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T W O
D I S C O U R S E S

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O F T H E
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S C I E N C E S A N D B E L L E S L E T T R E S,
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I N T H E Y E A R S 1 7 8 5 A N D 1 7 8 6.

- I. On the POPULATION of STATES in general, and that of the PRUSSIAN DOMINIONS in particular.
- II. On the TRUE RICHES of STATES and NATIONS, the BALANCE of COMMERCE, and that of POWER.

BY THE BARON DE HERTZBERG,
MINISTER OF STATE, AND MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR C. DILLY IN THE POULTRY.
M.DCC.LXXXVI.

P R E F A C E.

THE noble and very ingenious Author of the two following Discourses, in whom, as the Monthly Reviewers observe *, the Philosopher and the Politician are happily united, is well known all over Europe for his great abilities as a minister of state, his attachment to the interests of his country, and his extensive learning and knowledge as a scholar. As a member of the Royal Academy at Berlin, the **BARON DE HERTZBERG** has, for several

* Monthly Review, vol. LXXIII. p. 566.

years past, adopted the custom of reading, on the birth-day of his Prussian Majesty, a discourse before the academicians, concerning political subjects, particularly such as relate to the Prussian dominions. They are all interesting; and these two, which are here translated into the English language, will convey to the English reader much curious information concerning the state of Prussia. They are highly worthy the attention of our statesmen and politicians, who may derive from them many useful hints relative to the means by which the population, manufactures, commerce, and prosperity of a nation may be promoted. These two Discourses also afford the most satisfactory evidence of the successful efforts of the great Frederick, in the evening of his life, to promote the prosperity of his kingdom, and to secure the benefits that

that he has procured for his subjects. They also evince the public spirit, and extensive political information, of the able Minister, who, in these productions, has erected so lasting a monument to the honour of his royal Master. Many of those who peruse these two Discourses with attention, will probably join in the same opinion concerning both of them, which has already been expressed concerning the first of them, by the ingenious critics before referred to, on its appearance in the French language, in the following terms:

‘ The perusal of this little piece hath
 ‘ afforded us that high pleasure, which
 ‘ results from contemplating a great
 ‘ character, attentive to the interests of
 ‘ humanity. As a hero and a states-
 ‘ man, the Prussian monarch has long
 ‘ been the object of our admiration.
 ‘ He is here exhibited in a point of
 ‘ view,

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‘ view, not less great, but much more
‘ amiable,—as the true father of his
‘ subjects, promoting, with a muni-
‘ ficence worthy of royalty, the com-
‘ fort and happiness of those classes,
‘ which, though generally deemed the
‘ lowest in rank, are perhaps the most
‘ useful and valuable to society .’

* Monthly Review, *ut supra*.

D I S-

D I S C O U R S E I.

CONCERNING THE
POPULATION of STATES in general, and that
of the PRUSSIAN Dominions in particular.

DELIVERED AT A

Public Meeting of the ACADEMY of SCIENCES and
BELLES LETTRES at BERLIN, Jan. 27, 1785,

ON THE CELEBRATION OF

HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

DURING five successive years, in the public meetings which have been annually holden by the Academy, in order to celebrate the birth-day of the King its founder, I have delivered short discourses, in which I have endeavoured to establish some points of history and politics, which particularly concern Germany and Russia; and in which I have been solicitous at the same time to make known to foreigners, some of those extraordinary benefits which the King is every year liberally conferring on his subjects. And I imagined, that I might give some pleasure to the Academy, and to the intelligent part of the public, in communicating to-day, with the same view, information of what has been done by the King for the benefit of his subjects in the course of the preceding year; and by adding some observations, as well upon the population of

states in general, as in particular upon the means which the King hath employed, in order to increase the population of his dominions to a very extraordinary degree.

The principal nations of Europe have produced works, more or less excellent, upon the subject of population. In France, very celebrated men have written upon it; such as Vauban, Boulainvilliers, Desparcieux, Montesquieu, Mirabeau, Expilly, and Mefence; and lastly, Mr. Moheau, in his *Recherches sur la Population de la France*; to which may be added the very ample articles concerning population in the *Encyclopedie*, and in the *Dictionnaire universel*. England has also, upon the same subject, the very interesting works of Petty, Davenant, Hume, &c. Mr. Wargentia has published some good observations relative to the population of Sweden; but Germany has produced upon this subject a very classical work, and superior to all the others, namely, that of the late Mr. Süßmilch, a member of this academy, and which was published under the following title: *The divine Order in the population and in the revolutions of the human race*. In this work he has collected together,

ther, with as much judgment as erudition, almost every thing which can be said upon the subject of population; giving the justest rules, and the most accurate modes of calculation, for estimating the population of nations; shewing the best means of advancing population, and of removing the obstacles to it; and making it apparent, that the Christian religion is not unfavourable to population, and that providence hath established an admirable order for the continuance of the human race, by a certain proportion of births, of deaths, and of marriages, which is nearly equal throughout the world. He has particularly endeavoured to illustrate and establish his principles, by applying them to the population of the Prussian dominions, by exact lists, but which go no farther than to the year 1756. I have not had sufficient leisure to read all these works, and it is not my design to enter very profoundly into the subject of population. I shall confine myself to some observations upon the population of the Prussian dominions, and to making the application of some general principles, by the happy experience that we have had under the government of our great King.

It is at present pretty generally agreed, that the great population of a state forms the principal basis of its happiness, and especially of its power, when a wise government knows how to derive its advantage from it, by procuring the necessary employment and subsistence for its subjects. When this is the case, a state can never be overcharged with inhabitants, nor have any occasion to seek for means to retard, or to diminish its population; as was formerly done by the Greeks and Romans, by sending out colonies, and by the exposing of infants. This is said to be still done in China; but I doubt the fact; and, if it be true, it is only an additional argument against the goodness of the Chinese government, upon which have been lavished so many unmerited encomiums. The greater number of individuals there are, who jointly endeavour, by a well-directed industry, to promote the prosperity of the society in which they live, the more numerous a nation is in proportion to the surface that it occupies, and the more means it has of increasing the sum of general happiness, and especially of defending itself against the attacks and the enterprizes of its neighbours.

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It is a question which has been long agitated among the learned, whether the world is now more or less populous than it was in antient times? Montesquieu maintains, in his *Esprit des Loix*, and in his *Lettres Persannes*, that the earth hath lost half its population, and that this depopulation is continually on the increase. The celebrated Hume hath proved, on the contrary, in his *Essays*, against the assertions of Montesquieu, and the arbitrary calculations of Valace, that the antient governments were unfavourable to population, by the nature and number of their destructive wars, and also in consequence of the great numbers that were kept by them in a state of slavery. It appears to me, that they all carry the matter too far, and that there are exaggerations on both sides. I cannot believe, with Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, that Ninus and Semiramis, as well as Xerxes, and the antient kings of Egypt, led into the field millions of combatants against their enemies, and who are supposed to have been equally numerous. No person ever took an exact account of their numbers; and it was impossible that such vast armies could have advanced, and found subsistence. Homer, therefore, whose

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account

account is more reasonable and credible, hath made the number of those who went to the siege of Troy, amount to no more than 108,000. It may, however, be admitted, that the antient republics of Greece, and of Sicily, those of Rome, and of Carthage, some time after their establishment, in their earliest and most uncorrupted state, had made a progress in population, which now appears astonishing. Of the truth of this we can make no doubt, when we read the accounts of the Roman *census*. Romulus at first had only 3000 infantry; but 37 years afterwards he had 46,000. In the reign of Servius Tullius, Rome had 80,000 enrolled citizens; and in the fifth century from the building of that city, when war was carried on against the Samnites, it was computed that there were 292,000 citizens, capable of bearing arms. Of this vast increase, in a territory which did not exceed thirty German miles, the principal causes certainly were the purity of their manners, the fidelity and the fruitfulness of their marriages, and especially the narrow limits of those lands and possessions which each citizen individually cultivated. In an age, in which a consul and dictator tilled his own

land; in which a Manlius Curius, when, after his victories and his triumphs the senate and people would have given him 500 *jugera*, replied, that "he must be considered as a bad citizen, whom seven *jugera* would not satisfy;" in a government in which two, afterwards four, and at last seven *jugera*, (which make hardly nine *arpens*, or German acres) constituted the regular allotment of every Roman citizen; in which five centuries passed, before they saw a single instance of a citizen demanding a divorce, and that on the account of barrenness; at such a period it was possible, that a large nation might subsist, and increase in population, in a manner equally astonishing with a small territory.

I believe that the same state of things subsisted among those antient German nations, who afterwards conquered and destroyed the Roman empire. I do not believe, that they marched into the Roman provinces that multitude of men which the Roman writers, seduced either by their imagination or their fears, have pretended; but I am persuaded, that their population was very great, and much superior to what we

find at present in their antient places of abode. Of this sufficient evidence is afforded by the names only of the Vandals, the Goths, the Longobards, the Burgundians, the Rugii, the Heruli, and the Angles, who from the time of Tacitus, Pliny, and Strabo, and according to their relations, lived together in that very moderate extent of country, which is situated between the Elbe and the Vistula; as I have proved by undoubted authorities, in the first discourse which I addressed to this academy. It would hardly now be credited, that nations so numerous could have subsisted in so narrow a territory, so little fertile, and so little cultivated; because it is imagined, that the antient Germans lived only by hunting, and by their cattle, and that there was no agriculture among them. But the ideas formed respecting the latter point are erroneous. Tacitus says, *De Moribus German.* ch. v. *Terra satis ferax; & ch. xxvi. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis per vices occupantur, quos mox inter se juxta dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant, & superest ager.—Sola terræ seges imperatur.*

The

The Germans, therefore, cultivated their lands, like other nations, and almost in the manner that they do at present, letting a part of it lay fallow, and undoubtedly in small portions. Being without luxury they had few wants; they were temperate, chaste, and prolific, according to the testimony of Tacitus, and of all the Roman writers their contemporaries. They might then undoubtedly subsist, and their population rapidly increase, in the north of Germany. If this reasoning be not sufficient to establish the great population of the antient German nations, it may be proved by incontestable facts, and especially by the conquest of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Great Britain. These conquests were undoubtedly made by nations from the north of Germany; and it is not to be supposed, that they could have been effected by petty nations, consisting only of a few thousand men.

The great superiority of the antient world in point of population, to that of our time, although less than the Baron de Montesquieu supposes, appears to me to be sufficiently proved by the arguments that I have produced. But the population of the world

has been much lessened by the destructive wars of all the antient nations, by their bad governments, and their total want of police; and, in the middle ages, by the crusades, by famines, and by the plagues, which so frequently happened. Of these, one, which they called the *black death*, in the middle of the fourteenth century, nearly carried off half the inhabitants of Europe. Population was also diminished by religious wars, by the celibacy of priests, and in Germany chiefly by the devastation of that war which subsisted thirty years. This war particularly depopulated the electorate of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia; so that after the peace of Westphalia the greater part of the villages were totally deserted. Above an hundred villages, which existed in the time of the Emperor Charles IV. Elector of Brandenburg, (according to the authentic *Cadastre* of that prince, of the year 1375, which I have published, p. 369.) are now no longer to be found. When we travel into our provinces, we often find in the woods, and in the meadows, vestiges of antient deserted fields, of which their surfaces sufficiently shew, by their furrows and their ridges, that they have formerly been cultivated.

vated. Such vestiges have been found even near Berlin, in a great plain before the gate of Cottbus, and which is now meadow ground.

It required four reigns, wise and active as those of the elector Frederick-William, surnamed the Great, and the Kings Frederick I. Frederick-William, and Frederick II. to re-establish the population of the Prussian dominions, and to extend it still farther. I shall not enter into a particular account of what was done with this view by these princes, nor of the success with which their endeavours for that purpose were attended. I shall only say, in general, that the great Elector, besides re-establishing agriculture throughout almost all his dominions, and rebuilding the ruined towns and villages, also increased the number of his subjects, by affording an asylum to 12,000 French refugees, whom Lewis XIV. had driven from France on account of religion, and of which the number was afterwards augmented to 20,000*. King Frederick I. received into his territories a considerable number of the subjects of the Palatinate, who had been driven from their

* Vid. Les Mémoires du Réfuge, Tom. I. p. 35, &c.
country

country by religious persecution; and King Frederick-William gave an asylum to 12,000 Saltzburghers, who had been banished by a bigotted archbishop, and also to a great number of emigrants from the Palatinate and Moravia; and with these virtuous and industrious families, he re-peopled the province of Prussian Lithuania, which had been entirely depopulated, by the dreadful pestilence in the years 1709 and 1710.

It was reserved for the great King, of whose birth-day we now celebrate the 74th anniversary, not only to re-establish and to double, in spite of his long and bloody wars, the population of his antient hereditary dominions, but also to increase it three-fold by provinces newly acquired.

I shall now enter into some particular details, relative to the means which the King hath employed, for increasing the happiness and the population of his subjects.

I. Agriculture being the surest means of increasing population, because it furnishes the most immediate and necessary subsistence to the inhabitants of a country, the King
has

has not only, in the course of his reign, rebuilt the villages and farms which had fallen into decay; but has caused new ones to be erected, especially in the neighbourhood of rivers. The greatest part of these rivers having formerly overflowed their banks, and overwhelmed much fertile ground, he has found means to confine them within their proper bounds; and, by thus preventing inundations, he has recovered many acres of excellent arable and pasture land, which he gives to foreign settlers, on condition that they should build and stock their farms; and, to encourage them to do this, he grants them, for a number of years, an exemption from taxes, and military service. This has been particularly done along the banks of the rivers Netz and Warthe, from Driesen to Custrin, by which 120,000 acres have been recovered from the encroachments of those rivers, and in which 3000 families have obtained settlements; on the banks of the Oder, from Custrin to Oderberg; along the Havel and the Elbe, round the great lake of Madue in Pomerania, and in the marsh of Fiener in the province of Magdebourg; and also in the environs of Potsdam, and in a great number of other places throughout

out the provinces, the enumeration of which would require a volume. He is now actually engaged in drying up and clearing the marsh of Dromling, an inaccessible district in the Old March; and when this is effected, it is computed, there will be recovered 120,000 acres of arable and pasture land. For these different undertakings and improvements, the King hath caused to be built

	Villages, hamlets, and farms	And hath established families
In the Electoral March of Brandenburg - - - - }	217	10,740
In the New March - - - -	152	3,643
In Pomerania - - - -	100	5,312
In the provinces of Magdeburgh, and Halberstadt - - - }	20	2,805
In the provinces of Cleves, Marck, Gueldres, Meurs, Minden, Ravensberg, Tecklenbourg, Lingen, and East Friesland - - - - }	—	4,940
In West Prussia - - - -	50	1,119
In Silesia - - - -	—	14,059
	<hr/> 539	<hr/> 42,609

Thus hath the King newly built between five and six hundred villages and hamlets, and established almost 43,000 families upon these

these newly recovered lands; whereby, if we compute five persons to each family, an increase is gained by these colonists of 215,000 subjects*. It must be observed, that two thirds of these colonists were foreigners: and as they are mixed and engaged with natives of the kingdom, this augmentation is still more advantageous for the country; and though I do not deny that a number of these colonists have in some respects not succeeded, especially the foreigners; yet this kind of population will notwithstanding subsist, and continue permanent; because it is founded upon possessions and estates, which, when

* This computation is so far from being exaggerated, that it may be established, and even shewn to be inferior to the actual increase of population, by authentic and exact registers of the colonies, villages, farms, and families. There is the more reason to suppose, that the actual increase is greater than is here stated, because it has been found difficult to collect an exact account of the number of persons in the colonies established, during the course of 45 years, in the different provinces: and there was not sufficient time, before this went to press, to procure exact statements of the numbers in the remote provinces; so that even the whole of East Prussia is entirely omitted. By *hamlet*, or *farm*, I mean an assemblage of several houses, inhabited by husbandmen, which is not sufficiently large to deserve the name of village, and which they call in German *Vorwerck*.

C abandoned

abandoned by one set of colonists, never fail to find another, especially of people of the country, who succeed better than foreigners. In travelling over all these lands, it affords us great pleasure to find, on the sands and on the heaths for which Brandenburgh is so noted, flourishing colonies, good buildings, fine fields, rich pasture grounds, and numberless herds of cattle, where formerly nothing was to be seen but water and marshes.

II. The King, not satisfied with having built all these villages, and established so great a number of families, by colonies of foreigners and of natives, within his dominions, hath also advanced, to many gentlemen and landholders, sums, amounting to several millions of crowns, of which I have given particular accounts in my former discourses, and in this, in order to enable them to clear and to improve their estates. These sums are either a free donation, or are lent at the low interest of one or two *per cent.* the produce of which is appropriated for pensions to schoolmasters, and to the widows or daughters of poor officers. By these means he has caused to be cleared, and to be

be cultivated, almost all the land which was capable of it, and which was in any degree worth the labour. He has it also in contemplation to find means of abolishing the custom of letting the lands lay fallow every sixth year, which will, however, be very difficult.

III. He has given to cultivators of land of every kind more than 300 hereditary farms, or possessions, out of his own demesnes, separating them from his great bailiwicks. This is one of the best and most ready means of increasing population; for the more estates and farms are divided into small portions, the greater number of men are thereby supported and maintained. As the Sovereign of Prussia possesses in *demefne*, and in his own right, nearly one third of all the estates within his dominions, and as he has hitherto derived his revenues, from farming out, for certain terms, a great number of united villages, which are termed *bailiwicks*, he may undoubtedly greatly increase the population of his dominions, and the number of his subjects, by dividing all his demesnes into small hereditary farms, as well to peasants, as to other cultivators. The

ablest financiers of this country maintain, by plausible reasons, that the King will thereby lose considerably in his revenues, which are necessary for the support of his army; and that the small farmers, though hereditary, will not be able to pay so much for their farms as the great bailiffs; because they will want more for the support of their families, as being more numerous; and because they will not be able to adopt such advantageous methods of cultivating their lands as the great farmers. This is the same principle which has been contended for by the English cultivator, Mr. Arthur Young, in his *Political Arithmetic*, relative to the utility of great farms. This is not the proper place to discuss this interesting question, even if I had leisure; I shall, therefore, only say, in general, that Mr. Young appears to me to be quite in the wrong with regard to a republican government, such as that of Great Britain, which has more need of a numerous population, than a government of a different nature: and as to the Prussian dominions, the objection of the financiers may be well grounded for a certain time; but it appears evident on the other side, that if the Sovereign could, or would support only

only for some years, the temporary loss that would arise to his revenues from such a measure, he would regain it afterwards with usury by the increase of population, by the consumption which will thence naturally arise, and from whence he will derive proportionable revenues by the excise duties. At least, it might be proper to begin by abolishing the great bailiwicks, composed of many villages; and to give every village on a long lease to an individual farmer, by whom it might be cultivated in the same manner, as is done by our noblemen with respect to their own estates.

IV. The King has very much promoted agriculture, by authorizing the inclosing of commons, and even by paying himself the purchase of the rights of commonage; and by thus abolishing commons, and encouraging enclosures, he has greatly increased the value of the land; as a single proprietor may derive infinitely more advantage from it, than when it is possessed in common with others. This measure, which was a very difficult one, has, however, been adopted in some hundred villages; and continues every year to be carried into execution.

V. His Majesty also promotes the interests of agriculture by causing the seeds of lucerne, trefoil, and lupin, to be distributed to every farmer who will apply for it, by ordering a great number of cows to be purchased for many, and by directing large sums to be expended every year in premiums and bounties, in order to encourage farmers to prosecute every kind of rural industry. As for example: to those who have sown and planted the greatest number of mulberry or other trees, who spin the best and the greatest quantity, who produce the most silk, &c.

VI. One of the principal means which the King has adopted, in case of bad harvests, in order to prevent famine, and its depopulating consequences, has been to erect, in every province, immense store-houses for corn, for the subsistence of his army in time of war, and of his other subjects in seasons of natural scarcity. By purchasing this corn, he keeps the price of it sufficiently high to encourage the husbandman; and, by opening his stores, can at any time prevent the market from rising so as to distress the people. By these means the Prussian dominions, though not remarkable for extraordinary fertility,

tility, suffered nothing, and were even able to supply their neighbours, in the dreadful famine of 1772, the effects of which were so fatal in some of the most fertile parts of Germany.

VII. If the King has greatly increased population by his encouragement of agriculture, he has advanced it as much, and perhaps more, by the great number of manufactures and trades of all kinds, which he has caused to be established, or to which he has given encouragement, at Berlin, at Potsdam, and in almost every city and town in his dominions. It would be necessary that I should write a large volume, if I would give a particular account of all these manufactures, and of the great sums that the King has expended in them. I shall, therefore, content myself with saying, that we are in possession of almost every possible kind of manufacture, and that we can not only exclusively supply the Prussian dominions, but also furnish the remote countries of Spain and Italy, with linen and woollen cloths; and that our manufactures go even to China, where some of our Silesian cloths are conveyed

veyed by the way of Ruffia. We export every year linen cloth to the amount of six millions of crowns, and woollen cloths and wool to the amount of four millions; which, added to the iron works and hard ware of the county of Mark, which brings into circulation about a million of crowns, to the timber of Brandenburg and Pomerania, to the corn, flax, and timber of Prussia, and to the important Polish trade that we carry on through Konigsberg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzick, and Stettin, affords us sufficient evidence of the balance of trade being very decidedly in our favour. So many manufactures naturally give subsistence to a great number of workmen, and draw many foreigners into the country; and the augmentation of this class of citizens necessarily increases the general population. We have in the different dominions of the King about 123,000 workmen, who work in silk, in woollen, in linen, in cotton, in leather, and in other materials, various kinds of merchandize, to the amount of sixteen millions of crowns, of which eight are for foreign consumption. If we compute that the family of every workman consists only of four persons, our manufactures give subsistence

to half a million of people, and consequently to the twelfth part of our general population. It may be judged from hence, whether it be true, that the Prussian government is wholly military. The King protects and encourages manufacturers in every possible manner, especially by advancing large sums of money to assist them in carrying on their manufactures, animating them by rewards, and establishing magazines of wool in all the little towns, for the benefit of the small woollen manufacturers. It is with a view to encourage trade that the inhabitants of Berlin and Potsdam are exempted from military service; and his Majesty grants nearly the same indulgence to the inhabitants of the circles of the mountains of Silesia, where the poor, but industrious and sober weavers, and who are settled in a narrow and barren district, carry on those flourishing linen manufactures, which produce us an exportation of so many millions, and to the little city of Hirschberg only a trade of two millions of crowns annually. The King has in this district a canton for his foot-guards, but, from his unwillingness to disturb the population of the district, he seldom draws from thence any recruits.

VIII. In the reign of the late King we were in possession of many valuable manufactures in linen, woollen, arms, &c. but his present Majesty has added the important manufactures of cotton, silk, porcelain, sugar, leather, and the working of the mines, besides a great number of small manufactures, of inferior importance. The cotton manufacture employs nearly 5000 workmen; though this, to speak the truth, is, in my opinion, doing injustice to the national woollen manufacture. The porcelain manufacture, which, by its fineness, and the beauty of its ornaments, is already equal to any in Europe, and of which the foreign exportation is very considerable, employs more than 500 men, who are continually carrying the art to great perfection, and who are become most excellent artists.

IX. Before the commencement of this reign, Prussia had but few silk manufactures, and those of little importance. But the present King has established, and given liberal encouragement to so great a number, that they employ more than 5000 workmen; and the annual value of the goods manufactured by them is two millions of crowns.

crowns. In the course of the last year 1,200,250 ells of silk stuffs have been manufactured at Berlin, and 400,000 of gauze. Of these silk manufactures, to the amount of half a million is exported into foreign countries. They make use of more than 70,000 pounds of raw silk, of which a sixth part is already the growth of the country. The produce of silk during the preceding year, 1784, in all the Prussian dominions, comprehending Silesia, was 13,432 pounds; a great part of which was very good, equal to that of France, and to the common silk of Italy*. The King adopts every method of favouring and encouraging the growth of mulberry trees, and the culture of silk;

* What is said here of our silk manufactures, should be understood only of those of Berlin, and of the March. We have, besides them, at Crefield, in the principality of Meurs, upon the Rhine, the largest and the finest silk manufactory, which is, perhaps, in any part of Europe. This belongs to those worthy and intelligent merchants, Messieurs de Leyen, who have established it at their own expence. They manufacture annually, to the amount of many hundred thousand crowns, the finest silk stuffs, with which they furnish the North, and even the seraglio at Constantinople. This manufactory, in which they employ near five thousand workmen, has so increased the population of Crefield, which was formerly but a very middling town, and so improved the neatness of its appearance, as to place it on a level with the towns of Holland.

especially

especially by advancing sums of money, and by causing houses and rooms to be built for small cultivators. Hence we see that this species of culture makes a great progress, and chiefly by the zeal for the promotion of it, that hath been excited in the country clergy, by rewards in money, medals, and other distinctions. This is an object of the greater importance to the state, as, during three months of the summer, it affords employment and subsistence to a number of persons, who are too young, or too old, for more laborious occupations, and this without any prejudice to agriculture. The culture of silk hath also been farther advanced by the establishment of magazines of cods of silk-worms, in causing them to be bought up at a good price from those cultivators who know not how to spin them, and in procuring them to be spun by skilful persons, which will tend greatly to the improvement of our silk. The King has also erected some considerable water-works, for twining the silk in the best manner.

X. The produce of the *mines*, which were formerly worked only for copper, is becoming every day more important, under the direction

rection of an able and enlightened minister. They have already produced half a million, and must naturally afford subsistence to a great number of men; and will become still more considerable, by the vast quarries of coals, which are found in the county of Mark, (from whence large quantities are exported into Holland) and in the duchy of Silesia, where they are advantageously employed in the great linen manufactures, and bleaching grounds, of that country; and there is also reason to hope, that, by transporting them to Berlin, they may serve in some degree to supply that terrible want of wood, which is every day more apparent throughout almost every part of Europe.

XI. The navigation of the Prussian dominions has been greatly benefited and increased, by the countenance and protection which the King has given to his flag, which is respected every-where, and even by the inhabitants of Morocco. We employ in the maritime provinces, Prussia, Pomerania, and East Friesland, 1200 vessels; and if we reckon ten men for the crew of every vessel, this trading marine gives employment and subsistence to 12,000 seamen. Our own national

tional vessels carry almost the whole of the importation and exportation of the Prussian dominions; and they begin to carry on a considerable coasting trade, especially the vessels from Emden. In this city there are 500 sailors and fishermen, who live almost entirely by the herring-fishery; and this fishery produces already an annual interest of six *per cent.* to the company who have undertaken it, without reckoning the national advantage resulting from the labour of those who are employed in it.

XII. The Prussian monarchy hath for a considerable time been supposed, by a vulgar prejudice, to be a military government, and little adapted for the encouragement of population. I have already, perhaps, made it appear, that there are more excellent civil establishments and regulations in it, than in the greater part of other monarchies, either large or small; which generally leave such matters to chance, and to the industry of individuals. But it would not be difficult to shew, by a few observations, that the Prussian army is a true national militia, such as that which the Romans had, and which the English have desired to have, but never had;

had; and that it is constituted in such a manner, as to increase population, rather than to diminish it. It is universally known, that the King has an army of 200,000 men, who are always ready for service. Of these troops, one half are the sons of peasants, labourers, and other persons employed in agriculture; who, during the months of April and May, betake themselves to their regiments, in order to be exercised in military evolutions, and who afterwards return into the country to their families, and are employed in the cultivation of the earth. It was this excellent national militia, who being attached to their country, and animated by the Prussian name, commanded by their princes, by able generals, and by the antient nobility of the nation, who are less wealthy than patriotic, who gained for us the famous battles of Rosbach and of Leuthen, against forces three times superior to themselves in number; and who will always make us conquer, and still more easily, when they shall be purged from foreign and mercenary soldiers. The other half of the army undoubtedly consists of foreign mercenaries, whom the King engages, that he may not prejudice the national population. These

These commonly reside with their regiments in the towns, where they attend military duty two days in the week, and the rest of their time they employ in such work as they can procure, and which they easily meet with in the large towns. The soldiers are not prohibited from marrying, as has been supposed abroad, but it is permitted to them pretty generally, especially to those who reside in the towns; and, by this tie of marriage, the greater part of the foreigners become attached to the country, and continue in it. Every regiment has a greater number of women and children, than of men belonging to it. The garrison of Berlin, which consists of 24,000 soldiers, has in it so many women and children, as to amount in the whole, to 60,000 persons; and the whole Prussian army, which consists of 200,000 soldiers, when their wives and children are added, undoubtedly amount to 400,000 persons. It is also well known, that the King maintains, in a house established at Potsdam, 500 children of soldiers, a great part of whom are sent into the country, after they have attained the age of eight years, to be brought up among the peasants, who are allowed thirteen crowns a year each for

for their subsistence: and when they have arrived to a sufficient age, and a proper stature, they become good labourers, and excellent soldiers. When all these circumstances are considered, without prejudice, it must be acknowledged, that the Prussian army, however numerous it may be, is not disproportioned to the population of the state, and that it rather increases than diminishes that population. It is also extremely beneficial to the Prussian dominions in this respect, that instead of being stationed upon the frontiers, or only in a single province, it is so well distributed throughout every province, and in every city, that the money which the soldiers receive for their pay, and which amounts to two-thirds of the revenue of the state, is returned into the circulation of every province; by which means those who are to pay contributions are enabled to pay their share of the taxes; so that the subjects of Prussia can furnish their supplies without much difficulty, and arrears are unknown among us.

After having thus shewn, how beneficial the great army of Prussia is to the state, and to population, I shall add also this observation,

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tion,

tion, that the King has been very unjustly charged with having infused into the minds of other Sovereigns, the idea of keeping up large standing armies. When an army is constituted and employed like ours, it is not a burthen, but rather a benefit to the state; and the more so, because it affords a substantial security against the sudden and dangerous invasions of any ambitious neighbour. In general, it appears to me, that it is now decided by undoubted experience, that if large standing armies increase in some degree the burthen, and the expences, of the inhabitants of a country, they abundantly compensate for this inconvenience by the security that they afford; and they also render wars less frequent, and less dangerous; because that every power being armed, they mutually respect each other, whereby sudden attacks, and unjust pretensions, are prevented. Hence it may be justly said, that by this great army the King has rendered a considerable service to the human race, and established a kind of perpetual peace. A judicious and impartial observer will easily perceive, how many unnecessary and alarming wars have been prevented in this manner within these few years.

Having

Having thus given a succinct view of the principal means by which the King has so greatly augmented the population of his dominions, I proceed to shew what is the actual population of the Prussian dominions, and by what gradations it has arisen to its present height. It is difficult to know exactly the population of a state; and the Prussian monarchy is, perhaps, the only one, of which the population can be exactly ascertained; whereas the accounts given of others are only delusions of the public, in which the statements of population given are rendered nearly double to the real state of things, by delusive representations, which are not supported by any proper evidence. When a Sovereign orders a computation to be made of the number of his subjects, it is seldom that he can obtain an exact account, in consequence of the negligence of those who are employed in the enumeration. It is now found, by long experience, that the most exact account of the population of a nation may be obtained by lists of births, deaths, and marriages; by reckoning that there is generally one birth for every twenty-six living persons, and that there dies one in thirty-six. It is this calculation that Mr.

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Moheau

Moheau has adopted for France, grounding it upon a comparison of the lists of several districts in that kingdom; but Mr. Süsmilch has better established it in his work, by a great number of general and particular lists relative to the Prussian dominions. When this calculation is compared with the lists of actual enumeration which have been made, it appears, that the latter have given an account sufficiently exact of our real population. I shall endeavour to prove this assertion.

	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.
The old Prussian dominions had in the year 1740	100,000	80,000	26,000
In 1755, comprehending Silesia	165,000	124,000	36,000
In 1784, all the Prussian dominions, including the provinces newly acquired, Silesia, West Prussia, and East Friesland	211,097	152,003	43,426

Taking these last sums for our basis, and multiplying the number of births by 26, and that of burials by 36, there results from each of the multiplications the nearly equal total of population of 5,488,000, or five millions

lions and a half; and when to this the army is added, which is not included in these lists, and which at least amounts to 400,000 persons, the total approaches very nearly to the sum of six millions. The actual enumeration made at the same time throughout all the provinces, with all possible exactness, by persons in office, both civil and military, made the sum total of the people fully amount to six millions. This, therefore, may be taken for the true total of the population of the Prussian dominions.

When the King ascended the throne, in 1740, the whole population of his dominions amounted to 2,240,000 persons. If to this be added two millions for the population of Silesia, West Prussia, and East Friesland, as the three provinces that the King has acquired, and these two millions are deducted from the sum total of six millions, there will remain for the increase of the population of the antient provinces the number of 1,770,000, which is nearly double the amount of the antient population; and if that of the new provinces be taken into the account, population hath been nearly trebled during the reign of the present King. We

may hope, that this increase of the Prussian monarchy will continue in the same proportion, under the administration of his present Majesty, and that of those whom we may expect as his successors. It is certainly possible; since the 4000 square German miles, which the Prussian monarchy contains, has at present 1600 inhabitants to a square mile; a population which is already very great for a country of moderate fertility, and superior to that of many other kingdoms of Europe: but there is still room for a much greater degree of population. This hope is farther strengthened, besides the many reasons which have already been alleged, by the evidence which our yearly registers afford us, of the degree in which the births have exceeded the burials. In the preceding year the births have exceeded the burials by 59,000 persons; and our population must naturally be proportionably advanced, if it be not retarded by some great mortality.

I shall also make another observation, which is of a very agreeable nature to a lover of his country; and that is, that in the Prussian dominions the births have exceeded the burials in a greater proportion than that
of

of many other kingdoms. Thus it appears that in Denmark, where in the preceding year there were 66,000 births, the births exceeded the deaths only by 9000; and in France, which, according to the calculation of Mr. Moheau, should have twenty-four millions of inhabitants, and where there are 929,000 births, and 793,000 burials, the former exceed the latter only by 136,000. Now in the Prussian dominions, in which there are six millions of inhabitants, the births exceeding the deaths by 59,000, the former exceed the latter, in proportion, twice as much as in France; and, of consequence, population must advance in the same degree. These observations are as well established, as it is possible for them to be, in a subject of this kind; but the time will not permit me to treat of them in any other than a slight manner; and yet what has been advanced must, notwithstanding, afford a very agreeable prospect to the sincere lovers of their country.

" In order more distinctly to shew what hath been done by the King, during the course of the preceding year, for the improvement and the population of his dominions,

I shall here insert, as I have done in my discourses of preceding years, *An accurate Account of the great sums which his Majesty hath distributed, gratis, during the course of the year, from the first of June, 1784, to the first of June, 1785, for the improvement of agriculture, and of manufactures, and in general for the benefit of his subjects.*

In the Electoral March of BRANDENBURGH.

	Crowns.
1. For building the houses of citizens, and public edifices, at Berlin and Potsdam } 400,000	
2. For various improvements of lands, as for draining and clearing Drömling, a great marsh, or district overflowed with water, in the Old March - } 200,000	
3. For repairing the buildings of the bailiwicks of the royal demesne - } 25,000	
4. For erecting the military hospital of Spandau - - - - - } 4,035	
5. To the city of Angermünde, for re-erecting the buildings which had been consumed by fire - - - - - } 4,000	
6. For repairing the damages occasioned by inundations in the Old March - } 15,000	
7. For establishing work-shops for carding of wool - - - - - } 1,360	
Carried over	649,395

	Crowns.
Brought over	649,395
8. For rewards, intended for the encouragement of spinning in the country } 2,000	
9. For the erection of silk-mills at Berlin	24,000
10. For purchasing the cods of silk-worms, and causing them to be well spun - } 10,000	
11. To the citizens of Münchenberg, for improving the meadows - - - - - } 840	
12. For machines for carrying on the Manchester manufactures - - - - - } 10,000	
13. To the poor of Berlin for fuel - - - - -	7,000
	703,235

In the NEW MARCH.

14. For improvements of the lands of the nobility, and for several establishments in the country - - - - - } 100,000	
15. For a military hospital at Friedeberg -	2,000
16. For re-building the town of Morin, which had been burnt - - - - - } 10,000	
17. For rebuilding the church of Cüstrin -	10,000
18. For repairing the damages caused by the inundations - - - - - } 40,000	
19. For establishing a manufactory of leather, and for tanning, at Landsberg - - } 3,500	
20. For a similar manufactory at Driesen -	3,000
21. Ditto at Cottbus - - - - -	1,000
22. For erecting a fulling-mill at Drambourg	200
23. For increasing the magazines of wool, for the manufacturers of small towns } 3,000	
Carried over	172,700

	Crowns.
Brought over -	172,700
24. For families employed in the pottery } at Sommerfeldt and Boberberg - }	800
	173,500

In POMERANIA.

25. For improvements of lands of the nobility of the town of New Stettin, of several bailiwicks, and for some establishments in the country -	200,000
26. To a gentleman, the Sieur de Vangerow, for re-erecting his buildings, which had been burnt - - -	4,000
27. In Pomerania Citerior, for apartments for commissioners of the customs -	1,600
28. For building barracks at Colberg - -	7,470
29. For finishing the rebuilding of the town of Jacobshagen, which had been consumed by fire - - -	5,000
30. For enlarging the manufactory of leather at Anclam - - -	3,000
31. For establishing a manufactory of leather at Treptow - - -	1,500
32. Ditto at Greiffenhagen - - -	1,500
33. For establishing a manufactory of fustians and cottons at Friedrichshold -	1,000
34. For increasing the magazines of wool in the small towns - - -	4,000
35. For establishing a manufactory of beaver stockings at Lauenberg -	2,000
36. For establishing a stocking manufactory at New Stettin - - -	2,400
	233,470

	Crowns.
Brought over -	233,470
37. For a magazine of cotton, for the benefit of the manufacturers of Pomerania }	6,000
	239,470

In EAST and WEST PRUSSIA,

38. For erecting the fortrefs of Graudenz -	384,000
39. For different towns of West Prussia -	70,800
40. For improving the bailiwicks of West Prussia - - - - -	100,000
41. For establishing the colonists of Swabia -	40,000
42. For the purchase of an estate in West Prussia - - - - -	60,000
43. To services for the cantonists of West Prussia - - - - -	1,325
44. For repairing the damage occasioned by the burning of woollen cloths near Preusch Eilau - - - - -	3,500
45. For building a church at Schneidemüht -	1,200
46. Ditto at Neuenberg - - - - -	1,200
47. Ditto at Braunsberg - - - - -	1,200
48. Ditto at Bromberg - - - - -	1,200
49. For erecting a school-house in the suburbs of Dantzick - - - - -	600
50. Ditto at Hammerstein - - - - -	600
51. For establishing a manufactory of muslin at Konigsberg - - - - -	1,000
52. For a manufactory of leather at Preusch Eilau - - - - -	5,000
53. For a dye-house at Gafrow - - - - -	2,600
	674,225

Carried over - 674,225

	Crowns.
Brought over -	674,225
54. For magazines of wool in the little towns of West Prussia - - - }	6,000
55. For a manufactory of Prefs-boards -	6,000
	686,225

In the Duchy of MAGDEBOURG.

56. For repairing the damages occasioned by inundations - - - }	60,000
57. For repairing the damages caused to the falt-pits by a fire - - - }	10,000
	70,000

In WESTPHALIA and in EAST FRIEZLAND.

58. To the citizens of Cappeln, ruined by fire	3,000
59. To the inhabitants of Zemgan, in East Friezland, ruined by fire - - }	2,000
60. For repairing the damages occasioned by inundations in the province of Cleve }	113,000
61. For the relief of poor persons who suffered by the inundations - - }	35,726
62. To the province of Minden, for the reparation of damages occasioned by several accidents - - - }	40,000
63. To the provinces of Minden and Ravensberg - - - - }	20,000
	213,726

In

In SILEZIA.

	Crowns.
64. For the establishment of 40 weavers at Striegau and in the neighbourhood }	17,368
65. For building new barracks at Brieg -	14,750
66. For tiling houses at Neiffe, Schweidnitz, and Liegnitz - - }	11,172
67. For sundry buildings in the towns, particularly at Grieffenberg - }	54,490
68. For premiums relative to manufactures	2,000
69. For establishing 364 cottagers - -	36,850
70. For improvements in the lordship of Proskau - - - - }	13,370
	150,000
Total of the money expended in 1784 -	2,236,156

Having shewn, in my discourse addressed to this academy for the preceding year, p. 43, that the King hath distributed in Pomerania, from 1763 to 1784, in rewards, premiums, and benefactions, the sum of 4,828,000 crowns, and in the New March 3,002,000, I can now add, that he has in like manner given, in the same space of time,

	Crowns.
In the Electoral March, the sum of -	2,674,000
In Silesia - - - - -	6,200,000
In West Prussia, since its acquisition -	3,000,000

Thus

Thus have I on the present occasion executed the task, which I have imposed upon myself, of communicating to the Academy, and to the Public, a part of those great things which the King has done for the internal administration of his kingdom. This has certainly not arisen in any degree from flattery: all those who know me will easily believe, that I am incapable of it, and little adapted to any thing of that kind. I do not transmit these discourses to his Majesty. I confine myself to collecting and stating facts, which are well known to persons in office, and have discussed on this occasion some points of history and politics, which relate to the subject and to the circumstances of the times. I believe that I have done no injury to the state, nor betrayed its secrets, by publishing facts notorious among us, and which serve to do honour to the government, and to make its goodness, its strength, and its energy, more generally known. It will be more and more acknowledged, that great politics do not consist in mystery, in which governments formerly enveloped themselves; but that those who act openly, and who freely avow their proceedings, will the most acquire the confidence
both

both of their subjects, and of their neighbours. Thus you see, as it is sometimes necessary to justify the most innocent actions, the true and only reasons which have engaged me to make these discourses public. My first object has been, in this manner to preserve in the journals of the Academy, at least a part of those excellent regulations, which the King has made every year in his internal government, which are known only to a certain number of persons, and of which the remembrance may easily be lost. It is thus that the public has been so little instructed, in almost all that the King has done in this respect, before the seven years war. My second object has been to shew, to other sovereigns, and to posterity, by these examples, as rare as they are instructive, that a good prince may, and ought, to procure and to secure to his country, all the prosperity of which it is susceptible. My third and principal object has been, to make it appear to those who love their country, and who interest themselves in its welfare, by what means our great King has been enabled to give to his Kingdom, as moderate in its extent as in the quality of its soil, a degree of power, which places it on a level
with

with the first monarchies of Europe, and which assures it of a permanent stability, as long as it shall observe the same rules of government; and which has enabled him to play that brilliant part, although dangerous and difficult, which he has been obliged to sustain, in the local situation of the Prussian monarchy, for its own preservation, and for maintaining the balance of power of Germany, and of Europe. I think, that observations of this kind, made and published in such a manner, as shall hurt neither the interests nor the delicacy of any person, may contribute to raise the spirits of Prussian patriots, and to infuse into them, and into the friends of Prussia, full confidence in a power, which would not, and which even cannot, by its interests and its situation, employ its strength for any other purpose, than for the maintenance of justice, and of the general security.

My auditors, and impartial readers, will judge whether I have attained my end, as I have been assured I have by more than one to whose opinion I am not indifferent. Let the impartial public judge whether these discourses, written with such views, ought
to

to have been subject to the bitter criticisms, and sarcasms of a man, to whom at least my person ought to have been indifferent. I have been vindicated, both with respect to my style, and to the matter contained in my performances, in a manner sufficiently satisfactory to those who are not prejudiced. I write and I read these discourses in French, because it has been the language of our Academy from its foundation, and because it is more generally understood than the German. I make no pretensions to eloquence, nor to writing the French language with purity and elegance; but I believe that I make myself understood; and that I may, perhaps, have transfused into my French writings, that close, precise, and clear style, which my countrymen find in my German writings; and which those, perhaps, who are desirous of criticising, are incapable of attaining. I do not find myself in any degree hurt by another criticism, which is politely written, by Mr. Pfeiffer, an able professor at Mayence, who has maintained, in opposition to my discourse, that all governments are good if they are well administered. The question concerning what is the best form of government, will always remain a problem for those

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who love disputation, and to exercise their logic: but I believe, that I have established my thesis upon the principle of the greatest probability, the only sure principle in human affairs; and that I have answered before-hand the objections of critics by observing, that self-love, or *personal interest*, which is the great mover of all human actions, is rather directed to the happiness of a society, and of a state, by a single man, who finds it his own interest, than by many, who are never united, and who even cannot unite their views and their interests. If men possessed of the virtue and fortitude of Aristides, of Scipio, and of Chatham, have not been able to succeed, and have rather abandoned the reins to an aristocracy, no other person ought to entertain hopes of succeeding. I have in another place remarked and proved, that in every government, even the most aristocratical or democratical, there is always a single man, who either by the superiority of his talents, or by some other means less laudable, directs or governs his colleagues, and the state; so that in effect every government becomes really, and at the bottom, a monarchy.

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I will

I will not fatigue the Academy by extending my discourse to a greater length. I hope that what I have read will furnish new proofs, that a monarchical government is and may be excellent, without supposing it to be exempt from those imperfections with which all human affairs are attended; and that it may produce regulations for the public much superior to any which can comport with the nature of republican governments. Let us hope, that a wise and good providence will always preserve to us a government thus happy, and a race of sovereigns, whom nature appears to have created to perpetuate the security and the happiness of the Prussian nation, and of a part of the human race.

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A D D E N D A.

HAVING had an opportunity, since this discourse was first printed, by an accurate examination of the royal archives, to render more exact the lists of births, burials, marriages, &c. I shall here insert the following additions.

ADDITION to p. 36.

	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.
The antient dominions of Prussia and Brandenburg had in the year - - - 1700	66000	47000	18000
The same dominions, after the accession of the new provinces of Neufchatel, Meurs, Gueldres, Tecklenbourg, Lingen, and Pomerania Citerior, in the year - - 1717	82000	54000	21000
All the Prussian dominions, excepting Silesia, from the accession of King Frederick II. had in - 1740	87000	78000	21000

The

	Births.	Deaths.	Marriages.
The same dominions, including Silesia and East Friezland, had before the seven years war, in - - - 1755	165000	122000	36000
All the Prussian dominions, after the war of seven years, had in - - - 1767	172000	140000	36000
The same dominions, with West Prussia, acquired in 1773, had in - - - 1781	219000	188000	45000
All the Prussian dominions had in - - 1783	208000	162000	45000
The same dominions had in - - - 1784	211000	152000	43000

I shall here add a particular list of every province for the year 1784, with their extent in square miles.

No	Names of the Provinces.	Squ. Miles.	Marriages.	Births.	Burials.	Overplus of Births.
1	East Prussia had -	753	7240	37174	22131	15043
2	West Prussia -	631	5410	27134	15669	11465
3	Silesia - - -	640	12809	65348	48458	16890
4	The Electoral March of Brandenburg -	444	5020	22755	18349	4406
5	The New March Pomeran. Lauen. and Büto -	220	1869	8836	6235	2601
6	Magdebourg -	507	3089	15635	12110	3525
7	Halberstadt -	104	1902	8874	7054	1820
8	Hohenstein -	32	626	2878	2328	550
9	Quedlinbourg -	8	162	748	516	232
10	Minden and Ravensberg -	2	70	349	378	
11	Tecklenbourg -	51	1198	5340	4754	586
12	Lingen - - -	5	163	597	506	19
13	Meurs - - -	8	225	686	665	21
14	Gueldres - -	6	203	722	631	91
15	Cleves and Mark -	24	419	1830	1744	86
16	East Friezland -	96	1875	7802	6284	1518
17	Neufchatel and Valangin -	54	815	3128	3188	
18	Total -	15	341	1277	1040	237
	Total -	3600	43436	211113	152040	59162

These lists of births and burials have been made with all possible exactness, and taken from original registers preserved among the royal archives; and which have been taken separately, both by the clergy, and by the officers of police. An error is rectified here, which had crept into this discourse, p. 36, with respect to the list for the year 1740, this last being the truth.

I HAVE

I HAVE asserted in this discourse, p. 38, that the Prussian monarchy contains 4000 square German miles, according to the general notions that I then had; but having corrected my calculations, by maps taken by later and more accurate geographers, I find, that all the Prussian dominions contain a superficies of only 3600 square miles, and computing these with the real population of six millions of inhabitants, there remains a population for every square mile of

	Persons.
France has for 10,000 square miles, and a population of 25 millions, for every square mile	1667
The Austrian monarchy should have	2500
England and Ireland	1900
Spain	1800
Poland	1200
Denmark	700
Sweden	210
Russia	117
	80
The Prussian monarchy, having then upon a square mile	1667
is but a moderate population in comparison with other nations of Europe; but it surpasses many when we calculate the particular population of every province. For example:	
The provinces of Minden, Ravensberg, Tecklenbourg, and Lingen, have upon every square mile	3100
Halberstadt	3100

	Persons.
Neufchatel - - - - -	2700
Magdebourg - - - - -	2400
Silefia - - - - -	2300
The province of Cleve, Marck, Gueldres, and } Meurs - - - - -	2200
East Friezland - - - - -	1800
The Electoral March of Brandenburgh - -	1660
East Pruffia - - - - -	1200
The New March - - - - -	1100
Pomerania - - - - -	900
West Pruffia - - - - -	800

This estimate of the population of every province by square miles, has been made with more exactness than in the work before mentioned of Süsmilch, T. III. p. 638, and table 39, because that having been made in 1756, population has been considerably increased since that time, and the extent of the provinces has been ascertained with much more exactness. This estimate has been made by comparing the square miles of every province, not only with the true number of the population of every province, which are known to me, but also with the lists of births and of burials. It will be easily conceived, that I have not been able to attain to the same exactness in the calculations relative to foreign states, for which I have not had the same certain accounts; but I have

taken the totals of their population by square miles, according to the lists which are found in their printed books, and especially their statistic tables, although these appear to me to be exaggerated in almost every country.

D I S C O U R S E II.

O N T H E

TRUE RICHES of STATES and NATIONS, the
BALANCE of COMMERCE, and that of POWER.

DELIVERED AT A

Public Meeting of the ACADEMY of SCIENCES and
BELLES LETTRES at BERLIN, Jan. 27, 1786,

ON THE CELEBRATION OF

HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

NO good government, not even the monarchical, ever loses any thing, but on the contrary is much benefited, in my opinion, by transacting its affairs in an open manner, under the guidance of wisdom. Absolute secrecy, or that which is masked by an imperfect or affected openness, can suit only those aristocratical rulers, who exist not only in aristocracies and democracies, but who endeavour also to make a figure in monarchies, and who in all the three kinds of government are always the most rigorous, and the most dangerous to the liberty and general felicity of their fellow-citizens, as experience has proved both in antient and in modern times. This absolute secrecy appears necessary in a monarchy only to those, who not being able to rely upon the propriety

priety or justice of their measures, naturally fear making them public, and find secrets of state every where, where there are none exist. If on the contrary a Sovereign, who has great and elevated views, and solely for the public good, lays open from time to time, according to the exigencies of the case, and on proper occasions, by declarations, by edicts, by public harangues, or deliberations in council, or assemblies of the nation, the measures of his administration internal and external, with their causes and their ends, he adopts the best means of obtaining the confidence and the approbation, which cannot be indifferent to him, as well of his own subjects, as of the neighbouring nations; who, at least in Europe, live in a kind of common society, and general republic. He gives to the one, and to the other, a conviction, which is very beneficial, of the wisdom, the justice, and the energy of his measures; and he puts himself by that means upon his guard against his own errors, and against those illusions, of which every man is but too susceptible, when he renders an account of his actions only to himself. He betrays not thereby any true secrets of state, the number of which is very small, and which

which would otherwise not long escape the sagacity and vigilance of a penetrating minister, who should be employed in a neighbouring state. It is for these reasons, that I consider it as one of the greatest advantages of the English constitution, that the King of Great-Britain lays before the nation, on every opening of the parliament, the state of public affairs, and particularly of the kingdom, and requires their sanction to his proceedings. The most important service that a minister of France ever rendered to his country, and his king, was, in my opinion, that by which the wise and virtuous financier Necker finished his ministry, in causing an account of his administration to be printed for the benefit of the public. By that means he has enlightened with respect to its true situation a government, which was, perhaps, not sufficiently acquainted with itself.

It is from these principles, and from such motives as these, that I have been induced to communicate, for some years past, to this illustrious academy, in the public assemblies, which it has appointed for the celebration of the King's birth-day, a part of those great
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and good works of a public nature which have been done by his Majesty, during the course of the preceding year; and especially those donations, and extraordinary benefits, which he has heaped upon his subjects, in the course of every year, as well for the relief and succour of the unhappy, as for the advancement and encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and, in general, all the branches of national industry. I endeavoured to prosecute this design, in the discourse that I read here the preceding year, *on the population of the Prussian dominions*; in which I shewed, by what means the King had, during the course of his reign, trebled the population of his dominions, and carried it to such a height, as no nation before could ever boast. I shall continue, on the present occasion, still farther to discuss this subject, which is interesting to Prussia, and to all Europe; and I shall endeavour by a brief statement to make it appear, that the great population, given by the King to his dominions, is founded, and that its continual progress is assured, upon the most solid basis, and upon the true riches of a nation, *agriculture, national industry, and the balance of commerce*; advantages,

tages, which never fail to lead, by a natural consequence, to the *balance of power*. I shall not now dwell upon those great principles of the felicity of nations, and of governments, which those, who are desirous of investigating, will find sufficiently illustrated in the celebrated and well known works of Montesquieu, Hume, Stuart, Veri, and others; and especially in the profound and classical work of the English writer, Smith, upon *the nature and the causes of the wealth of nations*. I shall content myself with stating these principles, and with making a particular application of them to our Prussian government.

The true strength of a state undoubtedly consists in a great population, proportioned to the extent of its territory, and which is directed by a wise government, in such a manner as is proper to procure to its inhabitants security and necessary subsistence, as well as every other desirable advantage; as I have proved in the discourse that I read here on this anniversary, in the year 1782, on the *relative power of states*. The *prosperity, the happiness, or, if you will, the riches* of a nation, undoubtedly consists in its numbers,

bers, and in the variety and goodness of the means, by which this nation can at first procure for itself the necessaries, and afterwards the conveniencies, or the elegancies of life. As corn and grain of all sorts produces the surest and most general subsistence and nourishment to numerous nations (fishing can furnish it only for small tribes) *agriculture* is incontestably the most certain source and basis of subsistence to large societies or nations. It is this which produces corn, and grain of all kinds necessary for the nourishment of men and of animals, as well as wine, beer, oil, tobacco, and even wood. It is this which produces flax, hemp, wool, silk, and almost every thing which is necessary for clothing and the other necessaries of life. It furnishes the principal materials for manufactures, for commerce, and for navigation. By these means, and by the exchange of the superfluities of productions, natural and artificial, it procures also to nations, who have no mines of gold and silver, those metals; which have no real and intrinsic value, but by their commodious use have become, and are received among all civilized nations, as representative signs of real riches, and have taken place

place of them. Agriculture produces sustenance not only for husbandmen, but also for all other citizens, who are not employed in the cultivation of the earth, those who serve the state in offices civil and military, men of letters, manufacturers, traders, fishermen and seamen, and even the workers of mines. Thus is agriculture the first and the principal basis of the prosperity of every state, and of every nation; and this principle hath so much prevailed in France, for some time past, that a certain class of learned agriculturists, to whom the superb name has been given of *Oeconomists*, or of *Physiocrates*, perhaps more able in theory than in practice, endeavour to procure by their writings to *rural culture* the principal and almost sole patronage of government, especially by an exportation of grain duty free, for which, however, the cultivators of the land should bear almost exclusively the weight of public taxes. It was not long, however, before they were convinced by experience, and by a more mature discussion, that this principle was not to be carried too far, and that a wise government ought to give the same attention to *national industry*, though without granting it a general exemption

emption from public taxes. This is undoubtedly the second basis of the prosperity of a state, because it is this which gives the greatest value to the fruits of the earth and natural productions; as the labour and abilities of those persons who are employed in manufacturing materials which are derived from natural productions, generally procures for them a greater profit, than is obtained by those who cultivate the earth. It is this labour, as Mr. Smith has admirably proved in the work before mentioned, which makes the true, universal, and exact measure of the value of all goods and merchandize; and money serves only as the means and instrument for the exchange of labour. For as all natural and artificial productions are only the result of that labour, which every individual of a society employs for his own subsistence, and in order to communicate his superfluities by way of exchange to his fellow-citizens, and which the nation afterwards equally communicates by exchange to another nation: It results from all these premises, that the labour of individuals, or national industry, forms the second basis of the prosperity of nations, and may even on some occasions supply the principal basis, which

which is agriculture. It is thus that the French nation, with an agriculture often insufficient for itself, hath rendered almost all the nations of Europe its tributaries, during more than a century, by its different kinds of workmanship, its manufactures, and its fashions. The Dutch nation, with a narrow territory, and an ungrateful soil, which furnishes but a small part of what is necessary for its own consumption, hath carried on for a long time the commerce and the navigation of a great part of Europe; and profiting by the indolence and the ignorance of other nations, it has furnished them with almost all the necessaries and conveniences that they wanted, and which the Dutch do not possess themselves; whilst the Spanish nation, with all their gold and their silver, and their other American riches, are sometimes in want of necessary subsistence. The Polish nation, who possess a fertile, rich, and extensive country, have no other corn, or other productions, but what is absolutely necessary, and are deprived of all other advantages, by the want of national industry, which is the result of the want of liberty, of security for their property, and of a good constitution of government. From these

*Mr W.
Paddy
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these arguments, which I can only touch upon, there can be no doubt remaining of the general principle; that the first, principal, and essential basis of the prosperity of a state, consists in *good agriculture*, and in the abundance of natural productions; and that the second basis is *national industry*, which by giving perfection to natural productions, produces various kinds of manufactures, and thus gives value to the artificial productions of a country. When a nation has a greater quantity of natural and artificial productions than it can itself consume, it exchanges the surplus of its consumption for the surplus which another nation can give of productions which are suitable to it, or for ready money. It is this mutual exchange which nations make of the surplus of their productions, from whence results their external commerce by sea and land; and the proportion, or the greater or smaller quantity of productions, which every nation brings into this exchange, constitutes the *balance of commerce*. That which can bring the most, especially from the produce of the earth, has the balance in its favour; and the nation which has the balance against it, is obliged to pay for the surplus to the other in ready money.

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A nation which has a favourable balance with respect to such productions, whether natural or artificial, as are the most necessary to men, such as corn, linen, wool, and woollen cloths, timber, and other materials necessary for navigation; such a nation, I say, has a more certain balance in its favour, than one which has only different kinds of merchandize, consisting of articles of luxury, and which are less necessary, or even ready money; and it may, according to circumstances, fix the market in its favour, and give the law in commerce, especially if it has an undoubted superiority in the demand for its commodities over its competitors in commerce. The celebrated Necker himself confesses, in his writings respecting finances, that France not having the balance of commerce in its favour, except by its manufactures, and the productions of its American colonies, which are almost all of them articles of luxury, its having the balance in its favour is very precarious and uncertain.

The *balance of commerce* has an essential, and even a decisive influence upon *the balance of power*, especially since gold and silver have taken in some degree the place of real

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riches. A nation, which has a large population, proportioned to its territory, and under wise regulations of government; which joins to a good agriculture an equal industry; and which, by a natural consequence of these advantages, enjoys a balance of commerce equally favourable and certain; such a nation, I say, may aspire to the title and to the rank of a respectable power, and may appear in the first or the second class of powers, according to the talents of the sovereign. It may, and it even ought, in pursuance of its great interests, always to take a part in support of the balance of power, in order to secure to itself a permanent and flourishing existence. This political balance, which naturally arises from that reciprocal jealousy, which is just and reasonable among societies and nations, is nothing else but a league, either formally contracted, or tacitly, between certain states of an inferior degree of power, in order to secure their existence, liberty, and possessions, by preventing by their united forces the farther progress, and too great designs, real or possible, of another power, which is already become superior by various circumstances and events, or which may become still more

so. Such a balance, which is founded upon the just desire and law of self-preservation, is neither chimerical, nor impossible, nor unjust. It is born, exists, and continues with communities and states; and a judicious observer will find it in the history of all ages and nations; of which proofs may be found, and striking examples, in the Essays of the celebrated Hume, and in those works which the learned Germans, Lehmann, Huldenberg, Schmaus, Kahle, Benzel; and others, have written upon *the balance of Europe*. I shall here give a brief historical account of the existence of a political balance in all ages. According to Thucydides, the famous Peloponnesian war had no other origin than the jealousy of the other Grecian republics of that of Athens. This republic endeavoured afterwards to hold the balance between Sparta and Thebes. The powerful kings of Persia even endeavoured to maintain it between the different republics of Greece, agreeably to the advice of Alcibiades. Demosthenes urged, in his orations, the necessity of supporting the balance of power against Philip of Macedon; and it was supported till it found its tomb in the battle of Cheronea. Philip and Alexander totally destroyed

destroyed the balance, both in Europe and in Asia: especially the latter, by his victories and conquests, which were equally rapid and astonishing. His vast empire being divided among his generals, his successors, the kings of Macedon, of Asia, and of Egypt, contended for a long time among themselves concerning the balance of power, till Rome, that famous republic, alone conquering, contrary to the example and the nature of republics, and profiting by the division and the incapacity of the neighbouring kings, was at length enabled to crush them all, and to conquer Greece, Asia, and Africa. Some of them, as Philip and Perseus, kings of Macedon, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and Hiero, king of Sicily*, endeavoured for some time to maintain

* This is the only prince of antiquity who appears to have well understood the balance of power. Although an ally of Rome, he sent assistance to the Carthaginians during the war of the auxiliaries. Polybius says, lib. I, ch. 83. ' Hiero turning his attention to the war that
' then raged, sent great assistance to the Carthaginians,
' diligently supplying them with whatsoever they required.
' He was the more solicitous to do this, being convinced,
' that the preservation of the Carthaginians in a state
' sufficiently powerful to excite the jealousy of the Ro-
' mans, was necessary to secure to him his own authority
' in Sicily, as well as the continuance of the friendship of
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maintain the balance between the Romans and the Carthaginians, those two rival powers, who so long contended for the empire of the world; but they did it with as little success as ability; and some of the kings of Asia and Africa, such as Prusias, Attalus, and Massinissa, were even imprudent enough to assist in making the balance incline on the side of Rome, by attaching themselves to that power, which already preponderated, from particular views, contrary to all the rules of good policy, which ought always to prevent states of an inferior force from entering into alliance with a preponderating power, and should lead them to join with other states of inferior strength, and more nearly approaching to their own. The Romans, those fierce conquerors, having at length subdued, by the superiority of their military discipline, all the known and civilized parts of the three continents, the ba-

' the Romans: as otherwise he might fall into the power
' of the latter, when they could do what they pleased,
' without any fear of opposition. In this he judged very
' wisely and prudently: for no man ought to see uncon-
' cernedly, and without resisting it, such an exorbitant
' increase of another's power, as might afterwards pre-
' vent his obtaining his own just right, however clearly
' and incontestably it might be ascertained.'

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lance of power was entirely destroyed throughout the world, and neither the thing nor the name were known during those four centuries, in which the Roman empire subsisted as much under the form of a republic as under that of a monarchy, till the fourth age of the Christian æra. Notwithstanding this superior power of the Roman empire, those valiant German nations, whom Roman as well as modern writers affect, without reason, to style *barbarians*, by the mere superiority of their courage, even without a union among themselves, overthrew this Roman Colossus, and established upon its ruins all the modern monarchies of Europe, according to the picture that I have sketched in the first discourse that I addressed to this academy. But all the nations of these Northern conquerors contented themselves with keeping possession of the Roman provinces that they had respectively occupied, without thinking either of universal monarchy, or the balance of power. Charlemagne, Otho the Great, and the two Fredericks, kings and German emperors of the family of Suabia, thought of universal monarchy, and believed that they had re-established the great Roman empire; but it was only the name.

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The feudal and military constitution, the profound ignorance of politics, the anarchy and uninterrupted continuation of intestine wars, which resulted from that constitution, were the cause, that during that long course of ages, from the fourth to the end of the fifteenth century, there often occurred between the nations those contests and oppositions of interests, which occasioned some particular and transient balance: but it never was a real and lasting question, whether an universal monarchy should be established, or a general balance of power in opposition to it. The return of these two great systems was reserved for the epocha of the fifteenth and sixteenth century; when the Austrian princes began to unite in their house by fortunate marriages, and by a strongly combined policy, the rich succession of Burgundy, the kingdoms of Spain, of the two Sicilies, of Hungary and Bohemia, other great provinces in Germany and in Italy, and their still more wealthy possessions in the two Indies. It was then that Charles V. Philip II. and Ferdinand II. meditated, and seriously laboured to establish, that great monarchy, which is generally denominated universal. They began by endeavouring to subdue Ger-

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many, Italy, and the Low Countries, as being countries the most proper to that end, by their political and local situation in the middle of Europe. The kings of France and of England then saw themselves obliged to maintain the balance of Europe, by alliances made from time to time between themselves; and, at different periods, with the princes of Germany and of Italy, with the new Dutch republic, and the kings of Sweden. It was during this rivalry, during this continual struggle between the power of the two houses of France and Austria, which subsisted more than 200 years, that the balance of Europe manifested itself in the most sensible manner. It was this constant collision between the two systems, that of the great Austrian monarchy, and the opposite system of the balance of power, whence arose those continual wars between Charles V. and Francis I. between Philip II. on one side, and the French, Dutch, and English on the other; and afterwards that famous German war, or war of thirty years, maintained on one side by the two branches of the house of Austria, and on the other side by the princes of Germany, the Swedes, the French, and the Dutch. It was during
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this great epocha of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, that the princes of Germany formed the famous league of Smalcald in 1530, and in 1610, and 1633, the two leagues of Hall and of Heilbron, the last under the auspices of Sweden. It was in 1609, and on occasion of the succession of Cleve, that Henry IV. king of France, formed the famous project of a general republic of Europe, a design which expired on the assassination of that great prince. All these projects were formed solely for the maintenance of the balance of Europe and of Germany, against the too great power, and the designs, real or pretended, of the house of Austria. They were not, however, the two great monarchies of Austria and of France, which sustained the most violent shocks; but rather those princes of a moderate degree of power, who, on several occasions, when an important crisis took place, re-established, by their valour and personal ability, the balance of power, when it inclined too much to the side of Austria. It was the brave Maurice, duke and elector of Saxony, who very seasonably attacked, with a handful of his vassals, the potent Charles V. in the county of Tyrol, wrested from him in 1552,
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the treaty of Passau, and the first religious toleration, with the liberty of his two illustrious prisoners, the elector John-Frederick of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse; and avenged and asserted by that means the liberty of Germany, almost annihilated by the bad success of the league of Smalcald. It was the great Gustavus Adolphus, a prince as much distinguished by courage and by genius, as weak in power, who came with 13000 Swedes into Germany, and who assisted only by some weak German princes, triumphed over the preponderating power of Ferdinand II. preserved the liberties of Germany, and saved this great confederated republic. A premature death having carried off this hero, the same part was sustained, with the same moderate resources and assistance, by his great generals, and especially by the illustrious Bernard de Weimar, of whom the name will always shine in the annals of the world with those of Herman, of Maurice, of Gustavus, and of Frederick; in the list of heroes, and of preservers of the Germanic liberty. There were also the princes of Nassau and Orange, to whom the republic of Holland owed its origin, who though possessed but of inconsiderable strength,

strength, and who were great only by their valour and their military science, yet shook the great Spanish monarchy even to its foundations. It was those incredible united efforts, which were made for so long a time by the princes of Germany, and the kings of France and Sweden, as well as the Dutch, which at length wrested from two Austrian monarchs the famous peace of Westphalia, concluded in 1648. This peace, the first which was negotiated and concluded on the principles of a truly sound policy, not only regulated and confirmed the constitution, which was before unsettled, of the great German empire, but being guaranteed by the two crowns of France and Sweden, it has also laid the solid basis of the balance not only of Germany, but also of all Europe; and it is to this day justly regarded as the first sacred law of all the European nations, who, though the projects of Henry IV. and of the Abbé St. Pierre have not succeeded, yet constitute one general republic of the great continent of Europe, tacitly united together by the great mutual interest, which they have in preferring amongst themselves a just balance of power. The power of the two branches of the house of Austria having

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been extremely diminished by long and unhappy wars, and by the weak character of their sovereigns, and that of France having been proportionably augmented by the politic and able administration of the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and afterwards of Lewis XIV. that prince constantly kept up numerous and formidable armies, and made such an use of his power in the invasion of the Spanish Low Countries, of Holland, and of the Palatinate, as well as by the famous chamber of re-union, that he was generally considered as aspiring to universal monarchy, and as endeavouring to take place of the house of Austria. Then were turned against him the arms of those who were desirous of maintaining the balance of Europe. This was the origin of all those great alliances, which were concluded against him at the close of the last century, as well as of the wars that were ended in 1679 by the peace of Nimeguen, and in 1697 by the peace of Ryfwick. This peace having been accelerated, because the approaching extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria was then foreseen, the two maritime powers, England and Holland, united under the auspices of King William, Prince of Orange.

They took from that time the name and the character of maritime powers, and held the balance of Europe; believing that they should preserve it by the famous treaty of Partition, the object of which was to prevent the whole power of the house of Austria from being united by the junction of Spain and the Indies in the eldest branch of that family. But this project of partition having been annihilated by the death of the prince of Bavaria, and by the will that Charles II. king of Spain, made in favour of the duke of Anjou, the maritime powers were obliged, by the spirit of the system for preserving the balance of Europe, to enter into an alliance with the house of Austria and the German princes against France, in order to take the Spanish monarchy from the house of Bourbon, and to assign it to the archduke Charles, second son to the emperor Leopold. Hence arose that long and bloody war concerning the Spanish succession, which commenced in 1701, and ended in 1713 by the peace of Utrecht, by which the Spanish monarchy was ceded to the duke of Anjou; because the emperor Joseph having died without male heirs, and his brother Charles having succeeded him under the name of Charles VI.

they again feared a junction of the Spanish monarchy with the house of Austria; and they rather chose it should be given to a younger branch of the house of Bourbon, under the condition, that the monarchies of France and Spain should never be united. Thus the Spanish succession, and the whole war, as well as the peace that followed, were directed by the system for preserving the balance of Europe, according to good or erroneous principles, agreeably to the different circumstances of the times.

During that period, which begins from the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and ends with the death of the emperor Charles VI. the balance of Europe was not dangerously altered by the temporary and particular wars which took place; because the three monarchies of Austria, of France, and of Spain, were too much exhausted by the preceding wars, and were governed by pacific princes. The two maritime powers had no occasion, during this interval, of adopting any measures for preserving the balance of Europe, except by negotiations, mediations, and treaties of alliance, such as the barrier treaty, the quadruple alliance, the treaty of Hanover, that

that of Wusterhausen, and others. They believed, that they had sufficiently provided for the preservation of the balance of Europe, by the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the succession of all the Austrian monarchy was secured to the daughter of the emperor Charles VI. The extinction of the male line of the house of Austria, which happened in 1740, by the death of that prince, gave, however, a new face to the balance of Europe. The elector of Bavaria put in a claim to the whole Austrian succession, and was supported by France and Spain. The daughter of the emperor Charles VI. supported by the two maritime powers, according to the system of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the balance of Europe, carried on the war from the year 1740 to 1748, and at length preserved by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the whole Austrian monarchy, excepting the duchy of Silesia, which the King of Prussia obtained, in consequence of a particular claim grounded on lawful titles, by the treaty of Breslau concluded in 1742, and confirmed by the following treaties of peace of Dresden and of Hubertsbourg.

The balance of Germany would have been in great danger of being entirely overturned, in the war which broke out unexpectedly in 1756, if the Prussian monarchy had been annihilated by its enemies. But happily our great King sustained this war, for the space of seven years, against the principal powers of Europe, in such a manner as is without example in history; and the balance of Europe was re-established, by the peace that I had the honour to conclude at Hubertsbourg in 1763, on the principles of a just, solid, and honourable peace, as had been before agreed on.

The Poles having given occasion by a civil war to three neighbouring powers, to make good certain claims which they had upon some provinces of Poland, the partition of those provinces was made in 1772, according to the principles of a balance of power, of which the three potentates were to agree among themselves.

The war which broke out in 1776, between Great-Britain and the colonies of North America, gave occasion to the court of France to declare for those colonies, and

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to afford them assistance; chiefly with a view of preventing the English nation from subjugating the colonies, that they might not obtain by the dominion of the sea too great a balance in maritime commerce. This system fortunately prevailed by the peace concluded at Versailles, and by the independence that the American colonies thereby obtained. No observer of modern politics can be insensible, that there exists at present, or at least that there is an endeavour to establish and to preserve, the balance of maritime power; which results from the rivalry between France and England, and which appeared to be even from the time that the republic of Holland ranged itself on the side of France. The system of armed maritime neutrality may contribute to this, when it shall be generally acknowledged and established. The King has the merit of being the first author and supporter of the *maritime neutrality*, having maintained it against England, in the war which was concluded by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The electoral house of Bavaria becoming extinct in 1778, the balance of power in Germany appeared to be in danger by the

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pretensions that the court of Vienna made to the Lower Bavaria. The King opposed these claims; not only in order to maintain, as a member of the empire, the right of the Palatine house to the succession of all Bavaria, but also to defend the balance of power in Germany. A war ensued, which was happily terminated by the peace concluded in 1779, at Teschen, in which the balance of Germany was re-established, by preserving to the Palatine house the succession of the greatest part of Bavaria, under the guaranty of two great courts.

New apprehensions were entertained respecting the balance of power in Germany, when a project was formed of exchanging Bavaria for the Low Countries, at the commencement of the year 1785. The King, together with the Duke of Deux-Ponts, insisted upon the treaties of Teschen, and of Pavia, as well as on the balance of Germany, as irrefragable arguments against any alienation of Bavaria. The Imperial court declared, by public memorials, that it would never think of any exchange of Bavaria by force; and by that means it renewed the confidence which had always been had in
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its justice and generosity. The principal members of the Palatine house declared on their side, that they would never consent to a voluntary exchange of Bavaria. By this concurrence of singular circumstances, and of public and correspondent declarations, without any formal treaty, a new engagement took place, solemnly contracted in the face of Europe, by the principal interested parties, which establishes for a long time the security and the balance of Germany. Nevertheless, those alarms and apprehensions, which the mention only of such an idea could not fail to excite, gave rise to that *Constitutional Association*, which was concluded at Berlin, on the 23d of July, in the preceding year, between the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Brunswick; and which, in renewing the antient connections of those illustrious contracting houses, is only defensive, and has no other end but the preservation of the constitutional system of the German empire, and the possessions and the rights of all its members. The King having made this association known, by public declarations addressed to the courts of Europe and of the empire, it has been applauded by most of the foreign courts; and
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many of the most considerable princes of Germany have been forward to join in it. We have the satisfaction to reckon in this number the first elector and great chancellor of the empire, as much distinguished by his learning as by his patriotism; and another respectable prince, who by honouring our capital, and even this day our Academy by his presence, makes known to us a sovereign, who by the principles of his government, and by his civil and political conduct, has already shewn that he truly inherits the blood of the illustrious houses of Saxony, of the Guelphs, and of Zollern, from which he is descended; and that he is the worthy successor of the great ancestors of a John Constance, and of a John Frederick, who was as magnanimous as unfortunate; and that, when occasion offers, he will not be wanting to support the name of the great Bernard de Weimar. Another subject of satisfaction, which must give great pleasure, and tend to remove doubts and apprehensions from all Germany, is to see that this association hath united for the same end the most illustrious and most antient houses of Europe and of Germany, those of Brandenburg, of Saxe, of Brunswick, of Bavaria, of Hesse, and

and others; and that it revives the memory of those antient confraternities, which formerly united the princes of Germany, by particular ties and personal interviews. A union so rare, and so little consonant to the taste of the present age, can only be the effect of that absolute and personal confidence, which our great King, and his respectable presumptive successor, have inspired in all those illustrious princes, by the justice, the nobleness, the disinterestedness, the certainty, and the solidity of their principles, and of their political system, maintained on so many critical occasions. We may even have some ground to flatter ourselves, that this association, which was misunderstood and suspected at its commencement, may in time become a new basis of the happiness and of the security of Germany; and that it may serve to strengthen those antient ties, which have been relaxed by the length of time, to re-establish concord, and patriotic confidence, between the great and august head of the empire, and its members; and to revive the idea of the antient balance of power, which is absolutely necessary in a confederated monarchy, like that of the German empire; and without which, the laws and compacts

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of that empire cannot long preserve their force, but must sooner or later be destroyed. The past year then will be ever memorable in the annals of Europe, of Germany, and of Prussia; and though to us Prussians it must afford a more pure joy, yet, in all the nations of Europe, those, who are capable of sentiment, must acknowledge with us, that the King hath rendered the most essential service to humanity, to all Europe, and especially to our country of Germany, by establishing its general repose, its balance, and its security, and by dissipating its alarms, errors, and misunderstandings, without war, and without the effusion of blood, only by the pacific arms of representation and of explanation, by foresight, wisdom, and firmness; and by the completion of a great work, which will immortalize his name more than his numerous victories, which will render it precious to posterity, and which will secure to him a crown of civic and unperishable laurels. It will also reflect additional glory on him if it be considered, that this great work was first conceived, promoted, and completed by the King himself; that he undertook the dangerous part which was the result of it, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and when his health was impaired by a
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reign so long and active as his has been; that in the same year he took a part not less active in the other general affairs of Europe, and especially in the very intricate affairs of Holland, adopting every possible measure for re-establishing union, confidence, and internal peace in that neighbouring and friendly republic; that he engaged in a transaction with the city of Dantzick which was more than generous, and behaved with his usual firmness and moderation in the contests respecting that unquiet city; that he also ended a new dispute concerning limits with the republic of Poland, in a manner that was satisfactory to all parties. In the midst of all these great occupations, he did not omit, in the months of May, June, and August, the ordinary reviews of his army, and his military and œconomical journies into the greater part of his provinces; and taking occasion to exhibit the most brilliant spectacles, the most agreeable and instructive to the first military nobility of the different nations of Europe, who came in great numbers to be present at them, and in which we saw together the most illustrious warriors, who have fought of late years on the one side and on the other, upon the continent and in the seas of America.

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These fine military scenes, and those important political occupations, of which I have made mention, did not interrupt for a moment that daily attention, which the King never failed to give during the last year, as well as in preceding years, to the internal administration of his kingdom, to the military department, the department of finances, of the police, and of justice. It would be improper on the present occasion to give a particular account, though I could give one that would be very interesting, but a general idea may be formed of the sums that the King has expended extraordinary, and disbursed *gratis*, during the course of the preceding year, for the good of the state, and of his subjects, by a *table*, which I shall add at the close of this discourse, as I have done in those of the preceding years. It will be seen by this table, that the King has continued to erect at his own expence a great number of public and private buildings at Berlin and Potsdam, to rebuild towns that had been consumed by fire, to build new churches and repair old ones, and also to build a great number of habitations for day-labourers in the country; that he has continued to expend great sums in the construction

tion of fortresses and of barracks; to establish new manufactures, and to support the old; to give considerable sums to gentlemen, and other possessors of lands, for the advancement of agriculture, and the improvement of their estates; to clear lands and dry up marshes; and especially that he has made the greatest efforts, and has expended more than a million of crowns, for repairing the damages and misfortunes occasioned by extraordinary inundations in the spring, in causing the banks that were broken down to be restored without loss of time, and in furnishing *gratis* to the unfortunate inhabitants feeds for sowing, corn for their sustenance, and supplying their other wants. It will be seen by this account, that the King has thus expended, during the course of the year 1785, in extraordinary benefactions and gratuities, in his dominions, and for his subjects, very large sums, which amount to 2,901,000 crowns, and which would even exceed three millions, if I had time to collect many articles, which do exist, but which are not yet to me sufficiently known.

The Academy will recollect, from the reading of my former discourses, that the
King

King hath expended from the peace of Hubertshourg, which is twenty-two years since, every year nearly two millions of crowns, in gratuities and extraordinary benefactions within his dominions; so that the sum total from that time amounts to more than forty millions of crowns. I shall not repeat here those reflexions, and instructive inferences, which I have drawn from this political phenomenon in my former discourses, especially in that of the year 1784, in order to shew, that a power, which after having sustained four bloody and destructive wars, of which that of seven years was longer than the Punic war, can continue to maintain, without any foreign subsidy, and only with its own resources, an army of 200,000 soldiers, and fifteen great fortresses; which, instead of having any debt, has rather a considerable treasure; which pays exactly its civil and military establishments; which does not grind its subjects, contenting itself with the ancient taxes and contributions, but without knowing any arrears, can make them every year a donation of two millions of crowns, drawn from the surplus of the revenues of the state; such a power, I say, can never be short-lived, nor in a precarious state, but should

should rather be considered as established on the most solid basis, and which ensures to it the most permanent duration. Foreigners will not easily consider such a power as the Prussian monarchy as possible, if they know it only at a distance, and only judge of it from the maps, and from its moderate extent; or from the sandy soil of the environs of the capital, and with an attention to the common prejudices against a new-formed state. But I believe that I shall be able to convince them of the truth and possibility of all that I have advanced, by making here a concentrated application of those general principles that I have laid down at the beginning of this discourse, in order to prove, that a state and its power are durable, when it has a numerous population, proportioned to its territory, good agriculture, great national industry, and a balance of commerce favourable and certain. I flatter myself with being able to appropriate all these particulars to the Prussian monarchy; and I shall proceed to verify this assertion by a summary of proofs and of facts, well known, or easy to be established.

I. I have proved in the discourse, that I read here this day twelvemonth, that the Prussian monarchy has a population of six millions of people, upon a territory of 3600 square miles, which makes 1667 persons to every square mile. This is a population sufficiently large for a country of moderate fertility; it is not surpassed but by that of France, of Holland, of England, and of the Austrian monarchy; and it surpasses in effect that of all the other great European nations; and some of the Prussian provinces, as those of Halberstadt, Minden, &c. exceed the population of France, compared upon the whole. The population of the Prussian monarchy also increases every year, in a greater degree than that of all other known countries, particularly France, as I have proved in my discourse of the preceding year, p. 39. I have also demonstrated, that the Prussian population has been nearly trebled during the forty-five years of the reign of his present Majesty. The whole monarchy had

	Births.	Burials.	Surplus of Births.
In 1784,	211,113	152,040	59,162
In 1785,	210,037	157,606	53,126

The

The surplus of the births for the year 1785 was inferior to that of the year 1784, because, on account of the season, there was a greater number of diseases, and a greater mortality; but the surplus of the births is still sufficiently large, to prove that there is a regular increase of population, and always superior to that of other countries. As the Prussian monarchy contains a sufficient quantity of ground for the population to be still greatly increased, we may flatter ourselves, that it will still continue to increase, in the same proportion, in the present reign, and in future; according to the same principles, which have been so happily adhered to hitherto, and which I have particularly pointed out in my former discourse.

II. It is true, that the soil of a great part of the Marches, of Pomerania, of West Prussia, and even of Silesia, is sandy, and not very fertile; but even these provinces have other districts very fertile, and which are nearly half of their extent; and those which are less so, nevertheless, maintain their inhabitants, and are sufficiently well cultivated. All our provinces produce corn enough for their own sustenance; and some

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of them, as those of Magdebourg, Halberstadt, Prussia, and the Old March, have even a sufficient overplus for foreign exportation. The Prussian agriculture, taking it in general, must be good, and sufficient not only for the present inhabitants, but also for exportation, since that from the year 1740, we have not had any want of corn, nor had occasion to purchase any from abroad, even in the distressful year of 1772, when a general famine made so many ravages in the most fertile countries, such as Saxony and the Palatinate, and when the Prussian dominions were able to supply the wants of their neighbours. In years of ordinary fertility the whole Prussian monarchy can export corn to the amount of two millions of crowns; and in barren years the King can always supply, and always supply without difficulty, the wants of his subjects, by opening his great military magazines, and either giving them necessary corn for the present, or furnishing them with it at a moderate price. Besides, the Prussian monarchy can never want corn, because it has behind it the fertile countries of Poland, of Bohemia, and of Saxony; which can export nothing by sea but through the Prussian dominions,

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nions, where they find, by means of the navigation of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, an easy and lucrative exportation. Agriculture is also promoted in the Prussian dominions, with so much industry and zeal, both on the part of the inhabitants and of the sovereign, that it increases from year to year, so that it can never be deficient in the Prussian monarchy, but will be always sufficient to its inhabitants, and will even generally be the object of a considerable commerce. The cities of Königsberg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzick, and Stetten, export in a common year more than a million of bushels of all kinds of grain.

III. As *national industry* forms the second basis of the felicity and power of a state, I shall endeavour to prove here, in a summary manner, that the Prussian monarchy possesses it in an eminent degree; and, perhaps, immediately after France, England, and Holland; those powers which, for two centuries, have had the almost exclusive monopoly of manufactures, of commerce, and of navigation; of which the Prussians have had no part, but since the close of the last century, and the beginning of the present. This is

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not

not the place to make an exact and general table of the Pruffian manufactures: I shall, therefore, confine myself to giving a general idea, and some particular examples. We have almost all the trades and manufactures that can be conceived, as well for things of absolute necessity, as for the conveniencies and luxuries of life. Some of them have attained to a great degree of perfection, as those of woollen cloth, linen, porcelain, and others. The greater part are in a state of mediocrity, and may be brought by degrees to perfection, if there is continued to be given to them the same attention, assistance, and support, which the Pruffian government has hitherto most liberally bestowed; and especially when to these are added the motives and inducements of emulation, which are absolutely necessary for bringing manufactures and works of art to perfection. Our manufactures exclusively supply all the Pruffian dominions; and, with a very favourable rivalship, especially for cloths, linens, and woollens, Poland, Ruffia, Germany, Italy, and especially Spain and America. In order to afford a more strong and clear conviction, I shall here add a compendious table of the principal trades and manufactures, which exist

exist in the Pruffian monarchy, of their produce, and of the number of traders and manufacturers who are employed in them.

The Pruffian dominions had in the course of the year 1785,

	Manufacturers.	Produce of the Manufactures in Rix-Dollars.
In linens - - - 51,000	80,000	9,000,000
In cloths and woollens 18,000	58,000	8,000,000
In silk - - - 4,200	6,000	3,000,000
In cotton - - - 2,600	7,000	1,200,000
In leather - - - -	4,000	2,000,000
In iron, steel, copper, &c. -	3,000	2,000,000
In tobacco, of which 140,000 quintals are of the growth of the country - - -	2,000	1,000,000
Sugar - - - -	1,000	2,000,000
Porcelain and earthen-ware -	700	200,000
Paper - - - -	800	200,000
Tallow and soap - - - -	300	400,000
Glass, looking-glasses - - -	—	200,000
Manufacturers in gold, silver, lace, embroidery, &c. - }	1,000	400,000
Silesia madder - - - -	—	300,000
Oil - - - -	600	300,000
Yellow amber - - - -	600	50,000*
	<u>165,000</u>	<u>30,250,000</u>

* There is nothing exaggerated in this table, which has been made from the most exact researches, as I could make appear. It might even be increased in some articles, because traders and manufacturers are more ready to announce a diminution, than an augmentation of their trade. I have stated, in my discourse of last year, our manufactures only at sixteen millions; but I had not then a table so general and exact as the present.

I have here brought into account only our principal manufactures; I have omitted a number of smaller manufactures, which yet are an object of many millions*. According to the general table of manufactures, which has been made for all the Prussian dominions during the course of the past year, the general product amounts to thirty millions of crowns, of which there are eleven millions for Silesia, and nine millions for the electorate of Brandenburg, merely because the principal seat of our manufactures is in the capital, and in the other towns of that country. Silesia has the greatest part of our linen manufactures, which have amounted for the last year to about seven millions of crowns, and of which the city of Hirschberg, which is but of a moderate size, has alone exported to the amount of 2,400,000 crowns. The exportation abroad of all our manufactures has been fourteen millions: the other manufactures, to the amount of sixteen millions, remain in the country. In this calculation of thirty millions is not included either corn, or timber,

* Such are the manufactories of bleaching wax, starch, alum, vinegar, tobacco-pipes, watches, arms, tapestry, ornamental feathers, gloves, printing, coaches, pot-ash, &c.

or salt, or hemp; nor the manufactures which are particularly made in Pomerania, and in Prussia, for navigation, the construction of vessels, and other considerable articles. Neither have I brought into the account all those productions of the mineral kingdom, which, according to an accurate table, equally perspicuous and curious, which our able and worthy head of the department of mines has caused to be printed, may be estimated to produce many millions, without our having any mine either of gold or of silver. As we export every year corn to the amount of at least a million; timber to the amount of a million, especially timber for ship-building, that of the Prussian dominions between the Weser and the Vistula being esteemed the best in all Europe; as we also gain much by a very considerable transportation of foreign merchandize, in the navigation of the Baltick and the North Sea, by the building of vessels in Prussia and in Pomerania, by the herring-fishery established at Embden, and by the considerable coasting trade that the navigators from thence carry on in all the ports of Europe, from the Baltick to the Streights of Gibraltar; as the inhabitants of our maritime provinces Prussia, Pomerania,

merania, and East Friezland, the inhabitants of the cities of Stettin, Colberg, Stolpe, Elbing, Konigsberg, Memel, and Embden, carry on a very brisk and considerable commerce, and a great navigation; so that every year 1300 Prussian vessels pass through the Sound; and as we rank in the fifth class among those nations who navigate the Baltic; it may be supposed, without exaggeration, and it would not be difficult to prove, in a proper time and place, that the whole capital of natural and artificial productions, or the produce of the labour of the Prussian monarchy, amounts yearly to forty millions of crowns; and that the half, or twenty millions, is exported into foreign countries. It is also important to observe, that the Prussian dominions produce the greatest part of the materials, which we have occasion for in our manufactures, as flax, wool, leather, silk, iron, copper, tobacco, madder, amber, wood, and corn; and we also derive a large quantity, and from a good market, from the neighbouring country of Poland. We have no need to purchase any thing from foreign nations, but wine, coffee, raw sugar, spices, oil, fine wool, cotton, some kinds of silk, and other objects of luxury;
of

of which the total amount is much inferior to our exportation of twenty millions; so that our exportation greatly exceeds our importation.

I may yet add something farther respecting navigation; that the traders of the city of Embden acquired a very extensive coasting trade during the last maritime war, and that from that time they have sent out many vessels, laden in part with Prussian manufactures, to Asia, to Batavia, Bengal, China, and also to North America. They have found the trade of Asia very profitable, but that of America less so. I say nothing here of the marine of Brandenburg, nor of the Guinea company, which the great elector Frederick-William established at Embden: of which an history sufficiently interesting may be found in my second discourse addressed to this academy. I shall also pass over in silence the pains that the King has taken to establish at Embden a China company, and another for Bengal; which have both failed by the misconduct of the undertakers: but every intelligent observer will easily believe, that the port of Embden may be rendered one of the best in Europe;
and

and that by its situation in the middle of the continent, between the Baltic, German, and Atlantic seas, it may become a general emporium of navigation and commerce, between the countries of the north and south; but these are remote speculations, which the destiny of the Prussian monarchy has reserved to future times, to the attention, ability, and industry, of future sovereigns and inhabitants of Prussia. I shall rather finish by inserting here another observation, more important to every good Prussian citizen, and the justness of which will strike and convince an attentive citizen of the world. The Prussian monarchy is one of the countries of Europe, or at least of the North, which is the most advantageously situated for commerce and navigation. It has a maritime coast of eighty German miles, in Pomerania and in Prussia, along the Baltic sea. The Sovereign of Prussia is master of three great rivers which empty themselves into the Baltic, namely, the Oder, the Vistula, the Pregel, and also the Memel, besides a great number of other small navigable rivers or streams. He possesses along this maritime coast the ports of Stettin, Colberg, Dantzick, Pillau, and Memel; which

which are all, or which may easily be rendered, very fit either for trading vessels or ships of war; besides a number of other small ports, as those of Camin, Treptow, Rügenwalde, and Stolpe. The great river Oder traverses along the principal Prussian provinces, Pomerania, the March, and Silesia, in an extent of eighty German miles from the Baltic to Moravia. This great river is united to the Havel and the Spree; and, by good canals, to the Elbe; and on the other side to the Vistula, by the Warthe, the Netz, the Braa, and the canal of the Netz. By these means the greater part of the Prussian dominions, situated between the Elbe and the Vistula, is so united for navigation, that the inhabitants can export by the Oder, by the Vistula, by the Pregel, and by the Memel, into the Baltic, not only all the productions of the Prussian dominions, but also those of Poland and Lithuania, which, perhaps, amount to ten or twelve millions of crowns yearly. They can in like manner export by the Elbe, and by the cities of Magdeburgh and Hamburgh, the principal productions of Saxony and Bohemia. These countries, which in themselves are very fertile, can carry on no maritime commerce,

commerce, nor any foreign exportation, but through the Prussian monarchy. They may, however, do it very beneficially for themselves and for Prussia; and the Sovereign of Prussia may derive great advantage from this situation, by appropriating to his dominions the principal branches of the commerce of the North, by favouring that of his neighbours, and especially the commerce of Poland, by which he has the most to gain, because it consists chiefly of cattle, and in articles of general necessity, such as corn, timber, and coarse linens, which the nations of the South cannot do without. I shall say nothing here of the great rivers, the Weser, the Rhine, and the Ems, which the King possesses only in part, from which he derives a great advantage to his revenues, but which do not belong to the body of the Prussian monarchy, because they pass through countries which are detached from that body, and have no immediate influence upon the great Prussian commerce, except by the communication that the river Ems, and the port of Embden, may maintain with the Baltic.

IV. I believe, that what I have advanced, has been sufficient to prove, not only that
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the Prussian monarchy has already a good agriculture, a great national industry, an advantageous inland and foreign commerce, and an extensive navigation; but that it may yet carry all these objects much farther, and to a greater degree of perfection. Those that will give themselves the trouble to recapitulate and examine the tables, the calculations, and the statements that I have given, will easily comprehend, that the Prussian monarchy must have a balance of commerce not only favourable, but certain, because that all its natural and artificial productions, as well as its exportation, are almost all articles of necessity, and such as the nations of the South cannot do without, such as corn, timber, linens, and woollens. It is not necessary, and it would not be easy, to determine exactly the nett produce of the balance of the Prussian commerce; but it may be easily concluded, that it must be very advantageous, and decidedly so, when it is considered, that the King has maintained four long and expensive wars, which had almost overwhelmed his country; that he has re-established it in a more flourishing state than before these wars; that he has twice accumulated the most considerable
8
treasure

treasure that ever any prince possessed, without the coinage and its circulation having diminished in the country, but money having rather become plentiful; since the rate of interest has fallen from six and five to four *per cent.* and the value of land has been exceedingly advanced.

If then it be true, if it has been proved by the preceding observations, that the Prussian monarchy has a population sufficiently large proportioned to its territory; that it has a good agriculture, and great industry; that it has a balance of commerce favourable and certain; if it is inhabited by a nation industrious and warlike, who distinguish themselves by a great national character, and among whom we see only moderate fortunes, but better distributed for the benefit of the state than in most other kingdoms; if it is defended by a great national army, trained and disciplined in a very superior manner, and which has the reputation of being the first in Europe; if it is governed by a philosophic King, who for forty-six years past has been a model for sovereigns; if it entertains the same hopes on the part of the successor to the throne; this monarchy

monarchy may then, without vanity, shine in the first class, and may take a decided part in the preservation of the balance of Germany, and of Europe. It ought to act, on every occasion, according to the rules and the principles of a great, wise, just, and generous policy, which is always preferable to the seducing attractions of an ambitious and interested policy, that is ever in the end false and deceitful. It may act in a beneficial and decisive manner, from the great advantages of its population, of its commerce, of its government civil and military, and especially by its local situation between the three great continental powers of Europe, at the extremities of the great Germanic empire, which by its situation, and by the confederated form of its government, is truly created and placed, by nature and by providence, in the center of Europe, in order to separate great rival nations, to hinder those contests which might arise from their clashing interests, and to prevent the overthrow of the general balance of Europe. No intelligent and impartial observer can doubt, after all that I have advanced, but that there exists a particular balance of power in Germany, which fixes at the same time that of

the South and of the North; that a middling state, but which possesses the advantages of government and of situation, is more interested, and better adapted to preserve the general and necessary balance of power in Europe, than those great states, who have commonly more pretensions, and more confidence in their own strength, than is agreeable either to their own true interests, or to those of other nations. I believe, that from the whole of what I have advanced, and from the inferences that I have drawn, which have not proceeded from flattery, but from the manifest views of a pure patriotism, every Prussian monarch will have a preferable claim to the suffrage and the confidence of all the powers of Europe, and of all the princes of Germany; particularly because it is his interest to be just, and the defender of the balance of power, and of general liberty; and that it would be against his interest, and contrary to prudence, to act otherwise. If ever a prince merited this general confidence, as well as the love of his subjects, and the approbation of all nations, it is our great King, by his conduct civil, military, and political, during a glorious reign of forty-five years. His life, of which we celebrate

to-

to-day the 75th anniversary, has been more remarkable than that of any other sovereign; and especially by the generous and disinterested part which he has acted since the year 1778, a part which may be considered as *unique* in its kind, and such as hardly any thing similar has hitherto been met with among sovereigns. We Prussians cannot recompense him for all the benefits, which he hath heaped upon our country, but by the most ardent prayers, which we should never cease to make, and that we ought this day to renew, that providence would prolong to the latest possible term a life so interesting to the human race, and particularly crown him with good health; that the oldest of kings and of heroes may, as he deserves to be, be also the happiest of mankind.

A
T A B L E

Of the sums which have been dedicated by the KING to the re-building and embellishment of towns, to the promotion of agriculture and manufactures, and in general to the improvement of his dominions, or given in presents to his subjects, from June 1, 1785, to June 1, 1786.

In the Electoral March of BRANDENBURGH.

	Crowns.
1. In the city of Berlin, for building the houses of individuals, for barracks, for re-building <i>la Charité</i> , or the great hospital, and for building a stone bridge at Spandau - - - - -	230,000
2. In the city of Potsdam, for new houses for burghers, and for repairs - - - - -	220,000
3. For erecting buildings in the demesnes of the King - - - - -	19,000
4. For various improvements of the country, as for continuing to dry up and clear the great marsh called Drömming, in the Old March, for clearing other lands, and for building houses for day-labourers in the country - - - - -	200,000
5. To corn for labourers, who in consequence of a bad harvest, or from inundations, wanted bread - - - - -	34,000
Carried over - - - - -	703,000

	Crowns.
Brought over - - - - -	703,000
6. To the same for summer corn - - - - -	21,000
7. For procuring Spanish sheep - - - - -	22,000
8. For increasing the magazines of wool - - - - -	17,000
9. For improvements relative to the spinning of wool - - - - -	4,000
10. For a manufactory of woollen cloths at Zinna - - - - -	3,000
11. For a plantation of mulberry-trees at Nowawest - - - - -	2,000
12. For the purchase of cods of silk-worms, and establishing a magazine of them - - - - -	20,000
13. To the poor of the German and French churches at Berlin for wood - - - - -	20,000
	812,000

In the NEW MARCH.

14. For bread, for ruined farmers - - - - -	4,800
15. To the same for summer corn - - - - -	4,596
16. For re-building the town of Morin - - - - -	14,500
17. For building houses for individuals at Falckenbourg - - - - -	269
18. For several small manufactures of wool and leather, and for fulling-mills in Cüstrin, Neuwedel, Falckenbourg, and Sommerfeldt, towns of the New March - - - - -	4,021
	28,186

The sums intended for the improvement of lands in this province, have been reserved for the following years, on account of inundations.

In

In POMERANIA.

	Crowns,
19. For the improvement of lands of the nobility, and of colonists, for building houses for the propagation of silk-worms, for trefoil seed, lucerne, &c. }	100,000
20. For building 651 cottages, and also for building some churches and school-houses }	100,000
21. For repairing the port of Swinemünde	13,638
22. For repairing the bridges of the town of Colberg }	7,432
23. For increasing the magazines of wool	6,000
24. For a manufactory of cotton stockings at Gartz }	4,000
25. For a manufactory of leather at Anclam	3,000
26. For a manufactory of leather at Treptow	1,500
27. For a manufactory of sail-cloth at Rügenwalde }	5,000
28. For a manufactory of cables in the same city }	4,000
29. For a manufactory of cloth for flags at Stettin }	3,000
30. For summer corn-feed for cottagers who wanted it }	19,000
	266,570

In EAST PRUSSIA.

31. Assistance afforded towards building the Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic churches at Königsberg, Goldapp, Memel, &c. }	5,200
Carried over	5,200

Crowns.

Brought over	-	5,200
32. For building houses of exercise for the regiments	}	3,000
33. For fortifications	-	25,000
34. For a manufactory of Morocco leather at Königsberg	}	3,000
35. For a manufactory of English earthen ware in the same city	}	4,000
36. For a manufactory of leather	-	1,000
37. For a manufactory of ribbons and of bags	-	600
38. For a cotton manufactory at Gumbinnen	-	1,000
39. For a dye-house for wool at Darkehnen	-	2,600
		45,400

In WEST PRUSSIA.

40. For continuing to erect the fortrefs of Graudenz	}	400,000
41. For improvements in the bailiwicks	-	100,000
42. For restoring towns fallen into decay	-	30,000
43. For establishing colonies of Suabians	-	40,000
44. For repairing damages suffered by the country people from storms	}	6,000
45. For a dye-house at Bromberg	-	2,600
46. For a manufactory of fine cloth at Culm	-	7,200
47. For a house for a clergyman at Tuchel	-	800
48. For a house for military exercise at Elbing	-	1,200
		587,800

In the Provinces of WESTPHALIA.

49. For rebuilding the town of Cappeln in the province of Lingen	}	3,000
50. Relief afforded to the province of Minden	-	7,800
51. For building the church of Sprockhöfel	-	1,000
		11,800

In S I L E S I A.

	Crowns.
52. For building new houses for cottagers -	22,000
53. For erecting stone buildings in the cities	17,700
54. For covering the tops of houses in many } towns with tiles instead of wood - }	44,000
55. For building churches, school-houses, } and hospitals - - - - - }	35,500
56. For barracks - - - - -	10,000
57. For several bridges and highways - -	3,800
58. Premiums for manufacturers, and for } encouraging and supporting weavers }	17,000
	150,000

Independently of these sums expended extraordinary for the improvement of several of the King's provinces, which amount to 1,901,756 His Majesty hath also granted for the reparation of the great damages occasioned in the spring of the year 1785, by the overflowing of rivers, and inundations, in the March, in Silesia, and in Pomerania, for the assistance of persons who have suffered by these accidents, and for restoring the banks, the sum of - - - - - 1,000,000

So that the total of the sums that the King has granted extraordinary, and freely, in the course of the year, in all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, amount together to - - - - - 2,901,756

F I N I S.