Increaſe of Labour, and therefore of Inhabitants.

BUT in the third or higheſt Period of Trade, of which *England* is now poſſeſſed, there are very extenſive Branches of Commerce, which bring no new Acceſſion of Numbers to the Commonwealth. I mean, all

SECT. VIII.

all thoſe Branches of Commerce, where *Money* is ſent and exchanged for *foreign* Goods. This Species of Trade occaſions little Increaſe of *Labour*, and therefore leſs of *Numbers*; except only of thoſe few who navigate the Veſſels thus employed, to their reſpective Ports. And as this kind of Trade will always grow and predominate, in proportion as a Nation becomes more luxurious and effeminate, ſo for this Reaſon the higheſt Stage of Trade is not naturally attended with the higheſt Increaſe of Labour, nor conſequently of *Numbers*, as is commonly imagined. Beſides this, in the refined Period, additional Art and Experience in Labour prevent, in ſome Meaſure, the Increaſe of Numbers. By the Invention of Machines, an equal Degree both of Tillage and Trade is carried on by fewer Hands, than in the ſimpler Periods; and therefore the Increaſe of Numbers is by

SECT. VIII. by no means proportional to the Increaſe of Commerce and Wealth.

BUT theſe are far from being the only Conſiderations worth our Notice on this Subject. For when we ſpeak of any Stage of Trade, we muſt in Reaſon take in *every* Circumſtance which naturally attends it. There are other Cauſes, therefore, why Numbers increaſe not, but rather naturally *diminiſh*, in the higheſt Period of Trade and Wealth.

FOR *firſt*, the Vanity and Effeminacy which this exorbitant Pitch of Wealth brings on, leſſens the Deſire of Marriage.

Secondly, The Intemperance and Diſeaſe, which this Period of Trade naturally produceth among the *lower Ranks* in great Cities,

Cities, bring on in ſome Degree an Impotence of Propagation. SECT. VIII.

Thirdly, This Debility is always attended with a Shortneſs of Life, both in the Parents and the Offſpring; and therefore a ſtill farther Diminution of Numbers follows on the whole.

MATTER of Fact confirms theſe Reaſonings; and lies open to every Man's Obſervation. Since the firſt Increaſe of Tillage and Home-manufactures, the Increaſe of Inhabitants hath been great in *England*: Since the vaſt Increaſe of foreign Commerce, the Increaſe of Numbers is hardly perceivable. Nay, there is great Reaſon to believe, that, upon the whole, the Nation is leſs populous than it was fifty Years ago, tho' its Trade perhaps is doubled. Some trading Towns indeed are better

SECT. VIII.

peopled, but others are thinned by the Flux of Commerce. The Metropolis ſeems to augment in its Dimenſions: But it appears, by the beſt Calculations, that its Numbers are diminiſhed: And as to the Villages thro' *England*, there is great Reaſon to believe, they are in general at a Stand, and many of them thinner of Inhabitants than in the Beginning of this Century. 'Tis hard to obtain Certainty in this Particular, without a general Examination and Compariſon. But it appears by the Regiſters of ſome *Country* Pariſhes, which I have looked into, that from the Year 1550 to 1710, the Number of Inhabitants increaſed gradually; the two Extremes being to each other, as 57 to 72; and that from 1710 to the preſent Time, the Number has been at a Stand, if **not rather** diminiſhed.

BUT

SECT. VIII.

BUT ſuppoſe, that there is no Reaſon to believe, that our preſent Exceſs of Trade and Overflow of Wealth have in ſome Degree increaſed our *Numbers*, yet it will probably appear, that they have as much, at leaſt, impaired our *bodily Strength*. For as *Temperance* is the ruling Character of the middle Stage of Commerce, ſo is *Intemperance* of the higheſt. Hence, Health and Strength prevail in the firſt; Diſeaſe and Debility in the latter. This is univerſally confirmed by Fact: Villages abounding with Health; commercial Cities with Diſeaſe. So that an Army taken from the Villages, with equal Commanders, Arms, and Diſcipline, would drive the ſame Number of debilitated Gin-drinkers, like a Flock of Geeſe before them.

SECT. VIII.

THE Author of the *Fable of the Bees* made his Boaſt, that the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature had, upon his Plan, adopted the Encouragement of this pernicious Liquid: But the ſame Wiſdom hath upon Trial been obliged to *diſcourage* the Uſe of this malignant Spirit; as they found that it ruined the Health, and ſhortened the Lives, of half the lower Ranks in *London*.

AND all good Men hope, that the Time will come, when this infernal Potion will be laid under ſuch Diſcouragements, as may amount to a general Prohibition. The Neceſſity of ſuch a Reformation grows greater every Day, not only in *London*, but throughout the Kingdom. For in ſome Villages in *England* there is now a greater Quantity of Gin conſumed than of Ale.

BUT

SECT. VIII.

BUT to quit theſe inferior Conſiderations, tho' they all unite in confirming the Theory here advanced; the Weight of the Reply lies indeed in another Circumſtance: For although we ſhould admit (what is not true) that our preſent Exorbitance of Trade and Wealth increaſed our Numbers and bodily Force, yet as the real and eſſential Strength of a Nation conſiſts in the Manners and Principles of its *leading Part*; and as our preſent Exceſs of Trade and Wealth hath produced ſuch fatal Effects on theſe Manners and Principles; no Increaſe of Numbers in the inferior Ranks can poſſibly make Amends for this internal and capital Defect. Such a Nation can at beſt only reſemble a large *Body*, actuated (yet hardly actuated) by an incapable, a vain, a daſtardly, and effeminate *Soul*.

SECT. VIII.

BUT the Maxim we are engaged to obviate, alledges farther, that "this exorbitant Increaſe of Trade and Wealth enables a Nation to pay its Fleets and Armies, and afford continual Supplies for War." Yet even this Part of the Maxim, in its modern Acceptation, is far beyond the Truth.

FOR under the preſent Stage of Trade, the Increaſe of Wealth is by no means equally or proportionally diffuſed: The Trader reaps the main Profit: After him, the Landlord, in a lower Degree; But the common Artificer, and ſtill more the common Labourer, gain little or nothing by the exorbitant Advance of Trade: It is true, their Wages are increaſed; but ſo are the Prices of Proviſions too: And therefore they are no richer than before. Now

SECT. VIII.

Now Taxes and public Supplies are raiſed upon the Conſumer: And as it appears from hence, that only a few of the Conſumers are made richer by the Exorbitance of Trade, it follows, that not the Nation in general, but a ſelect Number of Individuals only, are made more capable of contributing to thoſe Supplies, which are levied without Diſtinction on the *whole*. Would they who reap the plenteous Harveſt of foreign Trade, generouſly allot their proportional and extraordinary Gains to the Service of the Public, we ſhould then indeed be furniſhed with a *new* Argument in Favour of Commerce in its higheſt Pitch.

FARTHER: As the labouring Ranks are little or nothing enriched by the exorbitant Degree of Trade, ſo it often happens that even the higher Ranks, and the Nation in general, are not *more*, nay perhaps *leſs* enabled

SECT. VIII.

abled to contribute to the public Supplies, than when poſſeſſed of Wealth in a more moderate Degree. For we have ſeen, in the Progreſs of this Eſtimate, that the natural Effect of an Increaſe of Wealth, is an Increaſe of Luxury, Vanity, and Expence; which, if it outrun the Increaſe of Wealth, as in it's Nature it tends to do, inſtead of Riches will bring on public Poverty. For the Ability or Wealth of a People, conſidered in their Capacity for raiſing Supplies, conſiſts not in the Largeneſs of their Income, but in the Proportion of their Expences to their Income: It conſiſts not in "what they *have*," but "what they can *ſpare?*" Hence it appears, that a Nation may be at once very *rich*, and very *poor*; rich in Income, but poor thro' Extravagance. And as national Extravagance is the natural Effect of an Overflow of Wealth, ſo national Indigence

SECT. VIII.

is its moſt natural and final Conſequence. How far this is our preſent Situation, can hardly be neceſſary to affirm.

To this Argument it may poſſibly be objected, that if great Wealth is but among us, new Impoſts will naturally *force* it into Circulation: That the more the Artificers and Labourers are taxed, the more their Wages will increaſe, and conſequently their Ability to bear the increaſing Taxes: And that as to the higher Ranks, exorbitant Wealth *enables* them ſtill better to endure additional Impoſts, becauſe theſe deprive the Great of nothing but the Superfluities of Vanity and Luxury.

To this it is replied, that, in Caſe of additional Taxes, tho' the Poor *muſt* indeed increaſe their Wages in order to ſubſiſt, yet this Increaſe never takes Place, till they

SECT. VIII.

they are compelled by the laſt *Neceſſity* and *Want:* The natural Conſequence of which muſt be Murmurs, Sedition, and Tumults. With Regard to the higher Ranks, a parallel Reply may ſuffice: For in the refined Period, when Manners and Principles are loſt, the Luxuries of Life become *Neceſſaries* among the Great; and therefore will be as obſtinately adhered to, and quitted with the ſame Reluctance, as Food and Cloathing by the *Poor*. The Conſequence therefore muſt be the ſame; a general Diſcontent and Diſaffection to the Government, among the higher Ranks of Life.

Is not all this confirmed by evident Facts? There is at preſent in this Nation, a Maſs of Wealth at leaſt twelve Times more than the public Debt: Yet we are reduced to the ſad Neceſſity of plunging deeper

SECT. VIII.

deeper every Day. What is the Reaſon? No Miniſtry dares to provoke and exaſperate a luxurious and ſelfiſh Nation, by demanding ſuch Sums, as every one has the *Power*, had he but the *Will*, to beſtow.

BUT beyond all this, will any Man of Senſe aſſert, that the Circumſtance of *paying* an Army or a Fleet, is the one thing that will decide a War? 'Tis true, indeed, Proviſions, Arms, Ammunition, are neceſſary; and therefore *Wealth*, becauſe it procures them. But will a General or Admiral therefore gain the Victory, only becauſe his Men are furniſhed with Proviſions, Arms, and Ammunition? If not, what can Trade or Wealth do, towards making a Nation victorious? Again, therefore, let me remind my Countrymen, that the capital Queſtion ſtill remains, not "who ſhall "*pay*," but "who ſhall *fight?*"

THERE

SECT. VIII.

THERE is a trite Obſervation on Foot, indeed, drawn from the beſt political Writers, ill underſtood, that "the Principles of "War are wholly changed; and that not "the Nation who has the beſt *Troops*, but "the longeſt *Purſe*, will in the End ob-"tain the Victory." This, in the modern Application of it, is a moſt dangerous Maxim. It naturally tends to extinguiſh military Skill, as well as Honour: and will inevitably ſink the People that maintains it, into a Nation of defenceleſs and Money-getting Cowards.

IT muſt be confeſſed that Doctor DAVENANT, the moſt able Writer on theſe Subjects, hath affirmed, "That now, the "whole Art of War is in a Manner re-"duced to Money: and now-a-days, that "Prince who can beſt find Money to "feed

SECT. VIII.

"feed, cloath, and pay his Army; not "he that hath the moſt valiant Troops, "is ſureſt of Succeſs and Conqueſt *." This Declaration, which is now ſtolen and retailed for new, by every modern Dabler in Politics, has had the uſual Fortune of theſe Kinds of Thefts, to be miſunderſtood: as may appear from the general Tenor of the Doctor's Writings. To ſhew this, two Inſtances, out of many, may ſuffice. Even when ſpeaking on the Benefits of foreign Trade, he warns us, as if he had foreſeen all that has befallen, or is likely to befall us. For he ſays, "if a trading and "rich People are grown ſoft and luxurious, "their Wealth will invite over to them In-"vaders from Abroad, and their being *effe-"minate* will make the Conqueſt eaſy †."

* Ways and Means, p. 27. † *Dav.* on Trade, vol. ii. p. 13.

And

SECT. VIII.

And again, in Terms yet stronger: "In "succeeding Times our Manners may come "to be depraved; and when this happens, "all Sorts of Miseries will invade us: "The whole Wealth of the Kingdom "will not be sufficient for its Defence *."

THUS, what he and other sensible Writers have affirmed under proper Restrictions, and upon Supposition that a Nation maintained its Manners and Principles, is now advanced absolutely, and without Restriction, as if Manners and Principles, military and naval Skill and Courage, had no Part, or at least no essential Part in the Success of War.

THESE shallow Politicians, therefore, might well be put in Mind of the Maxim of a warlike Prince, when his Ministers

* Ibid. p. 317.

dissuaded

SECT. VIII.

dissuaded him from attacking a wealthy Enemy, because he wanted Money to pay his Troops: "My Enemies, said he, are "rich, luxurious, and effeminate; my "Troops are valiant and hardy; my Offi-"cers brave and honourable; they shall "plant *my* Standard in my Enemy's "Country, and then *my Enemy shall pay* "*them*."

WE have lately seen this military Conduct followed by a brave King, in the Electorate of *Saxony*: We ourselves have formerly pursued it on the Plains of *Agincourt* and *Cressi*: The *French* are now pursuing it on the Plains of *America*: And if we hold to our dastardly Maxim, they will pursue it on the Plains of *Salisbury*.

THUS the boasted modern Maxim, which we proposed to obviate, seems void of

SECT. VIII. Truth in every Branch of it: As it appears from this View, that without the internal Strength which Manners and Principles produce, the moſt exorbitant Trade and Wealth can never be the Foundation of a ſucceſsful War; or give us any rational Proſpect, either of *Victory* or *Self-Defence*.

SECT. IX.

Another Objection conſidered.

SECT. IX. SUCH then are the natural Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth, unleſs counteracted by oppoſite Manners or Principles. The Hiſtory of our own Nation would confirm theſe Truths in a moſt ſtriking and particular Manner, were it within the propoſed Limits of this Eſtimate, to enter ſo large a Field of Enquiry. We ſhould there ſee, that Manners and Principles have

have always prevailed, and baffled the moſt ſanguine Attempts of Wealth, when ſet in Competition with them. This Syſtem would be found ſupported by a vaſt Variety of Events, from the Reign of *Elizabeth* to the preſent Times. But this might perhaps be regarded as a Reſearch rather curious than neceſſary; ſince a ſingle Reflection on the preſent State of the Kingdom may ſeem to ſtand in the Place of a thouſand Proofs. SECT. IX.

AT preſent, therefore, we ſhall not touch on this Enquiry; but rather proceed to remove another Objection, which may ſeem to overturn the Theory here propoſed.

FOR it is urged, that *France* is an Exception to the Truth of theſe Remarks: inaſmuch as, in the midſt of a large and extenſive Commerce, which brings in a

SECT. IX.

vaſt Acceſſion of Wealth, ſhe ſtill retains her Principles and Power.

THE Fact objected is true: but the Conſequence follows not; becauſe the Trade of *France* is limited and controuled by ſuch Accidents, as prevent its moſt dangerous and ruinous Effects on Government.

THE *Poverty* of its *Nobleſſe* or leading Ranks, who are often poſſeſſed of ſounding Titles without any Realities annexed, as it prevents them from reaping that Increaſe of Wealth which naturally ariſeth to a rich Landed Gentry from an Increaſe of Commerce, ſo it naturally drives them to the Profeſſion of *Arms*, as the neceſſary Means of Support: This ſtrengthens and ſupports their Monarchy; which, finding its Advantage from this Diſpoſition to

SECT. IX.

Arms, naturally gratifies this military Spirit in its *Nobleſſe*, and gives it Exerciſe and Encouragement by frequent Wars.

HENCE the national Spirit of the *French Nobleſſe* hath long been military, in the higheſt Degree.

WITH Regard to Commerce, its Growth in *France* hath been but late: Meeting therefore with this eſtabliſhed Spirit of Arms in the leading Ranks, it hath not as yet been able to controul it. Commerce indeed is encouraged; but ſo encouraged, as not to deſtroy the leading Principle of their Monarchy. To this End, the Ranks of the Kingdom are kept eſſentially diſtinguiſhed; and while the People are allured to Trade by every Kind of Motive, the *Nobleſſe* or Gentry are, in Honour, prohibited from Commerce. It was indeed

SECT. IX.

formerly propoſed in *France*, that the *Nobleſſe* ſhould be drawn down to Trade: But, whether thro' deep and conſummate Policy, or thro' the Principle of Honour itſelf, working blindly for its own Preſervation, the dangerous Propoſal was *weakly* or *wiſely* rejected. Whenever this Overture meets with Acceptance and Succeſs, tho' it may ſeem for a while to give Vigour to their State, yet from that Period we may date the Downfall of *France*. Their effeminate Manners, now controuled by *Oeconomy* and the Love of *Glory*, will, like ours, degenerate into *Profuſion* and the Love of *Gold*.

ON the contrary; Trade, tho' encouraged, is by the ruling Principle of this great Monarchy, kept within its proper Limits; and while the Merchant traverſeth Seas in Purſuit of *Gain*, the Gentleman does the ſame

SECT. IX.

ſame in Purſuit of *Glory*. Thus the two incompatible Provinces are kept diſtinct; and hence, while the *French* vie with us in *Trade*, they tour above us in *Principle*.

NAY their very trading Settlements among foreign Nations are actuated by this ruling Principle in ſuch a Manner, as to give a Splendor to their Monarchy and Commerce in the moſt barbarous Climates *. Thus, while *we* are poorly influenced by a ſorry and mercantile Maxim,

* Numerous Proofs might be given of this: At preſent it may ſuffice to take one from a very fine Book lately publiſhed. "It is uſual among the "*French* of *Alexandria* to ſhew an extreme Reſpect "for their Conſul. In order to make him more "conſiderable in the Eyes of the *Turks*, and of the "other Nations, they endeavour to give an high "Idea of his Perſon, and to illuſtrate his Birth in "ſuch a Manner, that it is not their Fault, if he is "not conſidered as iſſued from the Blood Royal. If

SECT. IX.

firſt broached by a trading Miniſter, "that the "*Intereſt* of a Nation is its *trueſt* Honour:" the *French* conduct themſelves on an oppoſite and higher Principle, "that the *Ho*-"*nour* of a Nation is its trueſt Intereſt."

In Confirmation of what is here advanced, we need only caſt our Eyes on the Fortune and Fate of *France*, during the preſent Century. In the laſt War, ſhe was exhauſted, tho' victorious: In the former, ſhe was both beaten and exhauſted: In both theſe Inſtances, it was weakly thought by every ſuperficial Politician in *England*, that, becauſe we had exhauſted the Men

"by Chance he take a Tour to *Roſetto*, he carries a "white Flag at the Maſt of his Pinnace; and when "he goes out of the Port, as likewiſe when he re-"turns into it, he is ſaluted by a general Diſcharge "of the Cannon of the *French* Veſſels." NORDEN's Travels in *Egypt* and *Nubia*, Vol. i. p. 29.

and

SECT. IX.

and Money, we had deſtroyed the Power of *France*. Experience hath told us the Reverſe: The Spirit of Honour and Union working at the Root, ſoon reſtored thoſe Branches that War had ſwept away, and have at length ſhot them into their former Vigour and Luxuriancy.

Hence then, we may learn an important Truth: "That no incidental Events "can make a Nation *little*, while the Prin-"ciples remain that made it *great*."

SECT. X.

The Concluſion.

SECT. X.

From theſe accumulated Proofs, then, it ſeems evident, that our preſent effeminate Manners and Defect of Principle have ariſen from our exorbitant Trade and Wealth, left without Check, to their natural

SECT. X.

tural Operations and uncontrouled Influence. And that theſe Manners, and this Defect of Principle, by weakening or deſtroying the national Capacity, Spirit of Defence, and Union, have produced ſuch a general Debility as naturally leads to Deſtruction.

We might now proceed to confirm theſe Reaſonings, by Examples drawn from Hiſtory. For there is hardly an ancient or modern State of any Note recorded in Story, which would not in one Reſpect or other, confirm the leading Principles on which this Argument is built.

In theſe, throughout their ſeveral Periods, we ſhould ſee *Trade* and *Wealth*, or (what is in this reſpect equivalent) *Conqueſt* and *Opulence*, taking their Progreſs: At one Period, poliſhing and

SECT. X.

and ſtrengthening; at another, refining, corrupting, weakening, deſtroying, the State that gave them Entrance: Working indeed in different Ways, and under a Variety of Appearances; by Avarice, by Faction, by Effeminacy, by Profligacy; by a Mixture and Combination of all theſe Evils: ſometimes dividing a Nation againſt itſelf; at others, quelling its Spirit, and leaving it an eaſy Prey to the firſt Invader: Sometimes checked by a riſing Patriot, or counterworked by national Misfortunes: In one Country corrupting Manners; in another, Principles; in a third, both Manners and Principles: rendering one People blind, another cowardly, another treacherous to itſelf: Stealing ſecretly and inſenſibly on one Nation; overwhelming another in ſudden Deſtruction.

But

SECT. X.

BUT to enlarge on theſe Subjects in that vague and undiſtinguiſhing Manner, which moſt Writers have purſued in treating them, tho' it might carry the *Appearance* of Reaſoning, would in Truth be no more than *Declamation* in Diſguiſe. And to develope and unravel the Particularity of Cauſes and Effects, thro' all their Variety of Combination and mutual Influence, as it would extend this Eſtimate beyond its deſigned Limits, muſt be left to make a Part of ſome future Enquiry.

THE *Character*, *Effects*, and *Sources* of our Manners and Principles, being thus laid open, the Writer had it in his Thoughts to have proceeded to the Conſideration of "*their moſt practicable Remedies.*" But as the Cloſet-*Projects* of retired and ſpeculative Men, often *are*, and always are *regarded*, as *chimerical*; he was therefore unwilling, at preſent, to hazard the Diſcredit of ſuch an Attempt.

SECT. X.

HOWEVER, leſt his Attempt ſhould be deemed more viſionary than perhaps it is, he judged it not improper to hint at ſome of the leading Principles on which it is built. And with this View, the following Reflections are ſubmitted to the Conſideration of the Public.

THE World has been long amuſed with a trite and hacknied Compariſon between the Life of Man, and that of States; in which it is pretended that they both proceed in the ſame irrevocable Manner; from Infancy to Maturity, from Maturity to Death: A Compariſon, perhaps as groundleſs as it is common. The human Body contains, in its very Texture, the Seeds

SECT. X. Seeds of certain Diſſolution. That is, tho' you ſet aſide all the poſſible Accidents ariſing from Intemperance, from the Influence of the Elements, the Climate, and every other external and contingent Cauſe, the human Frame itſelf, after a certain Period, would grow into Rigidity; the Fluids would decreaſe, the Solids accumulate, the Arteries *oſſify*, the Blood ſtagnate, and the Wheels of Life ſtand ſtill.

BUT in Societies, of whatever Kind, there ſeems no ſuch neceſſary or eſſential Tendency to Diſſolution. The human Body is *naturally* mortal; the political, only ſo by *Accident*: Internal Diſorders or Diſeaſes may ariſe; External Violence may attack or overpower: but theſe Cauſes, tho' always to be expected, are wholly incidental: the firſt is preciſely of the ſame Nature as Intemperance, the ſecond as the

SECT. X. the Influence of the external Elements, on the human Body. But there appears nothing in the internal Conſtruction of any State, that tends inevitably to Diſſolution, analagous to thoſe Cauſes in the human Frame, which lead to certain Death.

THIS Obſervation ſeems confirmed by Hiſtory: Where you ſee States, which, after being ſunk in Corruption and Debility, have been brought back to the Vigour of their firſt Principles: But you muſt have Recourſe to Fables, for medicated Old Age reſtored to Infancy or Youth.

IF this be true, it ſeems not altogether chimerical, tho' confeſſedly difficult, to bring about the Reformation of a State. To lay down general Rules, in ſuch a Caſe, would be like giving a *Panacea*; the very *Empiri-*

SECT. X.

Empiriciſm of Politics. The Remedies muſt be ſuited to the Diſeaſe.

WE have ſeen, that the ruling Evils of our Age and Nation have ariſen from the unheeded Conſequences of our Trade and Wealth. That theſe have produced effeminate Manners, and occaſioned Loſs of Principle: That theſe have brought on a national Debility. But would the leſſening this exorbitant Trade and Wealth bring back Manners and Principles, and reſtore the Nation's Strength?—I very much Queſtion the Event.

BUT whatever the Conſequences might be at *Home*, thoſe *Abroad* would certainly be fatal. The *French* are every Day gaining upon us in Commerce; and if ours ſhould leſſen, theirs would increaſe to our Deſtruction.

THUS

SECT. X.

THUS are we fallen into a kind of Dilemma: If our Commerce be maintained or increaſed, its Effects bid fair to deſtroy us: If Commerce be diſcouraged and leſſened, the growing Power of our Enemy threatens the ſame Conſequence.

THERE ſeems, then, no other Expedient than this, "That Commerce and "Wealth be not diſcouraged in their "*Growth*; but checked and *controuled in* "*their Effects*."

AND even in attempting this, Care muſt be had, leſt in controuling the Effects of Commerce, we ſhould deſtroy Commerce itſelf.

WE ſee how ſtrongly the natural Effects of Trade and Wealth are controuled in

SECT. X.

France, by proper Checks and counteracting Principles: Yet mere Imitation is always a narrow, and often an ineffectual Scheme. Besides, as our Constitution is of a superior Nature, so our Manners and Principles must be adapted to it, ere it can obtain it's proper Strength.

THE Virtues yet left among us, and enumerated above *, may be a possible Foundation for such a Change.

THERE are two different Kinds of Remedies, which might in due Time be applied. The first are radical, general, and lasting: The latter, palliative, particular, and temporary.

THE first seem totally impracticable at *present*: For as they suppose a Change of

* See Part I. Sect. 2, 3, 4.

Manners

SECT. X.

Manners and Principles, this may justly be regarded as an impossible Event, during the present Age; and rather to be wished than hoped for, in the next.

THE palliative, particular, and temporary Remedies, may seem more practicable at this Juncture. I mean, those which are of the coercive Kind; which work by opposed Passions, or by destroying the Opportunities or Occasions of Evil. Where the ruling Mischiefs lie among the People, these Remedies, with proper Care, may easily be administered. Thus we have lately seen the salutary Effects of a new Kind of Police, established by a useful Magistrate in the City of *London*; by which, the reigning Evil of *Street Robberies* hath been almost wholly suppressed; altho' we may reasonably suppose, the Disposition towards them remains as strong as ever.

SECT. X. But where the ruling Mischief desolates the Great, there, even the palliative Remedies cannot easily be applied: The Reason is manifest: A coercive Power is wanting: They who should cure the Evil are the very Delinquents: And moral or political Physic is what no distempered Mind will ever administer to itself.

Necessity therefore, and *Necessity alone*, must in such a Case be the Parent of Reformation. So long as degenerate and unprincipled Manners can support themselves, they will be deaf to Reason, blind to Consequences, and obstinate in the *long* established Pursuit of *Gain* and *Pleasure*. In such Minds, the Idea of a Public has no Place: and therefore can never be a Curb to private Gratification: Nor can such Minds be ever awakened from their fatal

fatal Dream, till either the Voice of an abused People rouse them into Fear; or the State itself totter, through the general Incapacity, Cowardice, and Disunion of those who should support it. SECT. X.

Whenever this compelling Power, *Necessity*, shall appear; then, and not till then, may we hope that our Deliverance is at hand. Effeminacy, Rapacity, and Faction, will then be ready to resign the Reins they would now usurp: One common Danger will create one common Interest: Virtue may rise on the Ruins of Corruption; and a despairing Nation yet be saved, by the Wisdom, the Integrity, and unshaken Courage, of some great Minister.

FINIS.

AN

ESTIMATE

OF THE

MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES

OF THE

TIMES.

By the AUTHOR of

ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

Tu, ne cede Malis; sed contra audentior ito.

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MDCCLVIII.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

Additional Remarks on the ruling Manners and Principles.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

SECT. XVII.

ERRATA.

Pag.	*lin.*	*for*	*read*
10.	13.	severest Impartiality	severest *intentional* Impartiality,
22.	4.	by upon others	upon by others.
47.	14.	and as could	and such as could.
54.	*penult.*	flagitious	flagitious.

PART I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE RULING MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES.

PART I.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON The RULING MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

The Design of this VOLUME.

HAD the first Volume of this Work met with a less favourable Reception in the World, a second had not been offered to its Perusal. SECT. I.

THERE are certain Subjects, in which the Public are little concerned; and in

SECT. I.

which they are certainly no competent Judges. But in thoſe Topics which relate to the moral or political Happineſs of Man, the general Voice of a People is perhaps the beſt Criterion of Truth and Falſehood.

I SHALL not dwell at preſent on the Proof of this. I only ſpeak my Opinion; and this, no farther than to apologize for theſe additional Remarks, which are in Part thrown out in Conſequence of that Belief.

THE Author eaſily foreſaw, that a Work of this Nature, whoſe very Exiſtence depended on the ſevereſt Impartiality, muſt give Offence to many Individuals: that by ſome he muſt be reckoned arrogant and aſſuming, by others imprudent, and blind to his own Intereſts; that by one Set he ſhould be ſtigmatized as a Republican, by another as a Tory: That ſome ſhould allow the Subſtance of the Work to be good, but affirm it to be ſtolen; others, that the Subſtance

SECT. I.

Subſtance was his own, but altogether good for nothing. That he ſhould by Turns be ſtigmatized as the Friend of arbitrary Rule, and ſeditious Democracy; as an inſolent Abuſer of thoſe in Power, a ſervile Flatterer of thoſe who have none; that every contradictory Charge ſhould be heaped upon him, which blind Partiality, effeminate Manners, profligate Principles, ſelfiſh Cunning, political Servility, and Depravity of Heart could ſuggeſt, was from the firſt his Expectation (not his Fear) becauſe it was his determined Purpoſe, to combat theſe Enormities.

WITH much Calmneſs therefore hath he heard of theſe various Accuſations, and leaves thoſe who chuſe, at their full Liberty to believe any of them, or all. In the mean time, he wraps himſelf up in the Integrity of his Intentions, and in thoſe undeſerved Honours which have been done

SECT. I.

his little Work, both in his own and in foreign Countries.

He hath heard too, of certain written Criticiſms on his *Eſtimate:* But if he does not read, how can it be expected he ſhould anſwer them? Yet this he believes, from the Report of ſome of his Friends, that if his temporary Critics had applied to him for Occaſions of Cenſure or Reproof, he could have furniſhed them with a juſter Catalogue than what they have produced againſt him in their ſtill-born Eſſays. As therefore theſe Gentlemen, it ſeems, profeſs themſelves the Servants of the ungrateful Public, it muſt needs be agreeable to them, that an Author ſhould alleviate their deſpiſed Labours, and ſet himſelf to criticiſe his own Writings.

This therefore is declared to be the ſimple Intent of the preſent Volume: And that

SECT. I.

that his Readers may more clearly comprehend the main Drift of a Work which, from its Nature, cannot admit of Form, he thinks it expedient to premiſe the ſeveral Claſſes, under which his Remarks will fall.

Firſt, they will contain *Retractions* of ſuch Miſtakes as the Writer thinks he hath committed.

Secondly, of *Proofs* in ſuch Points as were affirmed and not proved.

Thirdly, of *Illuſtrations* in thoſe Particulars which were hinted, but not explained.

Fourthly, of *Replies* to ſuch capital Objections, as have been made to his general Syſtem, by preceding Writers on the ſame Subject.

Fifthly, of the *Conſequences* which may be fairly deduced from his Principles, and

SECT. I.

thro' a deſigned Brevity were omitted in the firſt Volume.

THE intelligent Reader will readily comprehend, that theſe ſeveral Topics are not to be collectively conſidered, in the Order in which they are here laid down; but touched on as they riſe ſucceſſively in the Peruſal of the firſt Volume. To *that* they refer; and therefore any other Diſpoſition of Parts than what is ſubordinate to the Method there purſued, though it might carry the Appearance of *Order*, would be *Diſorder* in the Reſult.

SECT. II.

Remarks on the introductory Section of the firſt Volume.

SECT. II.

THE very firſt Paragraph, it ſeems, wanted an Explanation. For when the Author affirmed that "our Misfortunes "had not their Source in the particular "and

SECT. II.

"and accidental Conduct of Individuals, "but aroſe from permanent and eſtabliſh-"ed Cauſes:" His Affirmation has been wreſted into this unmeaning Form, "that "no Individuals were delinquent in their "reſpective Stations." The candid Critic will not haſtily lay this Charge upon him. For in Truth he meant not to deny, that all may have been delinquent in their Turn. What he inſiſts upon, is this, "That this Failure or Delinquency is not "merely perſonal or accidental; but "founded in the eſtabliſhed Manners and "Principles of the Times; and therefore "cannot probably be rectify'd effectually, "by any Change of Men, or even of "Meaſures, till theſe Manners and Prin-"ciples are controuled." Need we any additional Facts, to prove this Truth?

HE ſpoke too of certain profligate Scribblers, who find their Account in laying all to the Charge of a few Individuals.

SECT. II.

It hath been asked, "who are these Scribblers?" Indeed, he remembers not their Names; and besides, if he did, the Catalogue would be too large to insert here. Their Characters, however, he can give in a few Words. "All those who "dabble on the Surface of the political "Deep; who ply their wretched Oar for "Bread, hire themselves out to whoever "offers them a Fare; and then, like true "*Thames-Watermen*, abuse every Man "that passes who is better dressed than "themselves, or their Retainers."

THESE Men have been toiling many a Day, to impress the Body of the People with this Opinion, "That if certain In-"dividuals were but removed from the "public Administration, our Affairs "would of course go well." This hath been the Cry so long, that, till of late, the Truth of the Affirmation hath scarce been doubted. The Manners, the Principles, the

SECT. II.

the Characters, the Conduct, of the higher Ranks and leading Members of the Community, from whence alone every State will for ever derive its particular Colour and Complexion, Strength or Weakness; these were never taken into the Account. Alas, what can it avail, that a Nation hath a Head, if she have no Hands! But Experience is the best Teacher: She hath already taught us much on this Topic; and, I fear, will teach us more.

"AMONG all Causes, none perhaps so "much contributes to raise or sink a Na-"tion, as the Manners and Principles of "its People*." Many other Causes may concur, and may indeed be the immediate Instruments of a Nation's Ruin; while the original Cause lies hid, or is seen only by those few, who dare descend and penetrate to the Foundations of political Happiness and Stability. 'Tis easy to see

* Vol. I. p. 13.

when

SECT. II.

when an Arch is ſhrunk; 'tis quite another Thing to find out the original Cauſe of its giving Way.

THE Preſident MONTESQUIEU hath a fine Obſervation, which may well be apply'd to this Subject; though that great Writer hath not ſo apply'd it. He ſays, "that, if "any Nation is undone by a particular "Event, as the Loſs of a Battle, there "muſt be ſome general Cauſe, why the "Loſs of a ſingle Battle could undo that "Nation *." He adds, "we ſee that for "near two Centuries the Land Armies of "*Denmark* have been almoſt always beat-"en by thoſe of *Sweden*: Setting aſide "the natural Courage and the Weapons "of the two Nations, there muſt be ſome "internal Defect in the military or civil "State of *Denmark*, which could be ſuf-"ficient to produce that Effect: And I "think it would not be difficult to deve-

* Grand. des Romains, &c. l. xviii.

"lope

SECT. II.

"lope it *." 'Tis pity he did not exert his Sagacity in this Enquiry. It was the Fate of *France* to be always beaten by the Allies in the general War which ravaged *Europe*, in the Beginning of this Century. What might be the ruling Cauſes of that general Effect, may hereafter be conſidered. Far different is the Fate of *France* and *England* at preſent: And it hath been, and is the Writer's main Intent to prove, that the ruling Cauſe of this ſtrange Cataſtrophe lies in the Manners and Principles of the leading Ranks of this degenerate Nation, and to trace thoſe Manners and Principles to their reſpective Sources.

LET me here add another Obſervation. Political Writers have generally attributed the Fall of States to ſome defective, falſe or improper Principle woven into the original Conſtitution of their *Laws*. Now

* Ibid.

this,

SECT. II.

this, in that Extent in which it is generally affirmed and underſtood, ſeems an entire Miſtake. For ſalutary Principles and Manners will of themſelves ſecure the Duration of a State, with very ill-modelled Laws: Whereas the beſt Laws can never ſecure the Duration of a State, where Manners and Principles are corrupted. Of theſe Truths, Hiſtory affords Inſtances abundant. The general Defect, therefore, of political Inſtitutions hath been, their not effectually providing for the Continuance and Stability of Principles and Manners; of Religion, Public Spirit, Honour, Temperance, Fortitude. This Truth will perhaps be readily allowed, as it regards Nations that are deeply ſunk in Effeminacy, and ready to be ſwallowed up by ſome warlike Neighbours: But it is no leſs certain, as it regards the internal Ballance of Power in any Nation whatever; although Volumes have been written on that Subject, without

SECT. II.

out ſo much as taking this Truth into the Account*. To offer one Inſtance, out of innumerable that might be brought from every Period of Hiſtory;—It is the ſole Force of *Manners* and a *Principle*, that prevents *France* from ſinking into the deepeſt and moſt abandoned Deſpotiſm. This Principle, and it's correſpondent Manners give the *French* many of the Bleſſings of Liberty; while their mere political Conſtitution ſavours as much of Deſpotiſm as that of many of their Neighbours, who feel all the Rigours of Oppreſſion.

HENCE then appears the important Uſe of inveſtigating the real and particular State of the Manners and Principles of a Commonwealth,

* Two of our own Countrymen, Lord *Bolingbroke* and Mr. *David Hume*, (the firſt of them eſteemed a capital Writer in Politics) have written whole Syſtems of Policy, without ſo much as mentioning, or ſeeming to regard, this ruling Circumſtance.

SECT. II.

monwealth: Since, altho' it be a Circumſtance totally overlooked by many ſuperficial Pretenders to the political Science, and looſely and blindly declaimed by upon others, yet is it the only Method by which we can rationally determine the Strength or Weakneſs, the Danger or Security of a State.

AND here the penetrating MACHIAVEL ſeems to have erred in his Determinations on this Point. He ſays, "As good Cuſ-"toms cannot ſubſiſt without good Laws, "ſo good Laws cannot be executed with-"out good Cuſtoms*." The latter Part of the Sentence is a great Truth: The former Part is a vulgar Error. So long as the Cauſes of corrupt Manners are abſent, good Manners preſerve themſelves without

* Diſc. l. i. c. xviii.

The ſeveral Paſſages quoted from MACHIAVEL, are generally taken, with very few Alterations, from the Tranſlation publiſhed in 1680: The Author did not think it neceſſary to load the Page with the Paſſages in the Original *Italian*; as it is a Language, which but a few of his Readers may have ſtudied.

"Laws,

SECT. II.

Laws, or with bad Laws. Good Laws are only then neceſſary, as the Means of Prevention, when corrupt Manners or Cuſtoms take Place.

"To rail at the Times at large, can "ſerve no good Purpoſe; and generally "ariſeth from a Want of Knowledge, or "a Want of Honeſty*." No Labour is more *uſeleſs*, than that of railing at the Times at large, becauſe, as a great Writer hath obſerved, "no certain Rule can be "preſcribed, unleſs we know the Degrees, "or Kinds of Corruption †". No Labour is more *eaſy*, than to rail at large on the Corruptions of the Times, becauſe there are Corruptions in *all* Times. Nothing perhaps is more *difficult*, than to point out the peculiar Colour, and leading Character, of any Times: Becauſe this requires not only a juſt and extended Diſcernment

* Vol. I. p. 15. † Machiavel's Diſc. B. i. c. 18.

SECT. II.

of Men and Things as they exiſt, but as they unite, act, or are acted on, as Cauſes and Effects. It muſt likewiſe be the Reſult of a ſevere Impartiality, which can ſtand aloof, ſuperior to all Connexions; a Quality ſeldom found, and never approved, but by the Impartial. To the firſt of theſe Qualities, *Dulneſs* or *Refinements* are as dangerous Enemies, as *Attachments* or *Reſentments* to the laſt.

"In ſome Reſpects, perhaps, there is "no Time nor Country delivered down to "us in Story, in which a wiſe Man would "ſo much wiſh to have lived, as in our "own *." It hath been aſked, in what Reſpects? Let us do Juſtice to our Age and Country in every Regard. A political Conſtitution, ſuperior to all that Hiſtory hath recorded, or preſent Times can boaſt: A religious Eſtabliſhment, which breathes univerſal Charity and Toleration: A

* See Vol. I. p. 15.

Separation

SECT. II.

Separation from the Continent, that naturally ſecures us from the Calamities of Invaſion, and the Temptations to Conqueſt *: A Climate, fertile in the ſubſtantial Comforts of Life: A Spirit of Liberty, yet unconquered: A general Humanity and Sincerity beyond any Nation upon Earth: An Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that hath even ſilenced Envy. Theſe are Bleſſings which every *Engliſhman* feels, and ought to acknowledge. Search thro' all

* MACHIAVEL, ſpeaking on the Stability of a Commonwealth, reaſons in the following Manner. "I ſhould think, therefore, a Commonwealth that "would ſtand long, ſhould ſeat itſelf in ſo ſtrong "and inexpugnable a Place, that it might not appre-"hend any ſudden Inſult; nor make itſelf ſo great "as to become formidable to its Neighbours. For "the common Motives that excite People to "make War upon a Commonwealth, are two; "either to *conquer* it themſelves, or to *ſecure them-"ſelves* againſt it: And by the aforeſaid Expedient, "both theſe Motives are prevented †." This Reaſoning he applies to SPARTA and VENICE: I need not point out to the Reader, how much more applicable it is to BRITAIN.

† Diſc. Pol. l. i. c. 6.

the

SECT. II.

the moſt admired Periods of the moſt admired Countries, the moſt flouriſhing Æra's of *Greece*, *Italy*, or *France*; and tell me, if in any of theſe, ſuch an *Union* can be found? A Volume might be written in Proof and Diſplay of this Superiority.

"NOTWITHSTANDING this, our Situa-
" tion ſeems moſt dangerous: We are roll-
" ing to the Brink of a Precipice that muſt
" deſtroy us *." Becauſe, in the Writer's Opinion, the Manners and Principles that are taking Root among us, will ſoon poiſon theſe generous Plants, and in the End deſtroy them.

"AT ſuch a Juncture, to hold up a true
" Mirror to the Public, and let the Na-
" tion ſee *themſelves*, as the Authors of
" their own Misfortunes, cannot be a very
" popular Deſign †." This is *improperly*, becauſe *too generally* expreſſed: 'Tis the

* Vol. I. p. 15. † Ibid.

leading

SECT. II.

leading Part of the Nation chiefly, if not only, that the Writer eſteems accountable for the Miſeries that threaten us: As appears by the general Tenor of his Work.

"WHY then, (it hath been aſked)
" ſhould a Man in private Life ſtand forth
" to offend the *Great?*" Indeed, he means not to *give* Offence; but if it *will* be *taken*, he cannot help it.

SCHEMES of Reformation, 'tis true, are generally regarded as chimerical: And an agreeable Writer, who knew the World, tells us, that "Quarrels with the Age, and
" Pretences of reforming it, end com-
" monly like the Pains of a Man in a
" little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that
" is faſt to a Ship. It looks as if he meant
" to draw the Ship to him; but the Truth
" is, he draws himſelf to the Ship, where
" he gets in, and does like the reſt of the
" Crew*." On this pretty Alluſion, I

* Sir *William Temple*.

SECT. II.

have only to remark, that had the State of the *Fact* alluded to been more *philoſophical*, the *political* Application had been more *juſt*. For as in reality the Man in the little Boat, while he is drawn towards the *Ship*, draws the Ship towards *him* in a certain Degree; ſo the Cenſor of Manners, though himſelf may be drawn towards the ruling Manners of the Times, yet if he cenſures juſtly, need not deſpair of drawing the vaſt political Machine towards his philoſophic Barque, in Proportion to it's *Weight*, however inconſiderable. In plain Terms; Though it were Folly to expect, that any Work of this Kind can effect a general Reformation (a Thing which the Author was never ſo ignorant as to dream of) yet it wants not it's real Uſe. It tends to preſerve the honeſt Impreſſions yet left among us; to keep up the Combat againſt thoſe Vices, Follies, Corruptions, Profligacies, which, if not oppoſed, would ſoon overwhelm us:

SECT. II.

us: And if the Flame ſhould chance to ſtrike upon a few great and generous Minds, may poſſibly conſpire to rouſe a Spirit of public Virtue in this degenerate Kingdom, where it is now weakened or extinct.

SECT. III.

Farther Remarks on the Spirit of Liberty.

SECT. III.

AMONG the remaining Virtues yet left us, the Spirit of *Liberty* was placed as the main Foundation. A Queſtion naturally riſeth here, to which the too general Expreſſion of the firſt Volume affords no Solution: "Is the Spirit of *Liberty* con-
"ſiſtent with an eſtabliſhed *Effeminacy*,
"and Want of *Principle*? If not, then
"how can it be affirmed, that this Spirit of
"*Liberty* can ſubſiſt among a People,
"whoſe ruling Character is that of *effemi-*
"*nate Manners*, and Defect of *Princi-*
"*ple*?"

SECT. III.

It ſeems to me then, that the Spirit of *Liberty* is indeed totally inconſiſtent with an eſtabliſhed *Effeminacy* and Want of *Principle:* Inaſmuch as theſe two Cauſes, above every other, tend to debaſe the Mind, and fit it for Subjection. With Regard, therefore, to the latter Part of the Queſtion, the Truth is, that the Spirit of Liberty ſubſiſts yet among the *middle*, and ſome of the *lower* Ranks; but is much weakened, and in many Inſtances extinguiſhed, among the *higher*. The Reaſon, I apprehend, why this Virtue abounds more in middle, than in high Life, is, that the firſt is not yet effectually tainted by the ruling Manners and Principles of the Times. This Diſtinction accounts for a Fact, which at firſt View may ſeem a Contradiction; that the Spirit of Liberty and Effeminacy may ſubſiſt together: They do indeed ſubſiſt together in the *ſame Nation*, but not in the *ſame Ranks*.

SECT. III.

"Whereas the Spirit of Liberty hath "been ingrafted by the Arts of Policy in "other Countries, it ſhoots up here, as "from its natural Climate, Stock, and "Soil *." It may not, perhaps, ſufficiently gratify the Self-eſteem of a true *Engliſhman*, to be told, that the Root of this fair Plant is no other than a certain Impatience of Controul, ariſing from a Spirit of Chagrin; which hath, for it's original Cauſe, the Soil, Food, Winds, and Climate. This, indeed, hath long been my Opinion; and it gave me Pleaſure, to find it confirmed by that of Baron Montesquieu; who hath indirectly, at leaſt, affirmed it †. I will add a further Obſervation; which is, that as this Spirit of Chagrin, and ſplenetic Turn of Mind, ſeems the original Cauſe of *our* Spirit of Liberty; ſo the gay, chearful, and contented Turn of the

* Vol. I. p. 19. † L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xiv. c. 13.

French,

SECT. III. *French*, is certainly one ruling Cause of their Slavery. The Truth is, they are happy under it; and therefore no Desire of changing their Condition ever ariseth in their Hearts: For it is Uneasiness alone, that prompts to change. Shift the Inhabitants of each Kingdom into the other's Place, and, in another Generation, the Posterity of the *Slaves* would become *Freemen*; and those of the *Freemen*, *Slaves*.

WHICH of the two Nations are happier in their respective States, no impartial Man will be bold to pronounce, as he cannot have Trial of the internal Feelings of other Men. But what a Writer of fine Sense hath said, may surely be applied here; who, speaking of the Condition of the *French*, says, "I do not call it miserable "(the Term usually given it) because no "Condition is so, but to him that esteems "it so: And if a *Paisan* of *France* "thinks of no more than his coarse Bread "and his Onions, his Canvas Cloaths and

"wooden Shoes; labours contentedly on "Working-Days, and dances or plays "merrily on Holidays; he may, for ought "I know, live as well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very "Ease, or whose Cares of growing still "richer and richer, waste his Life in Toils "at Land, or Dangers at Sea; and perhaps fool him so far, as to make him enjoy less of all Kind in his Riches, than "t'other in his Poverty *."

SECT. III.

BUT though absolute Rule be compatible with the Happiness of the *French*; I apprehend, that Liberty is the first necessary Ingredient in the Composition of *English* Happiness. As our Temper, resulting from our Food and Climate, naturally urgeth us to the Pursuit of Freedom; so, were we deprived of it, our Sensibility of Servitude must be extreme.

* Sir *William Temple*, vol. I. p. 92.

FAR-

SECT. III.

FARTHER: The fine Writer juſt now cited, affirms that "the *Engliſh* do well to "be watchful of their *Liberty*; for if ever "they are inſlaved, they will be the com-"pleateſt *Slaves* upon Earth*." He hath not given the Reaſons on which he founds his Affirmation: Yet the Remark, tho' it carries the Appearance of Refinement and Improbability, I believe is juſt. I would Reaſon thus upon it. The ſame ruling Cauſes which produce that Gayety and Contentment of Heart, which give Birth to Servitude in *France*, and make the People eaſy under it—the ſame ruling Cauſes do naturally produce a gentle Uſe of Power in thoſe who rule. On the contrary, if that *Engliſh* Liberty ſhould be loſt, which is the Reſult of a local Spleen, and that local Spleen ſhould continue in it's Strength, who ſees not, that the Exerciſe of unlimited Power in ſuch a Cli-

* L'Eſprit des Loix.

mate,

mate, muſt be barbarous, brutal, and abandoned?

SECT. III.

"The Deſtruction of Liberty (in *Eng-"land)* by external Violence, will proba-"bly be no more than temporary*." Becauſe that local Spleen which gives it Birth, will, in Caſe of an Overturn, be in perpetual Ferment, till it brings about it's Reſtoration. This Climate will for ever form the Complexion of it's Inhabitants. Degenerate *Engliſhmen*, though *free*, may be ſubdued by *Foreigners*, though *Slaves*: But the Climate will conquer in it's Turn; the Poſterity of thoſe Slaves will throw off the Yoke, and defy the ſervile Maxims of their Forefathers.

"But it is remarkable, that in Propor-"tion as this Spirit hath grown weak in "*Deeds*, it hath gained Strength in "*Words*; and of late run out, into un-

* Vol. I. p. 20.

"bound-

SECT. III.

" bounded Licence*." It hath grown *weak* in *Deeds*, because it hath grown weak among those whose Province it is to *act*: It hath gained *Strength* in *Words*, because it is strong in those who have only the Privilege to *speak*. It hath of late run out into unbounded Licence, through certain unhappy Causes which might be explained: But the Writer chuseth rather to be silent, than either to say such Things as might seem to aggravate the Evil, or such as would be inconsistent with that inviolable Regard which he will ever maintain for Truth.

SECT. IV.

Remarks on the Spirit of Humanity.

SECT. IV.

" The Lenity of our Laws, the many " noble Foundations, *&c:* All these are " such indisputable Proofs of a National " Humanity, as it were the highest In-

* Vol. I. p. 18.

" justice

SECT. IV.

" justice not to acknowledge and ap- " plaud*." This Remark is not to be limited to the middle Ranks, like that upon the Spirit of Liberty. For, to do Justice to the higher Ranks of this Kingdom, it may be maintained, that, in Point of *Humanity*, they have not their Equals upon Earth.

It may seem improbable, or perhaps incredible, that such a Spirit of *Humanity* should remain in those Ranks among whom the Spirit of *Liberty* is weakened or extinct. Yet the Fact is indisputable. I could point out a certain Transaction, which passed last Year in two great Assemblies, in Regard to a Marriage Settlement, which, if examined to the Bottom, would be an incontestable Proof of what is here advanced: In which, for the sake of making two Individuals happy, a Step was taken, at which our more rigorous Fore-

* Vol. I. p. 21, 22.

fathers

SECT. IV.

fathers would have ſtarted, as ſubverſive of all Law, Policy, and Freedom. But I forbear.

HOWEVER, thus much in general may be affirmed without Offence, that Humanity neither *improved* nor *controuled*, is always *defective* and partial; and *may be* very *dangerous* in its Effects. When once the leading Meaſures of a Kingdom are drawn from a Regard to *Individuals*, rather than the *Public* State, it is certain, that "the Pillars of that State are ſhaken."

LET us now conſider, whence this Spirit of Humanity may ariſe, and how it comes to be continued among a People of ſuch a Complexion. One Cauſe ſeems to be the *Excellence* of our *Religion*; which although thrown off and deſpiſed by the faſhionable World in their Maturity of Age; yet having tinctured the Infant Mind, leaves it's ſalutary Effects behind it, in ſpite of every acquired ill Habit. That the

SECT. IV.

the Mode of *Chriſtianity* eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom is at leaſt inferior to none, ſeems evident from this one Circumſtance, that "every other religious ſect eſteems and "loves it, next to their own."

THE Lenity of our *Laws* is another Preſervative of the National *Humanity*. Indeed they are drawn in great Part, from the ſame pure Fountain of Truth with our *Religion*; and therefore may well be expected, in great Part, to produce the ſame happy Effect.

BUT that Juſtice may be done in every View, it muſt not be diſguiſed, that another Cauſe, hinted but not explained in the firſt Volume, hath its Share in this amiable Production. "Humanity to Diſtreſs, we "have already marked as another Cha-"racter of the Times: But whether our "very Effeminacy be not one of its "Sources, might probably be a Queſtion "more curious in its Progreſs, than agree-able

SECT. IV.

" able in its Solution *." Thus, and naturally, the Matter may be explained. Effeminacy begets Cowardice, and a Dread of enduring and ſuffering of every Kind. Minds thus conſtituted are eaſily moved by the *apparent* Sufferings of others: Hence, where oppoſite Paſſions prevail not, *Pity* is generally ſtrong in *Women*: And hence Pity, or Humanity, is the natural Growth of an *effeminate Nation*: That is, of a Nation which *reſembles Women*.

THIS farther Diſtinction is to be made: That ſo far as Humanity ariſeth from Courage tempered by pure Religion, it will be regular, extenſive, and conſiſtent: So far as it ariſeth from Effeminacy, it will be partial, irrational, and confined: Which of theſe two is the leading Character of the Humanity of our Times and Nation, I leave others to determine. By comparing it with the Humanity of the laſt Cen-

* Vol. I. p. 16.

tury,

SECT. IV.

tury, when there was more of Principle, and leſs of Effeminacy, its Character will be more evident.

" THESE are concurrent Proofs, that " the Spirit of Humanity is natural to our " Nation *." This was inconſiderately affirmed. The Spirit of Liberty *is*, but but that of Humanity *is not* natural to our Nation. The Proof lies in the Hiſtory of the Country; which tells us, that in ancient Times, before *Chriſtianity* came among us, tho' the Spirit of Liberty was ſtrong, yet the ruling Character of the Nation was that of *barbarous* and *inhuman*. This may ſerve as an additional Proof, that our preſent Humanity ariſeth from the Cauſes aſſigned above.

SECT. V.

A Remark on the Inhumanity of the ITALIANS.

SECT. V.

LET me here, for once, make an Excurſion into my more general Plan, that I

* Vol. I. p. 21.

may

SECT. V.

may bring home an Obſervation which hath a diſtant, though not an intimate Connexion with the Subject of the laſt Section.

THE ITALIANS are an effeminate People; yet in the general Opinion, void of Humanity: They are given to Cruelty, Treachery, Aſſaſſination. The Queſtion is, then, from what Cauſes this ſingular Appearance may ariſe?

IT is commonly affirmed and ſuppoſed to be *natural* to the Country. But they who talk thus, I think, mean no more (ſo far as they mean any thing) than this, that there is ſome Cauſe unknown, which produceth this Crime in ITALY, rather than elſewhere.

MACHIAVEL, who knew Mankind, aſcribes this Degeneracy in the People, to the Wickedneſs and ill Example of their Rulers. "If the People of our Times "are infamous for Thefts and Robberies, "and

SECT. V.

"and plundering, and ſuch Kind of Enor-
"mities, it proceeds from the Exorbitance
"and Rapacity of their Governors. Ro-
"MANIA (before ALEXANDER the ſixth *ex-*
"*terminated* thoſe Lords who had the
"Command in thoſe Parts) was a
"Place of all Kind of Diſſoluteneſs
"and Iniquity: Every Day, and every
"trivial Occaſion producing notorious
"Murders and Rapines: Which was not
"ſo much from any *Depravity in the Na-*
"*ture of the People*, as ſome Perſons
"would have it, as from the Corruption
"of their Princes: For being poor of
"themſelves, and yet ambitious to live in
"Splendor and Magnificence, they were
"forced upon ill Courſes; and in-
"deed refuſed none that could ſupply
"them*." This, in ſome Meaſure, accounts for the Inhumanity of the People: But we are ſtill at a Loſs, as much as ever,

* Mach. Diſc. Pol. l. iii. c. 29.

SECT. V.

how ſuch an *exterminating* Principle came firſt among the Great.

WHAT follows, then, ſeems the natural Solution of the Queſtion. When ITALY became divided into a vaſt Number of petty States, the Contentions and Factions in theſe States were endleſs. The Parties were often too ſmall to levy Armies: Hence Conſpiracies, Inſurrections, Aſſaſſinations by Sword or Poiſon, were the common, becauſe the readieſt Way of proſecuting the political Deſigns either of the Oppreſſors or the Oppreſſed*. By this Means, the dreadful Practice of Aſſaſſination, by being applied *politically*, loſt a great Part of its Horror in the Minds of the Parties who practiſed it: Thus it naturally crept into private Uſe; and hath been of Courſe tranſmitted from one Generation to another.

HENCE appears the great Importance of curbing the Violence and Horrors of *public*

* See *Machiavel's* Hiſtorical Tracts, paſſim.

SECT. V.

lic Contention, by what are called the Laws of War and of Nations. Since the oppoſite Conduct is not only attended with immediate Cruelties, but, what is worſe, is in Danger of ſtriking its Colours into *private* Life, and giving even to ſucceeding Times the Complexion of *Inhumanity*.

WE muſt not leave this Subject, without adding a Remark on MACHIAVEL himſelf; who undoubtedly writ under the Influence of this Habit of thinking ſo peculiar to *Italy*. For we ſee, in the Paſſage now cited, that altho' he ſpeaks with Reſentment againſt the private Murders ſo common in his Days, yet he mentions thoſe *political Aſſaſſinations* with a kind of Approbation, for which ALEXANDER the ſixth and his Son VALENTINE, are ſo juſtly infamous thro' all *Europe*. He expreſsly treats of this Method of acquiring Government; and with all the *Sang froid* of a Man talking on a juſt and legitimate

SECT. V.

Subject *. Hence, Conclusions have been drawn much in his Disfavour, as a Man abandoned to all Wickedness; while others have adopted the contrary Opinion, and affirmed, that he pointed out these Ways of iniquitous Policy and Assassination, that he might teach Mankind more effectually to prevent them. Now in Truth, these two Opinions are equally groundless; for on the one Hand, his Writings abound with incontestable Proofs, that he was a Wellwisher to his Country and Mankind: On the other it must be allowed, that he hath rather shewn the Methods of treacherous Policy, than the Ways of preventing them. The Truth is, those iniquitous Practices, which shock *our* Humanity, were familiarized to *his* Imagination by the common Usage of his Country: Hence he treated them, as he did other political Maxims of better Stamp, and only talked

* See his Prince, c. viii.

the

SECT. V.

the Language of his Times and Nation. Nay it appears from a particular Passage in his Works, that he vindicated this Practice of Assassination, as being in some Cases a Principle of the truest Humanity. CÆSAR BORGIA was counted cruel, yet that "Cruelty reduced ROMAGNA, united it, "settled it in Peace, and rendered it "faithful; so that if well considered, he "will appear much more merciful than "the FLORENTINES, who, rather than "be thought cruel, suffered PISTOIA to "be destroyed *." These no doubt, are horrid Maxims, and as could never have arisen in the Mind of such a Man as MACHIAVEL, but from the Cause assigned above. They are the more to be lamented, as they have thrown a Cloud over the Fame of one, who in my Opinion is the greatest political Reasoner upon Facts, that hath appeared in any Age or Country.

* Prince, c. xvii.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Remarks on the Ruling Manners of the Times.

SECT. VI. THOUGH the Writer made his beſt Efforts, in his firſt Eſſay, towards a true *Likeneſs* of the Genius of the Times; and tho' he believes he caught the ruling Features; yet the World ſhould not regard that as a complete Portrait, which, in the Painter's Language, ought only to be ſtyled the *Dead Colour*. The Public therefore is requeſted to give him a *ſecond Sitting*; that he may add thoſe particular, characteriſtic, and finiſhing Touches of Light and Shade, which eſcaped his Eye; and at the ſame Time ſmooth off ſome of thoſe *Aſperities*, which might poſſibly remain upon the Canvas, from the Rudeneſs of his *firſt* Pencil.

'TIS

'TIS again deſired, it may not be forgot, SECT. VI. "That this Eſtimate confines itſelf to ſuch "Conſequences only, as affect the Dura- "tion of the public State: So that the "leading Queſtion is, How far the preſent "ruling Manners and Principles of this "Nation may tend to its Continuance or "Deſtruction *." This is the more neceſſary to be repeated, becauſe eight Readers out of ten, it is believed, forget it, before they had turned the next Leaf.

"IN Conſequence of this Reſtriction, "the Manners and Principles of the com- "mon People will ſcarce find a Place in "the Account †." If the Manners and Principles of a common People are deſperately corrupt, they may haſten the Diſſolution of a State. But although they be good, they cannot preſerve it, if thoſe of the leading ranks be depraved.

* Vol. I. p. 24. † Ibid.

"How

SECT. VI.

" How far we may be from the laſt " Period of *Degeneracy*, it were Preſumption to affirm: At preſent, it is certain, " we are not arrived at it. Whenever this " fatal Time approaches, it will come " diſtinguiſhed by its proper and peculiar " Characters *." This, and the following Part of the Paragraph, will beſt be commented on by a Quotation from MACHIAVEL, deſcribing the profligate Period of declining ROME: " Commotions, Diſ" cord, Sedition, Aſſaſſinations, in Peace; " cruelty in War; Princes murthered; " *Italy* afflicted; its Cities deſtroy'd; *Rome* " burnt; the *Capital* by it's own Inhabi" tants demoliſhed; the ancient Temples " deſolate; religious Ceremonies prophan" ed; the City full of Adulteries; the " Sea covered with Exiles, the Rocks with " Blood; infinite Cruelties committed " daily in the City; Nobility, Riches, Ho-

* Vol. I. p. 28.

" nour

SECT. VI.

" nour, and *eſpecially* VIRTUE, grown to " be capital Offences: Informers and " Calumniators rewarded; Servants inſti" gated againſt their Maſters; Children " againſt their Parents; and thoſe few " who were ſo unhappy as to have no " Enemies, deſtroyed by their Friends*."

THAT the true Character of the Manners of our Age and Country is that of " a vain luxurious, and ſelfiſh Effemi" nacy," the Writer affirms will appear from a ſimple Enumeration of acknowledged Facts, " many of them indeed, " in Appearance, too *trite* to merit No" tice, and too *trifling* for Rebuke; were " they not, in their Tendency, as fatal to " the Stability of a Nation, as Maxims " and Manners more apparently flagi" tious †." On this, he underſtands, a Sort of Objection hath been raiſed, that a Work founded on Facts ſo *trite* and *trifling*,

* Diſc. Pol. l. i. c. 10. † p. 29.

muſt

SECT. VI. muſt be as *trite* and *trifling* as the *Facts* it is built on.

Now with Regard to his own Work, he is willing to allow the Objection to hold good, as far as any particular Reader chuſeth to think it ought. But with Regard to the Truth of the general Objection, he apprehends it will not hold good, for the following Reaſons,

1. BECAUSE all Reaſonings on every Subject, ought to be founded on *evident* Facts; and the more evident the Facts are, the more certain and concluſive the Reaſoning will be. Now an *evident* Fact is, in this Regard, the ſame as a *trite* one, before it can properly be apply'd in the Way of Argument: That is, it muſt offer itſelf clearly and inconteſtably to the Obſervation of the Writer and the Reader; whether it be drawn from ancient *Books* or modern *Practice*.

2. A

SECT. VI.

2. A SELECTION of *leading* Facts once made, may appear more obvious in itſelf than it really is. When you ſee Flowers or Shells well diſpoſed in a Variety of *Feſtons*, the Work may ſeem eaſy and obvious; and the more natural and pleaſing the Diſpoſition is, the more obvious it may ſeem: Yet may it have required a more delicate and inventive Fancy than is ſuſpected, to have made this proper Selection, from that confuſed Maſs of Forms and Colours which Nature offers to the Eye. To ſpeak without a Figure; there are in modern Manners many Appearances wholly contradictory and diſſimilar: The Age hath been branded in general Terms, as *ignorant* and *profligate*; it hath been applauded, as *knowing* and *virtuous*. Praiſe and Cenſure have been promiſcuouſly and blindly thrown out: But it is another Thing, to mark the peculiar and predominant Virtues and Vices, and give to each,

SECT. VI.

each, that Weight and Influence which it hath in Nature. On theſe Diſtinctions, indeed, the very Eſſence of ſuch a Work muſt depend: A Failure in theſe neceſſary Diſtinctions would be a Defect in the firſt Conception; and, like a falſe Outline in a Deſign, draw after it a Multitude of Errors: For, as a delicate Writer hath obſerved, "l'Allure principale entraine "avec elle tous les Accidens particu- "liers*."

3. THE more *trite* and *trifling* the Facts may ſeem, the more their Conſequences are likely to eſcape Notice: For Attention is naturally fixed only on things of manifeſt Importance: Now if indeed, notwithſtanding this, "they be in their Ten- "dency as fatal to the Stability of a Na- "tion, as Maxims and Manners *more ap- "parently* ſtagitious;" then, it may be not only a Taſk of ſome Importance, but

* Grandeur des Romains, c. 18.

of

SECT. VI.

of ſome Delicacy too, to trace them to their Conſequences and Sources, to point out their mutual Influence as Cauſe and Effect; and, in the very Plainneſs and Simplicity of Reaſoning, "ſearch out (as a "good old-faſhioned Writer ſomewhere "hath it) the Verities leſs expoſed to "View, and make them ſo familiar, that "they who perceived them not before, "may come as it were to touch them."

SECT. VII.

On the preſent ruling Motives to Marriage, and their Effects on Manners and Principles.

SECT. VII.

THE Writer obſerved, "that as the "firſt Habits of Infancy and Youth com- "monly determine the Character of the "Man, we might trace the Effeminacy "of modern Manners, even to the un- "wholeſome Warmth of a Nurſery*."

* Vol. I. p. 29.

This

SECT. VI.

This, though seemingly a good Aim, was falling short of the Mark: Modern Manners, and Principles too, are not a little sway'd by the present *sordid* and *prevailing* Motives to *Marriage*.

WHERE Virtue, Sense, Beauty, Birth, an Union of amiable Qualities, are the Motives that determine to Marriage; there, domestic Love and Happiness are the natural Concomitants. Hence a tender and generous Concern for the real Welfare, the Manners and Principles of the Offspring, naturally riseth and prevails in the Parents. Those Qualities which they see and love in each other, they naturally endeavour to transplant into their Posterity.

Now modern Matrimony, in high Life, (and the same wretched Spirit is creeping into the middle Ranks) is the Reverse of all this. Neither Virtue, Sense, Beauty,

SECT. VII.

Beauty, Birth, or the fairest Union of amiable Qualities, generally determine the Choice of either Sex. Instead of these, the most sordid Views of Wealth, or powerfull Alliance; a total Disregard to the Person chosen; a total Disregard to the domestic Comforts of Life; the most despicable Motives of Avarice, external Shew, Dissipation, or Profligacy; these do now most commonly prevail. Hence naturally arise Indifference or Aversion between the Parties.

IN Consequence of this Spirit, and *other Practices* which follow it, Separations and Divorces are now more frequent than ever. In the Year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven, when these Tracts were written, there were at one Time seventeen Divorces depending in one Court of Judicature in this Kingdom: A Circumstance of Infamy, unparallel'd in *English* Story.

SECT. VII.

THESE fatal Circumſtances conſpire to blaſt our riſing Spring. In Families thus diſpoſed, what can we expect, but that the *Education* of the Children muſt be *neglected*, or, what is worſe, *perverted?*

BESIDES, where neither Mind nor Perſon are the Objects of mutual Choice, but the vile Conſideration of Wealth the leading Motive; there, diſtempered Bodies, and diſtempered Minds (being frequently the Inheritors of Wealth) muſt of courſe be received, and tranſmitted to Poſterity.

ANOTHER neceſſary Conſequence of this low and ſelfiſh Principle of Marriage, is the *keeping* of Women, and the Increaſe of *illegitimate* Children. For where the ſordid Views of Avarice determine to Marriage, when thoſe Views cannot be gratified, a cheaper Way of Gratification than that of Marriage will take Place.

SECT. VII.

Now, who ſees not, that this growing Practice is a dreadful Drawback upon Manners and Principles? I mean not to affirm, that illegitimate Children are never virtuouſly brought up: But he muſt be bold indeed, who dares aſſert, that the Practice of *keeping* Women leads not, in general, to a *diſſolute Education* of the Offſpring.

HERE then we ſee how fatally this ſordid Motive to Marriage affects the *riſing* Generation, and therefore the Duration of the State. *When* and *whence* this low Principle had its Riſe, is a Conſideration which properly belongs to the third Part of this Work: But, after what hath been advanced, the original Cauſe ſo naturally offers itſelf to the Mind, that I need hardly affirm it to have been, "the exorbitant "Increaſe of Trade and Wealth." In *Scotland*, *France*, *Germany*, where the Exceſs of Trade and Wealth hath not yet

SECT. VII.

corrupted Manners, and honest Poverty is not yet disgraceful, the sordid Views of Gain seldom determine the Choice of either Sex to Marriage. This might stand as a sufficient Proof of the Cause here assigned: But it will appear still more evident, if we can fix the Time of this Principle rising among us, and shew it to be cotemporary with the *exorbitant* Increase of *Trade* and *Wealth*. And this, it happens, we are able to do, upon the Authority of a good Writer, who at the same Time that he affirms the *Fact*, seems to have had no Suspicion of the *Cause*. "Our Marriages are made, just like other "common Bargains and Sales, by the "mere Consideration of Interest or Gain, "without any of Love or Esteem, of "Birth or of Beauty itself, which ought "to be the true Ingredients of all happy "Compositions in this Kind, and of all "generous Productions. Yet this Custom "is of *no ancient Date* in *England*; and I "think

SECT. VII.

"think I remember, within *less than fifty* "*Years*, the first noble Families that "married into the City for downright "Money, and thereby introduced by De-"grees this public Grievance, which has "since ruined so many Estates by the Ne-"cessity of giving great Portions to "Daughters; impaired many Families "by the weak or mean Productions of "Marriages, made without any of that "Warmth and Spirit that is given them "by Force of Inclination and personal "Choice; and extinguished many great "ones by the Aversion of the Persons "who should have continued them*."

HERE, we see, the Date of the Fact is settled by clear Evidence: The Rise of this Principle, then, was coincident with the Time when our Trade and Wealth grew *exorbitant*; and may justly be ranked among their earliest *apparent Effects*.

* Sir *William Temple*, Vol. I. p. 268.

SECT. VIII.

Of another Source of improper Education of Youth.

SECT. VIII.

THE Subſtance of the following juſt and ſenſible Remark was ſent to the Author from an unknown Hand.

THERE is a Miſtake in the Diſpoſal of Youth, which generally prevails, and is of pernicious Conſequence to the Public. Their Genius is conſulted *too little*, or their Inclination *too much*, in the Choice of a Profeſſion. Their Genius is conſulted *too little*, when it is determined perhaps from their Birth, what ſhall be their Profeſſion, without any Regard had to their future Talents or Diſpoſition. Their Inclination is conſulted *too much*, when they are allowed to make a Choice for themſelves, while their unformed Opinions are ſwayed by the firſt glaring Object that catches

SECT. VIII.

catches their Imagination. If the Boy is in the Neighbourhood of ſome *Clergyman*, who lives with Hoſpitality and Reputation, the *Miniſtry* appears to him moſt *deſirable*. If he hath had frequent Opportunities of ſeeing the Finery, Power, and Parade of *Officers* in their *Quarters*, nothing perhaps appears more charming than the *military Life*. If an *eminent Lawyer* lives within his Obſervation, the *Law* will ſeem the ready Road to Wealth and Honour. The fond Parent looks on theſe as happy Omens of Succeſs: Hence the Child is indulged in an inconſiderate Choice, without any Warning given of the *Duties* and *Difficulties* that attend every Profeſſion. When, therefore, he is poſſeſſed of his haſty Wiſh, and finds himſelf among *Thorns*, where he expected *Roſes*, he grows at once diſſatisfied, negligent, and *uſeleſs*. Thus are Numbers miſplaced in the World; and, by this wrong Poſition, are rendered obſcure or hurtful, when

SECT. VIII. when they might have ſhone and been beneficial to the Public, if fixed in their proper Sphere. Many a daſtardly Officer might have exerted himſelf with Spirit at the Bar: Many a baſhful Lawyer might have appeared with Credit in the Pulpit: Many a bold-ſwaggering Churchman might have been a brave Admiral or General: And many an induſtrious Alderman is buried in a Country Curacy.

SECT. IX.

Farther Remarks on the Univerſities.

SECT. IX. Is it not ſomewhat ſtrange, that the *higher* a young Man's Rank is in our *Univerſities*, and the more important thoſe Stations are, to which, by that higher Rank, he is ordained; the more he is at Liberty to take his full Range in the fertile Fields of *Idleneſs* and *Inclination?* Yet this hath long been the State of our Univerſities; and hath had its Riſe, partly from the

SECT. IX. the miſtaken Fondneſs and Vanity of Parents in high Life, who muſt needs have their Sons diſtinguiſhed by the Article of *Expence*, even in a *College*; and partly from the Temptations of *Gain* and *Credit* in the *Governors* and *Tutors* of the ſeveral Colleges, who thus make their Court to idle Sons and weak Mothers, in Proportion as they ſuffer their wealthy Pupils to live, and return, laden with *Ignorance* and *Vice*. However, it were not Juſtice (to ſome Colleges, at leaſt, in one of our Univerſities) not to aſſure the Public, that this fatal Practice is wearing off; and a *rational Subjection* to College Rules expected and required from thoſe of the higheſt Rank and Station.

THE Writer is informed, that much Exception hath been made to what he affirmed concerning the Univerſity *Profeſſorſhips*, and the Poſſibility of their being rendered uſeful to the Public. What follows,

SECT. IX.

lows, is a Summary of his Sentiments on that Subject.

IT was never meant to be affirmed, that the *public Lectures* of Profeſſors ſhould be the only Means of Inſtruction in the academic Education. This Practice is well known to be very inſufficient, in all *foreign* Univerſities where it takes Place. On the other Hand, neither can the private Lectures of College Tutors be of ſufficient Power, for the Reaſons aſſigned in the firſt Volume.* A Union of theſe, therefore, ſeems to be the true and effectual Syſtem. *College Tutors* ſhould *inſtruct* their Pupils; but *College Tutors* themſelves ought to be *overſeen*, and perhaps *inſtructed*, by the *Profeſſors* in their ſeveral Departments; who ought to be Men of ſingular Capacity and Eminence, appointed for this great Purpoſe. The Univerſities, in this important Circumſtance, would do well to conſider the State of the great Schools. What a Maim

† P. 32, 33.

would

SECT. IX.

would thoſe of ETON and WESTMINSTER receive, ſhould the Head Maſters deſert the Duties of their Station, and leave their Boys to the blind Direction of every pert *Aſſiſtant?* The *Heads* of Colleges, indeed, might ſtand here in the Place of the *Profeſſors*, or at leaſt aid them in this important Taſk: And it were much to be wiſhed, that, inſtead of a perpetual Attention to Cards, Tea, ſumptuous Entertainments, and Parties of Pleaſure, theſe Gentlemen would now and then recollect what was the *original Purpoſe* of College Government.

NOTHING of perſonal Invective is here intended. The Evil is ſo general, that it manifeſtly lies in the Manners of the Times, not in thoſe of Individuals. But this Circumſtance makes the Evil ſo much the heavier, and therefore the rather to be noted, as it tends to prevent all Remedy.

ONE

SECT. IX.

ONE Remark more ſhall cloſe my Strictures on this Subject.

TO *think* juſtly, to *write* well, to *ſpeak* agreeably, are the three great Ends of academic Inſtruction. The Univerſities will excuſe me, if I obſerve, that *both* are, in one reſpect or other, defective in theſe three capital Points of Education. While in CAMBRIDGE the general Application is turned altogether on *ſpeculative* Knowledge, with little Regard to *polite* Letters, *Taſte*, or *Style*: in OXFORD, the whole Attention is directed towards claſſical *Correctneſs*, without any ſound Foundation laid in ſevere *Reaſoning* and *Philoſophy*: In CAMBRIDGE and in OXFORD, the Art of *ſpeaking* agreeably is ſo far from being taught, that it is hardly talked or thought of. Theſe Defects naturally produce dry unaffecting Compoſitions in the *one*; ſuperficial Taſte and puerile Elegance in the *other*; ungracious or affected ſpeech in *both*.

SECT. IX.

SECT. X.

An additional Remark on modern Travelling.

SECT. X.

TO what was obſerved on this Subject, in the firſt Volume, this farther Remark muſt be added.

THERE is not, perhaps, a more important political Principle than this, "That "the ruling Habits of young Men, both "in Thought and Action, ſhould be "thrown as much as poſſible into one "Channel in every Kingdom, and form-"ed ſuitable to the Laws, the Cuſtoms, "the Climate, the *Genius*, of their own "*Country*." I have much to ſay upon this Subject, on a future Occaſion: At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that the pernicious Practice of early Travelling, ſo much in Vogue at preſent, ſtands in direct

SECT. X.

direct Oppoſition to this ſalutary Principle. The Genius of *our* Country, above all others, is particularly diſtinguiſhed from that of its Neighbour Nations. To this therefore the Taſte and Habits of our riſing Youth ought to be ſeverely and unalterably formed, before they be permitted to wander abroad in ignorant Wonder and Curioſity, in thoſe Countries where they imbibe Maxims, political, moral, and religious, eſſentially oppoſite to thoſe which are the main Foundations of the Stability of our public State. Thus fraught with miſchievous, inſtead of wholeſome Prejudices, our young *Men of Quality* return, at once the Contemners and the Contempt of their own wiſer Countrymen.

CERTAINLY, the Legiſlature could not take a more effectual Step towards reſtoring Manners and Principles, than by ſuppreſſing this moſt pernicious Practice of *early Travel*.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Farther Obſervations on the Manners of the Times.

SECT. XI.

THE Writer, ſpeaking of the Ridicule of modern Dreſs, obſerved, that "yet in "this, muſt every Man of every Rank "and Age employ his Mornings, who "pretends to keep *good Company**." The vulgar Reader, after this Obſervation made, may probably be at a Loſs to know what is meant by "*Good Company*." Obſerve, how we have imported the Idea from *France*: "Les Gens qu'on dit être de "*bonne Compagnie*, ne ſont ſouvent que "ceux, dont le *vice* eſt *plus rafiné* ‡."

"THUS we ſee Gaming eſtabliſhed on "the two great Pillars of Self-Intereſt and "Pleaſure: and on theſe Foundations "ſeems to reſt the Midnight Riot and

* Vol. I. p. 35. ‡ Lettres Perſanes.

SECT. XI.

"Dissipation of modern Assemblies *."

This false Taste of Interest and Pleasure hath produced a great Evil, which is now becoming general. Every Man of Fortune hath now a splendid House in Town, where his Forefathers were contented with a temporary Lodging. Here he passeth, at least, half the Year: By which means, the ancient and generous *Hospitality* of the Country is neglected, and *derided*; and a Kind of *polished Selfishness* takes Place. The honest Peasant is *racked* to the last Excess; and not only so, but the Villages are immediately drained of their natural Wealth, which is transported to the grand Scene of *Dissipation*; and with Difficulty finds its Way back again, especially to the remoter Provinces.

It may be objected, perhaps, that the old *Hospitality* was not less *expensive* than modern *Town-Entertainments*. But supposing this true, there were two Consequences good and salutary. First, the Money was mostly expended for the useful Produce of our own Country: Whereas the modern Entertainments generally consist of such *exotic Articles*, as no *Englishman* of *middle* Rank ever heard of. Secondly, while the old Taste continued, the *great* People of course mixed with their *Neighbours* in the Country: This generous Communication naturally created or improved in them a Spirit of Benevolence towards their Countrymen, though their Inferiors. Hence, when they came to Town on the Business of the Public, they naturally brought along with them a Regard to the real Interests of their Friends and Neighbours, whose good or social Qualities they knew and loved. Now, the present prevailing System of Town-Effeminacy leads to the Reverse of all this. The Country Seats are depopulated; their Owners are estranged from those, with whom

* Vol. I. p. 40.

SECT. XI.

SECT. XI.

whom the true Interest of their Country requires them to have the closest Connexions. A total Forgetfulness of their provincial Duty takes Place: Vain and Effeminate Dissipation is the End; Money, rapaciously sought after, is the Means; no matter whence, at whose Expence, or on what Conditions it comes; whether from the *Farmer's Purse*, or the KING's *Exchequer*.

"A KNOWLEDGE of Books, a Taste in "Arts, a Proficiency in Science, was "formerly regarded as a proper Qualifi-"cation in a Man of Fashion, *&c.**" Yet even this Taste and Proficiency itself ought to be controuled and regulated: It ought to be considered as a *secondary* and *subordinate* Qualification, subject to the higher Views of *Religion*, *Morals*, and *civil Policy*. Otherwise, even the *truest Taste* commonly degenerates, and

* Vol. I. p. 41.

forms

SECT. XI.

forms a Character of illiberal *Conceit* and *Affectation*; drawing down the Mind from higher Pursuits, no less than Effeminacy itself: Perhaps, thus circumstanced, it may even be styled a *Species of Effeminacy*. In Proof of this Remark we need only observe, that the best Proficients in *Poetry*, *Painting*, *Music*, *Literature*, when they are *merely such*, whether their Conversation lies among *Books* or in the *World*, equally form useless and ridiculous Characters; the Difference consists but in a few *Externals*, between the *trim literary Fop*, and the *sullen literary Pedant*.

"A GENERAL Hash of these, served "up in some monthly Mess of Dulness, "is the meagre literary Diet of Town and "Country*." This relates to two notorious Gangs of *monthly* and *critical* Book-Thieves, hackney'd in the Ways of

* Vol. I. p. 43.

SECT. XI.

Wickedneſs, who, in the Rage of Hunger and Malice, firſt *plunder*, and then *abuſe*, *maim*, or *murder*, every honeſt Author who is poſſeſſed of ought worth their *carrying off*; yet by ſkulking among other Vermin in *Cellars* and *Garrets*, keep their Perſons tolerably out of Sight, and thus *eſcape* the Hands of *literary Juſtice*.

"OUR Operas are diſgraced with the "loweſt Inſipidity of Compoſition, and "unmeaning Sing-Song*." This is a Subject, as much talked of, and as little underſtood, as the deepeſt Myſteries of State. At another Time the Writer will ſpeak at large on this Matter: At preſent, the full Diſcuſſion of it would break the Texture of his main Deſign. He therefore contents himſelf with referring the Reader to an *Eſſay on muſical Expreſſion* †, as the moſt rational Thing he hath met with on this Subject. He may truly ſay, with

* Vol. I. p. 46. † By Mr. *Aviſon*.

SECT. XI.

with his favourite Author, "Ces Matieres "demanderoient d'être traitées avec plus "d'etendue: mais la Nature de cet Ou-"vrage ne le permet pas. Je voudrois "couler ſur une Riviere tranquille; je "ſuis entrainé par un Torrent*."

ONE Remark however, on the Subject of Muſic, he deſires to be indulged in, becauſe it tends directly to mark the Character of the Times. The *Harpſichord*, an Inſtrument of Power and Compaſs, is now going out of Uſe: The *Guitar*, a trifling Inſtrument in itſelf, and generally now taught in the moſt ignorant and trifling Manner, is adopted in its Place: While the *Theorbo* and *Lute*, the nobleſt, becauſe the moſt expreſſive and pathetic of all Accompaniments, are altogether laid aſide. What is the Reaſon of this? Becauſe the Guitar is a *Plaything* for a *Child*; the

* L'Eſpirit des Loix.

SECT. XI. Harpsichord and Lute require *Application.*

"THE manly Exercise of *riding* is ge-
"nerally disused, as too coarse and inde-
"licate for the fine Gentleman*." This hath been cavilled at, as being false in Fact; the Writer therefore explains himself. He affirms then, (and appeals—to the *Observation*, shall he say, or to the *Practice*, of all his *polite* Countrymen?) that it is disused, as an Exercise that can give Strength and Vigour. The *Riding*, now in Vogue, extends little farther than to a Morning Saunter in *Hyde-Park*; where People of Fashion, like puny and *starved Exotics*, take the Advantage of a *South-Wall*, to shelter themselves from the wholesome Rigours of the Winter Air; to rekindle the dissipated and extinguished Warmth of Nature, and draw new Life from the Powers of a reflected Sun-beam.

* Vol. I. p. 49.

Here,

SECT. XI. Here, it is remarkable, that the Sexes have changed Characters: The Men capering about, on *Hobbys* of thirteen Hands; while the Women are galloping full Speed, on sized and *firey Hunters.*

"IT may probably be asked, why the
"ruling Manners of our Women have
"not been particularly delineated? The
"Reason is, because they are essentially
"the same with those of the Men, and are
"therefore included in this *Estimate**."
Besides this, there is another Reason. The Manners of Women depend on those of the Men: They will always be such, as the Men chuse to make them.

"THE Sexes have now little other ap-
"parent Distinction, beyond that of Per-
"son and Dress; their peculiar and cha-
"racteristic Manners are confounded and
"lost: The one Sex having advanced in-

* Vol. I. p. 51.

SECT. XI.

« to Boldneſs, as the other have ſunk into « Effeminacy*." The Fact noted in the Concluſion of the laſt Paragraph but one, may ſtand, among twenty others, for a glaring Proof of this.

But here, a Difficulty may ſeem to ariſe: For if the Manners of Women be always ſuch as the Men chuſe to make them, whence comes it, that ſuch a Syſtem of Manners is now taking Place among our Women, as is deſpiſed or deteſted by all Men?

Now the Solution of this Difficulty lies in the modern Manners of the Men themſelves. In Times when Courage, Generoſity, Senſe, Senſibility, and other kindred Qualities, form the ruling Character of the Men, a ſincere and honourable Regard to the fair Sex naturally prevails: Hence in ſuch Times, Modeſty, Gentleneſs, and

* Vol. I. p. 51.

amiable

SECT. XI.

amiable Demeanour, form the Character of the Women. But when, as at preſent, the ruling Character of the Men is Effeminacy, Selfiſhneſs, Folly, Inſenſibility, and other kindred Qualities; there, all ſincere and honourable Regard for the fair Sex is of courſe extinguiſhed: The Conſequence riſeth of itſelf. The Women, finding themſelves neglected by the Men, chuſe that Syſtem of Manners, which is moſt agreeable to their own Views and Paſſions.

But ſtill it may be aſked, why do they fix in a Syſtem of Manners, which Mankind naturally abhor? This too, with the good Leave of my fair Country-Women, I muſt (in Quality of *Cenſor*) be ſo unpolite as to explain. It is a well known Maxim, that Neceſſity hath no Law. Hence that *Male-Inſenſibility*, which *Modeſty* cannot *attract*, *Impudence* (if it can) muſt allure or take by *Violence*. Thus you

SECT. XI. you see, how naturally the FRIBBLES and the DAFFODILS have produced the MESSALINA's of our Time.

ALAS! how different is this applauded State, from that antiquated Praise of BRITAIN, "when her *Daughters* were *chaste*, "and her *Sons valiant*!"

BLUSH, *if ye can*, my degenerate Contemporaries!

SECT. XII.

Of the ruling Principles of the Times.

SECT. XII. THE three great *Principles* which curb the selfish Passions, and sway the Manners of Men, are those of Religion, Honour, and Public Spirit. The first of these, it was observed, has the *Deity* for its Object; the second, the *Applause* of Men; the third, the *Approbation* of our own *Heart*. The Frame and Situation of Man admits

admits of no other Principle, from whence the Idea of *Duty* can arise. SECT. XII.

THESE Principles operate, by affecting the Mind with certain Kinds of Pleasure and Pain; which, though they may be called *selfish* in one Sense, are *disinterested* in another. *Moralists*, each pursuing his own System of *Thought*, or perhaps of *Words*, will dispute on this Matter, as long as their Ink lasts. But as I write to the World, I quit what is merely speculative, for what relates to Manners and Action. It is enough to observe, that whatever Name these Principles be entitled to, their well-directed Power tends to the general Happiness of Man, their Absence to Disorder and Misery.

ON the Subject of *religious Principle*, the Author observed, that "to suppose a "Man of Fashion swayed in his Conduct "by a Regard to Futurity, is an Affront

"to

SECT. XII.

" to the Delicacy and Refinement of his " *Taste* *." As *Taste* hath now generally supplanted *religious Principle*, we have the best Evidence in the World of their comparative Excellence and Effects, in appealing to the comparative Strength and Stability of the public State, in *past* and *present* Times.

" HENCE, the Day set apart by the Laws " of his Country for religious Service, he " derides and affronts as a vulgar and obso- " lete Institution †." The general Effects of this insolent Abuse are bad enough, even on the Manners of those of the highest Rank and Quality: Nay indeed, the higher their Rank, the worse its Effects; as the Contagion of the ill Example spreads wider, and strikes deeper. Its immediate and particular ill Effect on the Manners and Principles of *Servants* in great Families, is still more dreadful. There is not

* Vol. I. p. 54. † Ibid.

SECT. XII.

perhaps, generally speaking, a more graceless and abandoned Crew upon Earth, than the Servants in the Houses of the modern Great. They commonly have the *Vices* of their *Masters*, without the Sense of *Decency* to curb or disguise them. And tho', among the higher Ranks, a Regard to *Decency* will *sometimes* secure the *Appearances* of *Virtue*, where the *Reality* exists not; yet, among the *lower* Departments of a Family, 'tis certain that nothing but a Sense of Religion can secure either the *Reality* or the Appearance. How different a Scene does almost every modern great Family afford, from those of the ancient Nobles of our Country, where the *Master* was the *Father*, *Instructor*, and *Friend* of his Servants, and had a generous Regard to their Morals, Principles, and real Welfare? I need hardly tell the World, that they are now generally left to the Workings of unbridled Passions, heightened by Idleness, high Living, and dissolute Example. What can be the Result of

SECT. XII. this Madneſs, but Profligacy, in its Exceſs? Or what can come forth from ſuch Scenes of unprincipled Licentiouſneſs, but Pick-pockets, Proſtitutes, Thieves, Highwaymen, and Murderers? Theſe are your Triumphs, O BOLINGBROKE, TINDAL, MANDEVILLE, MORGAN, HUME!

"A certain *Hiſtorian* of our own "Times, bent upon *Popularity* and *Gain*, "publiſhed a large Volume, and omitted "no Opportunity that offered to diſ-"grace Religion, *&c.*" This Anecdote is ſo curious, and characteriſtic of the Writer alluded to, that it is fit the World ſhould know it more particularly. When this Gentleman found that his Hiſtory, though larded with Irreligion, did not ſell among the *licentious*; and that the *ſerious* were ſhocked at his Treatment of Religion, and on that Account were not Purchaſers; he ordered his Agent (but too late) to expunge the exceptionable Paſ-

ſages;

ſages; aſſigning for the Reaſon of his avoiding every Thing of this Kind in his ſecond Volume, "that he would not *offend the Godly*." Now this very Man, in Defiance of all Decency, hath for ſeveral Years carried on a Trade of Eſſay-writing; in the Courſe of which he hath not only miſrepreſented, abuſed, and inſulted the moſt eſſential Principles of *Chriſtianity*, but, to the utmoſt of his Power, ſhaken the Foundations of all *Religion*. In theſe ſorry Eſſays he had no Fear of *offending the Godly*, becauſe he knew the *Godly* were not to be his *Buyers*: But when he finds that his Hiſtory muſt *ſell* among the *Godly*, or *not ſell* at all; *then* comes the Panic upon him; *then*, forſooth, he will not *offend the Godly*. Here, therefore, a *Character* is clearly developed. With St. PAUL, *Godlineſs* was *Gain*: But with *this* Man, *Gain* produceth *Godlineſs*.

SECT. XII.

As this was an Offence againſt the Public, 'tis fit the Public ſhould know it. Our free

SECT. XII.

free and happy Constitution admits not of condign Punishment for the most profligate Crimes of this Kind: The Reason is, not that such Men *deserve not* Punishment, but that their Punishment would destroy Freedom. *Just Disgrace*, therefore, is the proper Reward of those, who thus vilely destroy the *Consolation* of the *Afflicted*, the *Hopes* of the *Good*, and the *Fears* of the *Wicked*.

NEXT to the *Writers* of such Books as tend to overturn the fundamental Principles of Religion, their *Publishers* deserve surely to be ranked among the modern Pests of Society. They are at least as bad as an *Apothecary*, who should sell *Arsenic* with an Intent to *kill*. Every Man who is so abandoned as to deal in this pernicious Trade, ought in common Justice to give fair Notice of it to his Fellow Citizens, and write over his Door,

And if a Man have need of Poison now,
Here lives a Caitiff Wretch, *will sell it him**.

* Romeo.

SECT. XII.

HEAR the wise and sagacious MACHIAVEL; a Writer never charged with any Tincture of Superstition. "Among all "excellent and illustrious Men, they are "most praise-worthy, who have been the "chief Establishers of Religion and di-"vine Worship: In the second Place, are "they, who have laid the Foundations of "a Kingdom or Commonwealth.—On "the other Side, they are infamous and "detestable, who are Contemners of Re-"ligion, and Subverters of Government*." What then, are we to think of a Herd of dull Scribblers and their Admirers in our own Country, who during the last fifty Years have passed, with the fashionable World, for the *Oracles* and *Heroes* of the Time?

LET the just Remark of a wise and good Man, a Lover of Virtue and his Country,

* Disc. Pol. l. i. c. 10.

SECT. XII.

conclude this Part of our Subject. "These "Men would pass for Wits in our Age, by "saying Things, which DAVID tells us, the "*Fool* said in *his*: And set up with bringing those Wares to Market, which (GOD "knows) have been always in the World, "though kept up in Corners; because "they used to mark their Owners, in former Ages, with the Name of *Buffoons*, "*Prophane*, or *Impudent* Men; who deride all Form and Order, as well as "Piety and Truth; and, under the Notion "of Fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the "very Bonds of all Society*."

THE Principle of *Honour* hath fared as ill among us, as that of Religion. "A "Man who should go out of the common Road of Life in Pursuit of Glory, "—would be stared or laughed at,—as "an Ideot, who preferred *Shadows* to

* Preface to Sir *William Temple's* Works.

"*Reali-*

SECT. XII.

"*Realities**." This was not *loosely* or *figuratively*, but *strictly* and *literally* affirmed. "Honour (saith a modern Writer) "is a *Chimera* without Truth or Being†." And again: "So silly a Creature is Man, "that, intoxicated with the Fumes of "Vanity, he can feast on the Thoughts "of the Praises that shall be paid to his "Memory in future Ages‡." These Maxims have now generally taken Root among us: Thus *Honour* is despised and neglected as a *Shadow*; *Wealth* sought after as the grand *Reality*.

Now let us candidly examine, on what Foundation Honour is despised and neglected as a *Shadow*. Every pleasing Impression made on the Mind is equally a Reality, whatever be its external Occasion. The external Occasion is of no Consequence to the Percipient, but as it affects him with Pleasure: If it has that Effect,

* Vol. I. p. 59. † Fable of the Bees, Rem. R. ‡ Ibid.

SECT. XII.

it is of the ſame Import and Conſequence, that is, in other Words, it is equally *real*, whether it be a Heap of Gold preſent to the Eye, or the Applauſe of Men preſent to the Imagination. The Mind is *equally* affected, though by different Inſtruments. It is a Miſtake therefore to ſay, that Honour is a *Chimera*, more than that Wealth is a *Chimera*, provided it affect the Mind with as much Pleaſure.

BUT it will be urged, that Wealth furniſheth us with *ſolid* and *ſubſtantial* Pleaſures, which the Poſſeſſion of Honour cannot give. This, in that Extent in which it is affirmed, is no leſs a Miſtake than the other. Mere Competence can furniſh all that is deſirable for its own Sake, in the Articles of Eating, Drinking, Cloathing, Lodging: Now, beyond theſe, moſt of the Pleaſures which Wealth can furniſh, are founded in Imagination. And among theſe, it is remarkable, we muſt

SECT. XII.

have Recourſe chiefly to a *Deſire of Diſtinction*, that is, in other Words, to VANITY, ere we can rouze the Mind to taſte or deſire additional Degrees of Wealth. Now, what is *Vanity*, but a *Chimera*, if *Honour* be ſuch? The Senſe of Honour is the Deſire of Applauſe, through Means whoſe End is public Happineſs: Vanity is the Deſire of Applauſe, through Means which are often, if not generally, deſtructive of the public Happineſs. Thus we ſee what the Public hath gained (and by what wretched Sophiſtry they have been miſled) in deſpiſing *Honour* as a *Chimera*, and courting *Wealth* only as a *Reality*. The Conſequence is, as the Writer obſerved, that "Wealth, Titles, Dreſs, Equipage, "Sagacity in Gaming or Wagers, ſplendid "Furniture and a Table, are the ſole "Fountains from whence we deſire to "draw Reſpect to ourſelves, or Applauſe "from others. Thus the ſalutary Prin-"ciple of virtuous Honour is perverted,

SECT. XII.

"and dwindled into unmanly and pernicious Vanity *."

The Author made no Scruple to declare, that he thought "the Principle of "*public Spirit*, or the Love of our Country, is less felt among us, than even those "of *Religion* and true *Honour* †." This is easily accounted for, according to the natural Course of Things, of Causes and Effects. For the Principles of Religion and virtuous Honour, tho' both of them salutary and excellent, yet they do not so totally disengage the Mind from the Views of Self-Love, as the Principle of pure and genuine Public Spirit. In Times, therefore, when Selfishness forms the ruling Character of a People, that Principle which is at farthest Distance from Self-love, will soonest and most generally lose its Influence. The Principle itself, therefore, being at Variance with the Character of the

* Vol. I. p. 61. † Ibid. p. 62.

Times,

SECT. XII.

Times, and its best Supports, *Religion* and *Honour*, being weakened or perverted, what can prevent its total Annihilation?

I KNOW there are a Set of *Dreamers*, who talk in their Sleep on the Fair and Beautiful, and will tell you, in Spite of Experience, that this Annihilation of public Spirit is impossible: because the Love of our Country, being naturally beautiful, is natural to the Mind of Man, and therefore cannot be extinguished. To me, I must confess, it seems far otherwise, from all that I have observed of human Nature: The Affections which are necessary to the *Being*, the *Increase*, and *Preservation* of the Species, are *universal*: Those which are only necessary to the *Well-being* or *Improvement* of the Species, seem to require both *Instruction* and *Habit*, to bring them to their just Perfection. Thus the Desire of the Sexes, and the parental Affection, rise universally of their own Accord: A more extended

Bene-

SECT. XII.

Benevolence, and the Love of our Country are the Reſult of Culture and Habit. Without theſe, the benevolent Affection grows weaker, in Proportion as its Object is farther removed from Self*. But enough, or perhaps too much, of ſpeculative Diſquiſition.

"OUR Affections (at preſent) ſeldom "reach farther than our Relations, our "Friends, or Individuals in Diſtreſs †." This, as the Author hath obſerved above, ‡ is the Reach and Character of modern *Humanity*. It may ſeem odd, that, while this ſo generally prevails, public Spirit

* There is a delicate Obſervation in one of the Letters of NINON DE L'ENCLOS. Speaking of the Virtue of Women, ſhe gives it as a Maxim of Caution to her Pupil, that there are Seaſons when Paſſion is in Danger of being too ſtrong for Virtue; for, ſays ſhe, "Our Paſſions are, as it were, a Part "of our *ſolid Subſtance*; whereas our Virtue is only "*inlaid*." The Original is more elegant: "N'eſt "qu' une Piece de Rapport."

† Vol. I. p. 64. ‡ See Page 39. of this Volume.

ſhould

SECT. XII.

ſhould be ſo totally quenched. Yet this Appearance is eaſily accounted for. When the Humanity of a People is founded in *Principle* of any Kind, it naturally riſeth into public Spirit. But where Humanity hath its chief Foundation in *effeminate Manners*, as at preſent, *there* it amounts to no more than *temporary* Starts of *Pity*, according as Objects of Diſtreſs occaſionally preſent themſelves. Enlarged Views of Benevolence are quite beyond the Reach of ſuch a People: And hence, this Species of *Humanity*, and a total *Defect* of *public Spirit*, are not only *compatible*, but naturally *connected*.

IN Confirmation of this, it is remarkable, that *Ferocity* was the Character of the ROMAN People, when their public Spirit was in its meridian Splendor. *Their* private Connexions and Regards gave Way to the Welfare of their Country, in as remarkable a Degree, as our

Atten-

SECT. XII. Attention to the Welfare of our Country gives Way to private Connexions and Regards. *Here*, whenever the private Intereſt of any Individual claſhes with the public Safety, Parties are formed in favour or disfavour of the Individual, not according to the Merits of the Cauſe, but their Likings or Diſlikings of, their Attachments to, their Intereſts with, their Expectations from, the Man. How contrary to this, the great ROMAN Spirit was, in the Period of public Virtue, let the following Inſtance ſtand for Proof.

MANLIUS, ſurnamed CAPITOLINUS, from the particular Service he had done his Country, was the moſt renowned and beloved Perſon of his Age. In Emulation of CAMILLUS, whom the ROMANS had advanced to a higher Degree of Honour, he attempted to deſtroy the Liberties of *Rome*. He was detected, and ſeized. Then it was, that the great Roman

man Spirit ſhone out in its Luſtre. He SECT. was at once forſaken by all who had XII. ſo late adored him. The whole Body of the Nobility, the Tribunes, and the People laid aſide their Enmities, and united in the juſt Deſign of puniſhing his Guilt. His neareſt Friends and Relations ſympathized with the Public; and refuſed him the wonted Conſolation of appearing in Mourning at his Trial. He had ſaved his *Country*; yet all his Virtues could not ſave *him*, when he meditated the Deſtruction of his Country. He was tried, condemned, and ſuffered Death.

THIS, perhaps, is the ſtrongeſt Inſtance upon Record, of the Triumph of public Spirit over private Humanity.

IT might now, in Concluſion, be no incurious Search, to enquire into the comparative Force and Effects of theſe three Principles, of Religion, Honour, and public

SECT. XII. lic Spirit. But in a Work of this Kind, every Branch of every Subject cannot be particularly examined. Perhaps, in brief, their eſſential Effects may thus be truly ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed. *Honour* will prevent *ſmall* Crimes, and produce *great* Actions: *Religion* will prevent *great* Crimes, and produce *good* Actions: The *Love* of our *Country*, as it ſeldom riſeth unleſs when built on Honour and Religion, hath commonly the Force of the other two united; will prevent Crimes *great* and *ſmall*, will produce Actions *great* and *good*.

But what is the State of that Nation, in which the firſt of theſe is generally perverted among the Great, the ſecond derided, and the third extinguiſhed?

WHAT the Effects are, we are now more particularly to conſider.

The END *of the* FIRST PART.

PART II.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE PUBLIC EFFECTS OF THESE MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES.

PART II.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON The PUBLIC EFFECTS of these Manners and Principles.

SECT. I.

Farther Remarks on the National Capacity.

WITH Regard to the *political Leaders* of the People, in every Department, this Subject may seem to have been sufficiently exhausted, and perhaps too freely treated, in the first Volume. However, a few additional Observations naturally offer themselves. SECT. I.

" BUT if in any Nation (suppose our " own) the Number of these superior

SECT. I.

" Minds be daily decreaſing from the growing Manners of the Times; what can a Nation, ſo circumſtanced, have more to fear, than that, in another Age, a general Cloud of Ignorance may overſhadow it * ?"

THE Circumſtances, that ſeem to threaten this Cataſtrophe, are, Firſt, The general Ignorance of the great World. Secondly, Their Contempt and Ridicule of Letters. Thirdly, Their Neglect of Men of Genius and Learning.

THE general Ignorance of the great World (tho' there be a few Exceptions) is no Secret to the *reſt* of Mankind, whatever it be to *themſelves*: and therefore the Writer cannot be ſaid to *divulge* it. If any of theſe high Perſonages doubt the Fact, the Circumſtances enumerated in the firſt Volume may give them all reaſonable Satisfaction †.

* Vol. I. p. 78. † Vol. I. from page 74, to p. 78.

SECT. I.

AND if a Writer, ſo far below their honourable Regard, may preſume to point out thoſe Paths of Learning and Knowledge, which they might tread with Credit to themſelves, and Uſe to their Country; I will adventure to lead them into this ſalutary Track; not on my own weak Authority; but on that of Facts, and the unſhaken Experience of Ages.

LET it therefore be remembered here, that the *Permanency* or *Duration* of the State, is the main Object of theſe Eſſays. And as it is moſt evident, that the Character and Conduct of the Great, is the Circumſtance on which this *Duration* naturally depends; ſo if we can fix the leading Character and Conduct of the *Great*, in that State, which hath been remarkably and eminently of the longeſt Duration; it follows, that *ſuch* a leading Character and Conduct ought, above all others, to be the Object of Imitation among thoſe of high

SECT. I. Rank in our own Country; eſpecially, if the Effects of ſuch a leading Character and Conduct on the Duration of a State, can be pointed out and traced.

Now, ſo it happens, that the State which hath been eminently of the longeſt *Duration*, is that wherein *Knowledge* and *Learning* has, through all the *Records* of Time, been the *leading Character* of the GREAT.

" THE Nation of CHINA may be diſtin-
" guiſhed into *learned* and *illiterate*. The
" laſt makes up the Body, or Maſs, of
" the People: The firſt comprehends all
" that govern; for no other than the
" *Learned* are ever employed in the Go-
" vernment.

" BUT to comprehend what this Govern-
" ment of CHINA is, and what the Perſons
" employed in it, there will be a Neceſſity
" of knowing what their Learning is, and
" how

" how it makes them fit for Government; SECT.
" very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is I.
" obſerved to do*; and the Reaſon of
" ſuch different Effects from (ſeemingly)
" the ſame Cauſe.

" THEIR Learning is contained in the
" Writings of the great and renowned
" CONFUCIUS. The Sum of his Writings
" ſeems to be a Body or Digeſtion of Ethics;
" that is, of all moral Virtues, either per-
" ſonal, œconomical, civil or political;
" and framed for the Inſtitution and Con-
" duct of Mens Lives, their Families,
" and their Governments, but chiefly of
" the laſt. That the Means to this End is
" chiefly, not to will or deſire any thing
" that is not agreeable to the Good and
" Happineſs of other Men, as well as our
" own.—In ſhort, the whole Scope of all
" CONFUCIUS has writ, ſeems aimed only

* See p. 37. of this Volume.

SECT. I.

" at teaching Men to live well, and to go-
" vern well: How Parents, Masters, and
" Magistrates should rule; and how Chil-
" dren, Servants, and Subjects, should
" obey.

" THIS is the Learning of the CHI-
" NESES; and all other Sorts are either
" *disused*, or *ignoble* among them.

" ALL their Councils and all their Ma-
" gistracies are composed of Men, emi-
" nent in this useful Knowledge. From
" these are chosen all their *Chief-Officers*
" and *Mandarines*, both civil and military:
" their Learning and Virtue make them
" esteemed more able for the Execution
" and Discharge of all public Employ-
" ments, than Practice and Experience
" in most other Countries: and when
" they come into Armies, they are found
" braver and more generous in exposing
" their Lives upon all great Occasions,
" than

SECT. I.

" than the boldest Soldiers of their
" Troops *."

CAN we be surprized, if a State, whose Leaders are thus severely formed from their Infancy, to political and virtuous Knowledge, should stand unmoved, the unshaken Wonder of passing Ages; while other Commonwealths are born and die, ere a Comet can revolve round the Sun?

Or could we reasonably be surprized, if a State which hath continued firm and unmoved thro' such a Series of Ages, while supported by such Manners and Principles in its leading People, should in the Course of a few Years seem to *totter*, when these Manners and Principles, founded in a virtuous and learned Education, give Way to the private Avarice, Ambition, and selfish Passions of its Leaders?

'TIS true, a justly admired Writer ascribes this Permanency to a different Cause;

* Sir *W. Temple*, on Heroic Virtue.

 " The

SECT. I.

"The ſtrict Complication of Parts in this "immenſe political Structure: ſo that no "ſingle Part can be ſhaken or removed, "without overturning the whole; which "is a Weight too great for any earthly "Power to move *." 'Tis with Reluctance the Writer differs from one he ſo much admires. But here, tho' the Fact he affirms be true, he hath fallen ſhort of the *original* Cauſe. 'Tis true, that the Complication he ſpeaks of, is the *immediate* Cauſe of the Permanency of the State: But the *peculiar Character*, *Knowledge*, and *Virtue*, of the *leading Members* of the State, is the great, univerſal, and powerful *Cement*, which runs thro' the whole Maſs, and alone maintains this ſtrict Complication; which, without this *uniting Power*, will of itſelf diſſolve; and the Structure, like that of other States, grow old, and by its own Weight fall to Pieces. But more of this in another Work †.

* L'Eſprit des Loix. † See the Advertiſement prefixed to Vol. I.

THE

SECT. I.

THE ſecond Circumſtance that threatens us with a general Overflow of Ignorance, *is the Contempt* and *Ridicule* of *Learning* among the Great. Even the Ridicule of *Pedantry* was, in the laſt Century, regarded as a Symptom fatal to Letters. "The "laſt Maim given to Learning, has been by "the Scorn of Pedantry; which the ſhal-"low, the ſuperficial, and the ſufficient "among Scholars firſt drew upon them-"ſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending "to more than they had, or to more Eſ-"teem than what they could deſerve; by "broaching it (Learning) in all Places, at "all Times, upon all Occaſions; and by "living ſo much among themſelves, or in "their Cloſets and Cells, as to make them "unfit for all other Buſineſs, and ridicu-"lous in all other Converſations *." What Conſequences, then, may we not expect and fear, when not Pedantry, but Know-

* Sir *William Temple*, Vol. I. p. 169.

ledge

SECT. I.

ledge and Learning, is the common Object of Contempt among the Great? Or rather, when all Knowledge and Learning, except in Gaming, Wagers, good Eating, Burrough-Jobbing, and Intrigue, is ridiculed under the Name and *Maſque* of *Pedantry*?

THE third Circumſtance is, the general Neglect of Men of Genius and Learning. It muſt be confeſſed, theſe do not abound: How ſhould they, at a Time, when literary Patronage and Encouragement is ſo generally extinguiſhed? For it is but a few diſintereſted and daring Spirits, in any Age, that will devote themſelves to the Labours of Contemplation, when Neglect is the known Reward; or prefer the unfrequented and generous Path of Freedom and Competence, to the wide and eaſy Road of Servility and Wealth. 'Tis true, there are not wanting Inſtances of the moſt reſpectable Generoſity in the Patronage of Letters:

SECT. I.

Letters: The more ſuch Characters ought to be, and will be revered, as departing from the common Degeneracy of their Time and Country. But the general Character of the Age is quite the Reverſe of this; and implies a general Want of Capacity in the higher Ranks; becauſe all Men of Knowledge and Letters, love Men of Knowledge and Letters; as all Men of Ignorance deſpiſe or hate them. In Proof of this we need only appeal to the preſent State of our own Country; where the remaining FEW, who regard and promote Genius, Knowledge, Taſte, and Learning, are themſelves conſpicuous in theſe fine Qualities.

So much with Reſpect to the *Capacity* of our civil and political Leaders: With Regard to that of the *Military*, the Writer obſerved, that "would theſe Gentlemen pleaſe to "look into Hiſtory, they would find, that in

SECT. I.

" in *polished* Times, few have ever distin-
" guished themselves in War, who were
" not eminent or considerable in *Letters*.
" They would find PISISTRATUS, PERI-
" CLES, ALCIBIADES, DION, AGESI-
" LAUS, EPAMINONDAS, among the
" *Greeks*: In the *Roman* List, both the
" SCIPIO's, CATO the elder and the
" younger, LUCULLUS, POMPEY, BRU-
" TUS, CÆSAR, distinguished in *Letters*
" as in War *." Turn your Eyes, *Britons*, from your own fallen and wretched Country; turn them to the *Continent*, and behold even this illustrious List eclipsed by the unexampled Genius, Magnanimity, Constancy, and Valour, of ONE HERO: And give at least a sincere, though fruitless Proof of your Gratitude to your Deliverer, and of your remaining Sense and Admiration of those Virtues you dare not imitate, in being the first to lead the Way

* Vol. I. p. 80.

SECT. I.

to present Times and to Posterity, in styling him " FREDERIC THE GREAT."

THE third Order of Men, on whom, in the Writer's Opinion, the national Capacity depends, is that of the *Clergy*. And on this Subject he observed, that " when
" the *English* Protestant Clergy, and that
" Christianity which they teach, were
" most honoured and respected at Home,
" *England* was then most honoured and
" respected abroad *." It hath been asked, When was this? The Reply is obvious to any unprejudiced Mind. In the Reign of ELIZABETH; at the Abdication of JAMES the Second; in the honest and prosperous Days of ANN. I say the *honest* and *prosperous*; because she lived to see Days neither *honest* nor *prosperous*.

" NOR can the worthy Part of them,
" sure, aspire to truer Glory, than to

* Vol. I. p. 83, 84.

" have

SECT. I.

" have become the *Contempt* of *those*, " who are become the *Contempt* of EUROPE *." A bigotted and tyrannical Clergy will be feared and idolized in a Country of Slavery and Superstition: A virtuous Clergy will be loved and reverenced in a Country of Freedom and Virtue: The virtuous among a Clergy will be despised or hated (according to their Rank) in a Country of Freedom and licentious Principles and Manners. The first is the Case in most *Papist* Countries; the second, in the *Protestant* SWISS Cantons; the third, in *modern* ENGLAND.

IT is not true, what hath been insinuated, that not the *Profession*, but the worthless *Professors* are despised. On the contrary, the worthless Professors are often caressed and promoted, because they fall in with the ruling Vices of the Great: While the worthy Part of the Order are

* Vol. I. p. 84.

often

SECT. I.

often kept at Distance, because they scorn to degrade themselves and their Profession by a wicked and shameful Adulation.

" BUT while I defend and honour the " Profession, I mean not to flatter the " Professors *." The Truth is, the Clergy are neither better nor worse than other Men, but are naturally carried along in the general Stream of Manners. And hence, it must be owned and lamented, that Religion cannot possibly have that Influence in the luxurious and effeminate Period, which it hath in simpler Times; on Account of that ruling System of Manners in which its Ministers will naturally be involved.

WHEN it is said, " they are neither better nor worse than other Men," it is meant, " so far as they are Men." But in every Period, every *Profession* hath its

* Vol. I. p. 84.

distinct

SECT. I.

diſtinct *Character*; and *theirs* naturally *exempts* them from *ſome Vices*, and perhaps *expoſes* them to *others*.

AT the ſame Time it muſt be confeſſed (or, if you pleaſe, it ſhall be maintained) that the Idea of a proper clerical Conduct is carried higher in *Speculation*, than human Nature will in Reality admit. The Laity ſeem to forget that the Clergy are Men of like Paſſions with themſelves. From this Archetype of *ideal* Perfection, it comes to paſs, that any *Ridicule* in this Order of Men is *doubly ridiculous*; any *Crime*, doubly *criminal*. Yet, with all their Defects and Frailties, the Writer is of Opinion, that, among the middle Ranks of this Profeſſion, there is more Regard to Duty, more open and undeſigning Hoſpitality, more unaffected Generoſity, as well as Charity and Piety, than in any other Order of Men now in Being.

BUT

SECT. I.

BUT with Regard to thoſe who "converſe with what is called the *World*, and "are ſuppoſed to make a Part of it:" Theſe, the Writer ſtill maintains, are *generally* (not univerſally) given up, the younger Part to Views of *Pleaſure*; the elder, to Views of *Gain*.

AND the Completion of the Evil is, that theſe Characters ſtand in the Sunſhine and Glare of Life, expoſed to public Obſervation and Scorn; while the Humble, the Pious, the Learned, the Virtuous, are loſt to the unworthy and contemptuous World, in the Obſcurity of a peaceful Retreat.

THE Weekly Dabblers in Politics, it ſeems, (ſome of whom, the Writer is informed, now and then honour him and his Friends with their Abuſe) are mighty Sticklers for having the *public Reform* be-

SECT. I.

gin with that of the *Clergy*. And indeed, what ſhould ſeem more natural at firſt Sight, than that a Reformation ſhould firſt prevail among that Body of Men, whoſe peculiar Province it is, to *reform others?* Yet this Project, plauſible as it may appear, can never take Place, under our preſent Circumſtance, except in the Brain of thoſe who ſkim the Surface of political Speculation.

FOR, firſt, a Clergy cannot generally be reformed, till *they* are reformed who generally appoint them. Who appoint the Clergy? Are they not, the GREAT? Are they not thoſe (I take things in the general Aſpect) who are moſt infected with the Manners and Principles of the Times? Now, theſe will generally *appoint* ſuch as they *approve* and *like*; and they will generally *approve* and *like* thoſe Men, who are of *their own* Manners, Principles, and Character.

SECONDLY,

SECT. I.

SECONDLY, the Reformation of a Clergy, at ſuch a Period, would not bring on a general Reformation, or cure the ruling Evils of the Times. It might do additional Good among the *middle* and *lower* Ranks, but not generally among the *higher*: Becauſe *there*, a *Clergy*, though reformed, will always be *deſpiſed*, where Manners are *luxurious*, and *religious* Principle *extinct*.

SECT. II.

The Writer's Apology for himſelf.

SECT. II.

"IT is grown a faſhionable Thing, "among theſe Gentlemen (the Clergy) to "deſpiſe the Duties of their Pariſh *." This is too copious a Subject, to be here treated of: And beſides, is of too *particular* a Nature, to gain a Place in a Work of this Kind, which treats not of Things

* Vol. I. p. 85.

SECT. II. in the *Detail*, but in their more *general* Principles.

> " To wander about, as the various " Seaſons invite, to every Scene of falſe " Gaiety *." This Charge, it ſeems, hath been retorted with Vehemence upon the Writer himſelf. He underſtands, it is loudly objected to him, that *he* mixes in public Life, and with the faſhionable World, as frequently as moſt of his Profeſſion; and, *at times*, is ſeen in Places of the moſt public Reſort and Diſſipation.

HE admits the Fact: And preſents his Apology.

FIRST, Suppoſing all that is alledged or inſinuated, to be true; he apprehends, the Conduct of his Life cannot affect or weaken the Reaſoning of his Work.

SECONDLY, He hath Cauſe to believe, that they who thus accuſe him, are ſuch

* Vol. I. p. 85.

as

as themſelves frequent thoſe Scenes of SECT. II. faſhionable Folly. Now, let but theſe Gentlemen as loudly and publicly declare againſt the modern Spirit of Effeminacy and Diſſipation, as he hath done; and then the World may poſſibly believe, that he and they are *there* upon the *ſame Principle*.

THIRDLY, He hath Reaſon to ſuſpect, that if he writ altogether from the Cloſet, theſe Objectors would then aſſume another Tone. They would ſay (and indeed with good Reaſon)

> Yes; we deſpiſe the Man to Books confin'd,
> Who from his Study rails at all Mankind.
> The Coxcomb Bird, ſo talkative and grave,
> Who from his Cage cries Cuckold, Fool, and Knave;
> Tho' many a Paſſenger he rightly call,
> We hold him no Philoſopher at all *.

LASTLY, Therefore, if he mixeth in public Life, the candid World will judge

* Mr. *Pope*.

for

SECT. II.

for what End he does it, not from the railing of angry Men, but from the *Tenor* of his *Writings*; the best Indications of his Mind and Character. There is an essential Distinction between those who *love* Dissipation, and those who *view*, in order to *expose* it. There is an essential Distinction between the *Provost* of an Army, who goes out on Duty, and the *Marauders*, whom he hangs upon the next Tree.

To conclude; every Man's Sphere of Observation and Experience should be, as far as possible, of the same Extent with the Objects of his Attention. The Painter, if he would give the Truth, must copy from Nature. The *retbailing* Tradesman keeps to his Shop; the *private* Officer to his *Platoon*; the *Sailor* to his *Gun*: But the *Merchant*, the *General*, the *Admiral*, if they be wise, will take a *larger Tour* of Observation. The Writer neither *despises*

SECT. II.

despises nor *neglects* the Duties of his private Station: But as he hath taken upon him not only the Task of a *parochial*, but the more important and arduous one of a *national Preacher*, he hopes these Gentlemen will excuse him, if he goes a little out of the *common* Road, and endeavours to *understand* his Subject before he *talks* upon it. With their Leave therefore (nay, without their Leave) he will continue to visit the several Parts of his *larger* District; and intends not to content himself with a narrower Sphere of Remark, than that of his Majesty's Dominions.

SECT. III.

Farther Remarks on the national Spirit of Defence.

SECT. III.

"THE national Spirit of Defence will "always be compounded of the national "bodily Strength, Hardiness, Courage,

SECT. III.

" and Principle.—The common People " of this Nation ſeem poſſeſſed of the " three firſt of theſe four Qualities, in a " Degree ſufficient to form an effectual " and national Spirit of Defence *." Here the Writer left the Matter ſhort: It may truly be affirmed, that the common People of this Kingdom are in little or no Danger of being defective in theſe three Qualities: Their Climate, their Diet, their Way of Life, to which Neceſſity inures them, naturally form them ſtrong, hardy, and couragious. The only Enemies they have to fear, are the Creatures of Luxury, *Gin* and *Tea*.

" THEY commonly have a proportion- " ed Kind of Principle, which works it's " Effect in Battle †." The Principle here ſpoken of, is that of Honour. But as to this, the Writer thinks it may be eaſily

* Vol. I. p. 87, 88. † Ibid.

deſtroy-

SECT. III.

deſtroyed: And will certainly be weakened as modern Maxims gain Ground among them.

SECT. IV.

Of the different Genius and Permanency of Popery and Proteſtantiſm.

SECT. IV.

LET us now more particularly conſider, how far the different Genius of the two religious Syſtems of Popery and Proteſtantiſm, may affect the national Spirit of Defence, and conſequently the Duration of every State: A Subject but ſlightly touched on in the former Volume.

" ENTHUSIASTIC Religion leads to " Conqueſt; rational Religion leads to ra- " tional Defence; but the modern Spirit " of Irreligion leads to raſcally and aban- " doned Cowardice *."

* Vol. I. p. 90.

THIS

SECT. IV.

THIS is a Text, on which the Writer thinks it of particular Conſequence to enlarge.

1. POPISH Superſtition, as well as Fanaticiſm (of which indeed, in many Inſtances, Popiſh Superſtition is a Species) is a more active Principle, with Regard to Conqueſt, than rational Proteſtantiſm. The firſt piques itſelf on deſtroying and extirpating the Enemies of God: The latter, regarding none as the Enemies of God on account of *Error*, aims only at rational Defence.

WHILE Proteſtantiſm, therefore, retains its proper *Influence* in the Minds of Men, it may be a Match for Popiſh Superſtition. What it wants in *Fury*, it makes up in *Steadineſs*. This Truth our Forefathers have *twice* ſeen manifeſted in our own Country.

BUT

SECT. VI.

BUT here lies the Danger: Mankind are apt to be either blindly *zealous*, or altogether *cool* in Matters of *Religion*: The Reaſon is, becauſe Mankind are generally led by their *Paſſions*, in Religion, as in other Things. Hence the peculiar Danger to Proteſtantiſm, ariſing from Popery. For Popery, in it's Nature tending to *inflame* a *Paſſion*, lays hold of the ruling Weakneſs of Man: While Proteſtantiſm, working only on his nobler Part, his *Reaſon*, whoſe Dictates he but ſeldom regards, is apt to fall away into Neglect and Coldneſs. Thus we ſee, taking Man as he is, *Fury* is the natural Character of the one; *Indifference*, of the other.

2. BESIDES this, Popiſh Superſtition obtains another Advantage over rational Proteſtantiſm, ariſing from *degenerate Manners*. For Popery points out religious Fury and Perſecution, as the beſt *Attonement*

 for

SECT. IV.

for Vice or *Crimes:* Whereas Proteſtantiſm urgeth no Pretence of this Kind upon it's Votaries; but, on the contrary, teaches them, that without Morals, Religion is *Mockery* of God. Thus we ſee, that even the *Vices* of a *Papiſt* tend to inſpire him with *furious Zeal:* Whereas the *Vices* of a *Proteſtant* urge him, for the ſake of a falſe Peace of Mind, to the Neglect, the deſigned *Forgetfulneſs* of all Religion.

THUS, though the perſecuting Principle of the Papiſt doth not preſerve the Purity of his Manners; yet even the Degeneracy of his Manners tends to preſerve his Principle. This we ſee confirmed by the general State of Things in our own Country; in which, though the Roman Catholics are carried along in the common Stream of Manners, yet their Principles remain unſhaken.

ON

SECT. IV.

ON the other hand, tho' the rational Principles of Proteſtantiſm tend to preſerve the Purity of Manners; yet, if a Degeneracy of Manners comes on, it certainly tends to deſtroy the Principle. This, too, we ſee confirmed by the general State of Things in our own Country; where, as Manners have degenerated, religious Principle hath decayed.

3. ANOTHER Circumſtance, which tends to preſerve and ſtrengthen the blind Zeal and intolerant Principles of Popery, is, the tremendous Penalty annexed in the Imagination to any Departure from them. For as the Papiſt believes this Departure will expoſe him to all the Effects of the divine Diſpleaſure; ſo this Apprehenſion tends to prevent the natural Excurſions of Thought, and chains down the Mind in intellectual Darkneſs.

ON the contrary, the free Principle of Proteſtantiſm, not working by *Terror*, en-

SECT. IV. courages the Mind to range abroad in Queſt of Truth. No religious Apprehenſion accompanies the Search: And hence, tho' *Reaſon* will ſometimes fix the Mind in ſalutary religious Principle, *Paſſion* will oftener allure and miſguide it into the pleaſurable Path of Unbelief.

4. ANOTHER Cauſe of the ſuperior Permanency of Popery, ariſeth naturally from the laſt aſſigned. Where ſo much Merit is ſuppoſed to be in one particular Syſtem of Belief, and ſo much Demerit or Guilt in any Departure from it, there, even the benevolent Paſſions urge ſtrongly to making Proſelytes. It is eſteemed little leſs than ſaving a Soul, to draw a Man over to the Popiſh Faith. And, to give all Parties their Due, this hath been often the miſtaken and fatal Motive to Perſecutions, which have been charged altogether upon unfeeling Cruelty. Now the Genius of Proteſtantiſm is eſſentially oppoſite to this. As

As it is too juſt and generous to *compel*, ſo, SECT. IV. as a natural Conſequence, it is often too indolent, even to *perſuade*.

5. A FIFTH Cauſe of the Permanency of Popiſh Principle, beyond that of Proteſtantiſm, was touched in general Terms in the firſt Volume. Popiſh Superſtition arms itſelf with the Weapons of civil Power; and, by checking the open and avowed *Profeſſion*, checks in a certain Degree the Progreſs of Impiety. Whereas it muſt be acknowledged and lamented, as one of the unalterable Defects of a free Government, that Opinion muſt have its Courſe. The Diſeaſe is bad; but the Cure would be fatal. Thus Freedom is compelled to admit an Enemy, who, under Pretence and Form of an Ally, often proves her Deſtroyer.

6. THE laſt Cauſe flows naturally, as a Conſequence of theſe which have been aſſigned.

SECT. IV.

signed. A religious Principle, which is only overwhelmed by the Prevalence of Vice or Passion, but still lies dormant in the Heart, may be easily awakened and recalled into Action: But where the Principle is not *overwhelmed*, but *extinguished* by degenerate Manners, *there* it is seldom, if ever, restored to its former Influence.

Now the Popish Principle, when it seems to lose its Effect, is generally no more than overwhelmed by vicious Manners: The religious Belief being rooted in powerful Passions, remains in the Heart, and thro' any striking or alarming Incident, is again awakened into Action. Thus it manifestly operated, in an Instance recorded by MACHIAVEL. "The Roman "Religion would doubtless have been lost "before this, had it not been reduced to-"wards its first Principle by St. FRANCIS "and St. DOMINIC; who, by their Po-"verty, and Christian-like Examples, re-"vived

SECT. IV.

"vived it in the Minds of Men, where it "was almost effaced; and prevailed, that "the Looseness and Depravity of the Pre-"lates and Cardinals did not ruin it: For "Men, seeing them live in that Indigence "and Poverty, by confessing their Sins to "them, and hearing them preach, began "to learn Meekness, Charity, and Obe-"dience *." In this Instance, we see, the Principle was *overwhelmed*, but not *extinguished*.

BUT where the Principles of rational Protestantism are born down by opposite Manners, there the Power of these ruling Manners tends not only to overwhelm the Effects of the rational Principle, but to destroy the Principle itself. For Reason is easily betrayed or corrupted by Passion: and where rational Principle is not rooted in some opposite Passion of equal Strength

* Disc. Pol. l. iii. c. 1.

SECT. IV.

with that which bears it down, as ſoon as Reaſon is corrupted, the Principle is of Courſe extinguiſhed, and loſt. The *preſent* State of our own Country is a lamentable Inſtance of this Truth.

NEED I point out the particular Tendency and End of theſe Reaſonings? It is plainly this: That if we regard Man as that weak Creature which he always hath been, is, and will be; as a Creature often led by *Paſſion*, and ſeldom by *Reaſon*; there is manifeſtly an Inequality of Force in theſe two Species of Religion. Their GENIUS is eſſentially oppoſite: Proteſtantiſm calmly preſents herſelf to the *Reaſon*, Popery ſeizes the *Paſſions* of Mankind: And hence, modern Popery ſet againſt modern Proteſtantiſm, is in Danger of overwhelming it.

IT

SECT. IV.

IT may be objected againſt this Argument, and is frequently maintained, that although the vulgar are led blindfold by Popiſh Superſtition, yet Stateſmen are not its Dupes, and therefore it is to be regarded as a mere Creature of the State, and ſubſervient to the Views of Policy. In Reply to this, let it be conſidered, firſt, that although Stateſmen are often Contemners of the Religion of their Country, yet they are not always ſo: Secondly, ſuppoſe them to be of this Turn, yet, in Popiſh Countries, the Princes are generally ſuperſtitious, and will therefore often ſway the Councils of the State, where they have Spirit and Action. Thirdly, they are altogether unacquainted with the Foundations of Politics, who know not, that the Religion of every Country will always ſtrike its ruling Colours deep into the Politics of the Country, in ſpite of all the

SECT. IV.

Stateſmen in the World. And laſtly, that even where Superſtition is made the Dupe of Ambition, and Schemes of Policy, even *there* it is the moſt powerful of all Engines in working up the Body of the People to carry into effectual Execution thoſe very Schemes which perhaps were planned by *Atheiſm*. The Objection thereof is futile; and founded in a total Ignorance of true Politics and human Nature.

To convince the Proteſtant World, how much Reaſon there is at preſent for a general Watchfulneſs and Union in this Regard, let us confirm what hath been here ſaid on the different Genius of the two Religions, by a ſhort View of the preſent State of BRITAIN, AMERICA, and the EUROPEAN Continent.

WITH Regard to our own Country, the Principles of Proteſtantiſm have loſt their

SECT. IV.

their Influence: Inſomuch, that it is no Injuſtice to the higher Ranks of this Kingdom to ſay, that the main Security of the Church ariſeth from its Alliance with the State. There is now among the Great, ſuch a general Indifference and Supineneſs in, not to ſay Contempt of, every Thing that regards Religion *only*, as may well alarm thoſe few, who look forward to Poſterity. How different a State of Religion is this, from that which prevailed in the Reign of ELIZABETH? When, as BOLINGBROOKE juſtly obſerves, "the "Reformation was eſtabliſhed, not only "in outward Form, *but in the Hearts of* "*Men**." How different from that which prevailed at the grand Period of the Abdication of JAMES the Second? When Proteſtant Principle took the Lead, even of the Spirit of *civil* Liberty; and

* Remarks on the Hiſtory of England, Let. XVIII.

SECT. IV.

effected the moſt glorious Revolution that Hiſtory hath yet recorded: A Revolution, which might juſtly be ſtyled *religious* rather than *political*. That great religious Spirit, which at theſe illuſtrious Periods ſhone ſo bright, is now quenched in Darkneſs; and the World beholds the Conſequence.

On the other Hand, the Zeal of Popery, in this Kingdom, is active, is indefatigable. It's very State of Separation tends naturally to this Effect. The Reaſons aſſigned above, ariſing from its particular Genius, maintain its Influence. The Prieſts are aſſiduous, from Principle, in making Proſelytes, and in urging their Party to make them. There is, at preſent, a Gentleman in the Weſt of *England*, who openly gives five Pounds to every Perſon who becomes a Proſelyte to the Roman Church; and the additional Bribe

SECT. IV.

Bribe of a *Sunday's* Dinner, for every ſuch Perſon that attends Maſs. Allurements of the ſame Kind are known to prevail in moſt Parts of the Kingdom, and among thoſe of the higheſt Rank, though not ſo openly declared. The Papiſts *ſeem* to *approve* our Lenity, in thus ſupinely letting the Laws ſleep: In the mean Time their Numbers increaſe. But can a Nation uſe its Eyes, and not ſee, that they muſt ſecretly deride our Folly? Eſpecially when we reflect farther, that they have at their Head, a Pretender to his Majeſty's Throne and Kingdoms, who regards the Inhabitants of this Nation, not as his *Subjects*, but his *Cattle*. Who doth not ſee, that by this blind Neglect, or, if you pleaſe, this miſtaken Lenity, (which by the Way ariſeth not from our *Generoſity*, but our *Contempt* of *Religion* and the *public* Welfare) we are treaſuring up a hidden and dreadful Mine, which, on the firſt Occaſion

SECT. IV.

ſion given, will blow up our Conſtitution both in Church and State?

THE Writer hath no perſonal Pique to the Gentlemen of the Popiſh Faith: On the contrary, he knows many of them to be, in private Life, of *amiable* and *reſpectable* Characters. He is far from preſuming to deny even the *Merit* of their *Intentions* in a *religious* Regard: For there is no Doubt, but good Intentions may exiſt in every religious Sect. He hopes therefore, they will put the ſame charitable Conſtruction on *his* Intentions, while he lays open the Genius and Tendencies of their Syſtem of Belief. He is far from meaning to revive ſanguinary Laws: Yet theſe Gentlemen muſt excuſe him, if, knowing the *ruling* Principles of their Church, he freely explains and urges the Dangers that threaten his Country.

WITH

SECT. IV.

WITH Regard to the State of Popery and Proteſtantiſm on the Continent of AMERICA; this is no leſs diſcouraging to the true Proteſtant. The different Genius of the two Syſtems operates with the ſame Univerſality and Power. The Papiſts are zealous, watchful, and aſſiduous; the Proteſtants are cold, indifferent, and neglectful. The SPANIARDS, in Courſe of Time, will have converted one half of the vaſt *Southern* Continent, and murdered the other. The FRENCH join Policy to Zeal; or rather, make Zeal ſubſervient to Policy. They reaſon, they perſuade, they cajole, they terrify the poor INDIAN Nations; and by every Means of Truth, or Falſehood, draw them over to their Party. The Conduct of the ENGLISH is the Reverſe of all this. Doubtleſs many of our *Miſſionaries* are worthy Men: But it muſt be acknowledged, as the natural Effect and *Defect* of the *Proteſtant* Syſtem, that they

SECT. IV.

they are not generally *impelled* by *Zeal*, but *compelled* by *Necessity*, to visit these remote and *inhospitable* Regions. In the mean Time, the Inhabitants of our Colonies are, like ourselves, given up to Views of Gain and Pleasure: The State of Religion is totally disregarded; its Dictates and Principles derided and thrown off. Thus *Popery* advances with dreadful Strides, while *Protestantism* lies immersed in Indolence and Sleep.

LET us next consider the State of the two Religious Systems on the *Continent*.

IN the UNITED PROVINCES, we shall see their contrary Genius exerting itself, as if the Pourtrait here given of each had been drawn from hence. "There are "very great Numbers of *Roman Catholics* "in the *United Provinces*; notwithstand- "ing their Religion, as Sir WILLIAM "TEMPLE

SECT. IV.

"TEMPLE observes, is not immediately "protected by the Laws of the Republic. "The same Author has assigned the "Reason of this; which is, that the "States believe the Roman Catholic Re- "ligion must make Men bad Subjects, "while it teaches them to acknowledge "a foreign Power superior to that under "which they live: And accordingly they "have made several penal Laws to pre- "vent the Growth of it. But as each "Province hath reserved to herself the "Liberty of regulating Religion within "her own Jurisdiction, these penal Laws "of the States General have never been "put in Execution. In HOLLAND espe- "cially neither PRUDENCE nor POLICY "would permit them to exclude so large "a Body as the Roman Catholics out of "the general Toleration: And accord- "ingly they are very numerous in the "great Towns of that Province, where "the

SECT. IV.

" the Magistrates give them an equal Pro-
" tection with other Dissenters. At AM-
" STERDAM, they have not fewer than
" twenty-four Chapels. There are great
" Numbers of the same Communion in
" ROTERDAM, and several other Cities:
" But they are most numerous in the
" Villages: Insomuch that a Miller,
" Smith, or any other Mechanic, being
" a Protestant, is sure to be a Beggar if
" he settles in the Country; for the
" Priests never fail to enjoin their whole
" Communion to neglect him. This per-
" haps may seem strange to the *English*
" Reader, who considers HOLLAND as
" a reformed Country, and a principal
" Bulwark of the Protestant Religion:
" But I speak upon good Grounds; and,
" amongst many Proofs which I might
" bring, of the Truth of what I advance,
" I chuse to instance the Remonstrance
" made to the States General in 1725,

SECT. IV.

" by the Deputies of the General Synod,
" who represented the Growth of Popery
" in the most pathetic Terms; and
" affirmed, that since the Year 1650, the
" Number of Roman Catholics in the
" seven Provinces was increased *three*
" *hundred and fifty thousand*; of which
" they had authentic Proofs *."

THUS the Love of *Gain* hath worked as powerfully towards the Increase of Popery in HOLLAND, as the Love of *Pleasure* and *Dissipation* hath done in ENGLAND: Conformable to the Principles laid down in the first Volume †.

WITH Respect to the rest of EUROPE; its present State tends to prove strongly the general Truths here advanced. We see the Protestant Crowns divided against each

* Batavia Illustrata. By O. Burrish, Esq; p. 147, 148.
† Vol. I. p. 163, &c.

other;

SECT. IV.

other; the Popiſh Crowns in Union and Confederacy. The RUSS and SWEDE have joined the *Popiſh* Power in tearing to Pieces his Majeſty of PRUSSIA. The EMPRESS QUEEN hath at length thrown off the Maſque; hath baſely deſerted thoſe who had long and often ſaved her from Deſtruction; and given a ſtriking Proof of this great Truth, That where Pride and Bigotry rule the Heart, *there* human Virtues find no eaſy Entrance. FRANCE is playing its old Game, and purſuing its eſtabliſhed Plan of Power.

THUS the active and zealous Popiſh Principle is every where working its Way; while the Coldneſs of Proteſtantiſm leaves the Iſſue of Things to the calm and ineffectual Deliberation of civil Policy; forgetting that *Paſſion* is the *Soul* of *Action*, and the great *Spur* that hath ever urged Mankind to all that is *Good* or *Wicked*.

IF

SECT. IV.

IF we conſider the different Genius of theſe two Syſtems, as deſcribed above, we cannot wonder at this Difference of Conduct: and to evince, that it is not the Reſult from Chance, but from eſtabliſhed Cauſes, we ſhall ſee the ſame Spirit working in each, in former Ages. BOLINGBROKE (who was a *great Hiſtorian*, tho' but a *poor Reaſoner*; and ſaw Facts in their apparent Connexions, rather than in their *interior* Cauſes) hath given us the actual State of *Europe* in the Days of JAMES the Firſt; which bears ſo ſtrong a Reſemblance to our own, in Regard to the Genius of the two Religions, that it cannot be thought incurious. "On the one Side, "the whole *Popiſh* Intereſt, in the Em-"pire, was *cloſely united*; and the Cauſe "of FERDINAND was the common Cauſe "of the Party. The Popiſh Intereſt, out "of the Empire, conſpired in the ſame "Cauſe

SECT. IV.

" Cause. The King of POLAND assisted " the Emperor in HUNGARY. Troops " from ITALY, and a great Army from " the *Netherlands*, acted for him in GERMANY.—Even FRANCE, who ought in " good Policy to have opposed the House " of AUSTRIA, was induced, by the *Bigotry* of her Court, and perhaps by the " private Interest of LUINES, to declare " for the Emperor against the King of " BOHEMIA. On the other Side, the *Protestant* Interest in the Empire was *far* " *from* being *closely united*; and *farther* " still from making the Cause of FREDERIC the common Cause of the Party. " Even the Princes of the Union had different Views: many of them leaned to " the Emperor; none of them could be " entirely depended upon: And the Elector of SAXONY, the most powerful of the " Protestant Princes of the Empire, was " so far from uniting with the others, that " he

SECT. IV.

" he was first privately, and afterwards " openly, but all along very steadily, on " the Side of FERDINAND. Out of the " Empire, some Assistance might have " been expected from the King of DENMARK and the DUTCH: but even *their* " Accession must have been *purchased*, at " least it must have been made useful, at " the Expence of BRITAIN *."

HAD the Writer collected these Facts from History, and drawn them thus to one central Point, it might justly have been suspected, that he had thrown a false Light upon them in the Recital, that they might better serve his Purpose: But when we consider this Paragraph as coming from an Author who was dead before the present Aspect of Things took Place, we cannot but acknowledge the permanent *Unifor-*

* Remarks on the Hist. of *England*, Let. XXII.

SECT. IV.

mity of *Principles*, working the same Effects in the most *distant* Periods of Time.

THE Event of this Popish League ought indeed to strike us with *Awe*, tho' not with *Despondency*. FREDERIC of BOHEMIA was swallowed up by the Confederacy: But though no human Eye can pierce the impenetrable Veil of Fate, yet we have Reason to hope from what is past, that the great Prince now combined against, is not designed by Providence as a Sacrifice to bigot Power: Let us rather behold him as the *appointed* guardian Angel of *Truth* and *Liberty*, who with the Swiftness of *Light*, and the Terror of a *Whirlwind*, chears the Friends of *Freedom*, and overwhelms her *Enemies*.

THE manifest Inference is this: As it appears from these Reasonings that the Genius of Popery is active, insinuating, furious,

SECT. IV.

furious, unalterable; permanent; the Genius of Protestantism, calm, rational, indolent, fluctuating, perishable; that we ought to be most *watchful* in the Preservation of this invaluable Blessing; and active in the *Support* of *those* who are the great *Supports* of *Protestantism*.

SECT. V.

How far the Spirit of Duelling is connected with the manly Spirit of Defence.

SECT. V.

"CAN the Debility of modern Honour produce the manly Spirit of Defence? Alas, if ever it is put in Action by any Thing beyond the Vanity of Shew; it is rouzed by an Affront, and dies in a Duel *."

BUT it seems the Opinion of many, that the Spirit of *Duelling*, and that of manly

* Vol. I. p. 90.

SECT. V.

national *Defence* are naturally connected, and of Courſe riſe or fall together. Much might be ſaid on this Subject; at preſent I ſhall only mark the Difference of *Principle*, on which theſe two different Syſtems of Conduct are founded.

THE Principle of *Honour* depends on, and ariſeth from, the *Love* of *Glory*, or the *Fear* of *Shame*. Where the Love of Glory is, the Dread of Shame comes of Courſe: But the Dread of Shame may exiſt without the Love of Glory; a Truth which is confirmed by Experience, in all *groveling* and *narrow* Minds; and in many that are *Good* too, but not *elevated*.

ON this Diſtinction is founded the eſſential Difference between a national Spirit of Defence, and the private Habit of Duelling. The national Spirit of *Defence*, ſo far as it depends on the Principle of *Ho-*

SECT. V.

nour, can only be kept up by the *Love* of *Glory*. The mere *Dread* of *Shame* cannot raiſe this general Paſſion in a *People*, becauſe, among a People who have loſt the national Spirit of Defence, there is *no Shame* attending the *Loſs* of it.

BUT private Duelling ariſing from the Senſe of private Injury, is naturally produced by the Fear of Shame *only*. Glory is ſeldom thought of in this Inſtance: and where it is, produces the hateful Character of a *Bully*. It is the *Fear* of *Shame* therefore, and not the *Love* of *Glory*, that ſupports the Spirit of *Duelling*.

THUS we ſee, the Principle of Honour works by two different Paſſions in producing a Nation of *Duelliſts*, and a *Nation* of *Heroes*. The firſt are only compelled by the Fear of Shame; the latter are actuated by the Love of Glory. And thus

SECT. V. the national Spirit of *Defence* may be *strong*, when that of *Duelling* is *extinct*; and the Spirit of *Duelling* may *exist*, when that of military *Honour* is *extinguished*.

SECT. VI.

A remarkable Consequence arising from this Difference of Principle.

SECT. VI. THESE Truths relate to Nations; and the Character of a People. But with Regard to *Fleets* and *Armies*, another Truth offers itself to Observation. Here, "The "Love of *Glory* is necessary in the *Leaders*, "as a Motive to great and daring *Enter-* "*prize*: But among the inferior Ranks, "the Fear of *Shame* will be generally of "Influence sufficient to compel them to "their *Duty*." The Reason is evident: With Regard to the Leaders, as it is impossible

possible to point out to them their particular Track of Duty in every Instance, so their Conduct must be left in general, to the Determinations of their own Mind: *Great Actions* will naturally be attended with *Glory*; but the mere *Omission* of great Actions, where peremptory Orders are not given, is not necessarily attended with *Shame*: Therefore it is the *Love* of *Glory* only, that can urge a *Leader* to *great* and *dangerous Attempts*. SECT. VI.

BUT with Regard to the *inferior* Ranks; *there* the particular Track of Duty is pointed out; which is only this, "Obey "the Commands of your Leader." Under this Circumstance, no Evasion can take Place: Every Man must obey, or Infamy overtakes him: And thus the Fear of Shame becomes sufficient.

SECT. VI.

THIS Diſtinction will clearly account for that ſtrange Difference of Conduct in our *Britiſh* Troops, during the laſt, as well as the preſent War. It hath been remarked, that at Times they have fought like *Lions*; at others, have been timorous as *Hares*. Their Bravery, in particular Inſtances, hath been brought as a Proof againſt the Exiſtence of the ruling Principle of *Effeminacy*, which runs through this Work. But whoever views this Matter, according to the Diſtinctions here pointed out, will at once ſee the Veil drawn off from this myſterious Appearance of Things. Where did our Troops diſtinguiſh themſelves in Valour? Was it not at DETTINGHEN? at LA FELDT? and above all, on the dreadful Field of FONTENOY, where honeſt *Fame* forſook the Standard of the *Victor*, and *wept* over the Banners of the retreating ENGLISH? And who

who were the *Leaders* on theſe important Days? They were ſuch as were *inſpired* and *actuated* by the *generous Love* of GLORY.

SECT. VI.

SECT. VII.

Of a national Militia.

SECT. VII.

" WILL not Cowardice, at leaſt as ſoon as Courage, part with a Shilling or a Pound, to avoid Danger? The capital Queſtion therefore ſtill remains; not who ſhall *pay*, but who ſhall *fight* *."

A CAPITAL Queſtion, this, indeed; and hard to be reſolved among a *mercantile* and *effeminate* People. This naturally leads us to conſider what may be expected, feared, or hoped, from the Eſtabliſhment of a national *Militia*. In which Enquiry, the Writer's ſole Intention is, to purſue

* Vol. I. p. 80.

his

SECT. VII.

his leading Principles through all their Conſequences; without any Intention of contradicting or offending any Party whatever.

FIRST, An *Engliſh* Militia cannot be ſo *dangerous* now, as in former Times; becauſe the *Commons* are diſcharged from thoſe ſlaviſh military Tenures, which ſo often brought them into the Field, to butcher each other in former Days, at the Command of a *ſeditious* or *revengeful* Lord. HENRY the Seventh, through his Hatred to the Nobility, let in this firſt Dawn of laſting Liberty on the Inhabitants of this Kingdom. The People, though armed, would now want Leaders of Influence, to unite them in Seditious Purpoſes. Therefore the ſudden and ſhort-lived Fury of a Mob, is the worſt that can be feared from this Eſtabliſhment. 'Tis true, an armed Mob is a dreadful Monſter to the *Individual*,

SECT. VII.

dual, but cannot riſe into *public* or *treaſonable* Attempts, through want of a uniting Power.

HENCE, LIVY's fine Deſcription of a "Mob: "Ex ferocibus univerſis, ſingu-"li metu ſuo obedientes."

SECONDLY, The *effeminate* Manners of the Times take away the great *Danger* which formerly aroſe from a free Militia in more warlike Periods.

BUT then, on the other Hand, theſe ſame Reaſons that take away the *Danger*, are fair to deſtroy the *Uſefulneſs* of a Militia. For we ſee, their Danger aroſe from their *Union* and their *Valour*: Now, what is a Militia without theſe two Qualities?

A *Legal Union* indeed may be acquired; more *rational*, though not ſo *powerful*

as

SECT. VII.

as the *ſlaviſh*. But without national *Valour*, *Union* is a dead and unactive Quality.

If the Principles maintained in this Work be true; the Defect of Valour in a national Militia, will not lie among the *private* Men, but among the *Officers*. And indeed, who can ſeriouſly believe, that thoſe Gentlemen who find the *Attendance* upon a *Quarter-Seſſions* for the Service of their Country, too *ſevere* a Burthen of Duty upon their enervated Bodies and Minds, will vigorouſly undertake and go through the *Dangers* and *Fatigues* of warlike Service?

It muſt therefore be expected as a certain Event, that a Militia will, on its firſt Inſtitution, and for a long Time be *uſeleſs*. But this is not ſaid with a View to diſcourage the Eſtabliſhment, but only to prevent

SECT. VII.

prevent groundleſs Expectations; which being diſappointed in the firſt Eſtabliſhment of a Militia, might lead the Nation into a Belief, that the Inſtitution could *never* be *uſeful*.

This Circumſtance, therefore, is no Reaſon why a Militia ſhould not be ſet on Foot; but rather a good Reaſon for its ſpeedy Eſtabliſhment: Becauſe the continued *Exerciſe* of a Militia, if undertaken with that *Vigour* and *ſerious Intention* which it deſerves, is perhaps the moſt promiſing means of *re-kindling*, by ſlow Degrees, the *military* Spirit among us.

As a rational Encouragement to the Hopes of the Nation, let us caſt our Eyes back upon former Times, and hear the impartial Judgement of a great Foreigner, who could have no Views to influence his Opinion. "There is ſcarce any Body ig-

"norant

SECT. VII.

"norant, that of late Years the ENGLISH "invaded FRANCE, and entertained no "Soldiers but their own: And yet, tho' "ENGLAND had had no Wars of thirty "Years before, and had neither Officer "nor Soldier who had ever seen a Battle, "they ventured to attack a Kingdom "where the Officers were excellent, the "Soldiers good, having been trained up "for several Years together in the *Italian* "Wars. This proceeded from the Pru-"dence of the Prince, and the Excel-"lence of that Government, in which, "even in Times of Peace, the *Exercise* "of *Arms* is *not intermitted* *."

THE main Conclusion I mean to draw from these Observations, is only this. "The Establishment of a Militia must

* Mach. Disc. l. i. c. 21.

"destroy

"destroy effeminate Manners; or effemi-"nate Manners will render useless a Mi-"litia."

SECT. VII.

SECT. VIII.

Farther Remarks on the State of our Armies.

SECT. VIII.

"LAND-OFFICERS in the *Capital*, are "occupied in Dress, Cards, and Tea; "and in Country Towns divide their "Time between Milleners *Shops* and *Ta-verns* *."

THIS Abuse of Leisure in Time of Peace, hath been one of the leading Causes of that Disgrace, into which the Armies of *Great-Britain* are fallen. On this Subject, as being beyond my Sphere, I will not presume to instruct the military

* Vol. I. p. 101.

Gentle-

SECT. VIII.

Gentlemen of my Country: At leaſt, if I do, it ſhall be on the Authority, and in the Words of a great Writer; who ſpeaking of the proper Employments of a Soldier in Time of Peace, wiſely expreſſeth himſelf as follows.

"He never ought to relax his Thoughts "from the Exerciſes of War; not even "in Time of Peace: And indeed, *then* "he ought to employ his Thoughts more "ſtudiouſly therein, than in War itſelf; "which may be done two Ways, by the "Application of the Body, and of the "Mind. As to his bodily Application, or "Matter of Action;—he ought to inure "himſelf to Sports: And by hunting and "hawking, and ſuch like Recreation, ac-"cuſtom his Body to Hardſhip, Hunger, "and Thirſt: And at the ſame Time in-"form himſelf of the Coaſts and Situa-"tion of the Country; the Size and Ele-"vation

SECT. VIII.

"vation of the Mountains; the Largeneſs "and Avenues of the Valleys; the Ex-"tent of the Plains, the Nature of the "Rivers and Fens, which is to be done "with great Curioſity. This Knowledge "is uſeful in two Reſpects: For hereby "he not only learns to know his own "Country, and to provide better for its "Defence; but it prepares and adapts "him, by obſerving their Situations, to "comprehend the Situations of other "Countries, which perhaps may be ne-"ceſſary for him to explore. For the "Hills, the Vales, the Plains, the Ri-"vers, and the Marſhes (for Example) in "TUSCANY, have a certain Similitude "and Reſemblance to thoſe in other Pro-"vinces: So that, by the Knowledge of "one, we may more eaſily imagine the "reſt. And he who is defective in this, "wants the moſt neceſſary Qualification "for a General: For by knowing the

SECT. VIII.

" Country, he knows how to beat up his " Enemy, take up his Quarters, march " his Troops, draw up his Men, or be- " ſiege a Town with Advantage. In the " Character which Hiſtorians give of " PHILOPOMENES Prince of ACHAIA, one " of his great Commendations is, that in " Time of Peace he ſtudied military Af- " fairs; and when he was in Company " with his Friends in the Country, he " would many Times ſtop ſuddenly, and " expoſtulate with them, " If the Enemy " were upon that Hill, and our Army " where we are, which would have the " Advantage of the Ground? How could " we come at them with moſt Security? " If we would draw off, how might we " do it beſt? Or if they ſhould retreat, " how ſhould we purſue?" So that, as he " was travelling, he would propoſe all " the Accidents to which an Army was " Subject; he would hear their Opinion, " give

SECT. VIII.

" give them his own, and reinforce it " with Arguments: And this he did ſo " frequently, that by continual Practice, " and a conſtant Intention of his Thoughts " upon that Buſineſs, he brought himſelf " to that Perfection, that no Accident " could happen, no Inconvenience could " occur to an Army, but he could pre- " ſently redreſs it. But as to the Exer- " ciſe of the Mind, he is to do that by " Diligence in Hiſtory *, and ſolemn " Conſideration of the Actions of the " moſt excellent Men: By obſerving how " they demeaned themſelves in War; by " examining the Grounds and Reaſons of " their Victories and Loſſes; that he may

* MACHIAVEL is a little incorrect here, in the Diviſion of his Subject: For a great Part of what he had ſaid above is, ſtrictly, an Exerciſe of the Mind, no leſs than the Study of Hiſtory.

SECT. VIII.

" be able to avoid the one, and imitate " the other *.

THESE, doubtleſs, are admirable Inſtructions; and followed, as I have been informed, by the greateſt Captain of this, or any other Age: Yet ſuch is the eſtabliſhed Effeminacy, the wretched Affectation of

* MACHIAVEL's Prince, c. 14. He adds another Circumſtance, which perhaps is not ſo certain in its Effects. He ſays, " Above all, he is to keep " cloſe to the Example of ſome great Captain of " old; and not only to make him his Pattern, but " to have all his Actions perpetually in his Mind." Thus, it is true, ALEXANDER did (as it is affirmed) by ACHILLES; CÆSAR by ALEXANDER; SCIPIO by CYRUS. And the Principle was juſt, while the Arms offenſive and defenſive were of the ſame Kind. But the Invention of *Gunpowder* hath wrought ſuch a total Change in Arms, Diſcipline, and the Methods of *Attack* and *Defence*, that an Adherence to the Practice of any ancient Leader would be in Danger of miſguiding, rather than inſtructing any modern Warrior, in the *particulars of Execution:* But in the *general Principles* of *conducting* War and Armies, this Rule may ſtill be applied with Succeſs.

faſhion-

SECT. VIII.

faſhionable and trifling Diſcourſe, that now prevails in the Armies of *Great-Britain*, that ſuch a Conduct, though rational and manly in the higheſt Degree, would be treated with Deriſion and Contempt. The Writer cannot hope to eſcape their Ridicule on this Occaſion: And doubts not, but he is by this Time ſet down by moſt of his military Readers, as a *Pedant* and a *Martinet*.

SECT. IX.

The ſame Subject continued.

SECT. IX.

IT may, perhaps, be a Queſtion worth reſolving, " whether *groſs* Vices or *refined* " Vices be more fatal to the Spirit of De- " fence, and to the *Armies* of any State?" The Writer hopes, that no Critic will be ſo very uncharitable, as to tax him here, with a Vindication of any Vice whatever:

SECT. IX.

Yet knowing of what Materials the general Herd of Critics are made, he thinks it not amiſs to throw in this Caution. His Reſolution, then, of the Queſtion is, that *refined* and *effeminate* Vices are more fatal to an Army than *groſs* ones. Firſt, Becauſe, when they once catch, they become more general. Secondly, Becauſe they are equally deſtructive, of military Application and Capacity, with thoſe of a groſſer Caſt. Thirdly, Becauſe they tend much more than groſs Vices, to deſtroy two of the main Hinges, on which the Spirit of Defence muſt hang: Theſe are *Hardineſs* and *Courage*. Is it neceſſary to confirm this by Facts? The Facts are at Hand. The Armies of this Kingdom were more *groſsly* vicious in Queen ANN's Reign than at preſent. I need not point out the Conſequence.

At

SECT. IX.

AT the ſame Time, let it be acknowledged or aſſerted, that the *perſonal* Character and Conduct of a Man *groſsly* vicious is more *hateful* than of *refined* Vice. Which of theſe two Kinds of Vice are more criminal in a *moral* or *religious* Light, is again a different Queſtion. We keep here, to the leading Point in View, the *Strength* and *Duration* of a State.

AND it is certain (ſuch is the ſtrange Complication of human Circumſtances and Affairs) that with Regard to this, ſeveral Habits, Qualities, and Actions, which ſeem innocent in themſelves, as they affect or influence *private* Life, are equally or more hurtful than others of a more odious Appearance, if we conſider them as they affect the *public* Strength and Welfare. This comes to paſs, becauſe the ill Conſequences of ſome Actions are *immediate*;

SECT. IX.

of others, more *diſtant*. The firſt ſtrike the *Imagination*, and are ſeen by all: The latter muſt be traced up to their Cauſes by the Uſe of *Reaſon*; and to do this, exceeds the Talents of the many. Hence an unequal Judgment often ariſeth, concerning moral and political Good or Evil, the *comparative* Merit or Demerit of Actions and Men. Many of the pernicious Effects of Luxury and Effeminacy fall under this Obſervation: And hence came the poor and wretched Reaſonings of two Champions of Luxury and Effeminacy *, whoſe Principles will be examined in a proper Place.

SECT. X.

Additional Thoughts on the Navy.

SECT. X.

" SEA-OFFICERS, even in Time of " War, inſtead of annoying the Enemy's

* Doctor MANDEVILLE, and Mr. DAVID HUME.

" Fleets, are chiefly buſied in the gainful " Trade of catching Prizes *."

SECT. X.

THERE is little Danger, as yet, of the Body of our Fleets being Effeminate: Their way of Life ſecures them from it. There is a natural Ferocity of Manners attending the Sea-Service, which would always preſerve itſelf, were it not quelled by the Contagion of effeminate Example. The Danger, therefore, ariſeth from the *Commanders*, whoſe preſent falſe Ambition and Way of Life naturally leads them to Effeminacy.

IT is remarkable in our Navy, (what the Writer ſpeaks, he knows to be Fact) that the young Men bread to the Sea Service, ſo long as their Converſation lies among the *inferior* Ranks in their Ship,

* Vol. I. p. 101.

SECT. X.

retain or acquire the *Spirit* of *Engliſh* Sailors; that is, they grow brave, hardy, and intrepid. But no ſooner do they riſe to the Rank of *Captains*, but the Example of the Times infects them: Falſe *Elegance* and effeminate *Parade* take Place: *French* Cooks and Valets are ſought after: The Commander of the Ship becomes a *Sultan*, who lives in idle State, and hath his Duty done by his *Vizir*, his *Firſt Lieutenant*. Time was, when Matters went otherwiſe; and the Nation feels the Difference.

AT the ſame Time, it were Injuſtice to the *Navy*, not to acknowledge, that there are Men in this Department who have done Honour to themſelves and their Country; and others riſing into Name, who, with due *Encouragement* and *Diſtinction* given, bid fair to retrieve the Glory of the *Britiſh Flag*.

THE Act which gave the *Prize* to the *Captors*, had manifeſtly a bad Tendency: In

SECT. X.

In every particular Caſe, it was an Allurement to draw off the Captains from the *Duty* of their Country, to the deſpicable Views of *Privateering*. A worſe Effect than this was, it's ſetting up a falſe and fatal Principle, the Love of *Money*, inſtead of the Love of *Glory* or of *Duty*. Rational and true is the Obſervation of a late political Writer: "We have deſtroyed the Principle, which was the Source of our Glory. We have miſguided the Ambition of our Seamen; we have tempted them with *Wealth* inſtead of *Reputation*; and we have ſubſtituted *Avarice* to *Honour* *."

THESE are manifeſt Tendencies to *Ill*; and are generally ſuppoſed to have brought upon our Fleets this ſordid Spirit of *Prize-catching*: But the Writer is of a different Opinion. This Act ſeems to have been, not ſo much the *Cauſe*, as the *Conſequence*, of

* Letter, by a Country Gentleman.

the

SECT. X.

the preſent *Rapacity* and *Profuſion*. In a virtuous and diſintereſted Period, as there would have been no Neceſſity for it, ſo if it had taken Place, it would have had no Effect: The Reward propoſed would not have drawn off a brave and diſintereſted Commander from his Duty. But, I apprehend, they who propoſed this Act, ſeeing and knowing what was the *ruling* Spirit of the *Times*, imagined it more for the Benefit of the Public, that our Fleets ſhould fight for *Gain*, than *not at all*.

THE Truth therefore ſeems to be, that tho' the Act hath a bad Tendency; yet it cannot be ſaid to have created, tho' it hath certainly increaſed the ſelfiſh Spirit of the Navy. An ill *Act*, like an ill *Citizen*, can do no great Harm, but in an *ill-diſpoſed City*.

How different were both the Conduct and the Police of the ROMANS? Who, inſtead

SECT. X.

ſtead of filling the *private* Purſes of their *Leaders*, made it a Circumſtance of *Infamy*, if, upon their Return from War, they did not enrich the *Coffers* of the *Republic*: Inſomuch, that at length it came to paſs, that no *Conſul* was permitted to Triumph, who had not firſt put a vaſt Quantity of Silver or Gold, or ſome other valuable Commodity, into the PUBLIC TREASURY.

SECT. XI.

Of the Marine Society.

SECT. XI.

SINCE therefore the Degeneracy of our Fleet ariſeth evidently from the Commanders: this naturally leads me to ſay ſomething on the Inſtitution of the "*Marine* "*Society*;" and to conſider what *may*, or may not be expected from it.

THE

SECT. XI. THE Inſtitution is humane, praiſe-worthy, and excellent, in two Reſpects.

FIRST, It reſcues a Number of wretched *Boys* from *Crimes* and *Miſery*; and the *Public* from the *Effects* which theſe *Crimes* and that *Miſery* would have produced.

SECONDLY, It tends to alleviate that great Evil of *preſſing* Men for the Sea-Service.

BUT notwithſtanding theſe good Effects, it muſt not be expected, that this Inſtitution, laudable and humane as it is, will ever raiſe our *Fleets* into their former *Credit*; becauſe it can only affect and ſtrengthen the *Body* of the Fleet, and not the Manners, Principles, and Conduct of the *Commanders*.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Farther Conſiderations on the National Spirit of Union.

SECT. XII.

"MONTESQUIEU hath often given it as "his Opinion, that Factions are not only "natural, but neceſſary to free Govern-"ments *." This Opinion was criticiſed, and ſhewn to be in ſome Senſe *erroneous*, becauſe too *general*. It is only taken Notice of here, with a View to obſerve, that the celebrated Author borrowed this Opinion, with many other important Obſervations in his Book, from MACHIAVEL's Diſcourſes on LIVY †. But in Juſtice to the ſagacious FLORENTINE, we muſt obſerve, that *he* limits the Obſervation to the Times in which public Spirit was predominant; whereas the other great Writer ex-

* Vol. I. p. 104. † Vol. I. l. i. c. 4.

tends

SECT. XII.

tends it to the later Periods, when selfish Ambition had quenched the Love of their Country; and hence arose his Error.

As these two Authors, in the Writer's Opinion, possess the highest Station in the political Scale; it may be worth while to give a *comparative* Sketch of their different *Characters*.

MACHIAVEL, born and bred in tumultuous and profligate Times, and occupied in the Affairs of a distempered Republic, caught his first Principles of Politics from what he *saw*. MONTESQUIEU, more happy in his Birth and Fortune, enjoying an early Leisure, in a quiet and well-regulated Monarchy, drew his first Principles of Politics from what he *read*. Yet neither was the *first* given up to mere personal *Observation*; nor the last, to mere *Study*: In the Progress of Life, MACHIAVEL applied

SECT. XII.

plied himself to *Books*, and MONTESQUIEU to *Men*: Yet, as was natural, their first Habits *prevailed*, and gave to *each* his distinct and peculiar *Character*.

HENCE, tho' *both* saw the internal and secret Springs of Government, (which, in my Opinion, no Writer, but these two, did ever fully comprehend or penetrate) yet they saw them by different *Lights*, and thro' different *Mediums*. MACHIAVEL's leading *Guide*, was *Fact*; MONTESQUIEU's was *Philosophy*. In Consequence of this, *Simplicity* forms the Character of the *one*, *Refinement* that of the *other*. The speculative FRENCHMAN forms a fine *System*, to the Completion of which, he sometimes *tortures* both *Argument* and *Fact*: The plain and downright FLORENTINE builds on *Facts*, independent of all *System*. The polite and disinterested *Sage* is warm in the *Praise* of *Honesty*: The active and pene-

 trating

SECT. XII.

trating *Secretary*, above Praise or Censure, gives a bold and striking Picture of the *Ways of Men*. Hence, while the first gains every *Heart*, by the Force of *moral* Sympathy, the latter hath been falsely *detested*, as the *Enemy* of Virtue and Mankind. MACHIAVEL is *negligent*, yet pure and *strong*, scorning the *minuter Graces* of Composition: MONTESQUIEU is *elegant*, yet *nervous*; and to the *Acuteness* of the *Philosopher*, often adds the *Fire* of the *Poet*. *Both* were the Friends of Freedom, and of Man: Both *superior* to the *Genius* of their *Time* and *Country*: Both, truly *great*: The FLORENTINE *severe* and *great*; the FRENCHMAN, *great* and *amiable*.

"THEREFORE, before we can determine, whether the Factions that divide "a free Country be salutary or dangerous, "it is necessary to know what is their "Foundation and their Object: If they "arise

SECT. XII.

"arise from Freedom of Opinion, and "aim at the public Welfare, they are sa-"lutary: If their Source be selfish Inter-"est, of what Kind soever, they are "then dangerous and destructive *." I cannot give a better Comment on this Truth, than in the Words of BOLINGBROKE. "As long as the Spirit of Li-"berty prevailed, a *Roman* sacrificed his "own, and therefore, no Doubt, every "other personal Interest, to the Interest of "the Commonwealth: When the latter "succeeded (the Spirit of Faction) the In-"terest of the Commonwealth was con-"sidered no otherwise, than in Subordi-"nation to that *particular* Interest, which "each Person had espoused. The prin-"cipal Men, instead of making their "Grandeur and Glory consist, as they "formerly had done, in that which the

* Vol. I. p. 106.

SECT. XII.

"Grandeur and Glory of the Commonwealth reflected on them, conſidered themſelves now as *Individuals*, not as *Citizens*; and each would ſhine with his own Light. To this Purpoſe alone they employed the Commands they had of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and the Influence they acquired over the Tribes at ROME, and over the Allies and Subjects of the Republic. Upon Principles of the ſame Kind, inferior Perſons attached themſelves to theſe; and that Zeal and Induſtry, nay that Courage and Magnanimity, which had been exerted formerly in the Service of the Commonwealth, were exerted by the Spirit of Faction, for MARIUS or SYLLA, for CÆSAR or POMPEY *."

So ſtands the Caſe, with Regard to the *general* Foundations of *Faction*, in moſt

* Remarks on the Hiſtory of *England*, Letter II.

"Times

SECT. XII.

Times and Countries. But there is another Source of Faction, of which we have had moſt fatal Inſtances in our own Country, diſtinct both from that of public Spirit and ſelfiſh Intereſt: I mean that of *erroneous Conſcience*; when the *unalienable Right* of governing is ſuppoſed to be inherent in any particular Man, or Race of Men. This, though it hath not the *Nature*, hath moſt of the *Conſequences* of *ſelfiſh Faction*; and is attended with this additional Evil, that as it is founded in *Principle*, it is more *ſteady* and *reſolved*. The Civil Wars which rent the Kingdom during the Contentions between the Houſes of YORK and LANCASTER, were of this Kind. Of this Kind too, in good Meaſure, were the Civil Wars, in which CHARLES the Firſt periſhed: And of this Kind, altogether, have been the conſequent Rebellions againſt the eſtabliſhed Government. This Diſtinction, however,

SECT. XII. muſt be remarked in Favour of the free Spirit and Senſe of the *Lancaſtrians* and *Yorkiſts*, beyond that of the *Stuart* Party; that theſe laſt pant for *Thraldom* and *Chains*; but among both the former, the ſame Men who would have *died* for their reſpective *Kings*, would have *died* for the *Laws* and the *Liberty* of their Country.

SECT. XIII.

The ſame Subject continued.

SECT. XIII. LET us now proceed to conſider more particularly the Cauſes that have weakened or deſtroyed the national Spirit of Union, ſince the great Revolution, which took Place on the Abdication of JAMES the Second.

IT hath been one of the Writer's main Intentions, in the Progreſs of this Work, to

SECT. XIII. to point out the natural *Weakneſſes* and Defects of a *free* Syſtem of Government: He did not at firſt apprehend, that any Apology could be neceſſary for this Conduct, becauſe he thought it a clear Point, that the more evidently theſe *Weakneſſes* and *Defects* were *explained*, their proper *Guards* and preventive *Securities* would with the greater Care and Caution be *applied*. Hence he freely expatiated on the Dangers attending a Diſſolution of Manners and Principles; hence he hath freely ſet forth the natural Stability of *Popery* beyond that of *Proteſtantiſm*; hence he freely explained the natural Inconveniencies that aroſe even from ſuch a great Event, as that of the *Revolution* in eighty eight. This, and more, he hath done, that his Countrymen, being aware of the *Delicacy* of that fine *Structure*, which is at once the Pride and Security of its Owners, might uſe all timely Expedients, to maintain its

SECT. XIII.

Foundations in their original Strength, and not expose themselves to the dreadful Calamities in which its *Fall* must involve them.

But see the Consequence: Because he had affirmed, that, under an arbitrary Government, the Spirit of Union was naturally *strong*, he hath from thence had the Imputation laid upon him, of being a Friend to arbitrary Government: Because he pointed out a new Principle of Faction, which *naturally arose* from the *Revolution*, he hath been accused, as an *Enemy* to that *Revolution*: Because he had asserted, that the *Abuse* of *Freedom* had destroyed religious Principle, he hath been miscalled an ill *Wisher* to *Freedoom* itself. So blind are these Quixots in their Adoration of *Liberty*, that they accuse her Physician of *Disaffection* to the favourite *Fair*, merely because he declares her to be *mortal*; tho' at

SECT. XIII.

at the same Time he holds forth the *Medicines* that might *prolong* her *Life*.

But though he hath Candour enough to believe, that in some, these Accusations arise from sincere Belief, founded in narrow and mistaken Views of Politics; yet he hath ample Grounds to suspect, that in others, Insinuations of this Kind have sprung from the Leaven of Malice and Wickedness, working in its usual Way, against every Thing that is free, fair, and honest. The next Charge against him will probably be founded in what he hath said on the Genius of *Popery* and *Protestantism*: Nor will he be much surprized, if those who naturally rail at what they cannot answer, should blacken him with the Infamy of being a *Papist* in his *Heart*.

In

SECT. XIII.

In the mean Time, he turns his Back on their Iniquity, and proceeds to his appointed Taſk.

From the Reſtraints laid on the Royal Prerogative at the Revolution, and the Power of Parliaments which naturally aroſe from theſe Reſtraints, together with the ſelfiſh and lucrative Views, to the Gratification of which theſe Parliaments ſoon began to proſtitute their growing Power, he drew this Conſequence. "William "the Third, found this to be the national "Turn; and ſet himſelf, like a Politi-"cian, to oppoſe it: He therefore ſilenced "all he could, by Places or Penſions: "And hence the Origin of making "Parliaments."

This, the Writer is informed, hath been perverſely miſinterpreted into a Satire on

SECT. XIII.

on King William. He therefore thinks it neceſſary to explain himſelf.

When therefore it is ſaid, "Hence the "Origin of making Parliaments," it is not meant, that ſuch Attempts had never been made before. There is hardly a Period in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, but would give the Lye to ſuch an Aſſertion. From an Examination of ancient Times it would appear, that the Practice (as was natural) was always moſt *frequent* when the Government was *weakeſt*: When the Power and Prerogative of the Crown were high, the deſired Effects were wrought without *making Parliaments*. Therefore the evident Meaning of the Paſſage is this, that the Practice of making Parliaments was now firſt laid down as a *neceſſary Principle* of Government; and this was the neceſſary Conſequence of *leſſening* the

SECT. XIII. *Prerogative*, where *Parliaments* were *selfish*.

In William the Third therefore, it seemed an Act of Necessity: At least, he judged it such, and was heartily tired of it. Insomuch that the Perverseness of his Parliaments, arising from *factious* Conduct, founded in *selfish* and *lucrative* Views, had well nigh tempted him to quit his Throne, to return to his native Country.

We see then, that this Principle of *Faction* was a *natural* Defect, arising from a *noble Change* in the Constitution: Evils infinitely greater were taken away: A general Change of political Principles, with all their various Consequences, was the natural Effect of that Revolution. The *Defects* (or rather Evils) of an *arbitrary* Government *ceased*: The *Defects* of a *free* Government *arose*: And it is the main Pur-

Purpose of this Estimate, to point out and resist *these*. SECT. XIII.

"Shires and Boroughs, which in former Times had paid their Representatives for their Attendance in Parliament, were now the great Objects of Request, and political Struggle*."

The following Anecdotes, in Illustration of the Progress of the Evil here spoken of, were given to the Writer, by a learned Friend, whose Profession leads him to Enquiries of this Nature.

It hath long been debated among the learned in the Antiquities of this Kingdom, at what Time the Privilege of the *Commons* of *England*, to share in the *Legislative* Power, first commenced; some placing its Origin as high as the earliest Ages of the *Saxon*

* Vol. I, p. 110.

Monar-

SECT. XIII.

Monarchy; others reducing it to the latter End of the Reign of EDWARD I. There is a Mixture of Truth in both Opinions.—For it is most probable, that the Commons of *England*, who were *Proprietors* of Land, had always some Share in the Legislature. And at the same Time it is most certain, that this Right was not reduced to the regular Form it now assumes, till the latter Period.

HOWEVER important this Privilege may now appear, it was not for a long Time after the Reign of EDWARD I. thought of any great Value, or much sought after; as appears by the great Neglect of Attendance in Parliament in the latter End of the Reign of EDWARD III. and the Beginning of RICHARD II. which was then so remarkable, that it was found necessary to enforce it by an Act of Parliament, which *required*

SECT. XIII.

required Attendance, under Pain of Amercement.

IT is an old Observation, that formerly "the Interest of Parliament was never "more predominant, than when Kings "wanted Title or Age." Hence the Commons first began to find their Importance in the Reign of RICHARD II. and continued to increase it during the Reigns of HENRY IV. HENRY VI. and HENRY VII. In Consequence of this, it became necessary to regulate Elections; the first Statute relating to which was made in the Reign of HENRY IV. From this period, Endeavours were used to make Parliaments subservient to the Views of the ruling Party, and their Importance in those Days arose, or fell, in Proportion to the Occasions such Party had for their Authority.

As

SECT. XIII.

As the Times were tumultuous till the Union of the Houses of YORK and LANCASTER, it was common before that Period for *Sheriffs* to omit or excuse the not making Returns for several of the Boroughs within their Counties. Sometimes giving for Reason of their Omission, that the other Boroughs were not able to send any Burgesses because of their *Poverty* or *Inability*; which was never then complained of, or objected to, by the Boroughs themselves; though several Acts of Parliament had been made to compel the Sheriffs to make Returns for all the Boroughs: Nay, several of the Boroughs after they had once or twice sent up their Representatives, found the Burthen too great, and *procured* perpetual *Exemptions* which remain to this Day. How differently do we value this Right at present? When no Price is thought too great for the Purchase of a Borough; and

SECT. XIII.

and no Family, how ancient or honourable soever, of any Consequence, but in Proportion to these modern Possessions?

MARK the uniform Effects of the same Principles and Causes, working at the Distance of two thousand Years. "The Consulship, or any other Office or Dignity, "was never conferred by the People of "ROME, upon any body but by formal Application: Which Custom was originally "very good; because none sought for them, "who was conscious of being unfit; forasmuch as to be repulsed, was a dishonourable Thing; and to make himself *fit*, every Man chose to be *virtuous*. But afterwards, the Manners of the People "growing so fatally corrupt, this Custom "lost its primitive Convenience, and became not only useless, but pernicious: "For they who had most Power, not they "who had most Virtue and Capacity,

 "pre-

SECT. XIII.

" pretended to the Magiſtracy; the Poor " and the Virtuous not daring to appear, " for fear of a Repulſe. But this Incon- " venience, like the City itſelf, was not " the Product of a Day: It ſtole into the " Commonwealth, lay concealed, increaſ- " ed, and exerted itſelf by Degrees, as " all other Inconveniences do.—Security, " and an unhappy Scarcity of Enemies, " was the Occaſion, that, in their Creation " of Conſuls, the People of ROME began " to regard *Riches* and *Favour* more than " *Ability* and *Virtue*; preferring ſuch Per- " ſons as could entertain and treat People " handſomely, to ſuch as were grave, and " could only conquer their Enemies: " Afterwards, from thoſe who were moſt " plauſible, they came down, and created " ſuch as were moſt powerful; ſo that " Perſons of *Virtue* and *Capacity* were *to-* " *tally excluded* *."

* Machiavel's Diſc. l. i. c. 18.

SECT. XIII.

THE Writer proceeds: " It hath been " much debated, whether the *Miniſters* " or the *People* have contributed more to " the Eſtabliſhment of this Syſtem of " Self-Intereſt and Faction *." Here is an Error, in Expreſſion at leaſt. In Juſtice to the Body of the *Britiſh* People it muſt be remarked, that by the *People* was, or ought to have been meant, chiefly the higher Ranks of the Nation; except only in *Boroughs*, where the Corruption, here ſpoken of, runs down through the loweſt of the People.

" ON Enquiry it would probably ap- " pear, that at different Periods the Pen- " dulum hath ſwung at large on both " Sides: It came down in former Times, " from the Miniſter to the Repreſentative,

* Vol. I. p. 112.

SECT. XIII.

" *&c.*—In later Times, the Impulse seems " to have been chiefly in the contrary " Direction, *&c.* *."——These Changes followed each other according to the natural Operation of Causes and Effects: But tho' the Writer shewed their general Progress, yet he did it not with that Particularity of Circumstance, which so interesting a Subject deserves.

He apprehends, therefore, that there have been three essential Changes of Principle, in the Progress of this great and ruling Evil. It *began* from the *Crown*, at the *Revolution*, from a Principle of *Necessity*: It was *continued*, by succeeding Ministers, and brought to its Crisis by ONE Minister, on a Principle of supposed *Prudence*: It hath since been *continued* on a Principle of supposed *Necessity* again: but

* Vol. I. ibid.

that

SECT. XIII.

that supposed Necessity hath had a Foundation different from that which took Place at the Revolution. For that *first* Necessity arose from the State of the Times, when a new modelled Government, like a new planted Tree, had not yet taken Root in the Minds of the People; and therefore the Storms of Parliamentary Faction were of more dangerous Consequence to its Rise and Growth. But after this System of Self-Interest had been rivetted by *one Minister*, in the Minds of the People, and the *higher Ranks* throughout the Nation, and all Men of *all* Ranks in *Boroughs*, were taught to expect and demand the utmost Penny for their Vote or Interest; then it was, that a new Kind of Necessity commenced; and succeeding Ministers, honest in their Wishes and Intent, were seemingly *compelled* to *that* which their Predecessor had *voluntarily* established.

SECT. XIV.

Remarks on the Conduct of a famous Minister.

SECT. XIV.

"THERE was a noted Minister in this "Kingdom, whose Character, perhaps, "might be drawn in these few Words, "that while he seemed to strengthen the "Superstructure, he weakened the Foun-"dations of our Constitution *."

THE Writer understands, that some Offence hath been taken at what he affirmed in general Terms, concerning this Minister: He therefore thinks it necessary to explain himself more particularly: Not, indeed, with any *interested* Views of pleasing any *Party*; because he apprehends, that his Sentiments concerning this Minister,

* Vol. I. p. 114, 115.

Minister, are *different* from those of both his *Friends* and *Enemies*. SECT. XIV.

THE real Faults of his Ministry ought the rather to be delineated, because many Men of *Sense* and *Worth*, *admire* and *maintain* his System: And finding that he was charged with Designs he never formed, they have thence inferred, I suppose, that he was therefore *blameless*.

HIS Friends are generally accounted, and some of them I know *are*, the real Friends of Liberty: To *these* it cannot be unacceptable, *freely* and FAIRLY to examine the Nature of his Administration. If we are curbed in this Point of Enquiry, our Liberty is lost in its most essential Circumstance. Nor surely can it be taken amiss in that Nation, to criticise a *dead Minister*, where every Man with Impunity can insult the LIVING GOD.

SECT. XIV.

In this Enquiry, therefore, two Things will appear remarkable: One, that his Enemies, in their Diſcourſes, Speeches, and Writings, charged him with Things he was not guilty of: The other, that what was really pernicious in his Syſtem, *that* they totally overlooked; and would not, or could not ſee.

1*ſt*, Therefore, It is not true, that this Miniſter corrupted the Nation: He found it corrupted to his Hand. It is not in the Power of any *one* Man to taint an upright People. He may put the Wheels in Motion, but cannot create a general Change: His Life is too ſhort, and unequal to the Effect.

2*dly*, It is not true, that he ever formed any Deſign to inſlave his Country. He did not wiſh *ſo ill* to his Country. More than

SECT. XIV.

than this: His Genius was *peaceful*, and never led him to this blind and ambitious Project: For he had Senſe enough to know, that ſo daring a Deſign could never be executed, without involving the Nation in the Horrors of a *civil War*.

These are the atrocious Crimes, with one or both of which he hath been falſely charged by his Enemies. Let us now conſider the real Genius and Faults of his Adminiſtration.

1. In his private Character, he was *amiable* and *friendly*. Yet even this private Character may juſtly be regarded as a main Foundation of thoſe Defects, which blotted his Miniſtry. For,

2. He carried his domeſtic and friendly Attachments into public Life; and for the Advantage of *Individuals* whom he

SECT. XIV.

he *loved*, often ſacrificed the Intereſts of that *Public* which he neither *loved* nor *hated*: For his Affections were of the common and confined Kind, and never reached ſo far as to comprehend his *Country*.

3. THOUGH he had no natural Inclination to corrupt Practices, yet he rather choſe to rule by *theſe*, than to reſign his Power. This Conduct was founded in his Temper too: He preferred the immediate Intereſt of his Friends, to the future and diſtant Welfare of his Country.

4. His *Genius* for Government was of a *confined* Nature; and therefore it may be unfair to charge his Intentions with all the Conſequences of his Adminiſtration. Tho' he had an acute Eye, ſo far as its Sphere extended, yet that Sphere was but narrow. He ſaw Things in their immediate, but not in

SECT. XIV.

in their remote Effects. He regarded Wealth, as the ſole Fountain of national Power, Strength, and Stability: He did not foreſee its Influence and Effects. But let me add, that if he had foreſeen them, I do not think his Regard to the Public was ſtrong enough to have determined him to a contrary Syſtem, againſt the natural Bent of his own partial and confined Affections.

5. THE Conſequence of this narrow Ability and Turn of Mind was, the utter Neglect of the Manners and Principles of the Nation, and of all thoſe counterworking *Checks*, which ought to be laid upon a People that is *growing* in Trade, Wealth, and Luxury.

6. NAY, on the contrary, he forwarded the Growth of theſe pernicious Manners and Principles: Not through the natural

SECT. XIV.

tural Love of Vice; but becauſe he ſaw them favourable to that Parliament Influence, without which he found he could not both gratify his favourite Ends, and maintain himſelf in Power.

THUS, while Trade and Wealth, the grand *Incentives* to *Vice*, increaſed; he neglected, nay diſcouraged the Care of ſalutary Manners and Principles, the only effectual *Checks* to *Vice*. Thus, while he *enriched Individuals*, he made his *Country poor*. Inſtead of uſing his Power, in filling every public Office and Department with Men of Ability and Virtue, he ſacrificed Ability and Virtue to Views of Parliament Influence. Thus he eſtabliſhed corrupt Principles with a View to ſtrengthen Faction in ſupport of the Crown, till thoſe very Principles have become a Burthen upon the Crown itſelf: Thus by unnatural and forced Applications, he gave a temporary Motion

SECT. XIV.

Motion to the Wheels of State; while the the natural, and internal Maſter-Springs of Government were loſing their Elaſticity and Power: And thus he greatly contributed to reduce us to that State of political *Diſſolution* and *Non-Entity*, under which we groan at preſent.

THIS, according to the Writer's Apprehenſion, is a true Delineation of the Genius of his Miniſtry. And thus, "while "he ſeemed to ſtrengthen the Superſtructure, he weakened the Foundations of "our Conſtitution."

SECT. XV.

A Reflection on the future Effects of Parliamentary Influence on the Balance of Power.

SECT. XV.

"BUT what an Aggravation of this "Evil would ariſe, ſhould ever thoſe of "the

SECT. XV.

" the higheſt Rank inſult the Genius of " the Conſtitution, by ſolliciting Votes, or " procuring others to ſollicit them; by in- " fluencing Elections in an avowed De- " fiance of their Country, and even ſelling " vacant Seats in Parliament to the beſt " Bidder *?"

THE Writer apprehends, there is a dreadful Evil ready to burſt upon this Kingdom, which hath not yet diſcloſed itſelf; but will ſoon come to a Criſis, if not checked with Speed and Vigour. This he will take the Liberty to explain with *Candour*. Yet *Prudence* whiſpers him, on this Occaſion, to ſpeak with *Caution*. But though, on this Account, his *Expreſſions* may be *indirect*, he will take Care that his *Meaning* ſhall be *clear*.

* Vol. I. p. 120.

THE

SECT. XV.

THE Danger which threatened our Conſtitution, by a too violent Exertion of the Prerogative, under the Reigns of the STUARTS, hath long ceaſed. Nevertheleſs, the Convulſions it occaſioned in 1641, will not ſpeedily be forgotten: Nor ought the Miſchiefs and Confuſions ariſing from a Democracy, raiſed on the Deſtruction of the regal and ariſtocratic Powers, to be ſlightly reflected on. This Period of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory cannot be too much attended to.

IT is generally apprehended now, that our Conſtitution is again leaning towards a Democracy: The Privilege of raiſing Money, which is veſted in the Commons, gives that Houſe ſo great a Weight in all Determinations of Importance, that the Crown and the Houſe of Lords ſeem but as

SECT. XV.

as Feathers put in the Scale againſt Heaps of Gold.

How far this *ſeeming* State of Things may be ſupported by *Reality* and *Fact*, is a Point too *delicate* for the Writer to determine. Yet, notwithſtanding the Privilege veſted in the Commons, of commanding the Purſes of their Conſtituents, it is not difficult to point a Situation, where this Privilege would be nothing but a *Name*. And as in the laſt Century, the regal and democratic Branches by turns bore down the Conſtitution, ſo, in ſuch a Situation as is here *ſuppoſed*, the real Danger, tho' hidden, would lurk in the *Ariſtocratic* Branch; which would be ſecretly bearing down the Power both of the King and People.

THE Matter may be explained in a ſmall Compaſs. Cannot we put a Caſe, in

SECT. XV.

in which, the Parliamentary Intereſt of the great Nobility might ſwallow up the Houſe of Commons? Members might be elected indeed; and elected in Form too. But by whom might they really be elected? By the free Voice of the People? No impartial Man would ſay it. It were eaſy to ſuppoſe thirty or forty Men of high Quality and Power, who, if united, might go nigh to command a *Majority* in the *lower* Houſe. The Members of that Houſe might ſeem to be the Repreſentatives of the People: But would be in Truth, a great Part of them, no more than the commiſſioned Deputies of their reſpective Chiefs, whoſe Sentiments they would give, and whoſe Intereſts they would purſue.

THUS, while Power would, in Appearance, be centering in the lower Houſe,

it

SECT. XV.

it would in reality be lurking in the higher.

THIS State of Things, ſhould it come to paſs, might not perhaps reſult from any Deſign in the Ariſtocratic Branch, to deſtroy the Conſtitution. They might have no farther Views than thoſe of Gain, Vanity, or Pleaſure. Notwithſtanding this, their Conduct might have thoſe Effects, which their Intentions never aſpired to; though their own Ruin might be the final Conſequence. Let us conſider the moſt probable Effects.

THE firſt fatal Effect that offers itſelf to Obſervation is, that the Concioufneſs of ſuch an increaſing and exorbitant Power, which the Lords might acquire in the Houſe of Commons, would *deſtroy* all honeſt *Ambition* in the younger *Gentry*. They would know, that the utmoſt Point they

SECT. XV.

they could hope to arrive at, would only be to become the *Deputy* of ſome great Lord in a County or Borough. All the Intentions of ſuch a Poſt can be anſwered by Ignorance and Servility, better than by Genius and public Spirit. People of the latter Stamp, therefore, would not naturally be appointed to the Taſk: And this, once known, would check the Growth of Genius and public Spirit throughout the Nation. The few Men of Ability and Spirit that might be left, ſeeing this to be the Caſe, would naturally betake themſelves to ſuch private Amuſements as a free Mind can honeſtly enjoy. All Hope, and therefore by Degrees, all Deſire, of ſerving their Country would be extinguiſhed.

THUS, honeſt Ambition would naturally and generally be quenched. But even where Ambition *continued*, it would be

SECT. XV. be *perverted.* Not *useful*, but *servile* Talents would be applauded; and the ruling Pride would be, not that of *Freemen*, but of *Slaves.*

THESE Effects would be bad: But there would be worse in Store. The *Nobility*, by this blind Conduct, would pave the Way for their own Destruction. It might be impossible, absolutely to foretell future Events; but what follows, seems to be according to the natural Progress of Causes and Effects.

IT is a known and trite Observation, that Power follows Property. Whoever examines in whose Hands the Weight of Property in this Nation is lodged, will find it to be in the Possession of the Commons. And although a few ambitious Lords should even engross a Majority of Counties and Boroughs; (the last, more generally, are within their Reach) yet these Men would not from hence become

possessed of the Property of those Countries, nor therefore of the Weight and Influence which naturally follows it; and which, if it is deprived of its proper and legal Exertion, will break forth in illegal and seditious Attempts. 'Tis easy to foresee, what would be the End of such Measures, when pursued to Extremity. What else, but the Destruction of all Friendship and good Correspondence between the higher and lower Ranks of the Nation, which hath hitherto been supported by their mutual Want of each others Aid? SECT. XV.

Now suppose this mutual Friendship and Dependance to be destroyed by these pernicious Measures, and then consider the Consequence. The People would be easily persuaded, that they have nothing left, but an expensive Shadow of their former Constitution: That the greatest Part of their Property is spent in supporting a

SECT. XV.

new System, built on the Ruins of their former Privileges: That the Nation would be better served, the Expence of Government less burthensome, if the Prince were left without the Controul of a Parliament, and from himself should appoint such Persons as are best qualified for the Posts they are to fill; and suppress such Offices as would be found useless and expensive, and of no Consequence to any but the Possessors.

SOMETHING of this Kind must inevitably happen, if ever the Power of the Lords should make its Way into the lower House: And let a private Man dare to say, that it will *become* the GREAT, who *ought* to be well read in History, to reflect on what happened in the *Roman* State. *There*, the *Patricians*, while they maintained their proper Character of superior Wisdom, Valour, and Love of their Country

SECT. XV.

try (the only Characteristics of true Nobility) enjoyed their Power and Privileges, unmolested by the People. But when these noble Qualities were sunk in mean Views and selfish Attachments; when degenerate Manners and Lust of Power among the Leaders of the State, had destroyed the Rights of Election; *then*, even *Prætors* and *Consuls* became the mere Creatures of DICTATORS and TRIUMVIRS: These calamitous Events, after a few unsuccessful Struggles of expiring Freedom, terminated in an *arbitary Monarchy*; under which, the *ancient Nobility* were in no Respect *distinguished*, but by the superior *Calamities*, in which the Cruelty of their Emperors involved them.

LET us now come nearer Home, and from ancient to modern Times; where we shall see similar Causes producing similar Effects.

SECT. XV.

THE State of SCOTLAND, (till the *Union* took Place, and the heretable Jurisdictions were abolished by the Influence of one, to whose Wisdom and Integrity in his high Station, this Kingdom will for ever stand indebted) presents an Instance by no means foreign to our Purpose: And this, I cannot better represent, than in the Words of a late learned Writer.

"THE Constitution of SCOTLAND, till "incorporated with that of ENGLAND, "was in Fact, a Mixture of *Monarchy* and "*Oligarchy*. The Nation consisted of a "*Commonalty* without the Privilege of "chusing their own Representatives; of "a Gentry, intitled indeed to represent "by Election, but unable to serve the "Nation; and of a Nobility who op-"pressed the one, and despised both.

"IN

SECT. XV.

"IN this Situation, the Representatives "of the Commons, discouraged with "their own Insignificancy, either did not "attend the Parliament, or surrendered "their Privileges when in it. It appears "by the Acts of 1457, and 1503, that "though the Act of 1427, had given the "Freeholders a Power of sending Repre-"sentatives to Parliament, yet none, or "few, were sent.——

"THE Revolution first brought other "Maxims into our (the *Scotch*) Govern-"ment; and the Union gave other Rights "to our Part of the Legislature: So that "now, our *Lords* and *Commons* being in-"corporated with those of the *English*, "the Constitution of *Scotland* is settled "upon that just Poise, betwixt Monarchy, "Aristocracy, and Democracy, which has

"made

SECT. XV.

" made the Constitution of ENGLAND " the Wonder of Mankind *."

THUS, we see, the Kingdom of SCOTLAND was in great Part rescued from the exorbitant Power of the *Aristocratic* Branch, by its Union with ENGLAND; and its Freedom compleated by the Abolition of the heretable Jurisdictions †. But as Power may be equally usurped and engrossed by *different Ways*; so *Parliamentary Influence* may work the same Effects with *slavish Tenures*; and from a *new Cause*, the Liberties of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND may fall together.

To this Instance of a free Nation groaning under the exorbitant Power of its Nobles, till rescued by its Union with another, let us add a still more striking Example,

* History of Feudal Property in *Britain*, p. 274. &c. † See ibid. p. 246.

SECT. XV.

ample, of a modern free State overturned from its Foundations from the Prevalence of the same Cause.

" AFTER the Conclusion of the Peace " between the two Northern Crowns, in " 1660, some considerable Care and " Time was necessary to redress the Dis- " orders occasioned by so terrible a War. " DENMARK had been most violently " shaken :—The *People* had been in a " Manner ruined by the Miseries attend- " ing the War : The *Nobility*, though " *Lords* and *Masters*, were full of Dis- " content.

" THE King thought fit to appoint a " Meeting of the three Estates at COPEN- " HAGEN, *viz.* the Nobility, Commonal- " ty, and Clergy :—The Nobility were " for exempting themselves from paying " Taxes, except only in the Way of vo- " luntary

SECT. XV.

" luntary Contribution. The People held " it reaſonable, that the neceſſary Sums of " Money ſhould be levied proportionally; " and that the Nobility, who enjoyed *all* " the *Lands*, ſhould at leaſt pay their " *Share* of the *Taxes*.

" THIS Manner of arguing was very " diſpleaſing to the Nobles; and begat " much Heat, and many Replies on both " Sides. At Length a principal Senator " ſtood up, and in great Anger told the " Preſident of the City, that the Com- " mons neither underſtood nor conſidered " the Privilege of the Nobility, who at " all Times had been exempted from " Taxes, nor the true Condition of them- " ſelves, who were no other than *Slaves*: " [the Word in the *Daniſh* Tongue, is " *unfree*]. This Word *Slaves* put all the " Burghers and Clergy in Diſorder: On " which NANSON, the *Speaker* of the " Houſe

SECT. XV.

" Houſe of Commons, roſe out of his " Seat, and ſwore, that the Commons " were no Slaves; nor would from thence- " forth be called ſo by the Nobility; " which they ſhould ſoon prove to their " Coſt.

" IT was now thought neceſſary, by " the Commons, to conſider ſpeedily of " the moſt effectual Means to ſuppreſs the " intolerable Pride of the Nobility, and " how to mend their own Condition. " After many Debates, they concluded, " that they ſhould immediately wait upon " the King, and offer him their Votes " and Aſſiſtance to be abſolute Monarch " of the Realm.—They promiſed them- " ſelves, the King would have ſo great " Obligations to them for this Piece of " Service, that he would grant and con- " firm ſuch Privileges, as ſhould put " them above the Degree of Slaves. " They

SECT. XV.

" They knew, he had been hitherto " curbed by the Nobility to a great Mea- " sure; and now saw their own Force, to " perform what they undertook. At the " worst, they supposed they should only " change *many Masters* for *one*; and could " better bear Hardships from a *King*, than " from *inferior* Persons: Besides the Sa- " tisfaction of *Revenge*, on those who had " hitherto not only *used* them *ill*, but *in-* " *sulted* over them so lately. They knew " the King, and had seen him bear with " an admirable Patience and Constancy, " all his Calamities; were persuaded " that he was a valiant Prince, who had " often exposed his Person for the Sake of " the Public; and therefore thought, " they could never do enough to shew their " Gratitude.

" SCARCE was this Proposal made, but " it was agreed to: and nothing but the " Unsea-

SECT. XV.

" Unseasonableness of the Time, it being " now near Night, deferred the imme- " diate Execution of it: but all the ne- " cessary Measures were taken against next " Morning.

" All this while, the Nobles either had " none, or but small Intimations of the " Designs of the Commons. They had " been so long used to slight and tyran- " nize over them, that they were not " now sensible of any impending Dan- " ger from thence; contemning their " Threats as well as their Persons; and " imagining they would have repented " next Day, and complied with all that " should have been demanded of them: " But the Plot was deeper laid than they " supposed: for not only the Prime Mi- " nister, but some other Members of " their own Body, who had Employ- " ments depending on the Court, were " enga-

SECT. XV.

" engaged in it. This Inadvertency, with " the Want of requiſite Courage on the " Occaſion, brought upon them the Miſ- " chief on a ſudden; ſo that, except two " or three, who were more than ordinary " doubtful of what might happen, and " ſlipt out of Town that Night, the reſt " were altogether fearleſs of Danger, till " the very Inſtant that the Evil was reme- " dileſs.

" SCHACK, the Governor of the Town, " urged vehemently, that the Commons " ſhould inſiſt to have a Promiſe under the " King's Hand, and make themſelves " ſure of a Reward for ſo conſiderable a " Preſent as they were going to make, " whilſt they had ſo fair an Opportunity " in their Hands: But all his Inſtances " were in vain; they were in the giving " Humour, and reſolved to do it gene- " rouſly, truſting the King for the Per- " formance

SECT. XV.

" formance of his Word; a Thing which " they have ſince often, tho' too late, re- " pented of.

" THE Miſchief no ſooner appeared to " the Nobles, but they ſaw it was una- " voidable: There was no Leiſure al- " lowed them to conſult; and to deny " their Compliance, or even to delay it, " was dangerous. They ſaw, they were " no longer Maſters; the Commons were " armed; the Army and Clergy againſt " them; and they found now too late, " that what the Day before they had con- " ſidered only as the Effort of an uncon- " ſtant giddy Multitude, was guided by " wiſer Heads, and ſupported by Encou- " ragements from Court; nay poſſibly by " ſome of their own Body.—They were " aſſembled in a fortified Town, remote " from their ſeveral Countries and Inter- " eſts (where they had governed like ſo

" many

SECT. XV.

" many Princes) in the Power of those
" who could, and certainly would be re-
" venged, in Case they proved refractory.
" The best Way, therefore, was to seem
" to approve of what they could not
" hinder.

" In the mean time, the Commons
" grew impatient: The Answer given
" them was not satisfactory. The Clergy
" and Burghers therefore, led on by their
" Bishop and President, proceed without
" them to the Palace, and were met by
" the Prime Minister, and conducted by
" him to the Hall of Audience, whither,
" after some short Time, the King came
" to them. The Bishop makes a long
" Speech, setting forth the Praises of his
" Majesty, and the Cause of their waiting
" on him; concluding with an Offer, in
" the Name of themselves, the two most
" numerous, and (if he pleased) the most
" powerful

SECT. XV.

" powerful Estates, of an hereditary and
" absolute Dominion; together with the
" Assistance of their Hands and Purses,
" in Case any Body should go about to ob-
" struct so necessary and laudable a Design
" for the Good of the Country.

" But the Nobles were all this while
" in a grievous Distraction: They saw
" the Commons were gone to the King
" without them. Their Messengers
" brought News back, that their Propo-
" sition of entailing the Crown on the
" Heirs Males, was not pleasing, because
" a greater Advantage was in Prospect:
" That this Offer was looked upon to
" proceed from Persons that would not
" have bestowed any Thing, if they could
" have helped it: That it was thought
" they pretended a Merit in giving only a

SECT. XV.

" Part, when it was not in their Power " to hinder the taking the whole.

" WHILE the Nobles were all together, " an Officer comes into the Room, and " whiſpers ſome of the principal Men, " that the City Gates were ſhut, and the " Keys carried to Court. The Governor " had ſent one BILL, the Town-Major, " to put this in Execution; who, as ſoon " as he had done it, came to the Houſe " where they were met, and ſat down at " Table among the Senators. This diſ- " mal News of the Officer was preſently " whiſpered round the Company: They " aſked him, what Deſtiny was appointed " them? whether they were there to be " maſſacred, or what elſe was to be done " with them? The Town-Major calmly " anſwered, that he believed there was no " Danger towards them: That ſuch vio- " lent Meaſures would not be taken by ſo " gracious

SECT. XV.

" gracious a King; though he had indeed " given the Orders himſelf for the ſhutting " the Gates; and that no body was to " ſtir out of Town without Leave. There " wanted no more than this Confirmation " from the Officer, to overthrow all the " Reſolution and Conſultations of the " Nobles: The Dread of loſing their " Lives took away all Thoughts of their " Liberty. They immediately diſpatched " Meſſengers, both to the Court and the " Commons, to give Notice of their " Diſpoſition to comply with what was " formerly propoſed; aſſuring them like- " wiſe, that they were ready to agree to " all that ſhould be aſked of them.

" THREE Days Time was requiſite, to " prepare Matters for that fatal Hour, " wherein they were to make a formal " Surrender of their Liberty. The Scaf- " folds were raiſed in the Place before the

SECT. XV.

" Castle, and adorned with Tapestry: " Orders were given for the Soldiery and " Burghers to appear in Arms under their " respective Officers: And when all " Things were ready, on the 27th of " *October* in the Morning, the King, " Queen, and Royal Family, mounted on " a Theatre erected for that Purpose, and " being placed in Chairs of State under " Canopies of Velvet, received publickly " the Homage of all the Senators, No- " bility, Clergy, and Commons.

" THUS this great Affair was finished; " and the Kingdom of DENMARK, in " four Days Time, changed from an " Estate little differing from *Aristocracy*, " to as *absolute* a *Monarchy* as any is at " present in the World *."

* Account of DENMARK, by MOLESWORTH, Chap. 7.

THUS,

SECT. XV.

THUS, we see, DENMARK was *inslaved* by the Inchroachments of the *Nobility* on the *Privileges* of the *Commons*. And can the higher Ranks of this Kingdom be so blindly partial as to imagine, that the *People* of *England* (if ever their essential Privileges should be invaded and torn from them by the fatal Arts of Parliamentary Influence) would tamely sit down under so cruel an Oppression, and not repel so *desperate* an *Evil*, though it were even at the Hazard of a *desperate Remedy*?

THESE, no Doubt, are ungrateful Remarks, to those whom they most concern. But the Writer continues to wrap himself up in the Integrity of his Intentions; and concludes in the cogent Style of a Person, once reverenced by the Ancestors of the

SECT. XV. modern Great:—"Am I therefore your "Enemy, because I tell you the Truth?"

SECT. XVI.

Of the immediate Consequences of national Selfishness and Disunion.

SECT. XVI. "If we would obtain a full View of "our Subject, it is a necessary, though dis-"agreeable Task, to trace this Disunion "through its particular Effects *."

THE ruling Principle of ministerial or parliamentary Influence had hitherto been declaimed against, as solely tending to destroy our Liberties, by giving too much Power to the Crown. In the Progress of this Work, it hath been shewn to have had other fatal Effects, by destroying the national *Capacity*, *Valour*, and Spirit of *Union* †.

* Vol. I. p. 123. † Ibid. p. 127, &c.

'Tis

'Tis with the greatest Satisfaction, that the Writer finds the general Sense of the Nation, since the Publication of his first Essay, turned into the same new Channel. SECT. XVI.

THIS important Circumstance, therefore, being now generally agreed to, except among those few who expect to be Gainers by the common Calamity, it needs the less to be inforced or inlarged on, in this Volume. The ruinous Effects of this insatiable Thirst of Power and Profit, founded in Parliamentary Influence, together with the notorious Incapacity, Effeminacy, Inaction, and Debility, of those who aspire to the highest and most important Trusts, are at length no longer doubted. All Attention is turned on Gain or Pleasure; Duty is forgot, or laughed at: The main Springs of Government are thus relaxed; and, if a timely Check is not put

to

SECT. XVI. to this ruling Evil, the Nation, in all Appearance, devoted to Destruction: Insomuch, that the late and present Strife about Places of Profit in *this* Kingdom, puts one in Mind of the *drunken Crew* of the Ship, who were *squabbling* about the *Brandy Casks*, while the *Vessel* was *splitting* on a Rock.

SECT. XVII.

Of the most practicable Remedy for this capital Evil.

SECT. XVII. WAVING therefore, for the present, many new and material Points of Enquiry, which will naturally offer themselves to Consideration, in the Progress of the first Volume, I shall proceed to consider what may be the first and most practicable Means of restoring the Nation to its natural Strength.

I MEAN not to enter into a Detail of all those Methods, by which a general Reformation, founded on a general Change of Manners

Manners and Principles, might be attempted. This were an idle Project under our present Circumstance. All that can be hoped for, in the first Instance, is only to stop the Career of the Nation in its Progress towards immediate Ruin. The Motion of the *Ship* must be *gradually* changed and relaxed, if we would wind her *safely* into *Port*: Too sudden a *Check*, thro' the *Violence* of the *Concussion*, might be *fatal*. SECT. XVII.

THE Writer fears, the very first Circumstance by which alone even a *partial* Reform can be begun, will be regarded as chimerical, if not inhuman. He foresees, the Remedy will prove a nauseous Draught to those who must take it: Not much more palatable, than a Mess of SPARTAN *Black broth*.

IT hath been laid down by the best political Writers, as a capital Maxim, that, in order

SECT. XVII.

order to bring back a State to its firſt Principles, you muſt cut off the corrupted Members of the Body Politic. Now, if the Principles advanced in this Work be true, the corrupted Members of OUR Body Politic ſhould ſeem to be thoſe, who thro' the Force of parliamentary or other Influence are poſſeſſed of Places of Truſt and Conſequence in any public Department of the State, for which they are in any Reſpect INCAPABLE. Theſe Gentlemen will do the Writer great Injuſtice, if they charge him with any Deſign againſt their *Lives*; but their *Appointments*, he muſt needs think, they ought to be *deprived of*, becauſe they fulfil not thoſe Conditions on which, and for the Sake of which, theſe *Appointments* were *given* by their *Country*. To *diſplace* theſe Men therefore, as far as the Laws allow; to *prevent* others from creeping in upon the ſame Principle; and to *beſtow* public Offices of Truſt and Importance on Men

SECT. XVII.

Men of *Capacity*, *Courage*, and *Virtue*, is in Effect to cut off the *corrupted* Members of the State, and to reſtore it to its *firſt Principles*.

SECT. XVIII.

By what Means this Remedy can be effected.

SECT. XVIII.

SUPERFICIAL Writers talk of the Reformation of a State, as if it was a Matter of no more Difficulty, than that of ſweeping out a Room, or clearing a China Jar of Cobwebs.

BUT they who look a little deeper into Things, are ſoon convinced, that it is a Work of almoſt inſuperable Difficulty. The Reaſon is this. A State cannot want a general Reform, unleſs the Great be corrupted: now when theſe are corrupted, "a coercive

SECT. XVIII.

" a coercive Power is wanting: They who ſhould cure the Evil are the very Delinquents; and moral or political Phyſic, is what no diſtempered Mind will ever adminiſter to itſelf *."

If the Shepherds are watchful, the Flock is eaſily kept within the Fold: But if theſe be careleſs of their Charge, " Quis " cuſtodiet ipſos Cuſtodes?"

The great *Geometer* ſaid, " Give me but " a *Place* to ſtand on, and I will *move* the " *Earth*." So ſays the true Politician, " Give me but a *coercive Power*, and I " will *reform* the *Great*."

Such a *coercive Power* (like the Geometer's imaginary Station) is of ſuch Difficulty to be found, that the Writer made no Scruple to declare, " that Necessity

* Vol. I. p. 220.

" alone

SECT. XVIII.

" alone muſt in ſuch a Caſe be the Parent " of Reformation: So long as degenerate " and unprincipled Manners can ſupport " themſelves, they will be deaf to Rea- " ſon, blind to Conſequences, and obſti- " nate in the long eſtabliſhed Purſuit of " Gain and Pleaſure *."

This compelling Power, therefore, *Neceſſity*, may be of two different Kinds.

One Kind of *Neceſſity*, not yet come upon us, though it be too evidently advancing, is " when the State itſelf totters, " through the general Incapacity, Cowar- " dice, or Diſunion, of thoſe who ſhould " ſupport it †." This may properly be called *external Neceſſity*: Becauſe, whenever it appears, it will come from *without*. The Enemies of our Country will pour in upon us; till the blindeſt and moſt

* Vol. I. p. 220. † Ibid. p. 221.

incor-

SECT. XVIII.

incorrigible will be awakened to a Senſe of Danger and impending Ruin. *This* NECESSITY will prove a moſt *ſevere*, though ſalutary *Taſk-maſter*; and ſtanding with a ſcorpion *Whip*, over a *diſſolute* and *harlot Kingdom*, *chaſtiſe* her into *Labour* and *Amendment*.

THE *Second* Kind of *Neceſſity*, ſhould it ever come upon us, is of ſuch a Genius, as might perhaps happily prevent the Approach of the *firſt*. 'Tis likewiſe of a milder Nature; nor would come with thoſe alarming Circumſtances of national Ruin, with which the other muſt be dreadfully attended. This might be called an *internal Neceſſity*; and would ariſe, "when "the Voice of an abuſed People ſhould "rouze the *Great* into Fear*." If a People thus abuſed, were leſs corrupt than their Leaders, who can ſay, that this Neceſſity

* Vol. I. p. 221.

SECT. XVIII.

ceſſity would be either dangerous or hurtful? Might not the honeſt and powerful Voice of ſuch a People awaken the *Great* from their *Dream* of *Folly*, and lead them to adopt thoſe ſalutary Manners and Principles, which, in a State of too *proſperous Security*, they had blindly *forſaken*?

I AM not ignorant, that it hath been made a Point of Debate, whether, in political Matters, the general Voice of a People ought to be held worth much Regard. Right ſorry I am to obſerve, that this Doubt is the Growth of *later Times*; of Times, too, which boaſt their Love of *Freedom*: But ought, ſurely, to *bluſh*, when they look back on the generous Sentiments of *ancient Days*, which Days *we* ſtigmatize with the Name of *ſlaviſh*.

SECT. XVIII.

THUS runs the Writ of Summons, to the Parliament of the Twenty-third of EDWARD the First.

"THE *King* to the venerable Father in "Christ, R. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, "Greeting: As the most just Law, esta-"blished by the provident Wisdom of "Princes, doth appoint, *that what con-"cerns all, should be* APPROVED *by* ALL; "so it evidently implies, that *Dangers com-"mon* to *all*, should be obviated by *Re-"medies provided* by *all* *."

A noble Acknowledgment from an ENGLISH *King*, which ought never, sure,

* Thus runs the original Latin. "Rex venera-"bili in Christo Patri R. eadem Gratia Cantuariensi "Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primat. Salutem. Sic-"ut Lex justissima, provida circumspectione sa-"crorum Principum stabilita, hortatur & statuit, ut "*quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus approbetur*; sic & "innuit evidenter, ut *communibus Periculis* per Re-"media *provisa communiter* obvietur."

to

SECT. XVIII.

to be *forgotten* or *trod under foot* by ENGLISH Subjects!

THERE are two manifest Reasons, why, in a degenerate State, and a declining Period, the united Voice of a People is, in general, the surest Test of Truth in all essential Matters on which their own Welfare depends, so far as the ENDS of Political Measures are concerned.

FIRST, Because in such a Period and such a State, the Body of a People are naturally the least corrupt Part of such a People. For all *general* Corruptions, of whatever Kind, begin among the *Leaders*, and descend from *these* to the *lower* Ranks. Take such a State, therefore, in what Period of Degeneracy you please, the *higher* Ranks will, in the natural Course of Things, be *farther* gone in the *ruling* Evils than the *lower*; and therefore, the *less* to be *relied* on.

SECT. XVIII.

SECONDLY, A ſtill more cogent Reaſon is, that the *general Body* of the People have not ſuch a *Bias* hung upon their *Judgment* by the Prevalence of perſonal and particular *Intereſt*, as the *Great*, in all Things which relate to State Matters. It is of no particular or perſonal Conſequence to the general Body of a People, what *Men* are *employed*, provided the *general* Welfare be accompliſhed; becauſe nothing but the *general Welfare* can be an Object of Deſire to the *general Body*. But it is of much particular and perſonal Conſequence to the Great, what *Men* are *employed*; becauſe, through their Connexions and Alliances, they muſt generally find either their *Friends* or *Enemies* in *Power*. Their own private *Intereſts*, therefore, naturally throw a *Bias* on their *Judgments*, and deſtroy that *Impartiality* which the general

general *Body* of an *uncorrupt People* doth naturally *poſſeſs*. SECT. XVIII.

HENCE then it appears, that the united Voice of an uncorrupt People is, in general, the ſafeſt Teſt of *political* GOOD and EVIL; and therefore, the beſt Aid and Aſſiſtant to an upright Prince, in the Choice of ſuch MINISTERS as may ſecure to them the GOOD, and divert the EVIL.

BUT as *Philoſophy* may aid and confirm the general Senſe of an uncorrupt People in this important Circumſtance; ſo, the Writer leaves it to the Determination of his Country, whether, if ever a GREAT MINISTER* ſhould ariſe among us, he would not naturally be diſtinguiſhed by the following characteriſtic Qualities.

* Let it be obſerved, that there is an eſſential Diſtinction to be maintained here, between a *good Miniſter* and a *great Miniſter*. They may be *equally upright* in their *Intentions*; but the Difference may lie either in the ſuperior *Ability*, or *Courage* of the *latter*.

SECT. XIX.

Of the Characteristics of a great Minister.

SECT. XIX.

He will not only have honest Intentions of Mind, but Wisdom to plan, and Courage to execute.

He will regard the Interests of the Prince and People, as inseparably and invariably united.

He will, to the utmost of his Power, abolish ministerial Influence on Parliaments, and discourage Parliamentary Influence among the Great.

He will endeavour to destroy Party Distinctions; and to unite all Men, in the Support of the common and national Welfare.

In Consequence of this, he will be hated by the corrupt Part of the Kingdom, high and

SECT. XIX.

and low; because *their* Expectations of Advantage, can only arise from those Distinctions and that Influence which *He* labours to abolish.

The honest and unprejudiced Part of the Nation will adore him, for the contrary Reason.

He will be remarkable, rather for his Knowledge in the great Principles of Wisdom and Virtue, than in the oblique Ways and Mysteries of selfish Cunning.

He may be displaced once, or more than once, by the Power of Faction: But the united Voice of an uncorrupt People will restore him to the Favour of the Sovereign; especially in a Time of Danger. And the oftener he is cut down by corrupt Power, the deeper Root he will take in the Affections of the Prince and People, and rise and flourish with renewed Vigour.

SECT. XIX.

His private Life will be consistent with his public Conduct: He will not adopt, but scorn the degenerate Manners of the Times. Above Luxury and Parade, he will be modest and temperate; and his Contempt of Wealth will be as signal as his Contempt of Luxury.

He will be distinguished by his Regard to Religion, Honour, and his Country.

He will not despise, but honour the People, and listen to their united Voice.

If his Measures are not always clear to the People in their *Means*, they will always be so in their *Ends*. In this, he will imitate a great Queen, or her great Minister, "whose Policy was deep, and the Means "she employed were often very secret; "but the Ends to which this Policy and "these Means were directed, *were never* "*equivocal*."

SECT. XIX.

As a natural and happy Consequence of this Conduct, should he happen either to *err* in a *Design*, or *fail* in its *Execution*, an uncorrupt People will still *confide* in him. They will continue to repose on his general Wisdom and Integrity; will regard him as a kind and watchful Father; yet, tho' *wise*, not *infallible*.

He will look *forward*, rather than to what is *past*; and be more zealous to select and reward those who may do well, than to prosecute those whom, in his own Opinion, he may think Delinquents.

His Principles and Conduct, as they will be *hated* by *vile*, so they will be *derided* by *narrow* Minds, which cannot enlarge their Conceptions beyond the beaten Track of present Practice. Prince Maurice was *ridiculed* in his *first Attempts*, for those

SECT. XIX. thoſe very Expedients, by which he drove the SPANIARDS out of his Country*.

IF his little or no Influence in Parliament be objected to him, he will anſwer as HENRY the Great did with regard to *Rochelle*, "I do all I deſire to do there, in "doing nothing but what I ought."

HE will practiſe "that double Oeco-"nomy, which is ſo rarely found, or "even underſtood. I mean, not only "that inferior Oeconomy, which conſiſts "in the Management of the Receipts "and Iſſues of the public Revenue; but "that ſuperior Oeconomy, which conſiſts "in contriving the great Schemes of Ne-"gotiation and Action."

THE Laws he frames, will be generous and comprehenſive; that is, in Lord VE-

* *Burriſh*, Bat. illuſtrat. p. 189.

RULAM'S

RULAM's nervous Expreſſion, "Deep, not "vulgar: not made upon the Spur of a "particular Occaſion for the preſent, but "out of Providence of the future; to "make the Eſtate of the People ſtill more "and more happy, after the Manner of "the Legiſlators in ancient and heroical "Times." SECT. XIX.

ABOVE all, he will ſtudy to reſtore and ſecure upright *Manners* and *Principles*; knowing *theſe* to be the very *Strength* and *Vitals* of *every State*.

As by all theſe Means, he will put the natural and internal Springs of Government into Action; ſo he will keep up that Action in its full Vigour, by employing Ability and Merit: And hence, Men of Genius, Capacity, and Virtue, will of Courſe fill the moſt important and publick Stations,

SECT. XIX.

Stations, in every Department of the State.

To fulfil this great Purpoſe, he will ſearch for Men, capable of ſerving the Public, without regard to Wealth, Family, Parliamentary Intereſt, or Connexion.

He will deſpiſe thoſe idle Claims, of *Priority* of Rank, or *Seniority* in Station, when they are *unſupported* by *Services* performed in that Rank and Station: He will ſearch for thoſe, wherever they are to be found, whoſe active Spirits and ſuperior Capacity promiſe Advantage to the Public.

He will not abuſe this Power indulged to him, of ſuperſeding ſuperior Rank, by preferring his own Favourites. If he finds the Appearance of Ability and Worth among

SECT. XIX.

among the Friends or Dependents of his Enemies, he will truſt them with the Execution of his moſt important Deſigns, on the Succeſs of which, even his own Character may depend.

Having no Motive, but the Welfare of his Country; if he cannot accompliſh *that*, by ſuch Meaſures as his Heart approves, he will not ſtruggle for a Continuance in Power, but bravely and peaceably *reſign*.

SECT. XX.

The Concluſion.

SECT. XX.

Whether ſuch a Character as is here delineated, may ever ariſe, is a Queſtion which it were ſuperfluous for the Writer to determine: If ever ſuch a Miniſter appears, he will beſt be ſeen by his own Luſtre.

There

SECT. XX.

THERE is another Character, belonging indeed to a much lower Walk in Life, which might be no leſs ſtrange than that which is here delineated. I mean, the Character of a political Writer, not only *intentionally*, but *in fact* IMPARTIAL.

THIS is a Character which hath never yet exiſted; nor, probably, will ever appear, in our own Country. However, let us attempt a Sketch of this ideal Pourtrait, for the Uſe of thoſe who may aſpire to Impartiality; and conſider, "by what "Characteriſtics HE would be diſtin-"guiſhed."

HE would chuſe an untrodden Path of Politics, where no Party-man ever dared to enter.

HE

SECT. XX.

HE would be diſliked by Party-bigots of every Denomination; who, while they applauded one Page of his Work, would execrate the next.

THE undiſguiſed Freedom and Boldneſs of his Manner, would pleaſe the Brave, aſtoniſh the Weak, diſguſt and confound the Guilty.

EVERY Rank, Party, and Profeſſion would acknowledge he had done tolerable Juſtice to every Rank, Party, and Profeſſion, their own only excepted.

HE would be called *arrogant* by thoſe, who call every Thing *Arrogance*, that is not *Servility*.

IF he writ in a Period, when his Country was declining; while he pointed out the

SECT. XX.

the Means from whence alone honeſt *Hope* could ariſe, he would be charged by ſcribbling Sycophants with plunging a Nation in *Deſpair*.

WHILE he pointed out the Abuſes of Freedom, and their fatal Effects, he would be blackened by deſigning Whiſperers, as the Enemy of Freedom itſelf.

THE worthleſs of every Profeſſion would be his ſworn Enemies; but moſt of all, the worthleſs of his own Profeſſion.

As he would be reviled and defamed by the *diſſolute* Great, without Cauſe; ſo he would be applauded by an *honeſt* People, beyond his Deſervings.

THO' his Abilities were ſmall, yet the Integrity of his Intentions would make Amends

SECT. XX.

Amends for the Mediocrity of his Talents.

As ſuch a Writer could have little Pretenſions to literary Fame, ſo he would not be intoxicated with the Fumes of literary Vanity: But would think, with SHEFFIELD, that

> One Moral, or a mere well-natur'd Deed,
> Does all Deſert in Sciences exceed.

YET, tho' he ſcorned the Gildings of falſe Ambition, and Riches acquired by Adulation; he might not, poſſibly, be unconſcious of that unſought Dignity, that envy'd Superiority to Wealth and Titles, which even the Love of Wiſdom and Virtue give.

SHOULD any of the Great, therefore, affect to diſdain him, on account of his private Station, he might perhaps reply, with PERDITA,

SECT. XX.

I was not much afraid; for once or twice
I was about to ſpeak, and tell him plainly,
The ſelf-ſame Sun that ſhines upon his Palace,
Hides not his heav'nly Viſage from *my* Cottage,
But looks on *both alike*.

HIS free and unconquered Spirit would look down with Contempt on Views of Intereſt, when they came in Competition with Views of Duty.

NAY, were he called to ſo ſevere a Trial, he would even dare to make the greateſt and the rareſt of all honeſt Sacrifices, that of Friendſhip itſelf, to Truth and Virtue.

SHOULD the Senſe of his Duty to his Country determine him to a farther Proſecution of his Labours, he would ſay,

If

SECT. XX.

If ſuch his Fate, do thou, fair TRUTH, deſcend,
And watchful, guard him in an honeſt End:
Kindly ſevere, inſtruct his equal Line,
To court no Friend, nor own a Foe, but thine.
But if his giddy Eye ſhould vainly quit
Thy ſacred Paths, to run the Maze of Wit;
If his apoſtate Heart ſhould e'er incline
To offer Incenſe at Corruption's Shrine,
Urge, urge thy Pow'r; the black Attempt confound;
Oh, daſh the ſmoking Cenſer to the Ground!
Thus aw'd to Fear, inſtructed Man may ſee,
That Guilt is doom'd to ſink in Infamy.

FINIS.

much unſatisfied, in regard to a Country rendered famous by ſo many Wonders of Antiquity.

It was in the Year 1737, that our Author received the Orders of his Court to undertake this Voyage. He obeyed with Zeal, and the ſame Year embarked for Alexandria. There, and in the adjacent Parts, he conſidered all that was curious, and then purſued his Route to Cairo, and the Pyramids; where he continued more than four Months. After this, embarking on the Nile, he traverſed the Upper Egypt; ſaw, in his Paſſage, Girge the Capital of that Country; landed at Eſſuaen, or Syene; and thence got himſelf conveyed to the firſt Cataract. He now attempted to coaſt along the Borders of the Nile, and, through uncommon Difficulties, at length advanced as far as Derri in Nubia.

The Memoirs with which he furniſhed himſelf upon every intereſting Subject, were ineſtimably enhanced, by that ample Collection of Deſigns and Sketches, which he made on the Spot. His Knowledge in Architecture, enabled him to repreſent with Accuracy the Monuments of Antiquity, as his Proficiency in Mathematics did to delineate the Chart of the Nile, which he has given upon no leſs than Twenty-nine Copper-Plates. The beautiful Simplicity of theſe Deſigns, and the Exactneſs with which they were drawn, are, perhaps, ſuperior to any Thing of the Kind that has hitherto appeared. Delighted with various Landſcapes of the Country, with Ruins, Monuments, magnificent Buildings, Cataracts, Deſerts, the Reader ſeems to accompany him in his Voyage, and to ſhare all his Pleaſure, without undergoing the Fatigue and the Danger. Theſe Deſigns gave him the Opportunity of placing before the Eyes of the King, the moſt remarkable Objects; and as they made him recollect the moſt minute Circumſtances, the Deſcriptions that he has added to them, tranſport one almoſt upon the Spot. By his Royal Maſter's Command, they were committed to the Care of the famous Marc Tuſcher of Numremberg, the only Perſon thought capable of ſucceſsfully executing the Taſk of engraving them.

In

In theſe the Curious may find the School of the Grecian Architecture, and the Learned will ſee a Kind of Comment on the Deſcriptions that the Ancients have given of the Egyptian Edifices. By comparing the Account that Strabo has given of them, with the Views Mr. Norden has drawn in ſeveral of his Plates, the Reader will be convinced of the Uſefulneſs of this Work, in illuſtrating the Claſſical Authors.

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