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Joh. Gottfried Luder

Ideen
zur
Philosophie der Geschichte
der Menschheit

von
Johann Gottfried Herder.

— Quem te Deus esse
Jussit et humana qua parte locatus es in re
Difce — *Perf.*

Erster Theil

Riga und Leipzig,
bei Johann Friedrich Hartnoch.
1784

*Title Page of Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der
Menschheit, First Edition*

JOHANN GOTTFRIED v.
HERDER
||

Outlines of a Philosophy of the
HISTORY OF MAN

Translated from the German *Ideen zur Philosophie der
Geschichte der Menschheit* by T. Churchill

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HISTORY OF MAN

THE
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

EVERY one, who is acquainted with HERDER, must be aware of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of transfusing his spirit, his ' words that burn,' into another language. To have undertaken a task so arduous, may be deemed presumption in me; and no one can be more sensible than myself, that, in the execution of it, I am far, very far from having done what I wished, and what it would have been the height of my ambition to have accomplished.

Yet I did not engage in it without the encouragement of one, who can appreciate the merits of Herder; who happily unites a critical knowledge of the english language with that of the german; and to whose kindness I am indebted for the explanation of many passages, and the improvement of many expressions, as well as some notes distinguished by the signature F. I trust, therefore, I shall have afforded some gratification to the english reader, and added to our stock a valuable book: for surely all the merit of Herder, all the beauty and sublimity of his ideas, cannot be obscured by any translation.

For myself, at least, though laborious, it has been a pleasing toil: many moments of bodily pain and mental anxiety has it sweetly beguiled; and while it has made my breast glow with the fervour of virtuous sentiment, I have almost felt myself the inhabitant of another world. May others feel from the perusal what I have done from the performance; and then no one, I hope, will lay down the book, without being able to say, that he is a happier and a better man.

London, Nov. 15, 1799.

[v]

P R E F A C E. *Jan. 01. 1784.*

(1774)

WHEN I published ten years ago the little tract, entitled 'Another Philosophy of History for the Improvement of Mankind,' this title was by no means intended to proclaim, '*anch' io son pittore,*' 'I too am a painter.' It was meant rather as a Supplement to many Supplements of the present Century, and the subjoined motto, as an expression of humility; implying, that the author, far from exhibiting it as a complete philosophy of the history of our species, merely pointed out, amid the numerous beaten roads, that men are perpetually treading, one little foot-path, which had been neglected, and yet was probably worth exploring. The works quoted occasionally in the book were sufficient, to show the wellworn paths, from which the author wished to turn his steps; and thus his essay was intended for nothing more than a loose leaf, a supplement to supplements, as it's form likewise evinced.

The whole of the impression was soon sold, and I was encouraged to prepare a new edition; but it was impossible, that this should appear before the public in it's former state. I had observed, that some of the ideas contained in my tract had been introduced into other works, and applied in an extent of which I had never thought. It had never entered into my mind, by employing the few figurative expressions, the *childhood, infancy, manhood, and old age* of our species, the chain of which was applied, as it was applicable, only to a few nations, to point out a highway, on which the *history of cultivation*, to say nothing of the *philosophy of history at large*, could be traced with certainty. / Is there a people upon earth totally uncultivated? and how contracted must the scheme of Providence be, if every individual of the human species were to be formed to what *we* call cultivation, for which refined weakness would often be a more appropriate term? Nothing can be more vague, than the term itself; nothing more apt to lead us astray, than the application of it to whole nations and ages. Among a cultivated people, what is the number of those who deserve this name? in what is their preeminence to be placed? and how far does it contribute to their happiness? I speak of the happiness of individuals; for that the abstract being, the state, can be happy, when all the members that compose it suffer, is a contradiction, or rather a verbal illusion, evident to the slightest view. /

If the book, therefore, would in any degree answer its title, it must begin much deeper, and embrace a much wider compass of ideas. What is human happiness? how far does it exist in this world? considering the great difference of all the beings upon earth, and especially of man, how far is it to be found in every form of government, in every climate, in every change of circumstances, of age, and of the times? Is there any standard of these various states? and has Providence reckoned on the well-being of her creatures, in all these situations, as upon her ultimate and grand object? All these questions must be investigated, they must be unravelled through the wild whirl of ages and governments, before a general result for mankind at large can be produced. Thus we have here a wide field to traverse, and profound depths to explore. I had read almost every thing, that was written upon the subject; and from my youth every new book that appeared, relative to the history of man, and in which I hoped to find materials for my grand work, was to me a treasure discovered. I congratulated myself, that this philosophy became more in vogue of late years, and neglected no collateral assistance, that fortune threw into my way.

✓ An author, who produces a book, be it good or bad, in some measure exhibits his own heart to the world, provided this book contain thoughts, which, if he have not invented, and in our days there is little that is new left for invention, he has at least *found*, and made his own, nay which he has enjoyed for years as the property of his own heart and mind. He not only reveals the subjects, that have employed his thoughts at certain periods, the doubts, that have occurred to perplex him in his journey through life, and the solutions, with which he has removed them; but he reckons upon some minds in unison with his own, be they ever so few, to which these or similar ideas will prove of importance in the labyrinth of life; for what else could excite him to turn author, and disclose what occurs within his own breast to the eyes of a rude multitude? With those he converses unseen, and to those he imparts his sentiments; expecting from them in return their more valuable thoughts and instructions, when they have advanced beyond him. This invisible commerce of hearts and minds is the one great benefit of printing, without which it would be of as much injury as advantage to a literary nation. The author considered himself as in a circle of those, who actually felt themselves interested in the subject on which he wrote, and on which he was desirous of calling forth and participating their better thoughts. This is the most estimable merit of authorship; and a man of a good heart will feel much less pleasure from what he says, than from what he excites. He who reflects, how opportunely this or that book, or

merely this or that hint in a book, has sometimes fallen in his way; what pleasure it has afforded him, to perceive a distant mind, yet actively near to him, in his own, or in a better track; and how such a hint has often occupied him for years, and led him on still farther; will consider an author, who converses with him, and imparts to him his inmost thoughts, not as one who labours for hire, but as a friend, who confidentially discloses his yet imperfect ideas, that the more experienced reader may think in concert with him, and carry his crudities nearer to perfection.

On a subject like mine, *the history of mankind, the philosophy of their history*, such a disposition in the reader appears to me a prime and pleasing duty. He, who wrote it, was a man; and thou, who readest it, art a man also. He was liable to error, and has probably erred: thou hast acquired knowledge, which he did not and could not possess; use, therefore, what thou canst, accept his good will, and throw it not aside with reproach, but improve it, and carry it higher. With feeble hand he has laid a few foundation stones of a building, which will require ages to finish: happy, if, when these stones may be covered with earth, and he who laid them forgotten, the more beautiful edifice be but erected over them, or on some other spot! /

But I have imperceptibly wandered too far from the design, with which I set out, and which was, to give an account of the manner of my falling upon this subject, and returning to it again among other occupations and duties of a very different nature. At an early age, when the dawn of science appeared to my sight in all that beauty, which is greatly diminished at the noon of life, the thought frequently occurred to me, *whether, as every thing in the world has its philosophy and science, there must not also be a philosophy and science of what concerns us most nearly, of the history of mankind at large.* Every thing enforced this upon my mind; metaphysics and morals, physics and natural history, and lastly religion above all the rest. Shall he, who has ordered every thing in nature, said I to myself, by number, weight, and measure; who has so regulated according to these the essence of things, their forms and relations, their course and subsistence, that only one wisdom, goodness, and power prevail from the system of the universe to the grain of sand, from the power that supports worlds and suns to the texture of a spider's web; who has so wonderfully and divinely weighed every thing in our body, and in the faculties of our mind, that, when we attempt to reflect on the *only-wise* ever so remotely, we lose ourselves in an abyss of his purposes; shall that God depart from his wisdom and goodness in the general destination and disposition of our species, and act in these without a plan? Or can he have intended to keep us in ignorance of this, while

he has displayed to us so much of his eternal purposes in the inferior part of the creation, in which we are much less concerned? What are the human race upon the whole but a flock without a shepherd? In the words of the complaining prophet, are they not left to their own ways, *as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things that have no ruler over them?* Or is it unnecessary to them, to know this plan? This I am ^winclined to believe: for where is the man, who discerns only the little purpose of his own life? though he sees as far as he is to see, and knows sufficiently how to direct his own steps.

In the mean time perhaps this very ignorance serves as a pretext for great abuses. How many are there, who, because they perceive no plan, peremptorily deny the existence of one; or at least think of it with trembling dread, and doubting believe, believing doubt! They constrain themselves not to consider the human race as a nest of emmets, where the foot of a stranger, himself but a large emmet, crushes thousands, annihilates thousands in the midst of their little great undertakings, where lastly the two grand tyrants of the Earth, Time and Chance, sweep away the whole nest, destroying every trace of its existence, and leaving the empty place for some other industrious community, to be obliterated hereafter in its turn. Proud man refuses to contemplate his species as such vermin of the Earth, as a prey of all-destroying corruption: yet do not history and experience force this image upon his mind? What whole upon Earth is completed? What is a whole upon it? Is not Time ordained as well as Space? Are they not the twin offspring of one ruling power? That is full of wisdom; this, of apparent disorder: yet man is evidently formed to seek after order, to look beyond a point of time, and to build upon the past; for to this end is he furnished with memory and reflection. And does not this building of one age upon another render the whole of our species a deformed gigantic edifice, where one pulls down what another builds up, where what never should have been erected is left standing, and where in the course of time all becomes one heap of ruins, under which timid mortals dwell with a confidence proportionate to its fragility?

I will pursue no farther this chain of doubts, and the contradiction of man with himself, with his fellows, and with all the rest of the creation: suffice it, that I have sought for a *philosophy of history* wherever I could seek it.

Whether I have found it, let this work, but not its first volume*, decide. This contains only the basis, partly in a general view of the place of our abode,

* The original is in four volumes 8vo, which in the present translation are included in one; the volumes, containing five books each, were published separately, and this preface was prefixed to the first. T.

partly in an examination of the different organized beings, that enjoy with us the light of our Sun. No one, I hope, will think this course too long, or beginning at too remote a distance: for, as there can be no other, to read the fate of man in the book of the creation, it cannot be too carefully or too extensively considered. He, who requires mere metaphysical speculations, may have them in a shorter way: but these, unconnected with experience and the analogy of nature, appear to me aerial flights, that seldom lead to any end. The ways of God in nature, the intentions which the eternal has actually displayed to us in the chain of his works, form the sacred book, the letters of which I have endeavoured to spell, and shall still continue to do so, with skill inferior to that of a child it is true, but at least with honesty and zeal. Were I so happy as to impart only to one of my readers somewhat of that sweet impression of the eternal wisdom and goodness of the inscrutable creator in his operations, which I have felt with a confidence, for which I know not a name, this feeling of assurance would be a safe clew, with which in the subsequent part of the work we might venture into the labyrinth of human history. Every where the great analogies of nature have led me to religious truths, which, though I find it difficult, I must suppress, since I would not prematurely anticipate, but faithfully follow step by step that light, which every where beams upon me from the hidden presence of the creator in his works. It will be so much the greater satisfaction both to my reader and to myself, if, as we proceed on our way, this obscurely dawning light rise upon us at length with the splendour of an unclouded sun.

Let no one be misled, therefore, by my occasionally employing the term nature, personified. Nature is no real entity; but *God is all in his works*: this sacred name, however, which no creature, that comes under the cognizance of our senses, ought to pronounce without the profoundest reverence, I was desirous at least not to abuse by employing it too frequently, since I could not introduce it with sufficient solemnity on all occasions. Let him, to whose mind the term nature has been degraded, and rendered unmeaning, by many writers of the present day, conceive instead of it that *almighty power, goodness, and wisdom*, and mentally name that invisible being, for whom no language upon Earth can find an expression.

It is the same when I speak of the *organic powers of the creation*: I do not imagine, that they will be considered as *occult qualities*, since their operations are apparent to us, and I know not how to give them a more precise and determinate name. At some future period I intend, to enter more fully into

these and other subjects, at which I must here give no more than a cursory glance.

In the mean time I rejoice, that this infantile attempt has been made in an age, when the hands of masters have collected materials, and laboured in so many particular sciences and branches of knowledge, to which it was necessary for me to have recourse. These, I am assured, will not despise the exoteric attempts of one uninitiated in their arts, but improve them; for I have constantly observed, that, the more real and firmly grounded a science is, so much the less empty altercation occurs among them, who are attached to it and cultivate it. Verbal disputes are left to those, who are learned only in words. Most parts of my book show, that a philosophy of the history of man cannot yet be written, though it will probably before the end of this chiliad, if not in the present century.

Thus, great being, invisible supreme disposer of our race, I lay at thy feet the most imperfect work, that mortal ever wrote, in which he has ventured to trace and follow thy steps. Its leaves may decay, and its characters vanish; forms after forms, too, in which I have discerned traces of thee, and endeavoured to exhibit them to my brethren, may moulder into dust; but thy purposes will remain, and thou wilt gradually unfold them to thy creatures, and exhibit them in nobler forms. Happy, if then these leaves shall be swallowed up in the stream of oblivion, and in their stead clearer ideas rise in the mind of man.

HERDER.

Weimar, April 23, 1784.

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Outlines of a Philosophy of the
HISTORY OF MAN

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

B O O K I.

CHAPTER I.

Our Earth is a Star among Stars.

IF our philosophy of the history of man would in any measure deserve that name, it must begin from Heaven. For as our place of abode, the Earth, is of itself nothing, but derives it's figure and constitution, it's faculty of forming organized beings, and preserving them when formed, from those heavenly powers, that pervade the whole universe; we must first consider it not singly by itself, but as a member of that system of worlds, in which it is placed. It is bound by eternal invisible bonds to it's centre, the Sun; from which it derives light, heat, life, and vigour. Without this Sun, we can no more conceive our planetary system, than a circle without a centre. With it, and that beneficial power of attraction, with which the eternal Being has endued it and all matter, we perceive the planets formed in it's domain, according to simple, beautiful, and masterly laws, jocundly and incessantly revolving on their axes, and round one common centre, in spaces proportionate to their magnitudes and densities; nay, by the same laws round some of them moons are formed to revolve. Nothing so much exalts the mind, as this contemplation of the grand structure of the universe; and never, perhaps, did human thought attempt so bold a flight, and in part with success, as when in Copernicus, Kepler, Newton, Huygens, and Kant*, it conceived and confirmed the simple, eternal, and perfect laws of the formation and motion of the planets.

* Kant's *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*, 'General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens,' Koenigsb. and Leipf. 1755; a work much less known, than it deserves. Lambert has expressed some similar ideas in his

Cosmological Letters, without being acquainted with the book; and Bode, in his *Kenntniß des Himmels*, 'Knowledge of the Heavens,' has introduced some of Kant's conjectures with respectful mention.

It is Hemsterhuis, if I remember right, who laments, that this sublime system has by no means had such an effect on the circle of our ideas, as it would have had on the minds of mankind in general, had it been established with mathematical accuracy in the times of the Greeks. We, for the most part, content ourselves with viewing the Earth as a grain of sand moving in that great abyss, where the Earth fulfils her course round the Sun, this Sun with thousands more round their common centre, and probably yet many other such systems of suns in separate spaces of the heavens; till at length both the understanding and the imagination are lost in this sea of immensity and eternal magnitude, and find neither exit nor end.

But this barren astonishment, in which we are absorbed, is surely not to be reckoned the noblest or most durable effect. To Nature, in herself all-sufficient, the grain of sand is not of less value than an immeasurable whole: she determines the points of space and of existence, where worlds shall be formed; and in each of these points she as wholly is, with the indivisible fulness of her power, wisdom, and goodness, as though no other point of creation, no other earthly atom existed. When I open the great book of the universe, and see before me that immense palace, which the Deity alone can fill in every part; I reason as closely as I can from the whole to its parts, and from its parts to the whole. It was one and the same power, that created the resplendent Sun, and preserves this grain of sand in its orbit; the same power, that caused a galaxy of suns to revolve probably round the Dog-star, and that acts on this earthly ball in the laws of gravitation. When I perceive, that the place occupied by our Earth in this temple of suns, the path described by it in its course, its magnitude, its mass, and every thing thereon depending, are determined by laws, that act throughout infinity: I must not only be satisfied with the place allotted me, and rejoice, that I am so enabled to perform my part in the harmonious choir of beings innumerable, unless I would madly revolt against omnipotence; but it will be my noblest occupation, to inquire what in this allotted place I ought to be, and what in all probability I can be in it alone.

If, in what seems to me the most limited and inconsistent, I find not only traces of the great creative power, but an evident connexion of the minutest things with the plan of the creator in immensity; the best quality of my reason, striving to imitate God, will be to pursue this plan, and adapt itself to the divine mind. On the Earth therefore would I not seek an angel of Heaven, a creature mine eye has never seen; but I would find on it inhabitants of the Earth, human beings, and would with all satisfaction receive what our great

mother produces, supports, nourishes, endures, and finally receives into her bosom with affection. Other Earths, her sisters, may probably boast and enjoy superiour creatures: suffice it there lives on them, what on them can live. My eye is framed to support the beams of the Sun at this distance, and no other; my ear, for this atmosphere; my body, for a globe of this density; all my senses, from, and for, the organization of this Earth: to which also the actions of my mental faculties are adapted. Thus the whole space and sphere of action of my species is as precisely determined and prescribed, as the mass and course of the Earth, on which my life is to be spent: and thence too in many languages man derives his name from his parent Earth.

The greater the sphere of harmony, goodness, and wisdom, to which my parent belongs; the more sublime and fixed the laws, on which her being, and that of all other worlds, depend; the more I perceive, that in them all proceeds from one, and one subserves all; the more firmly too find I my fate enchained, not to the dust of this Earth, but to the invisible laws by which this Earth is governed. The power, which thinks and acts in me, is, from its nature, as eternal as that, which holds together the Sun and the stars: its organs may wear out, and the sphere of its action may change, as earths wear away, and stars change their places; but the laws, through which it is where it is, and will again come in other forms, never alter. Its nature is as eternal as the mind of God; and the foundations of my being (not of my corporeal frame) are as fixed as the pillars of the universe. For all being is alike an indivisible idea; in the greatest, as well as in the least, founded on the same laws. Thus the structure of the universe confirms the eternity of the core of my being, of my intrinsic life. Wherever or whatever I may be, I shall be, as I now am, a power in the universal system of powers, a being in the inconceivable harmony of some world of God.

CHAPTER II.

Our Earth is one of the middle Planets.

THE Earth has two planets, Mercury and Venus, below it; above it are Mars, perhaps another concealed from us beyond it, Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, and whatever others there may be, before the regular sphere of action of the Sun is lost, and the eccentric orbit of the last approaches the wild ellipses of the comets. As in place, so in magnitude, and in the proportion and duration of its revolution on its own axis and round the Sun, it is a being of a

middle kind; each extreme, the greatest and the least, the swiftest and the slowest, are remote from it on either side. Convenient as the situation of our Earth is, before that of other planets, for an astronomical view of the whole *, yet it would be highly gratifying, could we have a nearer inspection but of a few of the members of this magnificent family of stars. A journey through Jupiter, Venus, or merely our own moon, would give us such an insight into the formation of our Earth, which sprung from the same laws, into the relation the people of our Earth bear to the organized beings of other worlds, and, perhaps, into our future destination; that from the construction of two or three links, we might more boldly infer the progress of the whole chain.

But Nature, by whom are fixed limits we are not to pass, has denied us this near inspection. We see the Moon, and contemplate its vast mountains and caverns; we behold Jupiter, his eccentric revolutions, and his belts; we observe the ring of Saturn, the ruddy light of Mars, the softer beams of Venus; and thence we boldly conjecture, what right or wrong we fancy we perceive. In the distances of the planets we observe proportion; and we have formed probable conclusions of the densities of their masses, with which we have sought to make their movements and their revolutions accord. All this, however, we have done, as mathematicians merely, not as natural philosophers; for we have no middle term of comparison between them and our Earth. The proportion of their magnitudes, rotations, orbits, &c. to their solar distance, has not yet pointed out any formula capable of explaining their natures from one and the same law of cosmogony: still less do we know how far each planet is advanced in its formation; and least of all have we any conception of the organization and circumstances of its inhabitants. The dreams of Kircher and Swedenborg, the pleasantries of Fontenelle, the conjectures of Huygens, Lambert, and Kant, each marked with its peculiar features, prove, that of these we can know nothing, we must know nothing. Whether we make our scale ascending or descending; whether we place the more perfect beings near the Sun, or remote from it; all is but a dream, which our inability to enter into the varieties of the planets will step by step destroy, and ultimately reduce us to this conclusion; that every where, as here, simplicity and variety prevail; but that the limits of our understanding, and our point of view, afford us no measure, by which to estimate their advancement or retrogression. We are not in the centre, but in the throng; like other worlds we float with the stream, and have no standard of comparison.

If, however, we venture, from our station to form a scale ascending to the

* Kästner's Eulogy of Astronomy, in the *Hamb. Magazin*. vol i, p. 206, and following.

Sun, the source of light and life in our creation, and descending from it; to our Earth will belong the ambiguous golden lot of mediocrity, which for our consolation at least we may consider as a happy mean. While Mercury revolves round his axis, and experiences the vicissitude of day and night, in about six hours; completes his year in eighty-eight days; and is six times as strongly enlightened by the Sun as our Earth: while Jupiter, on the other hand, takes eleven years and three hundred and thirteen days, to accomplish his extensive course round the Sun, though his day and night take up less than ten hours: while old Saturn, to whom the solar light is a hundred times weaker, scarcely performs his journey round the Sun in thirty years, yet revolves on his axis in about seven hours: we middle planets, Mars, Venus, and the Earth, are of a middle nature. Our days vary little from each other, though they are as different from those of the rest, as our years are in an opposite proportion. The day of Venus is about twenty-four hours long; that of Mars, not twenty-five. The year of the former consists of two hundred and twenty four days; that of the latter, of six hundred and eighty seven, though he is three times and a half less than the Earth, and more than half as far again from the Sun. When we proceed to the rest, the proportions of their magnitudes, revolutions, and distances, differ widely from each other.

Thus Nature has placed us on one of the three middle planets; in which, as a mean degree and more moderate proportion with respect to time and space apparently prevail, a middle order of beings may be supposed to dwell. In us the relation of matter to mind is probably proportionate to the length of our days and nights. The celerity of our thoughts is probably as the revolutions of our planet round itself, and round the Sun, to those of other stars: as our senses are evidently adapted to the organization of our Earth. On each side, we may presume, there are the greatest divergencies. So long then as we live on this Earth, let us reckon only on the mean earthly understanding, and still more equivocal human virtues. Could we behold the Sun with the eyes of Mercury, and fly on his wings: were the slow pace, and ample orbit of Saturn, or Jupiter, given us, with the same revolutionary swiftness: or, capable of enduring the utmost extremes of heat and cold, could we ride on the hair of a comet through the wide regions of Heaven: we might speak of other minds and powers, than those proportioned to the middle course of humankind. But now, being where and what we are, let us remain true to this middle course; it is probably adapted with precision to the term of our existence.

It must fire the soul of the most indolent mortal, to conceive himself in any way enjoying the riches of creative nature now denied us: to imagine, that probably, after we have attained the summit of the organization of our planet, it may be our lot, it may be the progress of our fate, to traverse others of the stars; or that it may be our ultimate destination, to associate with all the perfected creatures of so many and so various kindred worlds. As our thoughts and faculties evidently spring only from our earthly organization, and strive to change and improve themselves, till they have attained all the purity and perfection, that our creation can impart; if we may presume to reason from analogy, the same must take place in other stars: and who can conceive the glorious harmony, when beings so variously formed all tend to one point*, and impart to each other their experiences and perceptions? Our understanding is a terrestrial understanding, gradually fashioned by the things around us, that make themselves perceptible to our senses: so is it also with the impulses and propensities of our hearts: to another world their external helps and obstacles are in all likelihood unknown. But will their results also be unknown? Certainly not! all the radii tend to the centre. The pure understanding must be every where understanding, from whatever sensible objects it has been deduced: the energies of the heart will every where have the same capacity, that is virtue, on whatever objects they may have been exercised. Thus here, too, probably the greatest variety tends to uniformity, and all-comprehensive nature will have one point, in which the noblest exertions of so many beautiful creatures unite, and the flowers of all worlds are collected into one garden. Why should not that, which is physically united, be spiritually and morally united too? Since spirit and morals are also physical, and obey, only in a superior sphere, the same laws, all of which ultimately depend on the solar system. Might I be permitted, to compare the general constitutions of the several planets, in respect to their organization and the lives of their inhabitants, with the various colours of a ray of light, or the various notes of the gamut: I would say, that probably the light of the one Sun of truth and goodness strikes differently on each planet. But while one Sun illumines them all, and they all revolve in one plane of creation; it is to be hoped, they will all approach nearer and nearer to perfection, each in his own way, till at length, after various changes they

* Of the sun, as a probably habitable body, Berlin, *Beschäftig. der Berlinischen Gesellschaft* see Bode's Thoughts on the Nature of the Sun, *Naturforschender Freunde*, vol. ii, p. 225. in the Transactions of the Physical Society of

all unite in one school of the good and beautiful. At present let us be only men; that is, one colour, one note, in the harmony of our stars. If the light we enjoy may be compared to the mild green colour, let us not consider ourselves as the pure light of the Sun, and take our understandings and wills for the supports of the universe: for we, with this our Earth, and every thing upon it, evidently form but a small fragment of the great whole.

CHAPTER III.

Our Earth has undergone many Revolutions ere it became what it now is.

THE truth of this proposition is evident, from what appears on the surface of the Globe, and just beneath it; farther than which man has not yet penetrated. Water has overflowed it, and formed fossile strata, mountains, and valleys: fire has raged, burst the shell of the Globe, raised up mountains, and thrown out the melted entrails of the Earth: air, enclosed in the Earth, has excavated it, and assisted the eruption of the powerful element of fire: winds have exercised their fury on it's surface, and a still more powerful cause has changed it's zones. Much of this has happened in times, when organized and living beings already existed: and indeed in many places more than once, at longer or shorter intervals; as petrified animals and plants almost every where, at the greatest heights, and at extreme depths, sufficiently prove.

Many of these revolutions presume an Earth already formed, and may be deemed therefore, with probability, accidental: others appear essential to the Earth, and were the original causes of it's form. Of neither class of them, between which it is not easy to draw the line, have we yet a complete theory. We have little reason indeed to expect a theory of those, which I have termed accidental; for they are as it were of an historical nature, and may depend on too many trifling local causes: but of the essential and primitive revolutions of our Earth I could wish the theory might be discovered before I die. I even hope it will: for though the observations made in different parts of the Globe are far from being sufficiently accurate and comprehensive; still the principles established, and remarks made by natural philosophers, and the experiments of chemists and mineralogists, seem to me to approach the point, where some fortunate ken may unite different sciences, and elucidate one by another. Buffon, with his bold hypotheses, is certainly but the Des-Cartes of this branch of knowledge, whom soon a Kepler or a Newton will outstrip and confute by

unfophisticated concordant facts. The new discoveries, that have been made respecting heat, light, fire, and their various effects on the composition, resolution, and constituent parts of terrestrial substances; the simple principles, to which the electric matter, and in some measure the magnetic, are reduced; appear to me, if not near approximations, at least considerable advances, which will in time enable some happy genius, by the aid of some connecting idea, to explain our geogony on principles as simple as those, to which Kepler and Newton have reduced the solar system. How great a step would it be, could many powers of nature, hitherto deemed occult qualities, be thus referred to physical properties, the subjects of demonstration!

Be this as it may, still it is undeniable, that here too Nature pursues her grand course, and produces the greatest variety from an infinitely progressive simplicity. Before our air, our water, our earth, could be produced, various reciprocally dissolving and precipitating *flamina* were necessary: and how many solutions and conversions of one into another do the multifarious species of earths, stones, and crystallizations, and of organization in shells, plants, animals, and, lastly, in man, presuppose! as Nature still every where produces all things from the finest and most minute; and, while she reckons not by our estimation of time, imparts the most copious abundance with the strictest regard to economy; this seems, even according to the Mosaic tradition, to have been her course, when she laid the first foundations of the creation, or rather of the formation and evolution of creatures. The mass of active powers and elements, from which the Earth was formed, contained, probably, as a chaos, all that was to be, and could be, on it. At stated periods, air, fire, water, the earth, arose from these spiritual and material *flamina*. Various combinations of water, air, and light, must have taken place, before the seeds of the first vegetable organization, of moss perhaps, could have appeared. Many plants must have sprung up and died, before organized animals were produced; and among these, insects and birds, aquatic and nocturnal animals, must have preceded the more perfect animals of the land and the day; till finally, to crown the organization of our Earth, Man, the MICROCOSM, arose. He, the son of all the elements and beings, their choicest summary and the flower of the creation, could not but be the last darling child of Nature; whose formation and reception various evolutions and changes must have preceded.

Still it was natural, that he should see many; for as Nature never rests from her work, and yet less neglects or postpones it in favour of a fondling; the drying up and fashioning of the Earth, internal flame, external floods, and all their consequences, must have occurred often, for a long time after man dwelt

on it's surface. Even our ancient written traditions speak of such revolutions ; and we shall hereafter see the powerful effects, these fearful phenomena of old times have had on almost the whole of the human race. Such stupendous commotions are now more rare, as the Earth is perfected, or rather grown old : but never can we, or our habitation, be totally exempt from them. Very unlike the conduct of a philosopher was the complaint made by Voltaire at the catastrophe of Lisbon, on account of which he almost blasphemously arraigned the Deity himself. Are not we ourselves, and all that belong to us, including even our habitation the Earth, indebted to the elements ? And when these, agreeably to the ever-acting laws of nature, periodically rouse and claim their own ; when fire and water, air and wind, which have rendered our Earth habitable and fruitful, proceed on their course and destroy it ; when the Sun, after having long warmed us with paternal care, fostered all living beings, and linked them to his cheering visage with golden bands, ultimately attracts into his fiery bosom the superannuated powers of the Earth, which she can no longer renovate and uphold ; what more happens, than the eternal laws of wisdom and order require ? In a system of changeable things, if there be progress, there must be destruction : apparent destruction, that is ; or a change of figures and forms. But this never affects the interior of nature, which, exalted above all destruction, continually rises as a phoenix from it's ashes, and blooms with youthful vigour. The formation of this our abode, and all the substances it can produce, must have already prepared us for the frailty and mutability of the history of man ; and the more closely we inspect it, the more clearly do these unfold themselves to our perception.

CHAPTER IV.

Our Earth is an orb, which revolves round it's own axis, and in an oblique direction towards the Sun.

As a sphere is the most perfect figure, containing the greatest surface with the least mass, and including the greatest variety in the most beautiful simplicity ; our Earth, and all the planets and suns, have been projected by the hand of Nature as orbicular bodies, simple, yet full ; abundant, without waste. The multifarious variety, that actually exists on our Earth, is astonishing ; but still more astonishing is the unity, that pervades this inconceivable variety. It is a mark of the profound northern barbarity, in which we educate our children,

that we give them not from their infancy a deep impresson of this beauty, this uniformity and variety of our Earth. May my book go a little way toward the display of this grand prospect, which struck me forcibly the moment I began to think for myself, and first launched me on the wide ocean of free inquiry. It will be sacred to me as long as I behold the circumambient Heaven above me, and this all-including self-encircling Earth beneath my feet.

It is inconceivable how men could so long see the shadow of their Earth in the Moon, without being deeply sensible, that every thing on it's circumference is wheel, is change. Who, that had ever seriously considered this figure, would have gone about to have converted a whole world to a verbal faith in philosophy or religion, or to murder men for it with blind but holy zeal? Every thing on our Earth is the variation of a sphere; no point resembles another, neither hemisphere is like the other; east and west are as opposite as north and south. It shows a narrowness of mind, to consider this variation merely with respect to latitude, because, perhaps, with regard to longitude it is less evident, and to divide the history of man into climates, according to an old ptolomean system. To the ancients the Earth was less known; at present we are better acquainted with it, than to take a general view and estimation of it merely by north and south parallels.

On the Earth all is change; it admits no sections, none of the necessitous divisions of a globe or a chart. While the ball revolves, heads revolve on it as climates, manners and religions as dispositions and garments. In it there is unspeakable wisdom: not that every thing is so multifarious, but that every thing on this round ball is so in unison. In this law: to effect many things in one, and to combine the greatest variety with an unconstrained uniformity: consists the height of beauty.

Nature has fastened a gentle weight to our feet, to give us this uniformity and stability: in the material world it is called gravity, in the immaterial indolence. As every thing presses toward a centre, and nothing can leave this World, for it depends not on our will, even whether we shall live and die on it, or not; so Nature draws our minds from infancy with strong chains, each to it's own, that is to it's Earth; for what have we at bottom, that is properly our own, but this? Every one loves his country, his manners, his language, his wife, his children; not because they are the best in the World, but because they are absolutely his own, and he loves himself and his own labours in them. Thus men accustom themselves to the most indifferent food, the hardest way of life, the rudest manners of the rudest climate, and find in them pleasure and content. Even the birds of passage build their nests in the places where they

were born ; and the wildest country has often the most attractive ties for the race of men, by which it is inhabited.

Ask we then, where is the country of man ? where the central point of the Earth ? Every where, the answer may be : here, where thou standest : be it near the icy pole, or directly under the burning Sun of the line. Wherever men can live, and they can live almost every where, there live men. As the great parent of all could not produce an eternal uniformity on our Earth ; nothing remained, but to create the utmost variety, and form man of proper materials to endure it. Hereafter we shall perceive a beautiful scale, according to which, as the organization of a creature is more elaborate, it's capacity for supporting various states, and adapting itself to each, is increased. Of all these changeable, modifiable, adaptable creatures, man is the most adaptable : the whole Earth is made for him ; he for the whole Earth.

If, then, we would philosophise on the history of our species, let us reject, as far as possible, all narrow modes of thinking, taken from the constitution of one region of the Earth, the doctrines of a single school. Let us consider as the purpose of Nature, not what man is with us, or what, according to the notions of some dreamer, he ought to be ; but what he is on the Earth in general, and at the same time in every region in particular ; or to what the copious variety of circumstances in the hand of Nature can any where fashion him. We will not seek for him any favourite form, any favourite region ; wherever he is, he is the lord and servant of Nature ; her most beloved child, and at the same time perhaps her most rigidly subjugated slave. Advantages and disadvantages, evils and diseases, as well as new kinds of enjoyment and the fullness of bliss, every where await him ; and as the die turns up these circumstances and conditions, so is he.

By an easy mean, though to us inexplicable, Nature has not only promoted this variety of creatures upon the Earth, but has fixed and limited it's extent. This mean is the obliquity of the Earth's axis to the Sun's equator : which arises not from the laws of rotatory motion ; for Jupiter has it not, his axis standing perpendicular to his orbit ; Mars has it but in a small degree ; while Venus again has it very acute ; and Saturn, with his ring and his moons, lies sidelong to the Sun. What an infinite variety of seasons and solar influences is thus occasioned in our system ! Here too our Earth is a favoured child, a middle associate : the angle in which she is inclined is not yet four-and-twenty degrees. Whether this were always so, is not for us at present to inquire ; suffice it, that so it now is. This unnatural, or at least to us inexplicable angle, is become

proper to it, and has not changed for some thousands of years * ; thus it seems necessary to what the Earth, and the human species upon it, must now be. For this obliquity of the ecliptic constitutes changeable zones, which render the whole Earth habitable, from the pole to the equator, and from the equator to the pole. The Earth must have a regular inclination, that regions, which would otherwise lie in cimmerian cold and darkness, may behold the beams of the Sun, and be fitted for organization. As the history of the Earth from the remotest times informs us, that the difference of the zones has had considerable influence on all the revolutions of the human mind and its operations ; for neither from the torrid nor the frigid zones have those effects ever been produced, to which the temperate zones have given birth : we see with what fine traits the finger of omnipotence has described and encircled all the changes and shades on the Globe. Had the Earth's inclination to the Sun differed but a little from what it is, every thing on it would have been different.

Thus here, too, suitable variety is the law of the plastic art of the Creator of the World. It was not sufficient for him, that the Earth was divided into light and shade, and human life into day and night : the year of our existence also was to vary, and only a few days were left for us in its autumn and winter. Hence were determined the length or shortness of human life, the measure of our faculties, the revolutions of our different ages, the changes of our occupations, phenomena, and thoughts, the nullity or duration of our resolves and acts : for all these, we shall find, are ultimately connected with the simple law of the vicissitude of days and seasons. Did man live longer, were the powers, the end, the enjoyment, of his life, less changeable and diffused, did not Nature urge him so periodically with all the phenomena of the seasons ; man's empire on the Earth would not be so extensive ; and still less would the complicated scenes, that history now displays, be produced ; but in a more circumscribed habitation, our vital powers would probably operate more intimately, energetically, and firmly. At present the words of the Preacher are the symbol of our Earth : There is a time for all things ; winter and summer, spring and fall, youth and age, labour and rest. Under our oblique sun every action of man resembles the revolutions of the seasons.

* From the observations of different astronomers, it has been inferred, that the obliquity of the ecliptic is regularly decreasing, at least since

the time of Ptolemy, at the rate of about two minutes and half of a degree in a century. T.

CHAPTER V.

Our Earth is enveloped with an atmosphere, and is in conflict with several of the celestial bodies.

WE are of such a complicated structure, a summary of almost every species of organization on the Earth, the primitive constituent parts of which were all probably precipitated from the ether, and passed from the invisible to the visible world, that we are incapable of breathing pure air. When our Earth first began to be, the air, in all likelihood, was the magazine, that contained the powers and materials, which formed it. And is it not so still? How many things, heretofore unknown, have been discovered of late years, all of which act through the medium of the air! The electric matter, and the magnetic fluid; phlogiston, and the acidifying principle; cold-engendering salts, and, perhaps, the particles of light, which the Sun may serve only to set in motion; all these are powerful instruments of Nature's operations on the Earth; and how many more yet remain to be discovered! The air fecundates and dissolves; it absorbs, ferments, and precipitates. Thus it seems to be the mother of terrestrial creatures, as well as of the Earth itself; the general vehicle of things, which it receives into its bosom, and again looses from its embrace.

It needs not to be demonstrated, that the influence of the atmosphere cooperates in the most spiritual determinations of all the creatures upon Earth: with the Sun it shares the government of this globe, which it formerly created. What an universal difference would have taken place, had our air possessed a different degree of elasticity and gravity, of purity and density; had it precipitated another water, another earth; and had it otherwise influenced the organization of bodies! Undoubtedly this is the case with other planets, formed in other regions of the air: and thence all the notions we can form of their substances and phenomena from those of our Earth must be altogether uncertain. Prometheus was creator here; he formed bodies from soft precipitated clay, and drew from above as many sparks of light and intellectual power, as were attainable at this distance from the Sun, and in a mass of this particular specific gravity.

The difference between men too, as well as between all the other productions of the terrestrial globe, must be regulated by the specific difference of the medium, in which, as in the organ of the deity, we live. This respects not merely the division of the zones according to heat and cold, or merely the lightness or

weight of the atmosphere, that presses on us; but infinitely more the various active immaterial powers, that operate in it, nay, probably constitute all its qualities and phenomena. How the electric and magnetic streams flow round our Earth; what vapours and exhalations ascend in this place or in that; whether they tend; into what they are converted; what organizations they produce; how long they sustain them; and how they dissolve them; all evidently affect the constitution and history of every race of men: for man, like every thing else, is a nursling of the air, and in the whole circle of his existence is the brother of all the organized beings upon Earth.

It seems to me, we should approach a new world of knowledge, if the observations, which Boyle, Boerhaave, Hales, S'Gravesande, Franklin, Priestley, Black, Crawford, Wilson, Achard, and others, have made on heat and cold, on electricity, and on the different species of air, with other chemical principles; and if their influence in the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, and on men and animals, were collected into one natural system. If in time these observations should become as multifarious and general, as the increasing knowledge of various regions and productions of the Earth would allow, till the growing study of nature should establish as it were an universally diffused free academy, which should observe, with divided attention, but with one regard to truth, certainty, utility, and beauty, the influence of these principles in this place and that, on one subject and another; we should ultimately obtain a geographical aerology, and see this great hothouse of Nature operating a thousand changes by the same fundamental laws. Thence would the formation of man, in body and in mind, be explained to us; and we should be enabled to finish the picture, of which we have at present but a few, though clear, outlines.

But the Earth is not alone in the universe: other celestial beings, therefore, operate on its atmosphere, on this great repository of active powers. That globe of eternal fire, the Sun, governs it with his beams. The Moon, that ponderous gravitative body, that probably hangs even within its atmosphere, presses on it at one time with her cold and dark surface, at another with her face warmed by the Sun. Now she is before, then behind it: at one time she is nearer the Sun, at another farther off. Other celestial bodies approach the Earth, press on its orbit, and modify its powers. The whole system of the heavens is a strife of similar or dissimilar orbs, propelled with great force toward each other; and nothing but the one great idea of omnipotence alone could balance these propelling powers, and uphold them in the conflict. Here too, in the wide labyrinth of contending powers, has the human understanding found a clew, and almost performed miracles; guided principally by the irregular Moon, propelled

by two opposite forces, and fortunately placed so near us. Were all these observations, and their results, once to be applied to our aerial orb, as they have already been to the ebb and flow of our ocean; were the industry of many years to proceed, in various places of the Earth, assisted by delicate instruments, part of which are already invented, to reduce to order, and connect in one whole, the revolutions of this celestial sea, according to time and place; I am of opinion, *astrology* would appear anew among our sciences in the most respectable and useful form; and what Toaldo began, what De Luc, Lambert, Mayer, Beckmann, and others, have promoted by the establishment of principles or collateral helps, probably a Gatterer would complete, and assuredly with a comprehensive view of geography and the history of man.

Be this as it may, we are, and we grow, we wander and toil, under or in a sea of celestial powers, part of which we have observed, and of part of which we have formed conjectures. Since air and weather have so much power over us, and the whole Earth; in all likelihood it was here an electrical spark, that shot more pure into this human being; there a portion of inflammable matter, more forcibly compressed into that; here a mass of mere coldness and serenity; there a soft, mollifying, diffusive essence; that determined and produced the greatest epochs and revolutions of humankind. The omnipresent eye, under which this clay also is fashioned according to eternal laws, can alone point out to every elementary atom, every emitted spark, every ethereal ray, in this world of physical powers, its place, its time, and its sphere of action, to mix and qualify it with opposite powers.

CHAPTER VI.

The planet we inhabit is an Earth of mountains, rising above the surface of the waters.

THIS is confirmed by a simple inspection of a map of the World, which exhibits chains of mountains, not merely traversing the dry land, but evidently appearing to constitute the skeleton, on which the land was formed. In America the mountains run along the western coast through the isthmus. They proceed obliquely, as does the land: where they penetrate more interiorly, the land grows wider, till they are lost in the unknown regions of New-Mexico. It is likely, that here they not only proceed higher up to mount Elias, but are also laterally connected with others, particularly the Blue Mountains, as in South America, where the

land is broader, and the mountains run northward and eastward! Thus America, even according to it's figure, is a stripe of earth appended to it's mountains, and formed more level, or more steep, according to their declivity.

The other three quarters of the Globe present a more complicated aspect, as their great outline forms in fact but one whole; yet it requires no great exertion to perceive, that the protuberant spine of Asia is the stem of the mountains, that spread over that quarter of the Globe, over Europe, and probably over Africa, or at least it's superiour part. Atlas is but a continuation of the asiatic mountains, acquiring a greater height in the middle of the country, and in all likelihood connecting itself with the Mountains of the Moon, by means of the chains of mountains near the Nile. Whether these Mountains of the Moon be sufficiently high and broad, to be deemed actually one of the spines of the Earth, futurity must determine. The extent of the country, and some imperfect accounts, give room for such a conjecture; but the proportionate paucity and smallness of those rivers of this quarter of the Globe, with which we are acquainted, prevent us from determining them to be a true girdle of the Earth, as the Ural of Asia, or the Cordilleras of America. But it is enough for our purpose, that in these regions also the land is evidently fashioned by the mountains. It is every where extended parallel to these; and wherever the mountains spread and branch out, there also spreads the land. This remark is equally valid in the promontory, the island, and the peninsula: the land stretches out it's arms and limbs, wherever the skeleton of mountains is stretched out; it is, therefore, only a diversified mass, formed on this skeleton in various ranges and layers, that ultimately became habitable.

Thus the production of the first mountains determined how the Earth should exist as dry land. They seem as it were the ancient nuclei, or buttresses, of the Earth, on which the air and water only deposited their burdens, till at length a place for vegetable organization was laid down, and spread out. These most ancient chains of mountains are not capable of being explained by the rotation of the Globe: they are not in the region of the equator, where the orbicular motion is most powerful; they are not even parallel to it; indeed the american chain passes directly across the equator. From these mathematical circles, therefore, we can seek no light; particularly as the loftiest mountains and chains of mountains, compared with the moving mass of the Globe, are reduced to an insignificant nothing. I deem it, therefore, not fit, to substitute an analogy with the equator and meridians in the names of chains of mountains, as there is no true connexion between them, and it may tend to introduce erroneous ideas. It is from their original form, generation, and extension, from their

height and breadth, in short from a *physical law of Nature*, that their formation, and with it the formation of the firm land, is to be explained. But whether such a physical law of Nature be discoverable; whether they be as rays from one centre, as branches from one stem, or as angular horseshoes; and what rule of formation they had, when they protuberated as bare mountains, as the skeleton of the Earth; are important questions, that remain to be solved, and of which I much wish to see a satisfactory solution. I speak not here of hills formed by alluvion, but of the first fundamental and primitive mountains of the Earth.

Suffice it, that the land stretched itself out, just as the mountains arose. Asia was first habitable, as it possessed the highest and broadest chains of mountains, and on the ridge a plain, which the sea never reached. Here too, in all likelihood, was, in some happy valley, at the foot of the embosoming mountains, the first select habitation of man. Thence his progeny extended southwards in the pleasant and fertile plains, that bordered the streams; while northwards harder races were formed, who roved between the rivers and mountains, and in course of time spread themselves westward even as far as Europe. Troop followed troop; one people pressed forward another; till at length they arrived at a sea, our Baltic, over which part crossed, while another part turned off, and occupied the south of Europe. But other colonies, other troops of people, proceeding from Asia southwards, had already settled themselves here; and hence, by different and sometimes opposite streams of men, this corner of the Earth was peopled so thickly as we now see it. At length more than one people, being hardly pressed, retired into the mountains, and relinquished the plains and open country to their conquerors: hence, almost throughout the whole World, we meet with the most ancient remains of nations and languages, either on mountains, or in the nooks and corners of the land. There is scarce an island, scarce a country, where the plains are not occupied by a foreign people of more recent date, while the more ancient and uncultivated nation has concealed itself among the hills. From these hills, on which they have retained their ruder way of life, they have often, in later times, effected revolutions, involving the inhabitants of the plains to a greater or less extent. India, Persia, China, and even the western countries of Asia, nay Europe itself, protected as it has been by its arts and the division of its lands, have more than once felt the scourge of overwhelming armies descending from the mountains: and what has happened on the great stage of the World has been no less frequent in smaller circles. The mahrattas in the south of Asia, the wild mountaineers in many different islands, and here and there in Europe the remains of the ancient brave inhabitants of the hilly countries, have made various incursions on the plains, and, when they could not

be conquerors, have become robbers. In short, the great mountainous ridges of the Earth seem, as they were the first habitation of the human race, to be the grand repositories of the instruments of it's revolutions and conservation. As they distribute water to the Earth, so also distribute they people: as from them fountains arise, so springs from them the spirit of bravery and freedom, when the gentler plains are sunk beneath the yoke of laws, arts, and vices. The heights of Asia are even now the rendezvous of people for the most part uncultivated: and who can tell what parts they are placed there to overwhelm and renovate in future ages?

Of Africa we know too little, to form a judgment of the pressure and propulsion of it's people. The higher countries, as appears from the races that inhabit them, were certainly peopled from Asia; and Egypt probably obtained it's cultivation from the same quarter, not from the higher ridges of it's own firm land. It has been overrun, however, by the Ethiopians; and on many of it's coasts, beyond which we know nothing of the country, we hear of irruptions of the savage people of the mountainous parts. The Gagas or Jages are famous as cannibals in the strictest sense of the word; and the Caffres, and the people beyond Monomotapa, are said not to be inferior to them in barbarity. Indeed here, similarly to what we observe every where else, the primitive savage races appear to inhabit the Mountains of the Moon, which occupy the widest space of the interior country.

However old or recent the population of America may be, Peru, the most cultivated state of this quarter of the Globe, is seated directly at the feet of the highest of the Cordilleras; but only at their feet, in the pleasant and temperate vale of Quito. The wild nations stretch along the mountains of Chili to Patagonia. The other chains of mountains, and the interior part of the country in general, are little known to us; yet enough to confirm the position, that upon and amidst the mountains, ancient manners, original barbarism, and freedom, dwell. Most of these people are yet unconquered by the Spaniards, who are themselves forced to give them the appellation of *los bravos*. The cold regions of North America, as well as of Asia, are to be considered as a wide range of mountains, both with respect to climate, and the manners of their inhabitants.

Thus Nature stretched the rough but firm outline of the history of man and it's revolutions, with the lines of mountains she drew, and the streams she let flow from them. How people here and there broke out, and discovered farther land; how they stretched along the streams, and erected huts, villages, and towns, in fruitful places; how they intrenched themselves as it were between

mountains and deserts, a river, perhaps, in the midst, and called the spot, separated by nature and their occupancy, now their *own*; how hence, according to the circumstances of the place, various modes of life, and ultimately kingdoms arose, till at length men reached the coast, and from the generally unfruitful shore invaded the sea, and learned to procure from it their food; belongs as properly to the natural progress of the history of man, as to the physical history of the Earth. One height produced nations of hunters, thus cherishing and rendering necessary a savage state: another, more extended and mild, afforded a field to the shepherd, and associated with him inoffensive animals: a third made agriculture easy and necessary: while a fourth led to fishing, to navigation, and at length to trade. The structure of our Earth, in its natural variety and diversity, rendered all these distinguishing periods and states of man unavoidable. Thus in many parts of the Earth manners and customs have remained unchanged some thousands of years: in others they have altered, commonly from external causes, yet always according to the land from which the alteration came, and to that in which it happened, and on which it operated. Seas, mountains, and rivers, are the most natural boundaries of nations, manners, languages, and kingdoms, as well as of the land: and, even in the greatest revolutions of human affairs, they have been the directing lines or limits of the history of the World. Had the mountains risen, had the rivers flowed, or had the coast trended otherwise, how very differently would mankind have been scattered over this tilting-place of Nature!

I shall say but few words respecting the shores of the sea: they form a stage as ample, as the aspect of the firm land is great and diversified. What has rendered Asia so uniform in manners and prejudices, and peculiarly the first school of nations, and the place where they were formed? First, and chiefly, its being such a great extent of firm land, in which people not only spread themselves with ease, but remain long, and still connected with each other, whether they will or not. North and south Asia are separated by great mountains; but no sea divides their ample space: the Caspian alone remains at the foot of Caucasus, a remnant of the primitive ocean. Here tradition easily found its way, and might be strengthened by new traditions from the same or other regions. Here every thing struck a deep root; religion, filial reverence, despotism! The nearer we are to Asia, the more are these, as ancient, eternal habits, at home; and notwithstanding the variations between different countries, they are spread over the whole of the south of Asia. The north, which is separated from this by lofty mountains, as by a wall, has formed its many nations differently: yet in spite of all the varieties between the several people, a like degree of uniformity per-

vades the whole. Tatory, the most immense region of the Earth, swarms with nations of different pedigree, all of whom are nearly at the same degree of cultivation: for no sea separates them: they all wallow on one great north-inclining plain.

On the other hand, what a difference is produced by the Red Sea, small as it is? The abyssinians are an arabian race, the egyptians an asiatic people: yet quite another world of manners and customs appears among them. The like is displayed in the lowermost corner of Asia. What a difference does the narrow gulf of Bassora make between the persians and arabs! How distinct are the malays from the people of Cambodia, from whom they are separated by the little gulf of Siam! The manners of the inhabitants of Africa evidently differ little, for they are separated by no sea or gulf, and probably by deserts alone. Hence, too, foreign nations have been able to make less impression on it; and to us, who have wormed ourselves into almost every hole, this vast quarter of the Globe is little better than unknown; merely because it is no where deeply indented by the sea, and spreads itself as an inaccessible gold-country in one broad patch.

America is so full of little nations, probably, because it is so broken and interfectured, north and south, with rivers, lakes, and mountains. From its situation, also, it is externally of all lands the most accessible, as it consists of two peninsulas, connected only by a narrow isthmus, where a deep bay forms an archipelago of islands. Thus it is all coast as it were; and hence the possession of almost all the maritime powers of Europe, and in war the apple of contention. This situation was favourable for us european plunderers: while its internal divisions were unfavourable for the improvement of its ancient inhabitants. They dwelt too much separated from one another by lakes and rivers, abrupt heights and precipices, for the culture of one region, or *the old word* of the tradition of their fathers, to establish and extend itself as in the widespread Asia.

Why is Europe distinguished by the variety of its nations, its multifarious manners and arts, but still more by the influence it has had on all parts of the World? I know well there is a combination of causes, that we cannot here trace separately: but physically it is incontestible, that its interfectured, multi-form land has been one occasional and contributive cause. As the people of Asia migrated hither by various ways, and at various times, what bays and gulfs, what numerous rivers flowing in different courses, and what alterations of little rows of mountains, found they not here! They might be together, yet separate, act upon one another, and again live in peace: thus this small multifidous part of the World was in miniature the market place, the throng, of all the people

upon Earth. The Mediterranean alone has so much influenced the character of all Europe, that we may almost call it the medium and propagator of all the cultivation of antiquity and the middle age. The Baltic comes greatly behind it, as it lies far more to the north, between ruder nations and less fruitful lands, as a by-lane of the mart of the Earth: yet it is the eye of all the north of Europe. But for it, most of the adjacent lands would be barbarous, cold, and uninhabitable. The like effect has the gap between Spain and France, the channel between France and England, the figures of Britain, Italy, and ancient Greece. Change the outlines of these countries, here take away a strait, there block up a channel; the formation and devastation of the World, the fate of whole regions and people, would proceed for centuries in a different course.

Secondly, If it be asked, why, beside our four quarters of the Globe, there is not a fifth, in that vast ocean, in which one had long been confidently presumed to exist; the answer is pretty well determined by facts: in that deep sea there is no primitive mountain high enough to create an extensive firm land. The asiatic mountains terminate in Ceylon with Adam's-Peak, and in Sumatra and Borneo with the ridges from Malacca and Siam; as do the african at the Cape of Good-Hope, and the american in Tierra del Fuego. Thence the granite, the fundamental pillar of the firm land, declines into the deep, and never more appears above the surface of the sea in high ridges. Throughout the great extent of New Holland there is not a single chain of mountains of the first order. The Philippines, the Moluccas, and the rest of the scattered islands, are all of the volcanic kind only; and many of them have still volcanoes. The sulphurous pyrites may here have performed it's part, and contributed to the formation of the spice-gardens of the World, which it's subterranean heat probably continues to render Nature's hothouse. The coral insects also do what they can*, and produce, perhaps in some thousands of years, the little isles, that appear as points in the ocean: but the powers of this southern region extend no farther. Nature has designed this vast space for a great abyss of water: which was essentially requisite to the habitable land. If once the physical law of the formation of the primitive mountains of our Earth were discovered, and with it that of the form of our land, we should perceive the reason, why the south pole could have no such mountains, and consequently no fifth quarter of the Globe. Even were there one; must it not, from the present constitution of our atmosphere, remain uninhabitable; and be, like the Sandwich Islands and shoals of ice, the hereditary domain of seals and penguins?

* See Forster's *Observations, Bemerkungen, &c.*, p. 126 and following.

Thirdly, since we are here contemplating the Earth as a theatre of the history of man, it is evidently far better, from what has been said, that the Creator should have established some yet undiscovered law for the formation of mountains, than to have made it dependent on the rotatory motion of the Earth. Had the equator, and the greater velocity of the Earth underneath it, given occasion to the origin of mountains; the firm land would have stretched along it in its extreme breadth, and occupied the torrid zone, which the sea now in great measure cools. This too would have been the central point of the human species, directly in the region most debilitating both to the mental and corporal faculties; if indeed the present constitution of things in general on the Earth could have found place. Beneath the intense heat of the Sun, the most violent explosions of electric matter, the winds, and all the jarring vicissitudes of weather, would have driven men from the place of their birth and education, and compelled them to retire towards the cold southern zone, close bordering on the fervid region of the Earth, or towards the gelid north. But the father of the World chose a more favourable spot for our origin. He placed the chief trunk of the mountains of the old world in the temperate zone, and the most cultivated nations dwell at its foot. Here he gave mankind a milder climate, and with it a gentler nature, and a more variegated place of education: thence he let them wander by degrees, strengthened and well instructed, into hotter and colder regions. There the primitive races could at first live in peace, then gradually draw off along the mountains and rivers, and become inured to ruder climates. Each cultivated its little circle, and enjoyed it, as if it had been the universe. Neither fortune nor misfortune spread itself so irresistibly wide, as if a probably higher chain of mountains under the equator had commanded the whole northern and southern world. Thus the Creator of the World has ever ordained things better than we could have directed; and the irregular form of our Earth has effected an end, that greater regularity could never have accomplished.

CHAPTER VII.

The direction of the mountains renders our two hemispheres a theatre of the most singular variety and change.

HERE also I continue to pursue the aspect of the general map of the World. In Asia the mountains stretch along the greatest breadth of the land, and their root is nearly in it's middle: who would suppose, that in the opposite hemisphere they would stretch just in a contrary direction through the greatest length? Yet so it is. This alone renders the two divisions of the World totally different. The high land of Siberia, not only exposed to the cold north and north-east winds, but cut off from the warming south by the primitive mountains covered with eternal snow, must be as piercingly cold, even in many of it's southern parts, particularly when the saline nature of it's soil in several places is considered, as we know from description it is; except where other rows of these mountains could shelter it from the sharper winds, and form more temperate vales. But what beautiful regions extend themselves immediately beneath these mountains, in the midst of Asia! These walls protect them from the benumbing winds of the north, and leave them only the cooling breeze. On this account Nature changed the course of the mountains to the south, and let them run longitudinally through both the peninsulas of Hindustan, Malacca, Ceylon, &c. By giving the two sides of this country opposite seasons, and regular alternations, she rendered them the finest districts on the Earth. With the chains of mountains in the interior part of Africa we are little acquainted: yet we know, that they intersect this quarter of the Globe also both in it's length and in it's breadth, and probably contribute much to cool it's middle.

In America again what difference! Northward the cold north and north-west winds blow a long way down the land, their course unbroken by a single mountain. They come from the wide regions of ice, which have hitherto opposed every attempt to traverse them, and which may with propriety be termed the still unknown ice-nook of the World. Thence they stretch over extensive tracts of frozen land, till the climate begins to grow temperate under the Blue Mountains: still however with such sudden transitions from cold to heat, and from heat to cold, as in no other country; probably because throughout the whole of this northern peninsula there is no firm connected wall of mountains, to send off winds and storms, and limit their dominion. In South America on the

other hand the winds blow from the ice of the south pole, and find, instead of a screen to break their force, a chain of mountains to guide them from south to north. The inhabitants of the middle regions, pleasant as they naturally are, must often sink into lassitude from the heat and wet produced by the two opposing powers, did not the gentle breeze from the mountains or the sea cool and refresh the land.

If now we contemplate the steep elevation of the land, and its uniform mountainous ridge, the difference between the two hemispheres will be still more striking and perspicuous. The Cordilleras are the loftiest mountains in the world: the Alps of Switzerland are little more than half their height. At their feet the Sierras, themselves high mountains compared with the surface of the sea or the deep abyss of the vales *, extend in long rows. Merely to traverse them occasions symptoms of nausea and sudden prostration of strength in men and beasts, unknown in the highest mountains of the old world. At the feet of these the country properly begins: and this in most places how level, how abruptly parting from the mountains! At the eastern foot of the Cordilleras extends the great plain of the River of Amazons, single in its kind; as the peruvian chains of mountains, which likewise remain unfellowed. That river, which at length increases to a sea, has not an inclination of two-fifths of an inch in the course of a thousand feet; and a man may travel over a space equal to the greatest breadth of Germany, without being advanced a single foot above the level of the sea †. The mountains of Maldonado, on the River of Plate, are of no importance compared with the Cordilleras; so that the whole eastern part of South America is to be considered as a vast plain, which for thousands of years must have been exposed to inundations, morasses, and all the inconveniencies of the lowest lands, and is still in some measure liable to them. Here too the giant and the dwarf stand side by side, the wildest heights with the profoundest depths of which any country on Earth is capable. In the southern part of North America it is precisely the same. Louisiana is as low as the sea that leads to it; and this low flat extends far into the country. The great lakes, the stupendous cataracts, the piercing cold, of Canada and other places, evince, that the northern regions must be high; and that here also extremes meet, though in an inferior degree. What effects all these circumstances have on plants, animals, and men, the sequel will show.

* See Ulloa's *Nachrichten von Amerika*, 'Account of America,' Leipzig, 1780, with J. G. Schneider's valuable additions, which greatly enhance the worth of the book.

† See Leiste's *Beschreibung des Portugiesischen Amerika*, 'Description of Portuguese America,' by Cudens, Brunswick, 1780; p. 79, 80.

On our hemisphere, where she intended to prepare the first abode of men and animals, Nature went otherwise to work. She extended the mountains one after another in length and breadth, and spread them out into various branches, so that all the three quarters of the Globe might be connected, and, notwithstanding the difference between regions and countries, the transition from one to another might be gentle. No region here could remain inundated for ages: here those swarms of insects, amphibia, reptiles, and the rest of the spawn of the waters, that peopled America, were incapable of being formed. The waste of Kobi alone excepted, for of the Mountains of the Moon we yet know nothing, no such wide expanded desert heights penetrate the clouds, to produce and nourish monsters in their caverns. Here, from a drier, milder compounded region, the electric Sun could elicit finer aromatics, more lenient food, and a more perfect organization both in man, and in all other animals.

It would be highly gratifying, had we a map of mountains, or a mountain atlas, in which these pillars of the Earth were laid down, and depicted with every circumstance, that the history of man requires. The direction and altitude of the mountains of many regions are pretty accurately determined: the elevation of the land above the level of the sea, the state of the ground on the surface, the flow of the rivers, the directions of the winds, the variation of the compass, and the degrees of heat and cold, have been observed in others; and some of these have already been noted on particular charts. If several of these remarks, now lying dispersed in books of travels and other publications, were carefully collected, and transferred to a map; what a beautiful and instructive *physical geography of the Earth* would the inquirer into the history and natural philosophy of man have before him at one view! the most precious supplement to the valuable works of Varenus, Lulof, and Bergmann. But here we are yet only at the threshold: the rich harvest of information gathered in particular places by Ferber, Pallas, Saussure, Soulavie, and others, will at some future period probably be reduced to certainty and form, through the means of the peruvian mountains, perhaps the most interesting tract in the World in regard to the higher branches of natural history.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Our Earth is a grand manufactory, for the organization of very different beings.

HOWEVER chaotic and fragmentary every thing within the bowels of the Earth appears to us, from our inability to contemplate the original construction of the whole ; yet we perceive, even in what we suppose the smallest and most unfinished things, a truly fixed *being*, a *form* and *fashion* dependent on eternal laws, which no will of man can alter. These laws and forms we observe : but their intrinsic powers we know not ; and what we express by certain general terms, as cohesion, extension, affinity, and gravitation, for instance, convey to us ideas of extrinsic relations only, without carrying us one step nearer the internal essence of things.

But what every kind of earth and stone possesses, is certainly a general law of all the creatures of our Earth : *conformation*, determinate *figure*, distinct *existence*. From no being can these be taken ; since on these all its properties and operations depend. The immeasurable chain descends from the creator down to the germe of a grain of sand ; for even this has its determinate figure, in which it often approaches the most beautiful crystallizations. The most complicated beings also follow the same law in their parts : but while so many different powers operate in them, ultimately to compose a whole, so that with the most various component parts a general unity may prevail ; transitions, intermixtures, and numerous diverging forms must occur.

As soon as granite, the nucleus of our Earth, existed, there was also light, which in the thick vapours of our chaos acted perhaps as fire ; there was a more dense and powerful air, than that we now enjoy, a more compound and ponderous water, to operate upon it. Penetrating acid dissolved it, and transformed it into stones of other kinds : perhaps the immense sands of our Earth are but the

ashes of this mouldered substance. The inflammable matter of the air probably converted siliceous matter into calcareous earth, and in this the first living creatures of the sea, shellfish, were formed: for throughout all nature the materials appear before the organized animated structure. A still more powerful and pure action of fire and of cold was requisite to crystallization, which inclines not to the shelly form, exhibited by siliceous matter in its fractures, but to geometrical angles. These too vary according to the component parts of each individual, till they approach the semimetals, metals, and ultimately the germs of plants. Chemistry, so zealously pursued of late years, opens to the philosopher a second abundant creation, in the subterraneous realms of Nature: and these perhaps contain not merely the materials, but the fundamental principles, and the key, of every thing formed above the earth. Every where we perceive, that Nature must destroy, since she reconstructs; that she must separate, since she recombines. From simple laws, as from ruder forms, she proceeds to the more complex, artful, and delicate: and had we a sense, enabling us to perceive the primitive forms and first germs of things, perhaps we should discover in the smallest point the progress of all creation.

Considerations of this kind, however, are not to our present purpose: let us contemplate therefore singly the combination, which adapted our Earth to the organization of our plants, and also of animals and man. Had other metals been distributed over it, as iron now is, which we meet with every where, even in water, earths, plants, animals, and men; had petroleum, had sulphur, been spread over the surface of the Globe in such quantity as we now perceive sand, clay, and fertile mould; how different must have been the creatures that dwelt on it! creatures in which a more acrimonious temperament would have prevailed. Instead of this the father of the World has made the constituent parts of the vegetables, that afford us nutriment, of milder salts and oils. From the loose sand, tenacious clay, and mossy peat, these are gradually prepared: nay the rugged iron ore, and hard rock, must gradually adapt themselves to these; mouldering in length of time, and making room for unfuculent trees, or at least for sapless moss; iron being not only the wholesomest of metals, but the most easily convertible to the purposes of vegetation and nutriment. Air and dew, rain and snow, water and wind, naturally manure the earth: the alkaline calces mixed with it artificially promote its fertility; and to these the death of plants and animals chiefly contributes. Salutory parent! how economical and restorative thy round! All death is new life: putrescent corruption itself prepares health and fresh powers.

It is an old complaint, that man, instead of cultivating the surface of the Earth, has dived into it's bowels, and, to the destruction of his health and peace, has sought there, amid pestiferous vapours, the metals that subserve his pride and vanity, his avarice and ambition. That much of this is true, the effects these have produced on the face of the Earth sufficiently prove; as do still more the pallid apparitions, that, like incarcerated mummies, dig in these realms of Pluto. Why is the air in these so different, that, while it nourishes metals, it is deadly to animals and man? why did not the creator pave the Earth with gold and jewels, instead of making it a law to all it's creatures, dead or living, to enrich themselves from fertile mould? Undoubtedly because we cannot eat gold; and because the smallest edible plant is not only more useful to us, but more perfectly organized, and nobler in it's kind, than the most costly gem, whether we call it amethyst or sapphire, emerald or diamond.

Yet let us not carry this point too far. Among the various periods of human nature, which it's creator foresaw, and which, from the structure of our Earth, he appears to have promoted, are included those states, in which man should learn to dig into it's bowels, and fly over it's surface. Thus the creator placed various metals in their pure state almost before man's eyes: thus the rivers were destined to wash the soil from the earth, and show him it's treasures. Even the most savage nations have discovered the utility of copper; and the use of iron, which with it's magnetic power seems to govern the whole Globe, has almost alone exalted our species from one step of cultivation to another. If man be to make the best use of his habitation, he must learn to know it: and his governor has appointed him sufficiently narrow limits, in which to investigate, dispose, fashion, and alter it.

Still it is true, that we are principally destined to creep as worms on the surface of our Earth, on it to improve ourselves, and spend our short lives. However great man may be deemed, we perceive his littleness in the domains of Nature, from the thin stratum of fruitful mould, which alone is properly his territory. A few feet deeper he digs up things, on which nothing grows, and that require years and ages, to produce only meagre grass. Still deeper, he often finds again, where he did not seek it, his fruitful soil, once the surface of the Earth, but which changing Nature spared not in her progressive periods. Muscles and snails lie on mountains; aquatic and land animals are found petrified in stones; and fossil wood, and impressions of flowers, are often discovered near fifteen hundred feet deep. Poor mortal! thou wanderest not on the surface of thy Earth, but on a covering of thy house, which must have experienced many deluges, ere it could

become what it is. There grow for thee a little grafs, a few trees; the parent of which has furrounded thee likewise with casualties, and on which thou livest the worm of a day.

CHAPTER II.

The vegetable kingdom of our Earth considered with respect to the history of man.

THE vegetable kingdom has a higher species of organization than any mineral production, and so ample an extent, that, while on the one hand it loses itself in this, on the other it approaches the animal kingdom. Plants have a sort of life, and succession of ages; they have sexes and generative powers; they are born and die. The surface of the earth was adapted to them, before it was fit for man or animals: every where they pressed before these, and in the shape of grafs, of moss, or of mucor, covered the bare rock, yet untrodden by the foot of any living creature. Where a single grain of light earth could receive a seed, and a ray of the Sun warm it, a plant sprung up, to die a prolific death, as its dust would constitute a better matrix for other plants. Thus were the rocks covered with herbs and flowers: thus in time morasses became wilds of plants and shrubs. The putrefaction of the native vegetable creation is Nature's incessantly operating hot-bed of organization, and the farther culture of the Earth.

It is obvious, that human life, as far as it is vegetation, has the fate of plants, As these, so man and animals are produced from seed; which too, like the germe of a future tree, requires a matrix. Plantlike its first form is developed in the womb: and, out of it, does not the structure of our fibres, in their first buds and powers, nearly resemble that of the fibres of the sensitive plant? Our ages too are the ages of a plant: we spring up, grow, bloom, wither, and die. We are called forth without our consent: no one is asked of what sex he will be; from what parents he will descend; on what spot he will be born to poverty or wealth; or by what internal or external cause he will at last be brought to his end. In all these man must obey superiour laws, over which he has as little power as a plant; nay, which his strongest propensities follow almost against his will. As long as man is growing, and the sap rises in him, how spacious and pleasant seems to him the World! He stretches out his branches, and fancies his head will reach the heavens. Thus Nature entices him forward in life; till with eager powers, and unwearied exertion, he has acquired all the capacity she wished to call forth in him, on that field, or in that garden,

in which he had been planted by her hand. After he has accomplished her purpose, she gradually abandons him. In the bloom of spring, and of our youth, with what riches does nature every where abound! Man believes this world of flowers will produce the seeds of a new creation. Yet a few months, how changed the scene! Almost all the flowers are gone, and a few unripe fruits succeed. The tree labours to bring these to maturity; and immediately the leaves fade. He sheds his withered locks on the beloved children, that have left him: leafless he stands: the storm robs him of his dried branches: till at length he falls to the ground, and resigns the little phlogiston he contains to the soul of Nature.

Is it otherwise with man, considered as a plant? What vast hopes, prospects, and motives of action, vividly or obscurely fill his youthful mind! In every thing he confides: and while he confides he succeeds: for success is the spouse of youth. In a few years all around him is changed; merely because he is no longer the same. Least of all has he performed what he willed: and happy is it for him, if he be not now desirous to perform what it is no longer time to execute, but suffer himself to grow old in peace. In the eye of a superiour being, man's actions upon Earth may appear just as important, certainly at least as determinate and circumscribed, as the actions and enterprises of a tree. He develops all he can develop; and makes himself master of all, that it is in his power to possess. He puts forth buds and germes, produces fruits, and sows young trees: but never quits he the place, which Nature has appointed him to occupy; never can he acquire a single power, which Nature has not planted in him.

Particularly humiliating it is, in my opinion, to man, that in the sweet impulse he terms love, in which he places so much spontaneity, he obeys the laws of Nature almost as blindly as a plant. Even the thistle, man observes, is beautiful when in flower: and we know, that in plants the time of flowering is the season of love. The calyx is the bed, the corolla the curtain; the other parts of the flower are the organs of generation, which in these innocent beings Nature has exposed to view, and adorned with all splendour. The flowercup of love she has made like the bridal bed of Solomon, and a cup of pleasure even for other creatures. Why did she all this? and why interwove she also in the band of human love the most pleasing charms, that graced her own cestus? That her great end might be accomplished; not the little purpose of the sensual creature alone, which she so elegantly adorned: this end is *the propagation, the continuance of the species.*

Nature employs germes, she employs an infinite number of germes, because in

her grand progress she promotes a thousand ends at once. She must also calculate upon some loss; as every thing is crowded, and nothing finds room completely to develop itself. But that, amid this apparent prodigality, the essential, and the first, fresh powers of life, with which she must necessarily prevent all accidents in the course of beings so thronged, might never fail; she made the season of youth the season of love, and kindled her torch with the most subtle and active fire between Earth and Heaven. Unknown inclinations awake, of which childhood was wholly insensible. The eye of the youth becomes animated, his voice changes, the cheek of the maiden glows: two creatures sigh for each other, and know not for what they sigh: they languish to become one, which dividing Nature has denied; and swim on a sea of deception. Sweetly deceived creatures, enjoy your moments: yet know, ye accomplish not your own little dreams, but, pleasingly compelled, the grand purpose of Nature. In the first pair of a species she would plant all, generation upon generation: she chose therefore the sprouting germes from the most spirited moments of life, those of mutual delight: and while stealing from a living being something of his existence, she would at least steal it from him in the gentlest manner. As soon as she has secured the species, she suffers the individual gradually to decay. Scarcely is the season of love over, when the stag loses his proud antlers; the bird, its song, and much of its beauty; the fish, its delicate flavour; and the plant, its most beautiful colours. The butterfly loses its wings, and its breath departs; while alone, and undebilitated, it might live half the year. So long as the young plant produces no flower, it can resist the winter's cold: but that which bears too soon, soonest decays. The American aloe frequently lives a hundred years: but when once it has blossomed, no process, no art can prevent the superb stalk from decaying the next year. In five and thirty years the great fan palm grows to the height of seventy feet; it then grows thirty feet higher in the space of four months; when it blossoms, produces fruit, and the same year it dies. This is the course of nature, in the evolution of beings one out of another: the stream flows on, though one wave is lost in the wave that succeeds.

In the dissemination and degeneration of plants there is a similitude observable, that will apply to beings of a superiour order, and prepares us for the views and laws of Nature. Each plant requires its proper climate; to which appertains not merely the constitution of the land and soil, but also the elevation of the country, the quality of the air and water, and the degree of temperature. Under the earth all things lie mingled together: and though every species of stone, crystal, or metal, derives its qualities from the land in which it grows, and hence the most striking varieties occur; we have by no means attained that ge-

neral geographical view of these realms of Pluto, and acquired that knowledge of their principles of arrangement, at which we have arrived in the beautiful domains of Flora. The *Philosophy of Botany* *, which arranges plants according to the elevation and quality of the land, air, water, and temperature, is an obvious guide to a similar philosophy in the arrangement of animals and men.

All plants grow wild in some part or other of the World. Those, which we cultivate with art, spring from the free lap of Nature, and arrive at much greater perfection, in their proper climes. With animals, and with man, it is the same: for every race of men, in it's proper region, is organized in the manner most natural to it. Every soil, every sort of mountains, every similar region of the atmosphere, as well as a like degree of heat and cold, nourishes it's own plants. On the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the rocks of Lapland, notwithstanding their distance, the same, or similar, vegetables grow. North America and the expanded heights of Tatory produce the same offspring. On those elevated places, where plants are rudely agitated by the winds, and the summer is of short duration, they remain small in stature indeed; but then they abound with seeds innumerable: when transplanted into gardens, they grow higher, and put forth larger leaves, while they bear less fruit. Every one must perceive the visible similarity to animals and men. All plants love the open air: in hothouses they seek the region of light, even if they be obliged to creep through a hole to it. In a confined heat they run up more tall and slender, but paler, less fruitful, and, if they be too suddenly exposed to the Sun, their leaves droop. Has not a forced and tender education the same effects on man and animals? Diversity of region and air produces varieties in plants, as in animals and man: and the more they gain in respect to beauty, form of the leaf, or number of flowers, the more they lose in point of fertility. Is it otherwise with man or animals, if we consider the greater strength of their multifarious nature? Plants, that in warm countries attain the height of trees, in cold ones become crippled dwarfs. One plant is calculated for the sea, another for morasses, a third for rivers or lakes; one loves snow, another the deluging rains of the torrid zone: and all these their form and figure indicate. Does not this prepare us, to expect similar varieties in the organic structure of man, so far as he is a plant?

* The *Philosophia botanica* of Linné is a classical pattern for other sciences. Had we a *Philosophia anthropologica* written with the same conciseness and accuracy, it would be a clew, which every additional observation shou'd follow. The abbe Soulavié, in his *Hist. naturelle*

de la France meridionale, 'Natural History of the South of France,' Part II, Tome I, has given a sketch of a general physical geography of the vegetable kingdom, and promised to extend it to animals and to man.

It is particularly pleasing, to observe the singular manner, in which plants adjust themselves to the season of the year, nay to the hour of the day, and become inured only by degrees to a foreign climate. Near the pole they are later in growth, and ripen so much the quicker, as the summer arrives more late, and operates more forcibly. Plants, that grow in southern countries, when brought to Europe ripen later the first year, as they wait for the sun of their own climate: the following summers they arrive earlier and earlier at maturity, as they become habituated to their situation. In the artificial warmth of a hothouse, each follows its native seasons; even if it have been fifty years in Europe. The plants of the Cape blossom in winter, as then arrives the summer of their native country. The marvel of Peru blossoms at night; probably, observes Linné, because it is then day in America, whence it originally came. Thus every one adheres to the time, even to the hour of the day, at which it has been wont to open and shut. ‘These circumstances,’ says the philosophic botanist*, ‘seem to indicate, that something more than heat and water is requisite to their growth:’ and assuredly in the organic varieties of man, and his naturalizing himself to a foreign climate, something more, something different from heat and cold, is to be considered, particularly when we speak of another hemisphere.

Finally, what a field of observation is opened to us, in the association of plants with man, could we pursue it! Already has the pleasing experiment been made †, that plants can no more live in pure air than we; but what they imbibe from the atmosphere is precisely that phlogistic part, which destroys animal life, and promotes putrefaction in all animal substances. It has been observed, that they perform this useful office of purifying the air, not by the aid of heat, but by that of light; for the chill beams of the Moon are sufficient to effect the purpose. Salutory children of the Earth! what destroys us, what we expire contaminated, you inhale: the most delicate medium must combine it with you, and you render it us again pure. You maintain the health of those creatures, that destroy you: and even in your deaths you are beneficent; for you improve the Earth, and fertilize it for new beings of your own species.

If plants served for this alone, their silent existence would constitute a beautiful intermixture among men and animals: but since they are at the same time the most abundant nutriment of the animal creation, and it is of particular importance in the history of the modes of life of man, to observe what plants and

* See the Transactions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, vol. I, p. 6, and following.

† Ingenhousz’s *Versuche mit den Pflanzen*, ‘Experiments on Plants,’ Leipzig, 1780, p. 49.

animals, that might serve them for food, every people found in their native country, they present themselves to us under various aspects in considering the kingdoms of Nature.

Of beasts the most quiet, and most humane, if we may use the expression, feed on vegetables. Nations, that live principally at least on the same food, have been remarked for the same salutary peaceableness, and careless serenity. All carnivorous beasts are naturally more savage. Man, who ranks between the two, cannot be a carnivorous animal, to judge from the structure of his teeth. There are yet nations, whose diet consists chiefly of milk and vegetables; in earlier times there were more: and what abundance has Nature bestowed on them in the pulps, juices, fruits, barks, and twigs, of her vegetable creation, where one tree frequently affords nourishment for a whole family! Wonderfully is every region appointed its own, not merely in what it yields, but in what it attracts and removes. Thus while plants live on the phlogistic part of the atmosphere, and in some measure on vapours most pernicious to us; their antidotal qualities are organized according to the peculiarities of each region, and they every where prepare such medicaments for animal bodies, always prone to corruption, as are adapted to the diseases of the country. Man, too, has little reason to complain, that Nature produces noxious vegetables; for these are in fact the excretory ducts of poisons, so that they contribute greatly to the general salubrity of the region; at the same time that they are in his hands, as well as in those of Nature, the most efficacious medicines. Seldom has man exterminated any species of plant or animal from a country, without soon perceiving the most palpable detriment to its habitableness: and has not Nature bestowed on every animal, and also on man, senses and organs sufficient to discover such plants as are useful to them, and reject such as are noxious?

What a pleasing ramble among trees and plants would it afford, to pursue these great natural laws of their utility and effect in the animal and human kingdoms through the various regions of the Earth! We must content ourselves as we go along to pluck occasionally a few flowers in this immense field, and recommend to some one, particularly skilled in the science, our wish for an *universal botanical geography for the history of man.*

CHAPTER III.

The animal Kingdom in relation to the History of Man.

BEASTS are the elder brethren of man. Before he was, they were. Every country the alien man found at his arrival already occupied, at least in some of the elements: otherwise on what but vegetables could the stranger have fed? Thus every history of man, which considers him without this relation, must be partial and defective. The World, it is true, was given to man: but not to him alone, not to him first: animals in every element render his monarchy questionable. One species he must tame: with another he must long contend. Some escape his dominion: others wage with him eternal war. In short, every species extends it's possession of the Earth in proportion to it's capacity, cunning, strength, or courage.

It is not here the question, whether man have reason, and beasts have none. If they have not, they have some other advantages: for assuredly Nature has left none of her offspring unprotected. Were a creature neglected by her, from whom could it obtain succour? since the whole creation is at war, and the most opposite powers are found so close to each other. Here godlike man is annoyed by snakes, there by vermin: here a shark devours him, there a tiger. Each strives with each, as each is pressed upon; each must provide for his own subsistence, and defend his own life.

Why acts Nature thus? and why does she thus crowd her creatures one upon another? Because she would produce the greatest number and variety of living beings in the least space, so that one crushes another, and an equilibrium of powers can alone produce peace in the creation. Every species cares for itself, as if it were the only one in existence: but by it's side stands another, which confines it within due bounds: and in this adjustment of opposing species creative Nature found the only mean of maintaining the whole. She weighed the powers, she numbered the limbs, she determined the instincts of the species toward each other; and left the Earth to produce what it was capable of producing.

I concern myself not, therefore, whether whole species of animals have perished from the face of the Earth. Has the mammoth disappeared? so have giants. When these existed, the relations between the several creatures were different: as things at present are, we perceive an evident equilibrium, not only over the whole Earth, but in particular regions and countries. Agriculture may restrict beasts

to narrower limits: but it cannot easily exterminate them. At least it has not accomplished this in any extensive region; and it has fostered a greater number of tame animals, in lieu of the wild ones it has diminished. Thus in the present constitution of our Earth no species of animals has been lost: though I question not but others may have existed, when it's constitution was different; and if at any future period Art or Nature should completely change it, a different relation between living creatures would take place.

Man, in short, entered an inhabited world. All the elements, rivers and morasses, earth and air, were filled or filling, with living creatures: and he had to make room for his dominion by his godlike qualities, skill and power. How he effected this constitutes the history of his cultivation, the most interesting part of the history of man, which embraces even the rudest nations. I must here observe once for all, that man acquired chiefly from beasts themselves that information, which enabled him gradually to obtain his dominion over them. These were the living sparks of the divine understanding, the rays of which, as they related to food, habits of life, clothing, address, arts, or instincts, he condensed within himself, from a greater or smaller circle. The more, the clearer, he did this, the more artful the beasts around him were, the more he familiarized himself with them, and the more securely he dwelt with them in friendship or hostility; the more did he gain in point of improvement; so that the history of his cultivation is in great measure *zoological* and *geographical*.

Secondly: as the varieties of soil and climate, of stones and plants, on our Earth, are so great; how much greater are the varieties of it's properly living inhabitants! Let us not, however, confine these to the earth: for the air, the water, nay the internal parts of plants and animals, all swarm with life. Innumerable multitudes, for whom, as well as for man, the World was created! Moving surface of the Earth, on which all, as wide and as deep as the sun-beams extend, is enjoyment, life, and action!

I mean not here to enter into the general proposition, that every animal has it's element, it's climate, it's proper place of abode; that some species are little diffused, others more, and a few almost as widely as man himself; for on this point we have a profound work, compiled with scientific industry, Zimmermann's *Geographical History of Man*, and universally-diffeminated *Quadrupeds**. What I shall here point out will be a few particular remarks, which we shall find confirmed by the history of man.

1. Those species, that inhabit nearly all parts of the Globe, are differently

* *Geographische Geschichte des Menschen und der allgemein-verbreiteten vierfüßigen Thiere*: Leipzig, 1778—83; in three volumes: with an elegant and accurate zoological map of the World.

formed in almost every climate. In Lapland the dog is small and ugly; in Siberia he is better shaped, but still has pricked ears, and no considerable magnitude: in those countries, says Buffon, where we meet with the handsomest races of men, we observe the handiomest and largest dogs: within the arctic and antarctic circles the dog loses his voice, and in the wild state he resembles the jackal. In Madagascar the ox has a hump on his back weighing fifty pounds, which gradually disappears in distant countries; and this animal varies greatly in colour, size, strength, and courage, in almost every region of the Earth. An european sheep acquires at the Cape of Good Hope a tail nineteen pounds in weight: in Iceland he puts out as many as five horns: in the county of Oxford, in England, he grows to the size of an ass: and in Turkey his skin is variegated like a tiger's. Thus do all animals vary; and shall not man, who is also in the structure of his nerves and muscles an animal, change with the climate? According to the analogy of nature, it would be a miracle, did he remain unchanged.

2. All the tame animals we have were formerly wild; and of most the wild races, from which they are descended, are still to be found, particularly in the asiatic mountains: the very place which was probably the native country of man, at least in our hemisphere, and the source of his cultivation. The greater the distance from this region, particularly where the intercourse with it is difficult, the fewer the species of tame animals, till at length, the swine, the dog, and the cat, are the sole animal wealth of New Guinea, New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

3. America has chiefly animals peculiar to it, perfectly adapted to its climate, and such as must naturally be produced from its immense heights, and long inundated valleys. It had few large animals, and still fewer tame or tameable ones: but then it had proportionally more species of bats, armadilloes, rats and mice, the unau, the ai, swarms of insects, amphibia, toads, lizards, and the like. Any one may conceive what influence this must have on the history of man.

4. In regions where the powers of nature are most active, where the heat of the Sun is combined with regular winds, great inundations, violent explosions of the electric fluid, and in short with every thing in nature, that produces life, and is called vivifying; we find the strongest, largest, boldest, and most perfect animals, as well as the most aromatic plants. Africa has its herds of elephants, zebras, deer, apes, and buffaloes: in it the lion, the tiger, the crocodile, the hippopotamus, appear in full force: the loftiest trees shoot up into the air, adorned with the richest, juiciest, and most useful fruits. Every man knows

how Asia abounds in plants and animals: and they are most abundant where the electric power of the Sun, the air, the earth, is most copious. On the contrary, where this operates more feebly and irregularly, as in cold countries, or where it is repelled or confined in water, lixivious salts, or damp woods; those creatures, to the formation of which the free play of electricity is requisite, seem never to be developed. Sluggish heat combined with moisture produces swarms of insects and amphibia; not those wondrous forms of the old world, that glow with vivid fire. The muscular force of the lion, the spring and eye of the tiger, the acute sagacity of the elephant, the delicacy of the antelope, and the malicious cunning of the african or asiatic ape, are unknown to every beast of the new world. Among these one seems to have disengaged himself with difficulty from the warm slime, another wants teeth; of one the feet and claws are defective, of another the tail; and most are deficient in size, courage, and swiftness. Those that inhabit the mountains are more animated; but they equal not the beasts of the old world, and in the coriaceous or scaly frames of most the electric stream is evidently wanting.

5. Finally, it is probable, that there are still greater singularities to be observed in animals, than those we have already remarked in plants: their oft unnatural qualities, for instance, and slow familiarization to a foreign and antipodal climate. The american bear, described by Linnè *, observed the day and night of America even in Sweden. From midnight till noon he slept, and from noon till midnight he rambled, as if it were his american day: thus with his other instincts retaining his native division of time. Is not this remark applicable to others, from different regions of the Earth, from the eastern or southern hemispheres? and if this change hold good with respect to beasts, shall man, notwithstanding his peculiar character, be exempt from it?

CHAPTER IV.

Man is a Creature of a middle kind among terrestrial Animals.

1. **WHEN** Linnè reckoned 230 species of viviparous animals, among which he included such as are aquatic, he enumerated 946 of birds, 292 of amphibia, 404 of fishes, 3060 of insects, and 1205 of worms †. The beasts then were

* Transactions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, vol. IX, p. 300.

† In the last edition of Linnè's *Systema Naturæ*, by Gmelin, there are 557 mammalia, 2,686 birds, 366 amphibia, 889 fishes, 10,896

insects, and 4,036 worms. These numbers, except with regard to the amphibia, coincide extremely well with Heider's observation and inference. T.

fewest in number, and the amphibia, which most resemble them, came next. In the air, in the water, in morasses, and in the sandy deserts, the genera and species increase; and I am persuaded, the farther we extend our discoveries, we shall still find them increase in nearly the same proportion. When, after the death of Linnè, the viviparous animals were carried to the number of 450, Buffon reckoned up 2,000 birds; and Forster alone discovered, during a short residence among some of the South Sea islands, 109 new species, though not a single new quadruped was to be found. If the same proportion hold, and in future times more new insects, birds, and reptiles, than perfectly new species of quadrupeds become known, however many there be in the yet unexplored regions of Africa; we may in all probability lay it down as a fact, that *the classes of creatures extend, the farther they differ from man; and the nearer they are to him, the fewer are the species of the more perfect animals as they are called.*

2. Now it is incontestable, that amid all the differences of earthly creatures a certain uniformity of structure, and as it were a *standard form*, appear to prevail, convertible into the most abundant variety. The similitude of the bony frame of land animals is obvious: head, body, hands, and feet, are the chief parts in all; and even their principal limbs are fashioned after one prototype, but infinitely diversified. The internal structure of beasts renders the proposition still more evident; and many rude external figures strongly resemble man in the principal internal parts. Amphibia deviate more from this standard: birds, fishes, insects, and aquatic animals, the last of which are lost in the vegetable or fossil world, still more. Farther our eyes cannot penetrate: but these transitions render it not improbable, that in marine productions, plants, and even inanimate things as they are called, one and the same groundwork of organization may prevail, though infinitely more rude and confused. In the eye of the eternal being, who views all things in one connected whole, perhaps the form of the icy particle as it is generated, and the flake of snow that grows from it, may have an analogous resemblance to the formation of the embryo in the female womb. Accordingly we may admit the second grand position: that, *the nearer they approach man, all creatures bear more or less resemblance to him in their grand outline; and that Nature, amid the infinite variety she loves, seems to have fashioned all the living creatures on our Earth after one grand model of organization.*

3. Thus it is self-evident, that, as this standard form must be continually varying, according to the race, species, destination, and elements, *one copy illustrates another.* What Nature has given to one animal as accessory, she has made fundamental in another; bringing it forward to the view, amplifying it, and mak-

ing the other parts, though still in perfect harmony, subservient to this. Elsewhere again these subservient parts predominate; so that all the beings of the organic creation appear as *disjecti membra poetæ*. He who would study them must study one in another: where a part appears neglected or concealed, he recurs to another creature, in which Nature has finished and displayed it. This position too is confirmed in all the phenomena of diverging beings.

4. To conclude: man seems to be among animals that excellent middle creature, in whom the most numerous and subtle rays of similar forms are collected, as far as consists with the peculiarity of his destination. He could not comprise in himself all in like degree; so that to one animal he is inferior in the acuteness of a particular sense, to another in strength of muscles, to a third in elasticity of fibre; but as much as could be united was united in him. He has the limbs, instincts, senses, faculties, and arts, common to all quadrupeds; if not hereditary, at least acquired; if not perfect, at least in their rudiments. Were we to compare with him those animals, that approach him nearest, we might almost venture to say, they are divergent rays from his image, refracted through catoptric glasses. And thus we may admit the fourth position: *that man is a middle creature among animals, that is, the most perfect form, in which the features of all are collected in the most exquisite summary.*

I hope the similitude between man and beasts, of which I speak, will not be confounded with that sport of the imagination, which has discovered resemblances of the limbs of man in plants, and even stones, and on these built systems. Every rational man laughs at these fancies; for creative Nature covers and conceals internal similarity of structure under dissimilitude of external form. How many beasts, altogether unlike man in outward appearance, are internally, in the structure of the skeleton, the principal parts of sensation and vitality, nay in the vital functions, strikingly similar to him! This will be evident to any one, who peruses the dissections of Daubenton, Perrault, Pallas, and other academicians. For children and youth natural history must content itself with some distinctions of outward form, to assist the eye and memory: the man and the philosopher investigate both the external and internal structure of the animal, to compare them with his mode of life, and find his character and place. With respect to plants this has been called the natural method; and comparative anatomy is the guide, that must lead to it step by step in animals. This naturally gives man a clew to *himself*, which conducts him through the great labyrinth of the living creation: and if we can say of any method, that through it our understanding ventures to scrutinize the profound comprehensive mind of God, it must be this. In every deviation from rule,

which the supreme artificer presents to us as a law of the polyclete in man, we are referred to a cause: why did he here deviate? to what end formed he others in a different manner? and thus earth, air, and water, nay even the profoundest depths of the animate creation, are to us a repository of his thoughts and inventions towards a *grand model of art and wisdom.*

What a great and rich prospect does this point of view give us of the history of beings similar and dissimilar to us! It divides the kingdoms of nature, and the classes of creatures, according to their elements, and connects them with each other. Even in the most remote the wide-extended radius may be seen proceeding from one and the same centre. From air and water, from heights and depths, I see the animals coming to man, as they came to the first father of our race, and step by step approaching his form. The bird flies in the air: every deviation of its figure from the structure of the quadruped is explicable from its element: and no sooner does it approach the earth in a hideous equivocal genus, as in the bat and vampire, but it resembles the human skeleton. The fish swims in the water: its feet and hands are transformed into tail and fins: its limbs have few articulations. When, as in the manatee, it touches the earth, its forefeet at least are set free, and the female acquires breasts. The sealbear and sealion have all their four feet perceptible, though they cannot use the hinder ones, the toes of which drag after them as shreds of fins. They creep about, however, slowly, as well as they can, to bask themselves in the beams of the Sun; and are raised at least one short step above the stupid shapeless seadog. Thus from the slime of the worm, from the calcareous abode of the shellfish, from the web of the insect, a better limbed and superiour organization gradually rises. Through the amphibia we ascend to quadrupeds: and among these, even in the disgusting unau, with his three fingers and two breasts before, the nearer analogy to our form is already visible. Now Nature sports and exercises herself round man, in the greatest variety of sketches and organizations. She divides modes of life and instincts, and forms species inimical to each other: yet all these apparent contradictions lead to one end. Thus it is anatomically and physiologically true, that the analogy of *one organization* prevails through the whole animated creation of our Globe: only the farther from man, the more the vital element of the creature differs from his, and Nature, ever true to herself, must proportionally deviate from his standard of organization: the nearer him, the closer has she drawn together the classes and radii, to combine what she could in him, the divine centre of the terrestrial creation. Rejoice in thy situation, O man; and study thyself, thou noble middle creature, in all that lives around thee!

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

The Structure of Plants and Animals compared with regard to the Organization of Man.

THE first mark, that distinguishes an animal to our eyes, is the mouth. Still a plant is, if I may so express myself, all mouth: it sucks with roots, leaves, and pores: like an infant it lies in the lap of its mother, and at her breast. As soon as a creature attains the organization of an animal, a mouth is observable in it, even before any head can be distinguished. The arms of the polypus are mouths: in worms, where few internal parts are discernible, an alimentary canal may be seen; and in many animals with shells the passage to this canal, as if it were still a root, is situate at the inferior part of the creature. Thus Nature forms this canal first in her animate beings, and retains it in those that are of the most perfect organization. Insects in the state of larvæ are little more than mouth, stomach, and intestines: the form of amphibia and fishes, nay even of birds and of beasts, is also adapted to this structure, in the horizontality of their position. The higher we ascend, however, the more complicated are the parts. The aperture diminishes, the stomach and intestines lie deeper: at length, with the erect position of man, externally the mouth, always the most prominent part in the head of the beast, recedes under the higher organization of the brow; nobler parts fill the breast, and the organs of nutrition sink down to the lower regions. The nobler creature is not intended to be the slave of his belly alone, the dominion of which is so ample and extensive among all the classes of his inferior brethren, with regard both to the bodily parts, and vital functions.

Thus the first grand law, that the instinct of a living creature obeys, is *nutrition*. Beasts have it in common with plants: for those parts of their frame, by

which food is drawn in and concocted, prepare juices, and resemble vegetables in their structure. The more exquisite organization, alone, in which Nature has placed these parts, and the superiour combination, depuration, and elaboration of the vital juices, gradually contribute, according to the class and species, to the finer stream, that irrigates the nobler parts, the more Nature has circumscribed those of the inferiour order. Proud man, cast thine eye back on the first necessitous situation of thy fellow creatures: thou bearest it still about thee: thou art an alimentary canal, like thine inferiour brethren.

Nature, however, has exalted us infinitely above them. The teeth, that in insects and other beasts must perform the office of hands, to hold and to tear their spoil; the jaws, that act with wonderful force in fishes, and beasts of prey; are nobly set back in man, and their still inherent strength is moderated*. The many stomachs of inferiour creatures are united into one in him, and in some other animals, which internally approach his form; and his mouth is rendered divine by the faculty of speech, the purest gift of the deity. Worms, insects, fishes, and most amphibia, are perfectly dumb: the bird sings only with his throat: each beast has but a few predominant sounds, just sufficient for the maintenance of the species: man alone possesses real organs of speech, combined with those of taste and nutrition; the noblest in conjunction with marks of the lowest necessity. That which prepares food for the meaner body prepares also in words the nutriment of his thoughts.

The second vocation of the creature is *the propagation of the species*. The destination to this is evident even in the structure of plants. To what are roots and stem, leaves and branches, subservient? to what has Nature given the highest or most select situation? To the *flower*, the *crown*; and we have already seen, that in this are the genital organs of plants. This then constitutes the principal and most beautiful part of the creature: the life, the functions, the pleasure, of the plant, nay it's sole motion that is in appearance voluntary, what we call *the sleep of plants*, are contrived for the perfection of this. Those plants, the seed-receptacles of which are sufficiently secure, never sleep: a plant after fructification sleeps no more. Thus it closes only with *maternal* care, to protect the interior parts of the flower from the severity of the weather: so that in it every thing is calculated as well for fecundation and propagation, as for growth and nutrition: of another end of action it was not susceptible.

Not so with animals. To them the genital organs are not made a crown; they are rather, conformably to the destination of the creature, subordinate to

* For the strength of these parts see Haller's *Elementa Physiolog.*, 'Elements of Physiology,' vol. VI, p. 14, 15.

the nobler members. A few of the lowest class only have them near the head. The heart and lungs occupy the breast: the head is appropriated to finer senses: and in general, throughout the whole frame, the fibrous structure, with its juicy floral powers, is subordinate to the irritable elasticity of the muscles, and the susceptibility of the nervous system. The vital economy of animals evidently follows the spirit of their conformation. Voluntary motion, operative activity, perceptions and propensities, constitute the chief business of an animal, in proportion as its organization is exalted. In most kinds the sexual appetite is confined to a short period: the others live freer from this propensity than many baseminded men, who would fain sink into the condition of plants. These men have naturally the fate of plants: all nobler inclinations, the powers of the muscles, the nerves, the will, and the understanding, are enfeebled; they live a vegetable life, and die a premature vegetable death.

Those animals, that come nearest to plants, remain true to the principle of formation above laid down, both in the economy of their structure, and in the end of their destination. These are zoophytes and insects. The polypus is in structure nothing more than a living organized stem of young polypi: the coral plant is an organized habitation of its peculiar aquatic animal: finally the insect, which ranks far above these, as it lives in a more subtle medium, shows its near approach to the destination of plants, both in its life and structure. Its head is small, and destitute of brain: not having room for a few necessary senses, it carries them before it in its feelers. Its breast is small: on which account it is without lungs, and in many cases we find in it nothing having the least analogy to a heart. But then how large and spacious is the abdomen, with its phytomorphic rings! It is the predominant part of the animal*; as nutrition and abundant multiplication of the species are its chief purposes.

In animals of a nobler kind, Nature, as has been said, places the organs of generation more deep, as if beginning to be ashamed of them: she gave to one part the most dissimilar functions, and thus obtained room for nobler parts in the more spacious breast. She caused even the nerves, that lead to these parts, to spring from lower branches, far from the head; and withdrew them, with their muscles and fibres, for the most part, from the control of the mind. The feminal fluids are here elaborated after the manner of vegetable juices, and the young fruit is nourished as a plant. Plantlike first open the powers of these organs and instincts, when the heart perhaps beats still quicker, and the head thinks more clearly. The growth of the human body, as Martinet has

* Many of these creatures respire through it: an artery runs through it instead of a heart: they transfix one another with it: &c.

acutely remarked *, is less in the upper than in the lower parts: as if man were a tree, which increased below in the trunk. In short, intricate as the structure of our bodies is, still it is evident, that the parts, which serve merely for the nutrition and propagation of the animal, ought to be, and may be, even with respect to their organization, by no means the predominant parts, that mark the destination of a beast, not to say of a man.

Which then has Nature chosen for these? Let us examine their internal and external structure.

Throughout the whole chain of living creatures it is established, that

1. Animals with one auricle and one ventricle in the heart, as amphibia and fishes, have cold blood: that
2. Those with one ventricle, without an auricle, have only a white fluid instead of blood, as insects and worms: but that
3. Animals, the hearts of which have four cavities, have warm blood, as birds and the mammalia.

It is likewise remarked, that

1. In the first two classes lungs are wanting to respiration, and the circulation of the blood: but that
2. Animals with quadrifid hearts have lungs.

It is incredible what great difference in the exaltation of the creature springs from these simple distinctions.

First. The formation of a heart, even in its most imperfect state, requires *an organized structure of many internal parts*, to which no plant can attain. Even in insects and worms we already perceive arteries and other secretory vessels, and in some degree muscles and nerves; the place of which we find supplied in plants by tubes, and in zoophytes by a similar structure. In the more perfect creatures there is *a superior elaboration of the juices on which they live*, at the same time promoting the warmth conducive to vitality. Thus rises the tree of life from vegetability to the white fluid of exanguious animals, from this to red blood, and thence to the more perfect, warmblooded, organized beings. The higher this warmth rises, the more complicated we perceive the internal organization, and the more extensive the circuit, from the motion of which alone this internal warmth could probably originate. One only principle of life seems to prevail throughout all nature: this the *ethereal or electric stream*, which in the tubes of plants, in the arteries and muscles of animals, and lastly in the nervous system, is still more and more finely elaborated, till it produces all those won-

* See Martinet's *Katechismus der Natur*, 'Catechism of Nature,' vol. I, p. 316, where the annual growth is pointed out by a plate.

derful instincts and mental faculties, which excite our astonishment in men and beasts. The growth of plants is promoted by electricity; though their vital juices are much more finely organized, than the electric power which displays itself in the inanimate parts of nature. On beasts, and on man, too, the electric fluid operates; and not merely on the grosser parts of the machine perhaps, but even where these most intimately border on the mind. The nerves, animated by an essence, the laws of which are almost above those of matter, as it operates with a kind of ubiquity, are yet susceptible of the electric power in the body. Nature, in short, bestowed on her living children what she had best to bestow, *an organic similitude of her own creative power, animating warmth*. From inanimate vegetable life the creature produces by the means of certain organs living stimuli; and from the sum of these, refined by more exquisite ducts, the medium of perception. The result of stimuli is impulse: the result of perception is thought: an eternal progress of the creative organization imparted to every living being. With its organic warmth, not as perceptible externally to our rude instruments, the perfection of the species increases; and perhaps too its capacity for a more delicate sense of well-being, in the allpervading stream of which the allwarming, allquickenning, allenjoying mother feels her own existence.

Secondly. The more complicated the internal organization of the creature, to produce more pure vital warmth, the more we perceive its capacity for *conceiving and producing living beings*. Another branch of the same great tree of life through all the races of creatures*.

It is well known, that most plants fecundate themselves; and that, where the organs of generation are separate, many androgyni and polygamists are found amongst them. It is in like manner observable, that in the lower orders of animals, as zoophytes, snails, and insects, either the animal organs of generation are wanting, and the creature seems only to germinate like a plant; or hermaphrodites, androgyni, and other anomalies occur, which this is not the place to enumerate. The more complex the organization of the animal is, the more strikingly are the sexes discriminated. Here Nature could no longer rest satisfied with organized germs: the formation of a being so exuberant and multiform in its parts would have succeeded badly, had it been left in the power of chance to sport with organic forms. Our wise mother therefore separated and distinguished the sexes. Yet she knew how to frame an organization, by

* Let it not be objected, that polypi, some snails, and even leaflice produce living creatures; for in this way plants too produce a living offspring, in putting forth buds. I speak here of viviparous animals, that give suck.

means of which two creatures unite in one, and from their conjunction a third is formed, the stamp of both, at the instant of the most intimate organic vital warmth.

In this conceived, by this alone is the new being reared. Maternal warmth surrounds and fashions it. It's lungs yet breathe not, and it's larger thymus gland absorbs: even in the human embryo the right ventricle of the heart seems yet wanting, and instead of blood a whiter fluid circulates through it's veins. Still in proportion as it's internal heat is fanned by the mother's warmth, it's heart becomes more perfect, and the blood reddens, and acquires an energetic circulation, though it cannot yet come into contact with the lungs. With distinctly beating pulse the creature moves; and at length comes into the world perfectly formed, endued with all the faculties of perception and voluntary motion, to which a living creature of this kind alone could be organized. Immediately air, milk, food, nay even pain, and every want, afford him occasion of absorbing warmth a thousand ways, and elaborating it, by means of fibres, muscles, and nerves, to an essence, that no inferior organization could produce. It augments till those years, when his superabundant vital warmth strives to propagate and multiply itself; and thus the circle of organic life begins again anew.

Thus Nature acted by those creatures, to which she could impart the capacity of producing a living offspring. But this all cannot. Cold blooded animals are incapable of this: the Sun must lend them assistance, and share with them the maternal office. It hatches the embryo: a clear proof, that all organic warmth throughout the creation is the same, only more and more subtly elaborated by numerous channels. Even birds, that have warmer blood than reptiles, are incapable of bringing forth living young, partly perhaps in consequence of their colder element, partly on account of their way of life and general destination. These light animals, intended for flight, Nature has exempted from the burden of carrying their young till they could be born alive, as she has from the trouble of suckling them. When the bird, even in an ugly intermediate species, treads the earth, it gives suck: as soon as the aquatic animal has attained sufficient organization and warmth of blood, to produce living young, the labour of suckling them is imposed on it.

How much has Nature thus contributed to the perfection of the species! The bird, that flies, can only hatch her young: and from this little domestic economy what fine instincts arise in both sexes! Nuptial love builds the nest; maternal tenderness warms it; paternal affection also assists in this, and procures

food. How eagerly does the mother bird defend her young! how chaste is conjugal love in those species, that are formed for the matrimonial tie!

Among those animals that dwell on the earth, this bond, where it can take place, should be still stronger: therefore the mother is to nourish her liveborn offspring at her breast, with the most delicate part of herself. Nothing but a grossly organized swine can devour its own young: frigid amphibia alone entrust their eggs to the sand or the morass. All the species that give suck have a tender affection for their offspring: the love of the ape is become proverbial, and perhaps no other species is in this point inferior to it. Even aquatic animals participate in this sentiment, and the manatee has been represented even to a fable as a pattern of conjugal and maternal love. Affectionate superintendant of the World, with such simple organic ties hast thou knit the most necessary relations, and finest instincts, of thy children! Owing to a single cavity in the muscle of the heart, to a single pair of respiring lungs, the creature lives with stronger and purer warmth, produces and suckles living young, and is adapted to finer instincts than that of propagating the species, to domestic economy and affection for its offspring, nay in some species to conjugal love. With the greater warmth of the blood, that stream of the universal soul of the World, lightest thou the torch, that excites the finest emotions of the human heart.

I should lastly speak of the head, as the highest region of the animal form: but to this belong other considerations first, beside those of its external figure and parts.

CHAPTER II.

A Comparison of the various Powers, that operate in Animals.

THE immortal Haller has discriminated the different powers, that display themselves physiologically in the animal body, as the elasticity of the fibres, the irritability of the muscles, and the sensibility of the nervous system, with an accuracy, that will not only remain upon the whole incontrovertible, but promises the most valuable application to the physiology of mind, even in other than human bodies.

I shall not now examine, whether these three phenomena, different as they appear, may not arise at bottom from one and the same power, displaying itself in one manner in the fibres, in another in the muscles, and in a third in the

nerves. As every thing in nature is connected, and these three effects are so intimately and multifariously combined in the living body, we can scarcely entertain a doubt of it. Elasticity and irritability border on one another, as do fibres and muscles. Since muscles are but an artfully interwoven structure of fibres; irritability is probably nothing more than elasticity infinitely heightened and intimately combined, exalting itself, in this organic interlacement of numerous parts, from the inanimate fibrous sensation to the first step of animal feeling. The sensibility of the nervous system would then be a higher species of the same power, a result of all those organic powers; since the circulation of the blood at large, and all the vessels subservient to it, seem contrived to humectate the brain, as the root of the nerves, with that subtile fluid, which, considered as the medium of perception, is so much exalted above the faculties of the fibres and muscles.

Be this as it may, infinite is the wisdom of the creator, which combined these powers with the different organic parts of the animal body, and rendered the lower step by step subservient to the higher. Fibres constitute the foundation of every part even of our fabric. By these man grows. The lymphatic and chyloferous vessels prepare juices for the whole machine. The muscular powers move the muscles, not merely to external exertion, but one muscle, the heart, is the first propeller of the blood, a fluid composed of many other fluids, which not only warms the whole body, but ascends to the head, and there still farther elaborated animates the nerves. Like a celestial plant, these spread downwards, from their root placed aloft: and how do they spread? how delicate are they? to what parts are they allied? with what degree of irritability is this or that muscle endowed? what juices do the plantlike vessels prepare? what temperature prevails through this system, in comparison with others? to what senses does it pertain? to what kind of life does it conduce? in what frame, in what figure, is it organized?

If the accurate investigation of these questions in particular animals, especially those which approach nearest to man, do not give us an insight into their characters and instincts, into the relations of the species to each other, and above all into the causes of the superiority of man over beasts; I know not whence we can derive physical information. And happily a Camper, a Wriberg, a Wolf, a Sœmmering, and many other inquisitive anatomists, pursue this judicious physiological mode of comparing various species, with respect to the power of their vital organs.

I shall now proceed to a few leading fundamental propositions suitable to my purpose, which may serve to introduce the subsequent reflections on the inherent organic powers of various beings, and finally of man: for without

these any view of human nature, in it's wants and perfections, must be very superficial.

1. *Wherever an effect exists in nature, there must be an operating power : where irritability displays itself in effort, or in spasm, a stimulus must be felt from within.* If these propositions be not valid, there is an end to all connexion in our remarks, to all analogy in nature.

2. *No man can draw a line discriminating where an apparent action shall be a proof of an inherent power, and where it shall cease to be so.* We ascribe feeling and thought to the animals that live with us, because we see their daily practices before us, but we cannot deny them to others, because we are not intimately enough acquainted with them, or think their performances too artful ; for our ignorance, or want of art, is no absolute standard of all the mechanical ideas and feelings of the animate creation.

3. Thus, *where art is practised, a mechanical sense exists and is exercised :* and where a creature shows by it's actions, that it foresees natural occurrences, inasmuch as it endeavours to provide for them ; it must have an internal sense, an organ, a medium of this foresight ; whether it be comprehensible to us or not, for the powers of nature are not changed on this account.

4. *There may be many mediums in the creation, of which we have not the least knowledge, because we have no organ adapted to them :* nay there must be many, for we see in almost every creature actions, which we cannot explain from our organization.

5. That creation is infinitely greater, in which millions of creatures, of different senses and instincts, enjoy each it's own world, pursue each it's own train ; than a wilderness, to be perceived by inattentive man alone with his five dull senses.

6. He who has any feeling of the grandeur and power of Nature, abounding in sensation, art, and vitality, will thankfully receive what his organization imparts ; but he will not on this account deny to her very face the spirit of all her other works. The whole creation is to be throughout enjoyed, felt, and acted upon : on every new point, therefore, must be creatures to enjoy it, organs to perceive it, powers to act suitably to it. What have the crocodile and the humming-bird, the condor and the pipa in common ? yet each is suitably organized, to live and move in it's element. No point of creation is without enjoyment, without organ, without inhabitant. : *every creature, therefore, has it's own, a new world.*

Infinity envelopes me, Nature, when, surrounded with a thousand proofs of this, and penetrated with these feelings, I enter thy sacred fane. No creature hast thou neglected : to every one thou hast imparted thyself as fully, as

it's organization would admit. Each of thy works thou madest one, and perfect, and like only to itself. Thy mode of operating is from within to without; and where it was necessary thou shouldst deny, thou hast compensated as the mother of all things could compensate.

Let us now cast a glance on the relative balance of the various acting powers in different kinds of organization; thus we shall clear our way to the physiological place of man.

1. Plants exist to vegetate, and bring forth fruit: a subordinate end, as it appears to us; yet, in the whole creation, the basis of every other. This they completely fulfil; and labour at it so much the more incessantly, the less it is divided into other ends. Where they can, they exist, in the whole germe, and protrude new shoots and buds: a single branch represents the whole tree. Here then we call to our assistance one of the preceding propositions, and are justified in saying, according to all natural analogy: *where effect is, there must be power; where new life is, a principle of new life must exist*; and in every phyto-morphic creature this must be found in the greatest activity. The theory of germes, which has been taken to explain vegetation, explains in reality nothing: for the germe is already a form; and where a form is, there must be an organic power, that formed it. No dissecting knife has detected all future germes in the first created seed: they are not visible to us, till the plant has acquired it's full powers, and all our experience gives us no right to ascribe them to any thing but the organic power of the plant itself, operating on them with silent intensity. Nature has bestowed on this creature of her's all she could bestow, and compensated for the much she was forced to deny it, by the intensity of the single power that operates in it. Of what benefit would the faculty of animal motion be to a plant, which cannot stir from it's place? Why should it be capable of knowing other plants around, since this knowledge must be to it a source of sorrow? But the air, light, and the juices that nourish it, it attracts and enjoys after the manner of plants: and the propensity to grow, to bloom, and to propagate it's species, it exercises more truly and incessantly than any other creature.

2. The transition from plants to the several zoophytes hitherto discovered represents this still more clearly. In these the organs of nutrition are already separated: they possess an analogous animal sense, and voluntary motion: still their principal *organic powers* are nutrition and propagation. The polypus is no magazine of germes, lying preformed in it, perchance for the cruel knife of the philosopher: but as plants themselves are *organic life*, so is it also. Like them it puts forth shoots, and the bistoury of the anatomist can only excite, can only stimulate, this power. As a stimulated or divided muscle displays more power,

so a tortured polypus exerts all it can, to repair and restore its loss. It pushes forth limbs till its powers are exhausted, and the implements of art have wholly destroyed its nature. In some parts, in some directions, when the portion is too small, when its powers are too languid, it can do this no more: which would not be the case, if a preformed germe lay ready in every point. In it we perceive energetic organic powers operating, as in the sprouting of plants; nay still lower, in feeble, obscure beginnings.

3. Testaceous animals are organic creatures, endued with just as much life, as could be collected and organized in their element, and in their habitations. We must call it feeling, because we have no other word: but it is snail-feeling, it is sea-feeling, a chaos of the most obscure vital powers, developed only in few members. Observe their fine feelers, the muscle that supplies the place of optic nerves, the open mouth, the commencement of a pulsating heart, and their wonderful power of reproduction. The animal renovates head, horns, jaws, eyes: it not only forms its artfully constructed shell, and again wears it away, but procreates living beings with similar shells: and many of the species are both male and female at the same time. Thus in it there is a world of *organic powers*, by means of which the creature is capable of effecting, in its low rank, what no one with more perfect limbs can perform, while in it the tough platic mucus so much more intimately and incessantly works.

4. The insect, so artful in its actions, is equally artful in its structure: its organic powers are conformable to this, even with respect to particular parts. Yet it has room for little brain, and extremely fine nerves only: its muscles are so delicate, that they required to be mailed without with a hard covering: and its organization has no place for the circulation of greater animals. But consider its head, its eyes, its antennæ, its feet, its shield, its wings; observe the vast burden carried by a chafer, a fly, an ant, or the force exerted by an enraged wasp; look at the five thousand muscles, which Lyonet has enumerated in the caterpillar of the willow moth, while mighty man possesses scarce four hundred and fifty; lastly contemplate the works of art, which with their senses and limbs they undertake; and thence infer an organic plenitude of powers, inherently operating in each of their parts. Who can behold the trembling avulsed leg of a spider, or a fly, without perceiving the force of vital irritability it retains, even when separated from its trunk? The head of the animal was too small, to contain it all; abundant Nature has distributed it therefore throughout all its limbs, even to the minutest. Its antennæ are senses: its slender legs are muscles and arms: each nervous plexus is a smaller brain; each irritable vessel, almost a pulsating heart: and thus the delicate operations are accomplished, for which many of these species are wholly contrived, and to which their orga-

nization and necessities impel them. What exquisite elasticity has the thread of a spider, or a silkworm! and this the artist drew from herself; an evident proof, that she is all elasticity and irritability, and even in her instincts and operations a real artist, a miniature soul of the world acting in this organization.

5. In coldblooded animals the same *excess of irritability* is visible. The tortoise moves a long time, and forcibly, after it has lost its head: the teeth of a viper inflict a mortal wound, three, eight, nay twelve days, after the head has been separated from the body. If the jaws of a dead crocodile be pulled asunder, they are capable of biting off the incautious finger: and among insects the sting of a bee attempts to wound after it is pulled out. Observe the frog in copulation; its limbs may be torn off, before it will relinquish its purpose. Behold the tortured salamander: fingers, hands, feet, legs can he lose, and renew them again. So great and allsufficient are *organic vital powers* in these coldblooded animals: and in short, the more crude an animal is, that is, the less the organic faculty has exalted its irritability and muscles to finer nervous power, and subjected them to the sway of an ampler brain, the more do these display themselves in an extended, life supporting or repairing, *organic omnipotence*.

6. Even in warmblooded animals it has been observed, that their flesh moves more dully in connexion with the nerves, and their intestines are more forcibly affected by stimuli when the animal is dead. In death the convulsions grow stronger in proportion as perceptivity diminishes; and a muscle, that has lost its irritability, regains it, if it be cut in pieces. Thus the more a creature is rich in nerves, the more it seems to lose of the delicate vital power, that with difficulty dies. The power of reproducing parts, not to mention such complex members as the head, the hands, or the feet, is lost in the more perfect animals as they are called: at certain ages scarcely can they restore a tooth, or heal a wound or a fracture. But then the sensations and perceptions of this class are remarkably exalted, till at length in man they are concentrated into reason, the finest and highest degree of terrestrial organization.

Might we collect a few results from these inductions, which still it would not be improper perhaps to reduce to one, it would be the following:

1. In every living creature the circle of organic powers seems to be whole and complete; only differently modified and distributed in each. In this comes near *vegetation*, and is therefore so powerful in reproducing its species, and restoring its parts: in that these faculties decrease, in proportion as they

are distributed among more artfully constructed members, and finer organs and senses.

2. Beyond the sphere of vegetation the system of vital irritability commences. It is closely allied to the faculty of the growing, sprouting, self-renewing, animal fibrous structure: only it appears in an artful condensed form, and to a more limited determinate end of vital operation. Every muscle already stands in reciprocal relation to many others: it will therefore display not the powers of fibre alone, but its own; living irritability in effective motion. The torpedo renews not its limbs like the lizard, the frog, or the polypus: and those animals, which possess the reproductive faculty, renew not the parts in which muscular powers are condensed, like those which are as it were but sprouts: the lobster can push out new claws, but not a new tail. Thus in artfully combined motive powers the sphere of vegetative organization gradually vanishes; or rather it is retained in a more elaborate form, and wholly applied to the purposes of a more complicated organization.

3. The farther the muscular powers enter the sphere of the nerves, the more are they imprisoned in this organization, and subdued to *the purposes of perception*. The more numerous and delicate the nerves of an animal; the more multifariously they are connected, artfully strengthened, and allied to nobler parts and senses; and lastly the larger and more delicate the focus of all perception, the brain: the more intelligent and exquisite is the kind of organization. On the contrary, in those animals, in which irritability overpowers perceptivity, and the muscular powers the nervous system; where the latter is employed on mean functions and appetites, and particularly where the first and least supportable of all appetites, hunger, is the most predominant; the species is, according to our standard, partly less perfect in its structure, partly more gross in its manners.

Who would not rejoice, if some philosophic anatomist* should undertake, to give a comparative physiology of several animals, particularly of those that approach nearest to man, examining these powers, discriminated and established by experiment, in relation to the whole organization of the creature? Nature exhibits to us her works, externally a masked form, a covered recep-

* Beside other known pieces, I find in the works of Alexander Monro, the elder, Edin. 1781, an Essay on Comparative Anatomy, which well deserves a translation; as the fine

animal skeleton in Cheselden's Osteography, London, 1783, does to be copied, though the accuracy and beauty of the original would not easily be equalled in Germany.

tacle of interior powers. We see an animal's mode of life : from the physiognomy of it's visage, and the relation of it's parts, we guess perhaps at something of what exists within. But here within, the organs and mass of organic powers are themselves placed before us ; and the nearer to man, the better means have we of comparison. Though I am no anatomist, I will venture to follow the observations of some anatomists of celebrity in one or two examples, which will prepare us for the structure and physiological nature of man.

CHAPTER III.

Examples of the physiological Structure of some Animals.

THE elephant *, shapeless as he seems, displays physiological grounds enough of his superiority to all other beasts, and resemblance to man. His brain indeed is not very large, in proportion to the size of the animal ; but it's cavities, and it's whole structure, bear a striking resemblance to those of the human species. ' I was astonished,' says Camper, ' to find such a similarity between the *glandula pinealis, nates, and testes*, of the brain of this animal, and those of our brain : since, if a *common sensory* can exist, it must be sought for here.' The cranium is small in proportion to the head, as the nostrils extend far over the brain, and fill with air the cavities not only of the forehead, but of other parts † : for, to move the ponderous jaw, strong muscles are requisite, and an extensive surface, which our creative parent has filled with air, to spare the creature an insupportable burden. The *cerebrum* does not lie above the *cerebellum*, and press it by it's weight : the membrane, that separates them, stands perpendicular. The numerous nerves of the animal are principally spent on the organs of the finer senses, and his trunk alone receives as many as the whole bulk of his vast body. The muscles, that move the trunk, arise from the forehead : it is altogether without cartilage, the organ of a delicate feeling, an acute smell, and the freest motion. In it therefore many senses are combined, and assist each other. Thus the expressive eye of the elephant, which, like no other animal but man, is provided with hairs and a delicate muscular motion in the lower eyelid, has the finer senses for it's neighbours ; and these are separated from the taste, which governs other beasts. The mouth, which in other quadrupeds, particularly of the carnivorous kinds, constitutes the predominant

* From Buffon, Daubenton, Camper; and in part Zimmermann's description of the fetus of an elephant.

† The cavities and sinuses of the *processus mammillaris*, &c.

part of the visage, is here placed deep beneath the prominent forehead, and high trunk, so that it is almost concealed. His tongue is still smaller: the weapons of defence, which he carries in his mouth, are distinct from the organs of nutrition: he is not formed, therefore, for savage voracity. Large as his bowels must necessarily be, his stomach is small and simple: so that probably raging hunger cannot torment him, as it does beasts of prey. Peaceably and cleanly he crops the herb; and, as his sense of smell is separate from his mouth, he employs in this more time and caution. For the same caution has Nature fashioned him in drinking, and in every other function of his massy structure, even to the propagation of his species. No sexual appetite inflames him with rage: the female goes nine months with young, like woman, and suckles her offspring at the breast. The periods of his life, during which he grows, is in vigour, and decays, resemble those of man. How nobly has nature converted his fangs into long tusks! and how delicate must be his organ of hearing, that can understand human language in fine discriminations of the tones of command and of the passions! His ears are larger than those of any other animal, thin, and extended on all sides; their apertures stand high; and the whole of the small occiput is a cave of echo, filled with air. Thus Nature has wisely diminished the weight of the animal, and united the strongest muscular force with the most refined nervous economy: a king of beasts in sagacious quiet, and intelligent purity of sense.

How different a king of beasts the lion *! Nature has established his throne on muscular force, not on mildness, and superiority of intellect. She has made his brain small; and his nerves so weak, that they are not even proportionate to those of a cat: while she framed his muscles large and strong, and fixed them to the bones in such positions, as to produce the greatest force, instead of diversity and delicacy of motion. One great muscle, that lifts the neck; a muscle of the fore-foot, which serves to grasp; the joint of the foot close to the claws; these large and curved, so that their points cannot be blunted, as they never touch the earth: such were his gifts for the purposes of life. His stomach is long, and much curved: its friction, and his hunger, therefore, must be fearful. His heart is small; but its cavities are delicate and broad; much longer and broader than in man. The parietes of his heart are twice as thin, and the aorta twice as small; so that the blood of the lion, as soon

* Chiefly according to Wolf's excellent description, in the *New Commentar. Acad. Scient. Petrop.*, 'New Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg,' vol. XV, and XVI. I

with we had anatomico-physiological descriptions of more animals, executed in the same manner.

as it quits the heart, flows with four times the velocity, and in the arterial branches of the fifteenth division with a hundred times that of the human circulation. The heart of the elephant on the contrary beats slowly; almost as much so as in coldblooded animals. The gallbladder of the lion too is large, and the bile blackish. His broad tongue is rounded forwards, and furnished with prickles, an inch and half long, lying on the forepart, with their points directed backwards. Hence the danger of his licking the skin, which immediately fetches blood, and excites his thirst of it; his raging thirst, even after the blood of his friend and benefactor. A lion, that has once tasted human blood, quits not readily this prey, after which his furrowed palate lustrates. The lioness produces several cubs, which grow but slowly: she is obliged therefore to provide for them during a considerable period, and her maternal affection, joined to her own hunger, augments her ravenousness. As the tongue of the lion tastes acutely, and his fiery hunger is a kind of thirst: it is natural, that he should have no appetite for putrid carrion. To kill his own food, to suck the warm blood, is his royal taste: and the astonishment of surprise is often the whole of his royal magnanimity. His sleep is light, because his blood is warm, and circulates quickly. When fatiated he is cowardly; for he cannot use stale provision, therefore he thinks not of it, and is only excited to valour by present hunger. Benevolent Nature has blunted his senses: his eye is afraid of fire, and cannot even bear the splendour of the Sun: his scent is not acute, the situation of his muscles fitting him only for great springs, not for running, and nothing putrid excites him. His covered, wrinkled forehead is small, compared with the inferior part of his visage, his ravenous jaws, and masticating muscles. His nose is large and long; his neck and forelegs are of iron: his mane, and the muscles of his tail, are ample: but his hinder parts are more feeble and slender. Nature had exhausted her fearful powers, and made him in disposition, when not tormented with the thirst of blood, a gentle and noble beast. So physiological are thus also this creature's mind and character.

The sloth, in appearance the last and most shapeless of quadrupeds, a mass of mud that has risen to animal organization, may serve us for a third example. His head is small and round: all his limbs too are round, thick, shapeless, and like stuffed cushions. His neck is stiff, as if it were one piece with the head. The hair of it has a contrary direction to that of the back, as if Nature had formed the animal in two directions, uncertain which she should prefer. At last she chose for the principal parts the belly and posteriors, to which, in place, form, and functions, the wretched head is subordinate. The

female carries her young in her posteriors. The stomach and bowels fill the abdomen: the heart, lungs, and liver, are slightly formed: and the gallbladder seems wholly wanting. His blood is so cold as to border on that of amphibia: his heart and intestines palpitate long after being torn out: and the legs of the animal are agitated, after the heart is gone, as though he were in a slumber. Thus we perceive here the compensation of Nature, who, where obliged to refuse susceptible nerves, and even active muscular powers, has more intimately diffused and imparted exquisite irritability. This singular animal therefore may be less unfortunate than he seems. He loves warmth: he loves the quiet of sleep; and enjoys a slimelike wellbeing in each. When he wants warmth, he sleeps: and as if even lying down were painful to him, he fastens himself to a bough with his paws, and feeds himself with one of them, while, hanging from it like a bag, he enjoys in the warm sunbeams his grublike existence. Thus the misshapen form of his feet is a benefit to him. From the peculiarity of their structure the tender animal cannot support himself on their balls, but only on the convexity of his claws, on which, as on the wheels of a waggon, he shoves himself slowly and commodiously along. His six and forty ribs, the like of which no other quadruped possesses, form a long vault for his storehouse of provision, and are, if I may be allowed the expression, the ossified rings of a voracious leaf-bag, of a grub.

Of examples enough. It is obvious wherein the ideas of an animal mind and an animal instinct are to be placed, if we follow the guidance of physiology and experience. *That is the sum and result of all the vital powers working in one organized system: this is the direction, that Nature gave to those collective powers, by placing them in a given temperament and no other, by organizing them to this and no other structure.*

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Instincts of Animals.

WE have an excellent work on the instincts of animals by the late Reimarus*, which, like his work on natural religion, will remain a lasting monument of his inquisitive spirit, and profound love of truth. After learned and methodical remarks on the various instincts, which animals possess, he endeavours to explain them from the advantages of the mechanism, the senses, and the internal feelings, with which they are endued: yet he is of opinion, that we must admit, especially with regard to the instinctive arts, particular *determinate natural powers, and natural innate capacities*, which are susceptible of no farther explication. In the latter part of his sentiments I cannot acquiesce: for the composition of the whole machine from certain given powers, senses, feelings, and conceptions, in short, the *organization of the creature itself*, constitutes *the most sure direction, the most perfect determination*, that Nature could impress upon her work.

As the creator formed plants, and bestowed on them certain parts, and endued them with certain powers, to attract and assimilate light, air, and other subtle matters, with which they are abundantly supplied through the medium of the atmosphere, or of water; and as he has placed them in their proper elements, where each part naturally exerts the powers essential to it: no new and blind instinct to vegetate seems to me necessary to have been imparted to them. Each part, with its living powers, performs its task; and thus in the general appearance becomes visible the result of the powers, that could develop themselves in a given organization. The active powers of Nature are all living, each in its kind: they must possess a something within, answerable to their effects without; as Leibnitz advanced, and as all analogy seems to inform us. That we have no name for this internal state of plants, or the powers still operating in them, is a defect of our language: for sensation is used only of the internal state, communicated to us by the nervous system. An obscure analogy however may exist: and if it do not, a new instinct, a power of vegetation ascribed to the whole, teaches us nothing.

* Reimarus *allgem. Betrachtungen über die Triebe der Thiere*, 'Reimarus's General Remarks on the Instincts of Animals,' Hamburg, 1773. Also *Angefangene Betrachtungen über die besondern Arten der thierischen Kunsttriebe*,

'Sketches of Remarks on the particular Kinds of instinctive Arts in Animals:' to which is appended J. A. H. Reimarus's copious and elegant essay on the nature of zoophytes.

Two natural instincts are sufficiently evident in plants, those of nutrition and propagation; and the results of these are works of art, such as the performances of a living insect, however skilful, scarcely equals: they are the bud and the flower. When Nature makes a transition from a plant, or a stone, to the animal kingdom, does she more clearly unfold to us the instincts of organic powers? The polypus appears to blossom like a plant, yet is an animal. Like an animal it seeks and digests its food: it pushes forth shoots, and these shoots are living animals: it renovates itself, as far as it enjoys the power of renovation—the greatest work of art, that any creature performs. What is constructed with more art than the house of the snail? The cells of the bee must yield to it: the web of the caterpillar, of the silkworm, must give place to this artificial flower. And by what means has Nature accomplished this? By internal organic powers, which, little divided into limbs, lie in a lump, and the convolutions of which, following for the most part the progress of the Sun, formed this regular figure. Internal parts afforded the basis, as the spider draws her web from her entrails, and the air could only supply the harder or grosser parts. This transition seems to me sufficiently to show, whereon all the instincts, even the mechanical ones of the most skilful animal, depend: namely, *on organic powers, operating in a given manner, according to given limbs*. Whether this be effected with more or less sensation, depends on the nerves of the creature: but beside these, there are active muscular powers, and fibres fully imbued with growing and renovating vegetative life; which two kinds of powers, independent of the nerves, sufficiently compensate to the creature what it wants of nerves and brain.

Thus Nature herself leads us to the instinctive arts, which we are accustomed to attribute more especially to certain insects, for no other reason but because their performances are seen by us in miniature, and we compare them with our own. The more distinct the organs of a creature, and the more lively and delicate its irritability; the less surprising should it be to us, to perceive operations, of which animals of coarser structure, and duller irritability of particular parts, are incapable, whatever other advantages they may possess. Even the smallness and delicacy of the creature conduce to art; which can be nothing else, but the result of all its sensations, activities, and irritabilities.

Here too examples will speak most forcibly: and the faithful industry of a Swammerdam, a Reaumur, a Lyonet, a Roefel, and some others, have beautifully placed these examples before our eyes. When the caterpillar spins herself round with a web, what does she more, than many other creatures perform, when they cast their skins? The snake puts off her exuviae, the bird moults her feathers, and many quadrupeds shed their hair: by these means they grow young

again, and renovate their powers. The caterpillar also grows young again, only in a more difficult, exquisite, and artful manner: she strips off her brittle case, which takes with it some of her feet, and by a slower or quicker transition appears in a perfectly new state. The first period of her life, which she employed as a caterpillar in the office of nutrition alone, afforded her powers for this: now must they also serve to propagate the species, and for this her rings are formed, and her limbs are produced. Thus, in the organization of this creature, Nature has only placed her periods of life and instincts farther from each other, and left them organically to prepare for a peculiar transformation—as involuntary on the part of the creature, as that of the snake when she casts her skin.

What is the web of the spider, but the *spider herself elongated*, to obtain her prey? As the polypus stretches out his arms to embrace it; as she obtained fangs to hold it fast; so for the purpose of catching her prey she acquired the papillæ, between which her web is drawn out. Of the juice from which it is formed she has about a sufficient quantity to supply her with webs during her life; and if she be unfortunate with them, she must recur to forcible means, or die. The power that organized her whole body, and all its inherent faculties, formed her thus *organically* to the fabrication of this web.

The same are we taught by the republic of bees. Each of the different species of these is fashioned to its particular purpose: and they associate together, because neither of the species could exist without the others. The working bees are organized for the gathering of honey, and the construction of the cells. The honey they gather, as every animal seeks its food: and since their mode of life requires it, they collect it orderly, and lay it up in store. They construct their cells as so many other animals build their habitations, each in its own manner. Being of no sex, they feed the young of the hive, as others feed their own offspring; and kill the drones, as every animal kills another, that robs him of his provision, and is a burden to his family. Though all this cannot be done without sense and feeling; yet it is but the sense, the feeling, of a bee; neither the mere mechanism, to which Buffon refers it; nor the complicated, mathematical, political reason, which others ascribe to the creature. Its mind is included in its organization, and intimately interwoven with it. Thus it operates conformably to it; finely, and with art, but in a very narrow and confined circle. The beehive is its world, and the creator has divided its occupations into three parts by a threefold organization.

Neither must we suffer ourselves to be misled by the word *promptitude*, while we observe these organic arts in many animals immediately after their birth. Our promptitude arises from practice; theirs does not. Is their

organization completed? its powers must be in full play. What in the World has the greatest promptitude? The falling stone; the blooming flower. That falls, this blooms, *according to its nature*. The crystal shoots with more promptitude and regularity, than the bee constructs its comb, or the spider her web. In the stone it is only a blind organic instinct, that is infallible: in the insect it is organized to the employment of several limbs and organs, and these may fail. The healthy, powerful consent of these to one end constitutes promptitude, as soon as the perfect creature exists.

Thus we perceive why the higher creatures rise, the more their incessant propensity and infallible promptitude decrease. The more, namely, the one organic principle of nature, which we here term *plastic*, there *impulsive*, here *sensitive*, there *artful*, yet which is at bottom but one and the same organic power, is subdivided into several organs and various limbs; and the more it has in each of these a world of its own, whence consequently it is exposed to particular errors and obstacles: so much the weaker is its propensity, so much the more is it subject to the command of the will, and therefore of error. The different sensations must be balanced against each other, and then reconciled together: hail, then, overpowering instinct, infallible guide! The obscure irritation, that in a certain sphere, secluded from all others, possesses in itself a kind of omniscience and omnipotence, is now divided into twigs and branches. The teachable creature must learn, as he receives from Nature less knowledge: he must exercise his powers, because he receives less power from Nature: but by his progressive advancement, by the refining and division of his powers, he has obtained new means of operation, and more and finer organs, to discriminate his sensations, and to choose that which is best. What he wants in intensity of impulse, is supplied by its extent and finer composition: he is capable of more pure self-satisfaction, of a more free and diversified use of his powers and limbs; and all, because, if I may so express myself, his organic mind is more subtly and multifariously distributed among its organs.

Let us now consider a few wonderful and wise laws of this gradual improvement of the creature; how the creator has accustomed him step by step to a combination of many ideas, or feelings, and to a peculiar free employment of many senses and limbs.

CHAPTER V.

Advancement of the Creature to a combination of several Ideas, and to a particular freer use of the Senses and Limbs.

1. AN obscure but powerful propensity is all, that inanimate nature possesses. The parts press together with internal energies: every creature seeks to *acquire form, and forms itself*. Every thing is yet included in this propensity; but it indelibly pervades the whole being. The smallest part of a crystal, or of a salt, is a salt or a crystal: the plastic power operates in the minutest particle, as in the whole; indiscernible from without, indelible from within.

2. Plants divide themselves into tubes and other parts: in these parts their propensity begins to modify itself after its own manner, though in the whole it still operates uniformly. Root, stem, and branches, absorb; but in different manners, by different conduits, and different substances. Thus the propensity of the whole modifies itself with these, but still remains in the whole one and the same: for *propagation is only the efflorescence of growth*, and both these propensities are inseparable from the nature of the creature.

3. In zoophytes Nature begins imperceptibly to separate particular organs, with their inherent powers: the organs of nutrition become visible: the fruit already loosens itself in the womb of the parent, though it continues to be nourished in it as a plant. Many polypi sprout from one stem: Nature has fixed them to a spot, and exempted them from locomotion. The snail has a broad foot, with which it fastens itself to its house. The senses of this creature lie obscurely and indistinct together: its propensity operates slowly and intimately: the copulation of the snail continues several days. Thus Nature has exempted this beginning of vital organization as much as she could from diversity, and therefore more deeply concealed and firmly bound variety in an obscure simple movement. The tenacious life of the snail is almost indelible.

4. As she ascended higher, she observed the same wise precaution, gradually to inure the creature to a greater discrimination of diversified sense and instinct. The insect cannot perform at once all it has to perform: therefore it must *change its form and being*, first as a caterpillar to satisfy the propensity of nutrition, next as a fly that of propagation: it was incapable of both in one form. *One species of bees* could not execute every thing requisite to the enjoyment and propagation of the kind: Nature divided them therefore, and made one to

work, another to propagate, and a third to produce young; all by a slight change of organization, whence the powers of the creature acquired another direction. *What she could not complete in one model, she effected in three, fitted to each other as fragments of one whole.* Thus she taught the bees their office in three species, as she taught the butterfly, and other insects, their occupations in two different forms.

5. In proportion as she advanced, and thought fit to allow the use of several senses, and with these of will, to accumulate; she removed unnecessary limbs, and simplified the structure within and without. With the skin of the caterpillar feet are removed, for which the butterfly will have no occasion: the many feet of insects, their numerous and diversified eyes, their antennæ, and many other little implements, are wanting in superiour creatures. Of those the head contains little brain: it lying far lower in the spinal marrow, and each ganglion of the nerves constituting a new centre of sensation. Thus the mind of the little artist is dispersed throughout it's whole body. The more the creature should increase in spontaneity, and the resemblance of intelligence; the greater, and better furnished with brain, is it's head; and the three principal parts of the body are more proportionate to each other, which in insects, worms, and the like, were totally destitute of proportion. What great and mighty tails do the amphibia drag on the ground, while their misshapen legs stand unconnected! In quadrupeds Nature has exalted her work: the legs are longer, and approach nearer together. The tail, with it's portion of the vertebræ, shortens and diminishes: it loses the gross muscular force of the crocodile's, and becomes more pliable and slender; till in more noble animals it is only a hairy switch, and at length, as Nature approaches the erect form, it is totally rejected. The marrow of it is carried higher up, and expended on nobler parts.

6. While the creative artist found *the proportion of the quadruped the best, wherein this creature learned to exercise certain senses and powers in combination, and to unite them in one form of thought and sensation:* she changed the figure of each species according to it's mode of life and destination, and with the same parts and limbs produced it's own harmony of the whole, and therewith it's own organic mind, different from all others. At the same time she retained a certain similitude, and seemed to pursue one great end. This great end is evidently to approach that organic form, in which the greatest combination of clear ideas, and the most diversified and free use of various senses and limbs, could take place: and this it is, that constitutes the greater or less humanity of beasts. It is no sport of the will: but a result of the diverse forms, that could be no otherwise combined to that end, to which Nature would combine

them; namely to an employment of thoughts, senses, powers, and desires, in this proportion, to such an end, and no other.

The parts of every animal are in the most exact proportion to each other, according to it's place; and I am persuaded, that all the forms, in which a living creature can exist on our Earth, are exhausted. The beast goes upon all fours: for he could not use his forefeet as human hands; but then, by this going on all fours, his standing, running, leaping, and the use of his animal senses, are rendered most easy to him. His head still inclines towards the earth; as from the earth he seeks his food. In most the smell is acute; as it must awaken or guide their instinct. Of one the ear is quick, of another the eye: and thus Nature has chosen, not only in the general structure of quadrupeds, but in the formation of each particular species, that particular proportion of powers and senses, which could be best exercised in such an organization. Conformably to this she contracted or elongated the limbs, and increased or diminished the strength. Every creature is a numerator to the great denominator, which is Nature's self: even man is only a fraction of the whole, a proportion of powers, which were to form themselves into one whole, in this and no other organization, by the common aid of many limbs.

7. Necessarily, in a terrestrial organization so deliberate, *no power must suppress another, no propensity destroy another*; and infinitely admirable is the care, that Nature has employed for this purpose. Most animals have *their peculiar climate*, which is precisely that, where they can be most easily fed and brought up. Had Nature fashioned them more indeterminately, with a capacity for supporting various climes; to what wants and wildness would many species have been exposed, till they had at length become extinct! We see this in the most tractable species, which have followed man into every country: each region has given them a different cast, and the wild dog has become one of the most savage beasts of prey, even as he has become wild. The *propensity of propagation* must have bewildered the creature still more, had it been left indeterminate: but this too the creative parent has fettered. It awakes only at a determinate period; when the organic warmth of the animal is at the highest: and as this is effected by physical revolutions of growth, of the seasons, and of the richest food; and the good superintendant has determined accordingly the time of gestation; equal care is taken for both young and old. The young comes into the World, when it can prosper in it; or it passes through the severe season in the state of an egg, till roused by a more friendly Sun: the old feels the propensity only when it counteracts no other. By this too is regulated the relation of the two species in the duration and force of this propensity.

The beneficent maternal affection, with which Nature has in this way educated and effectually habituated every living creature to actions, thoughts, and virtues, suitable to the compass of its organization, is above all expression. She preconceived it, as she placed these powers in a given organization, and necessitated the creature to see, to desire, to act, in this organization, as she had preconceived it, and gave it wants, powers, and place, within the limits of this organization.

There exists no virtue, no propensity, in the human heart, which has not somewhere in the animal world its similitude, to which the forming mother has organically *habituated* the animal. It must provide for itself: it must learn to love its offspring: necessity and the seasons compel it into society, if it be only to have companions in travel. Appetite impels this animal to love; necessity constrains that to marriage, to a sort of republic, to social order. However obscurely all this takes place, however shortly much of it endures; still it is imprinted in the nature of the animal, and we see it there strongly, we see it return; nay it is irresistible, it is indelible. By how much the more obscurely and inwardly all this operates, the fewer thoughts are combined, and the less frequently the impulse acts; so much the stronger is the propensity, so much the more perfect its effects. Thus every where occur prototypes of human modes of action, in which animals are exercised: and if there be a sin against Nature, it is to resolve still to consider them as machines, while we behold before our eyes their system of nerves, their structure resembling ours, their wants and modes of life the same.

It is not to be wondered at therefore, that the more a species resembles man, the more its mechanic art decreases; for such a species stands already in a practical circle of more humanlike thoughts. The beaver, which is still a water-rat, builds with art. The fox, the fieldmouse, and similar animals, have their artificial subterranean structures. The dog, the horse, the camel, the elephant, want not these little arts: they have thoughts like those of man; impelled by the plastic hand of Nature, they exercise themselves in propensities like his.

CHAPTER VI.

Organic Difference between Man and Beasts.

WITH great untruth has it been said in praise of the human species, that all the powers and capacities of every other are found in the highest perfection in man. Such a commendation is not only without proof, but inconsistent: for evidently in such a case one power would destroy another, and the creature would absolutely have no enjoyment of his existence. How could man at one and the same time bloom like the flower, feel like the spider, build like the bee, suck like the butterfly; and also possess the muscular strength of the lion, the proboscis of the elephant, and the art of the beaver? Does he possess, nay does he comprehend, a single one of these powers, with that intensity, with which the animal enjoys and exercises it?

On the other hand, some have, I will not say degraded him to the rank of a beast, but altogether divested him of the character of his kind, and made him a degenerate animal, that, striving after higher perfection, has totally lost the originality of his species. This is palpably contrary to truth, and the evidence of his natural history: he has obviously qualities, which no other animal possesses; and has performed actions, of which the good and the bad are truly his own. No beast devours his fellow from epicurism: no beast murders his like in cold blood, at the command of a third. No beast has language, as man has; and still less writings, traditions, religion, and arbitrary rights and laws. Finally no beast has the form, clothing, habitation, arts, unfettered mode of life, unrestrained propensities, and fluctuating opinions, which distinguish almost every individual of mankind. We inquire not whether all this be to the advantage or detriment of our species; suffice it, that of our species it is the character. As every beast remains true upon the whole to the qualities of his kind, and we alone have made a divinity of will, not of necessity; this difference must be investigated as a fact, for such it incontestibly is. The other questions: how man came by this difference: and whether this difference be original, or adventitious and acquired: are of another kind, historical merely: and here the perfectibility or corruptibility, in which no beast has hitherto imitated him, must have pertained to the distinguishing characteristics of his species. Laying aside all metaphysics, we confine ourselves to physiology and experience.

1. *The form of man is upright: in this he is singular upon the earth.* For though the bear has equally a broad foot, and stands erect when he fights: though

the ape and the pigmy sometimes walk or run in an erect posture: still to the human species alone is this position natural and constant. The foot of man is more firm and broad: he has a long great toe, while the ape has but a thumb: his heel too is on a level with the sole of his foot. All the muscles acting in this position are adapted to it. The calf of the leg is enlarged: the pelvis is drawn backward: the hips are spread outwards from each other: the spine is less curved: the breast is widened: the shoulders have clavicles: the hands have fingers endued with the sense of feeling: to crown the structure the receding head is exalted on the muscles of the neck: man is ἀνθρώπος *, a creature looking far above and around him.

It must be granted, however, that this mode of going erect is not so essential to man, that it's opposite is as impossible for him as to fly. Not only is the contrary seen in children; but men, who have been brought up among beasts, have proved it by experience. Eleven or twelve instances of this kind are known †; and though they have not all been sufficiently observed and described, yet some of them show clearly, that the gait most incommodious to man is not impracticable to his pliable nature. His head, as well as his abdomen, lies somewhat forwards: the body therefore can fall forwards, as the head sinks in sleep. No dead body can stand upright: it is only by the combined exertion of innumerable actions, that our artificial mode of standing and going becomes possible.

Thus it may easily be conceived, that, in acquiring the gait of quadrupeds, many limbs of the human body must change their forms, and proportions to each other; as appears in the instances of wild men. The Irish boy, described by Tulpus, had a flat forehead, the occiput heightened, a wide bleating throat, a thick tongue growing almost up to the palate, and the pit of the stomach drawn greatly inwards; just as going on all fours must occasion. The Flemish maiden, who walked erect, and still retained so much of the feminine nature as to bedeck herself with a straw apron, had a brown thick, hairy skin, and long thick hair. The maiden found at Songi in Champaign had a dark countenance, strong fingers, and long nails; and her thumbs in particular were so strong and elongated, that she swung herself with them from tree to tree like a squirrel. Her quick pace was not walking, but a flying trip and gliding, in which the motions of the feet were scarcely to be distinguished. The tone of her voice was weak and slender, her cry piercing and frightful. She had uncommon strength and agility; and was so difficult to be weaned from her usual aliment, of raw and bleed-

* *Uprooking*: the greek name for man, from ἀνω, upwards, and διωπρω, to look. T.

† See Linné's Natural System, Martini's supplement to Buffon, and other places.

ing flesh, fish, leaves, and fruit, that she not only endeavoured to escape, but fell into a dangerous illness, from which she could be recovered only by sucking warm blood, that pervaded her vessels like a balsam. Her teeth fell out, and her nails dropped off, as she accustomed herself to our food: insupportable pains contracted her stomach and bowels, particularly the œsophagus, which became parched and dried up. Strong proofs, how much the pliable nature of a human being, even though she was born and for a time brought up among men, could habituate itself in a few years to the inferiour mode of life of the beasts, among which she was placed by some unfortunate mischance.

How could I delineate the hateful vision of what man must have been, had he been condemned to the fate of being formed a bestial foetus in the womb of a quadruped: what powers would thereby have been strengthened, what weakened; what must have been the gait, the education, the way of life, the corporeal structure, of the human beast!—But away unhallowed and horrible image! odious nonnature of natural man! In nature thou dost not exist: my pen shall not delineate one of thy features. For

2. *The upright posture of man is natural to him alone: nay it is the organism of the whole destination of the species, and it's most distinguishing character.*

No nation upon Earth has been found walking on all fours: the most savage, however closely many of them border on brute beasts in their form and mode of living, walk erect. Even the men without feeling of Diodorus, with other fabulous beings of the ancient and middle writers, go upon two legs: and I cannot comprehend, how the human species, if it had possessed from Nature the abject horizontal position, could ever have raised itself to a posture of so much art and constraint. How much trouble has it cost, to habituate the wild men, who have been found, to our food and manner of living! yet these were not originally wild, but had become so only by being a few years among the brutes. The eskimaux maiden had some ideas of her former state, and remains of the language and instincts of her native country: yet her reason lay bound up in brutality; she had no remembrance of her journey, or of the whole of her wild state. The others were not only destitute of language, but were in some measure for ever lost to human speech.—And would the human beast, had he been ages of ages in this abject state, and formed to it by totally different proportions a quadruped in his mother's womb, have left it of his own accord, and raised himself to an erect posture? From the powers of a beast, eternally pulling him back, would he have made himself man, and, before he became a man, invented human speech? Had man been a fourfooted animal, had he been so for thousands of years, assuredly he would have remained so still; and

nothing but a miracle of new creation could have made him what he now is, and what alone all history and experience represents him to us.

Why then should we embrace unproved, nay totally inconsistent, paradoxes, when the structure of man, the history of his species, and, as I conceive, the whole analogy of terrestrial organization, lead us to something else? No creature, that we know, has departed from its original organization, and accommodated itself to another repugnant to it: it can operate only with the powers inherent in its organization, and nature is acquainted with sufficient means, to chain down every living creature to that state, which she has assigned it. In man every thing is adapted to the form he now bears: from this every thing in his history is explicable; without it nothing is capable of explanation: and since all the forms of the animal creation seem to converge to this, as to the exalted image of divinity, and the most elaborate and prime beauty of the Earth; without which, as without the domination of man, our world would be destitute of its supreme ornament and crown: why should we humble in the dust this diadem of our destination, and obstinately shut our eyes to that central point, in which all the radii of the circle seem to unite?

When our creative parent had fulfilled her labours, and exhausted all the forms, that were possible on our Earth, she paused, and surveyed her works: and as she saw, that the Earth still wanted its principal ornament, its regent, and second creator; she took counsel with herself, combined together her forms, and out of all fashioned her chief figure, human beauty. With maternal affection she stretched forth her hand to the last creature of her art, and said: 'stand up on the earth! Left to thyself, thou hadst been a beast, like unto other beasts: but through my especial aid and love, *walk erect*, and be of beasts the god.'

With grateful eyes let us contemplate, in this hallowed act, the benefit, through which our race became a human species: with wonder shall we perceive, what new organism of powers commenced in the erect position of mankind, and how by it alone man was made a *man*.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Man is organized to a Capacity of Reasoning.

INTERNALLY and externally the ourang-outang resembles man. Its brain has the form of ours: it has a broad chest, flat shoulders, a similar visage, and a skull of the same shape: its heart, lungs, liver, spleen, stomach, and intestines, are like those of man. Tyfon* has pointed out forty-eight parts, in which it resembles our species more than the ape; and the actions related of it, even its vices and follies, and probably too its menstruation, give it a similitude to the human species.

Unquestionably, therefore, in its interior, in the operations of its mind, it must have some resemblance to man; and those philosophers, who would debate it to the level of the little mechanic animals, seem to me, to want the mean of comparison. The beaver builds; but instinctively: its whole mechanism is constructed for this; but it can do nothing farther; it is incapable of associating with man, of taking part in his thoughts and passions. The ape, on the contrary, has no determinate instinct: its mode of thinking stands close on the brink of reason, the brink of imitation. It imitates every thing, and therefore its brain must be fitted for a thousand combinations of sensitive ideas, of which no other brute is capable: for neither the wise elephant, nor the sagacious dog, is capable of doing what the ape can perform: *it would perfect itself*. But this it cannot: the door is shut against it: its brain is incapable of combining with its own ideas those of others, and making what it imitates as it were its own. The female ape, described by Bontius, possessed a sense of modesty, and covered herself with her hand when a stranger entered: she sighed, wept, and seemed to perform human actions. The apes, described by Battel, go out

* Tyfon's Anatomy of a Pygmy compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man. Lond. 1751. Pag. 92—4.

in companies, arm themselves with clubs, and hunt the elephants from their precincts : they attack the negroes, and sit round their fires ; but they have not sense to keep them up. The ape, which de la Brosse placed at table, used a knife and fork, and was susceptible of anger, confidence, and all the human passions. The love of the mothers to their children ; their education and initiation into the arts and tricks of an ape's life ; the regulations of their commonwealth on a march ; the punishments they inflict on their malefactors ; even their droll artifices and maliciouſness ; with a number of incontestible traits ; are sufficient proofs, that they are creatures resembling man interiorly, as much as their exterior indicates. Buffon wastes the stream of his eloquence in vain, when he takes occasion from these animals, to combat the similitude of the internal organism of nature to the external : the facts, that he himself has collected, sufficiently refute him ; and the uniformity of nature's organism within and without, if rightly defined, remains impossible to be mistaken through all the forms of animate being.

What then wants the manlike creature, that it is not man ? Is it, perhaps, language alone ? But men have taken pains to bring up several ; and had this animal, which imitates every thing, been capable of speech, it certainly would have imitated this first, and waited for no instruction. Or does it depend solely on it's organs ? Certainly not : for though it comprehends the meaning of a man's speech, and is for ever gesticulating, yet no ape has acquired the faculty of conversing pantomimically with it's master, and discoursing by gestures. It must be owing to something else, therefore, that the door of human reason is shut against the poor creature, leaving it perhaps an obscure perception, that it is so near, yet cannot enter.

What is this something ? It is singular, that almost all the difference appearing on dissection should seem to consist in *the parts appropriate to walking*. The ape is so formed, as to be able to walk erect, and is therein more similar to man than it's brethren : but it is not formed wholly for this, and this difference seems to deprive it of every thing. Let us follow this glimpse, and Nature herself will guide us to the path, in which we must seek the first grounds of man's superiority.

The ourang outang* has long arms, large hands, short legs, and large feet

* See Camper's *Kort Bericht wegens de Ontleding van verschillend Orang Outangs*, 'Short Account of the Dissection of some Ourang Outangs,' Amsterdam, 1780. I know this account only from the copious extract in the *Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen*, 'Gottingen literary

Review,' *Zugabe*, St. 29, 1780; and it is hoped, that it, and the essay on the organs of speech in apes in the *Transactions*, will be inserted in the collection of tracts of this celebrated anatomist, Leipzig, 1781.

with long toes; but the thumb of it's hand, and the great toe of it's foot, are small: Buffon, and Tyson before him, on this account termed the ape species quadrimanous; and with these small members evidently the basis is wanting, which enables man to stand firm. The hind part of it's body is slender; it's knee broader than in man, and not so low; the muscles that move the knee arise from the thighbone lower than in man, so that the animal can never stand perfectly upright, but with bent knees, seems as it were learning to stand. The head of the thigh bone hangs in it's socket without a ligament: the bones of the pelvis stand like those of quadrupeds: the last five vertebræ of the neck have long pointed processes, which prevent the head from being carried backwards: thus the creature is not formed to stand erect, and sad are the consequences thence ensuing. It's neck is short and the clavicles are long, so that the head seems stuck betwixt the shoulders*. Thence it's forepart is enlarged, it has prominent jaws, and a flat nose: the eyes stand near together: the ball of the eye is small, so that none of the white is seen. The mouth on the other hand is large, the belly thick, the breast long, and the back feeble. The ears project like those of brutes. The orbits of the eyes approach each other: the head is articulated posteriorly, as in brutes, not centrally, as in man. The upper jaw is protruded forwards, and the insertion of a proper intermaxillary bone cuts off the last mark of resemblance of the human visage in the ape †. Now from this formation of the head, the lower part projecting forward, the hinder pushed back; from this collocation of it on the neck; from the whole appearance of the vertebræ of the back suitable to these; the ape remains still but a brute, however great it's resemblance to man.

To prepare ourselves for this conclusion, let us consider human countenances appearing to border on those of brutes, however distantly. What renders them brutal? what gives them this base, disgraceful aspect? The protruding jaws; the head pushed back; in short the remotest resemblance to the quadrupedal organization. The moment the centre of gravity, on which the human skull rests it's exalted arch, is changed, the head seems fixed to the spine, the frame of the teeth projects forward, and the nose assumes the breadth and flatness of the brute's. Above, the orbits of the eyes approach nearer together: the forehead recedes backwards, and receives on each side the fatal depression of the skull of the ape. The head terminates in a point above and behind; the cavity of the

* See a front and back view of it's wretched figure in Tyson.

† See a delineation of this bone in Blumenbach *de Generis Humani Varietate nativa*, 'On the natural Variety of the Human Species,' *Tab. I,*

fig. 2. Yet all apes do not appear to have this *intermaxillare* in the same degree, as Tyson, in his account of the dissection, plainly says it was not found.

skull is more narrow—and all this because the direction of the figure, the beautiful free formation of the head for the upright posture of man, is changed.

Let this point be otherwise disposed, beautiful and noble will be the whole form. The forehead will advance forward big with thought, and the skull swell into an arch with calm exalted dignity. The broad brutal nose will contract, and assume a higher and more delicate figure: the retreating mouth will be more beautifully covered, and thus will be formed the lips of man, which are wanting to the most cunning of the apes. The chin will sink to round the fine perpendicular oval: the cheeks softly swell: and the eye look out from beneath the projecting forehead, as from the sacred temple of mind. And whence all this? From the formation of the head to the erect position: from it's being internally and externally organized to a perpendicular centre of gravitation*. Let him, who doubts this, survey the skulls of the ape and the man; and no shadow of his doubt can remain.

Every external form in Nature is an index of her internal operations: and thus, great mother of all, we approach the most sacred of thy sublunary works, the laboratory of the human understanding.

* * * * *

Men have taken much pains to compare the magnitude of the human brain with that of the brains of other animals, and for this purpose have weighed the brains and the animals against each other. But this mode of weighing and calculating can give no accurate result for three reasons.

1. Because one member of the comparison, the mass of the body, is too indeterminate, and bears no certain proportion to the other nicely determined member, the brain itself. How different the nature of the things, that occasion the weight of a body! and how different may be the proportions assigned them! The heavy body of the elephant, and even his ponderous head, are lightened by means of air: and though his brain be not overlarge, he is the wisest of brutes. What weighs most in the body of an animal? The bones: but to these the brain is not immediately proportioned.

2. It is unquestionably of much importance, to what purposes of the body the brain is employed, and to what functions it lends nerves. If therefore the brain and nerves were weighed against each other, they would give a nicer proportion, though by no means accurate: for the weight of both would indicate neither the fineness of the nerves, nor the purposes of their course.

* I have not yet read Daubenton's essay on the situation of the great occipital foramen in man and animals, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Paris*, for 1764, which I find quoted by

Blumenbach: of course I know not how far, or to what conclusions, his thoughts are carried. My ideas are taken from the skulls of men and animals lying before me.

3. Thus ultimately all depends on the *more fine elaboration*, the *more nicely proportioned situation of the parts with respect to each other*, and still more especially, as it should seem, on the *free and spacious field* for combining the impressions and perceptions of all the nerves with the greatest force, with the most rigid truth, with the most unrestrained play of variation, and uniting them with energy in the unknown divine entity, that we term *thought*; concerning which the magnitude of the brain gives us no information.

Still these arithmetical calculations * are valuable, and afford us some instructive and introductory inferences, though not ultimate conclusions. Some of these I shall here mention, to show the ascending uniformity of Nature's course.

1. In the smaller animals, in which the circulation and organic warmth are but imperfect, we find a smaller brain and fewer nerves. Nature, as we have already remarked, has made up to them in an intimate or fine expanded irritability, what she was obliged to deny them in sensation: for probably the elaborating organism of these creatures could neither produce nor support a larger brain.

2. In warm blooded animals the mass of the brain increases in proportion as their organization is more elaborate: but here other considerations supervene, which seem more particularly governed by the proportions the nervous and muscular powers bear to each other. In beasts of prey the brain is smaller: in these predominate the muscular powers, to which, and animal irritability, the nerves are for the most part subservient. In peaceable graminivorous animals the brain is larger: though even in these it seems principally employed in nerves of sense. Birds have much brain: for in their colder element warmer blood is necessary. The circulation, too, is confined within a smaller sphere in their bodies, which are generally small. In the amorous sparrow the brain fills the whole head, and is equal in weight to one fifth of the body.

3. In young creatures the brain is larger than in those that are full grown: evidently because it is more soft and tender, and therefore occupies considerable space, but is not on this account more weighty. In it, too, is the provision of that delicate humectation for all the vital functions, and internal operations, by which the creature is in it's younger years to acquire capacities, and on which much is consequently to be expended. With increasing years the brain

* We find a copious collection of these in Haller's greater work on Physiology; and it is much to be wished, that prof. Wrisberg had made known his numerous experiments, to which he refers in his remarks on Haller's

smaller work on physiology; for we shall soon see, that the specific gravity of the brain, which he has investigated, is a nicer standard than that employed in preceding calculations.

grows more firm and dry: for capacities then are acquired, and the animal, whether man or brute, is no longer susceptible of such light, agreeable, fugacious impressions. In short, the magnitude of the brain seems to be a necessary condition, though not the primary one, of greater capacity and exercise of the understanding. Of all animals man, as the ancients themselves knew, has proportionally the largest brain: yet in this point the ape is not inferior to him, and the ass is even superior to the horse.

The finer thinking powers of the creature must physiologically require something more than this: and according to the scale of organization, which Nature has placed before our eyes, what else can it be than the *structure of the brain* itself, the more perfect *elaboration* of its parts and juices, and its more apt *situation and proportion* for the reception of the most spiritual perceptions and ideas in the most salutary vital warmth? Let us then turn over the leaves of Nature's book, and examine the finest she ever composed, the tablet of the brain itself: for as the ends of her organism are the sensation, the wellbeing, the happiness of a creature, the *head* must be the repository, in which we may look for her thoughts with the greatest expectation of success.

1. In creatures, of which the brain is but just in its commencement, it appears yet very simple: it is as a bud, or a pair of buds, of the sprouting spinal marrow, and affords nerves only to the most necessary senses. In birds and fishes, the brains of which, according to the remark of Willis, have a similar structure, the number of protuberances increases to five or upwards, and they are also more distinct. Finally, in warmblooded animals the cerebrum and cerebellum are evidently distinguishable: the lobes of the former, suitably to the organization of the animal, spread from each other, and the particular parts proportionally pursue the same course. Thus Nature, as in the whole formation of her species, so in its summary and term, the brain, has only one *prototype*; which she has employed in the meanest worm and insect, and almost imperceptibly changed in every species, according to the variety of their external organization; yet advancing, enlarging, and improving, as she changed, till it was ultimately perfected in man. The cerebellum was finished sooner than the brain itself; being more closely allied to the spinal marrow, nearer to which it originates: it is more similar, too, in many species, in which the figure of the brain is still very different. And this needs not excite our wonder, since nerves of great importance to the animal economy rise from the cerebellum: so that Nature, in fashioning the noblest powers of thought, could not but take her course forwards from the spine.

2. The lobes of the cerebrum appear in many respects more finished in their

nobler parts. Not only are their convolutions more deeply and accurately marked, more numerous and more diversified, in man, than in any other animal: not only is the cortical part of the human brain it's softest and most delicate portion, so that it may be reduced to a twenty-fifth part of it's original weight by exsiccation: but the treasure, which is covered and interlaced with this cortical part, the medulla, is more distinct, more determinate, and comparatively greater, in the nobler animals, especially in man, than in all other creatures. In man the cerebrum far outweighs the cerebellum; and it's superior weight clearly indicates it's internal fulness, and greater elaboration.

3. All the experiments hitherto collected by Haller, the most learned physiologist any nation has yet produced, show how futile it would be to seek *the indivisible work of the formation of ideas* in substance and distributed among the material parts of the brain: nay, I am persuaded, did none of these experiments exist, the very manner, in which ideas are formed, must have led to the same conclusion. Why is it, that we name the powers of thought, according to their different relations, imagination and memory, wit and judgment? that we distinguish the impulse of desire from mere will, and the power of sensation from that of motion? The least calm reflection tells us, that these faculties are not locally separated, as if judgment resided in one part of the brain, memory and imagination in another, the passions and sensitive powers in a third; for the thought of our mind is undivided, and each of these effects is the fruit of thought. It would be in some measure absurd therefore, to attempt to dissect abstract relations, as if they were bodies, and to scatter the mind, as Medea did the limbs of her brother. If the material of sensation, which is quite distinct from the nervous fluid, if such a fluid there be, escape our observation in the grossest senses; how much more must we be incapable of detecting the spiritual connection between all the senses and our perceptions, so as not only to see and feel them, but to be able to excite them at will in the different parts of the brain, as easily as we could finger the keys of a harpsichord! Of such an expectation I am far from entertaining the remotest thought.

4. Still farther is it from me, when I contemplate the structure of the brain and nerves. How different here is the economy of Nature, from what our abstract psychology of the senses and faculties of the mind would suppose! Who would infer from metaphysics, that the nerves originate, divide, and unite, in the manner in which we perceive they do? yet these are the only parts of the brain, the organic purposes of which we know, as their effects are placed before our eyes. Nothing remains for us then, but to consider this sacred laboratory of ideas, the internal brain, where the senses converge together, as the womb in which

the embryo thought is fashioned invisibly and undivided. If that womb be found and healthy, and afford the embryo not merely due mental and vital warmth, but that amplitude of space, that fitness of situation, in which the invisible organic power, that here pervades every thing, can embrace the perceptions of the senses and of the whole body, and combine them, if I may be allowed the metaphor, in that *luminous point*, which approaches *sentiment*, the finely organized creature becomes capable of reason, if aided by external circumstances of instruction and the development of ideas. If the reverse of this take place; if the brain be deficient in finer fluids, or essential parts; if grosser senses occupy it; or if it be thrust into a confined situation: what is the consequence? As that subtle converging radiation of ideas is wanting, the creature remains a child of the senses.

5. The construction of the brains of various animals seems evidently to prove this: and even from this construction, compared with the external organization and way of life of the animal, may we perceive why Nature, following generally one model, could not always reach it, but was necessitated to vary from it, here in one way, there in another. Of many animals the chief sense is that of smell: it is the most necessary to their support, and the guide of their instinct. Observe how the nose projects in the visage of these animals: in like manner in their brains the olfactory nerves project, as if the forepart of the head were made for them alone. They proceed forwards broad, hollow, and pithy, so that they appear like continuations of the ventricles of the brain: and in many species the frontal sinuses extend very high, probably to strengthen the sense of smell: so that, if I may use the expression, a greater part of the animal mind is olfactory. The optic nerves follow next in order; the sense of sight being most necessary to the animal, after that of smell. These appertain more to the middle region of the brain, and they subserve a finer sense. The other nerves, which I will not here enumerate, follow in proportion as the external and internal organization require a connection of parts; so that, for example, the nerves and muscles of the occiput support and animate the mouth, the chin, and the rest. Thus they finish as it were the countenance, and frame the external figure to such a whole, as the internal is rendered by the proportion of the internal powers. In this comparative view, however, we must not confine ourselves to the visage alone, but take in the whole body. It is pleasing to go through the different proportions of different forms, comparing them together, and contemplating the internal springs, by which Nature has set each creature in motion. For what she was obliged to withhold, she has made compensation: and what she was obliged to render complex, she has wisely complicated: that is, she has formed

the external organization of the creature in harmony with it's general way of life. Yet still she had her model ever in view, and deviated from it unwillingly; as a certain *analogical perception and understanding* constituted the great end, to which she sought to fashion all terrestrial organized being. In the most various inhabitants of earth, of sea, and of air, this may be shown in one progressive analogy.

6. Thus we come to the superiority of man in the structure of his brain. And on what does this depend? Evidently on his *more perfect organization in the whole*, and ultimately on his *erect posture*. The brain of every animal is fashioned after the shape of it's head: or the proposition might with more propriety be reversed, as Nature works from within to without. To whatever gait, to whatever proportion of parts, to whatever *habits*, she destined the creature; for these she compounded, to these she adapted, it's organic powers. According to these powers, and to the proportion in which they operated on each other, the brain was made large or small, narrow or extensive, light or ponderous, simple or complicated. According to this the senses of the creature became feeble or powerful, paramount or subservient. The cavities and muscles of the forepart of the head and of the occiput fashioned themselves, according as the lymph gravitated, in short, according to the *angle of the organic direction of the head*. Of numerous proofs in support of this, that might be adduced from various genera and species, I shall mention only two or three. What produces the organic difference between the head of man and the head of an ape? The angle of direction. The ape has every part of the brain that man possesses: but it has them thrust backward in situation according to the figure of it's skull, and this because it's head is formed under a different angle, and it was not designed to walk erect. Hence all the organic powers operated in a different manner: the head was not so high, so broad, or so long, as that of man: the inferior senses predominated with the lower part of the visage, which was the visage of a beast, as it's back-shoved brain must ever continue the brain of a brute. Thus, though it has all the parts of the human brain, it has them in a different situation, in a different proportion. The parisian anatomists found in the apes they dissected the foreparts similar to those of man; but the internal, from the cerebellum, proportionally deeper. The pineal gland was conical, with it's point turned toward the hindhead, &c. Thus there is a manifest relation between the angle of direction of the head, and the mode of walking, figure, and way of life of the animal. The ape dissected by Blumenbach * had still more of the brute; being probably of an inferior

* Blumenbach, *de Varietat. nativ. Gen. hum.* p. 32.

species, whence arose it's larger cerebellum, and the defectiveness of the more important regions. These differences do not exist in the ourang-outang, the head of which is less bent backward, and the brain not so much pressed toward the hind part, though sufficiently so when compared with the high, round, and bold curve of the human brain, the only beautiful apartment for the formation of rational ideas. Why has not the horse the *rete mirabile* as well as other brutes? Because it's head stands erect, and the carotid artery rises in some measure like that of a man, without having occasion for this contrivance to impede the course of the blood, as in brutes that have depending heads. Accordingly it is a nobler, fiery, courageous animal, of much warmth, and sleeping little. On the contrary, in creatures with heads hanging down, Nature had many precautions to take, in the construction of the brain, even separating the principal parts by a bony partition. Thus every thing depends on the direction in which the head was formed, to adapt it to the organization of the whole frame. I shall not proceed to any other examples, hoping, that inquisitive anatomists will turn their attention, particularly in dissecting animals that resemble man, to this intimate relation of the parts *to their situation with respect to each other, and to the direction of the head as it forms a part of the whole.* Here, I believe, lies the difference, that produces this or that instinct, that elaborates a brutal or a human mind: for every creature is in all it's parts one living cooperating whole.

7. Even what may be termed a good or bad shape of the human head itself appears determinable from this simple and general law of it's adaptation to the erect posture. For as this shape of the head, this expansion of the brain into it's beautiful wide hemispheres, with it's internal formation to rationality and freedom, were consistent only with the erect form; as the proportion and gravitation of the parts themselves, the degree of warmth they possess, and the manner in which the blood circulates through them, clearly show; no other than the superiour human form could result from this internal proportion. Why does the crown of the grecian head incline so pleasingly forward? Because it contains the amplest space for an unconfined brain, and indicates fine sound concavities in the frontal bone, so that it may be considered as the temple of *clear and youthfully beautiful thought.* The hind head on the contrary is small, that the animal cerebellum might not preponderate. So it is with the other parts of the face: as organs of sense they indicate the finest proportion of the sensitive faculties of the brain, and every deviation from this proportion is an approach to the brute. I am persuaded, that on the agreement of these parts will be erected a valuable science, to which physiognomy proceeding on conjecture would not easily attain. The grounds of the external form lie within;

for every thing has been fashioned by the organic powers operating from within to without, and Nature has made every being such a complete whole, as if she had never created any thing else.

Look up to Heaven, then, O man! and tremblingly rejoice at thy vast superiority, which the creator of the world has connected with such a simple principle, thy upright form. Didst thou walk prone like a brute; were thy head gluttonously formed for the mouth and nose, and the structure of thy limbs answerable; where would be thy higher powers of mind? to what would not the image of the divinity in thee be degraded? The wretch who ranks with the brutes has lost it: as his head is mishapen, his internal faculties are debased, and the grosser senses drag the creature down to the earth. But the fashioning thy limbs to an erect posture has given thy head it's beautiful outline and position, whence the brain, that delicate ethereal germe of Heaven, has full room to extend itself and send out it's branches. The forehead swells rich in thought; the animal organs recede; it is the form of a man. As the skull rises higher, the ear is seated lower; it becomes more closely connected with the eye, and the two senses have more intimate access to the sacred apartment in which ideas are formed. The cerebellum, the marrow shooting down the spine, and the vital powers of sense, which are paramount in the brute, are in a subordinate proportion to the brain. The rays of the wonderfully beautiful corpora striata are more distinct and delicate in man: an indication of the infinitely finer light concentrated in this region, and beaming from it. Thus, if I may speak figuratively, is the flower formed, that merely shoots forth a sprout in the elongated spinal marrow, but rounds itself forward into a plant full of ethereal powers, which could be generated only in this aspiring tree.

Farther: the general proportion of the organic powers of the brute is not favourable to reason. In it's organization muscular strength and sensual irritability prevail, which are distributed in each particular frame according to the end of the creature, and form the predominant instinct of each species. With man's erect figure arises a tree, the faculties of which are so proportioned as to send the finest and richest fluids to the brain, as the flower that crowns the whole. Every pulsation of the heart sends more than a sixth part of the blood contained in the human body to the head alone. The grand stream rises upwards, then takes a gentle curve, and divides itself gradually, so that even the remotest parts of the head derive warmth and nourishment from it and it's sister streams. Nature has employed all her art to strengthen the vessels that convey the stream, to weaken and moderate the force of the current, to retain it long in the brain, and to conduct it back gently from the head

when it has performed it's office. It springs from trunks, which, being near the heart, act with all the force of the primitive movement: and, from the commencement of life, the whole power of the young heart acts on this, the noblest and most sensible part. The extremities remain yet unformed, while the head and internal parts are fabricated in the most delicate manner. We see with astonishment not only the overproportion of these, but their fine structure in the particular senses of the embryo, as if the great artist intended to create it for the brain alone and the power of internal motion, till at length she gradually supplies the other members also, as organs and productions of the inner parts. Thus man is fashioned even in his mother's womb to an erect posture, and every thing that depends on it. He is not born in the pendulous womb of a brute: a more artful cavity, resting on it's basis, was prepared for his formation. There sits the little sleeper, and the blood crowds to his head, till this head sinks by it's own gravity. In short, man is what he was designed to be, and to this end all the parts co-operate; a rising tree, crowned with the most beautiful flower, the seat of refined thought.

CHAPTER II.

Retrospect from the Organization of the human Head to inferior Creatures, the Heads of which approach it in Form.

IF we have advanced thus far in the right path, the same analogy in the relation the head bears to the general structure must prevail in the inferior creatures, since Nature is uniform in her operations: and this analogy does most evidently prevail. As the plant labours to put forth that elaborate production the flower, so in living creatures the whole frame exerts it's powers to nourish the head as it's crown. It might be said, that Nature employs the whole organization of creatures, according to their rank, to prepare a brain increasing in magnitude and perfection, and to procure the creature a less confined central point for the collection of it's perceptions and thoughts. The farther she advances, the more too she urges her point: at least as much as may be without rendering the head of the creature too heavy, and injuring the corporal faculties. Let us examine a few links of this ascending chain of organic perception, in the external form and direction of the head.

1. In animals where the head lies horizontally with the body the brain is least elaborated: Nature has diffused their irritability and instincts more ge-

nerally over the whole. Such are worms and zoophytes, insects, fishes, and amphibious animals. In the lower links of the organic chain a head is scarcely perceptible: in others it is a projecting point. In insects it is small: in fishes the head and body are united in one: and in amphibious animals the head is for the most part horizontal, with a crawling body. In proportion as the head rises, and is distinct, the creature is roused from its brutal stupidity: the mouth at the same time recedes, and no longer seems to occupy the whole power of the forepart of the horizontal frame. If we compare the shark, that appears all mouth and throat, or the creeping voracious crocodile, with creatures more finely organized, we shall be led by numerous examples to the proposition, that, *the nearer the head and body of an animal approach one undivided horizontal line, the less room it has for an exalted brain, and the more are its prominent gaping jaws the principal part of its frame.*

2. The more perfect the animal, the more it rises above the surface of the ground: its legs are lengthened, the bones of the neck are articulated in a manner adapted to the general organization, and the head takes a position and direction suited to the whole. Here too compare the armadillo and opossum, the porcupine, the rat, the glutton, and other inferior species, with the nobler animals. In the former the legs are short, the head is stuck between the shoulders, the jaws are long and project forward: in the latter the gait is more free, the head lighter, the neck more moveable, the jaws shorter; and hence the brain naturally obtains a higher situation and ampler space. Thus we may admit the second proposition, that, *the more the body endeavours to raise itself, and the head to mount upwards freely from the skeleton, the more perfect is the creature's form.* This proposition, however, as well as the former, must be understood with reference to the general proportion and structure of the animal, not to particular members.

3. The more the lower part of the visage diminishes, or recedes, in the elevated head, the nobler its outline, and the more intelligent its brow. Compare the wolf and the dog, the cat and the lion, the rhinoceros and the elephant, the horse and the hippopotamus. On the other hand, the broader and heavier the lower parts of the visage are, and the greater their inclination downward, the less is the skull, and the smaller the forehead. In this respect not only do the different species of animals differ, but even animals of the same species in different climates. Consider the white bear of the arctic regions, and the bear of warmer climes; or the different varieties of dogs, harts, and roes. In short, *the less the animal has of jaws, and the more of skull, the nearer it approaches the rational form.* To render this view of the subject more clear, let

lines be drawn from the last cervical vertebra of the skeleton to the summit of the skull, the foremost part of the frontal bone, and the extreme point of the upper jaw: we shall then see the great variety in the several angles formed in different genera and species, and at the same time perceive, that it all originally proceeds from the more or less horizontal position of the animal in walking, and is subservient to this.

My remarks here coincide with the acute observations Camper has made on the figures of apes, other animals, and men of different races; for he draws a straight line from the aperture of the ear to the under part of the nose, and another from the utmost projection of the frontal bone to the most prominent part of the upper jaw*. In this angle he professes to discover not only the difference between various kinds of animals, but that which distinguishes nations from each other; and supposes, that Nature has employed this angle to discriminate all the varieties of the brute creation, and gradually ascend to the most perfect form of beauty in man. Birds describe the smallest angle, and the angle enlarges in proportion as the brute approaches the human form. The heads of apes reach from 42° to 50° : those with the latter angle coming near to man. The negro and calmar have 70° , the european 80° , and the greeks carried their ideal beauty as far as 90° and even 100° . Whatever exceeds this becomes monstrous; and accordingly it is the highest point, to which the ancients carried the beauty of their heads. As the justice of this remark is striking, it gives me much pleasure to trace it, as I believe I have done, to its physical principle; which is *the tendency of the creature to the horizontal or perpendicular position and form of the head*, on which the happy situation of the brain, and the beauty and proportion of all the features, ultimately depend. If therefore we would render the theory of Camper complete, and at the same time display its fundamental principle, we need only take the last cervical vertebra as the central point, instead of the ear, and from it draw lines to the hindmost point of the occiput, the highest of the crown of the head, the most projecting of the forehead, and the most prominent of the upper jaw: thus we shall not only render evident the variety of figure in the head, but also its principle, that *every circumstance in the form and direction of this part depends on the erect or prone gait of the creature*, and consequently on its general habit, so that, according to a simple principle of formation, unity may be produced amid the greatest variety.

* See Prof. Camper's Works on the Connection between Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, &c. [which have been translated into English by Dr. Cogan.]

O that a second Galen would restore in these days the book of the ancient on the parts of the human body, with a particular view of displaying the perfection of our form, as adapted to the erect posture in all its proportions and movements! that he would pursue the comparison of man with the animals approaching nearest to him, from the first moment of his appearance, through his mental and corporal functions, in the finer proportions of the parts to each other, and throughout the whole of the branching tree to its summit the brain, and show by the comparison, that such a brain could be generated in man alone! The erect figure is the most beautiful and natural for all the plants on the Earth. As the tree shoots upward, as the plant flowers at the top, we might conjecture, that every nobler creature should have this growth, this position, and not crawl like a skeleton stretched out upon four props. But in these earlier periods of his debasement the creature must improve his animal faculties, and learn to exercise his senses and instincts, before he can attain our most free and perfect position. This he approaches by degrees. The crawling worm raises its head as much as possible from the dust of the ground, and the amphibia creep with bent bodies on the shore. The proud stag and the noble horse stand with uplifted neck, and the instincts of the domesticated animal are deadened: his mind is fed with ideas beyond it, which it is true he cannot yet comprehend, but which he takes upon credit, and blindly habituates himself to them. A glimpse of progressive Nature in her invisible organic empire occasions the depressed body of the brute to raise itself: the spinal tree shoots more straight, and flowers more finely; the breast is rounded, the haunches closed, the neck raised; the senses are more perfect, and concentrate in a clearer consciousness, nay even in divine thought. And whence all this, but probably, when the organic powers are sufficiently exercised, by the energetic word of creation, *creature arise from the earth?*

CHAPTER III.

Man is organized for more perfect Senses, for the exercise of Art, and the use of Language.

HAD man been nearer to the ground, all his senses would have been circumscribed within a narrower circle, and the superiour ones depressed by the predominancy of those of the inferiour order, as the instances of wild men show. Smell and taste, as in the brute, would have been his leading guides. Raised above the earth and plants, smell no longer bears the sway, but sight. This has

a wider field, and is exercised from infancy in the finest geometry of lines and colours. The ear, placed deep beneath the projecting skull, reaches nearer to the internal receptacle of ideas; while in the brute it stands out as it were on the watch, and in many is as acute in it's faculty as in it's external form.

With the erect gait man becomes a creature endued with art: for by this, the first and most difficult art that man learns, he is initiated into the practice of learning, and becomes as it were a living art. Look at the brute: he has fingers in some measure like those of man; but here they are confined in a hoof, there in a paw, or in some other form, and spoiled by swelling. Man, by being formed to walk erect, acquired free and skilful hands, the instruments of the most delicate operations, and of an incessant feeling after new and clear ideas. Helvetius was right in saying, that the hands are great assistants to man's reason: for how much does the elephant acquire by means of his trunk! Nay this delicate feeling of the hand is diffused through the body, and men deprived of their arms have performed works of art with their toes, which fingers were wanting to execute. The thumb, the great toe, which are so particularly fashioned in their muscular structure, though they appear to us contemptible limbs, are the most necessary helps to us in standing, walking, grasping, and all the performances of the art-exercising mind.

It has often been said, that man was created defenceless, and that one of his distinguishing characteristics was to be capable of nothing. But this is not true: he has weapons for defence like all other creatures. Even the ape handles the club, and defends himself with dirt and stones: he climbs trees, and escapes from the snake, his wildest enemy: he uncovers houses, and can even kill men. The wild maid of Songi knocked her companion on the head with a club, and supplied by climbing and running what she wanted in strength. Thus man in a wild state is not by the nature of his organization defenceless: and when erect, cultivated, what animal has the multifarious implements of art, which he possesses in his arms, his hands, the mobility of his body, and all his faculties? Art is the most powerful weapon; and man is all art, he is altogether one organized weapon of defence. He wants claws and teeth for attack, indeed; but he was designed to be a mild peaceable creature: he was not intended to be a cannibal.

What extensive capacities lie hidden in each of the human senses, which necessity, want, disease, the defect of some other sense, monstrous conformation, or accident, occasionally disclose! thus giving us room to conjecture, that other senses may be concealed in us, not to be unfolded in this world. If some blind men have raised their sense of feeling or hearing, the memory, or the power of

calculation, to a degree that appears fabulous to men of ordinary faculties, undiscovered worlds of variety and perfection may lie asleep in other senses, not yet developed in our complex machine. What delicacy of perception has man already attained in the eye and ear! and surely this will extend still farther in a superiour state, since, as Berkeley observes, light is the language of divinity, which our finest sense does but continually spell in a thousand forms and colours. Melody, which the human ear perceives, and art only develops, is the purest mathematics, which the mind obscurely practises through the instrumentality of the senses; as it does the nicest geometry by means of the eye acted upon by the rays of light. How infinite would be our astonishment, if, standing one step higher, we could clearly view all that we darkly perform in our complicated divine machine with our senses and faculties, and in which the brute seems preparatorily exercising himself in a manner suitable to his organization.

Still all these implements of art, brain, senses, and hands, would have remained ineffective even in the upright form, if the creator had not given us a spring to set them all in motion, *the divine gift of speech*. Speech alone awakens slumbering reason: or rather, the bare capacity of reason, that of itself would have remained eternally dead, acquires through speech vital power and efficacy. By speech alone the eye and ear, nay the feelings of all the senses, are united in one, and centre in commanding thought, to which the hands and other members are only obedient instruments. The example of those who are born deaf and dumb shows how far a man without speech is from attaining rational ideas even among other men, and in what a brutal state all his propensities remain. He imitates whatever his eye sees, whether good or bad: and he imitates it less perfectly than the ape, because he wants the internal criterion of discrimination, and even sympathy with his own species. We have more than one instance* of a person born deaf and dumb, who murdered his brother in consequence of having seen a pig killed, and tore out his bowels with tranquil pleasure, merely in imitation of what he saw: a dreadful proof how little man's boasted understanding, and the feelings of the species, can effect of themselves. The delicate organs of speech, therefore, must be considered as the rudder of our reason, and speech as the heavenly spark, that gradually kindles our thoughts and senses to a flame.

In animals we perceive preparations for speech; and here too Nature ascends in her operations, ultimately to perfect this art in man. The function of breathing requires the whole breast, with it's bones, ligaments and muscles, the diaphragm, part of the abdomen, the neck, and the shoulders: Nature has con-

* I remember such a case is related in *Sack's* *tian Faith defended;* and I recollect having
wertbeidigtem Glauben der Christen, 'Sack's Chris- seen more in other works.

fructed the whole spinal column, with it's ligaments and ribs, it's muscles and vessels, for this great work : she has given the parts of the thorax that degree of stability and motion which are requisite to it, and gradually ascended from the inferiour creatures to form more perfect lungs and trachea. The newborn animal greedily inhales the first breath ; nay is anxious after it, as something it could not expect. Numberless parts are provided for this office ; for almost all parts of the body require air for acting with efficacy. Yet, greedy as all creatures are for this divine breath of life, every one is not endowed with voice and speech, which are ultimately produced by those small instruments, the head of the trachea, a few cartilages and muscles, and that simple member the tongue. This multifarious artist of all divine thoughts and words appears in the simplest form ; and has not only set in motion the whole sphere of human ideas, but effected every thing, that man has performed upon Earth, by means of a little air passing through a narrow chink. It is infinitely beautiful to observe the gradation by which Nature has gradually led her creatures up to sound and voice, from the mute fish, worm, and insect. The bird enjoys it's song, as the most artful occupation, and noblest excellence, bestowed on it by the creator. The beast that has a voice recurs to it's aid, when it feels any propensity, and is desirous to express it's feelings, whether of joy or sorrow. It gesticulates little, and those only speak by signs, which are comparatively denied an animated voice. The tongue of some is so formed, as even to be capable of pronouncing human words, the signification of which they do not understand : the external organization, particularly when tutored by man, runs before the internal capacity. But here the door is shut, and the manlike ape is visibly and forcibly deprived of speech by the pouches Nature has placed at the sides of the wind-pipe*.

Why has the father of human speech done this? Why would he not permit the all-imitative ape to imitate precisely this criterion of human kind, inexorably closing the way to it by peculiar obstacles. Visit an hospital of lunatics, and attend to their discourse ; listen to the jabbering of monsters and idiots ; and you need not be told the cause. How painful to us is the utterance of these ! How do we lament to hear the gift of language so profaned by those ! and how much more would it be profaned in the mouth of the gross, lascivious, brutal ape, could he imitate human words with the half-human understanding, which I have no doubt he possesses ! disgusting tissue of sounds resembling those of man combined with the thoughts of an ape—no : the divine faculty of speech was not to be thus debased, and therefore the ape is

* See Camper's Essay on the Organs of Speech in Apes : Philosophical Transactions for 1779, Part L.

dumb; more dumb than his fellow-brutes, each of which, down to the frog and the lizard, has his own peculiar voice.

But Nature has constructed man for the use of language: for this he is framed erect, and his vaulted breast is placed on a column. Men, who have been accidentally brought up among beasts, not only lose the use of speech, but in some measure the power of acquiring it: an evident proof, that their throats are deformed, and that human speech is consistent only with an erect gait. For though several brutes have organs of speech resembling those of men, no one is capable of that *continued* stream of voice, that issues from the free, exalted, human breast, and man's narrow, artfully closed mouth. Man, on the contrary, is not only able to imitate all their sounds and tones, so that, as Montbodo says, he is the *mock-bird* of terrestrial creatures; but a deity has taught him the art to imprint ideas on tones, depict figure with sound, and rule the Earth by the words of his mouth. His reason and improvement begin from speech: for by this alone does he govern himself also, and exercise that reflection and choice, of which his organization renders him alone capable. There may, there must be superiour creatures, whose reason looks through the eye, a visible character being sufficient for them to form and discriminate ideas: but the man of this world is a pupil of the ear, which first teaches him gradually to understand the language of the eye. The difference of things must first be imprinted on his mind by the voice of another; and then he learns to impart his own thoughts, first perhaps by gentle and forcible expirations, next by vocal sound and chant. The eastern nations have an expressive name for beasts, which they call *the dumb ones of the Earth*: it was in being organized with a capacity for speech, that man received the breath of the divinity, the seed of reason and eternal perfection, an echo of that creative voice to rule the Earth, in a word *the divine art of ideas*, the mother of all arts.

CHAPTER IV.

Man is organized to finer Instincts, and in consequence to Freedom of Action.

MEN repeat after one another, that man is void of instinct, and that this is the distinguishing character of the species: but he has every instinct, that any of the animals around him possess; only, in conformity to his organization, he has them softened down to a more delicate proportion.

The infant in the mother's womb seems under a necessity of going through every state, that is proper to a terrestrial creature. He swims in water: he

lies prone with open mouth : his jaws are large, before the lips, which are not formed till late, can cover them : no sooner does he come into the world than he gasps after air, and sucking is the first act he performs untaught. The whole process of digestion and nutrition, of hunger and thirst, proceeds instinctively, or by some still more obscure impulse. The muscular and procreative powers strive in like manner to develop themselves ; and if some passion or disease deprive a man of his reason, all the animal instincts will be observable in him. Danger and necessity unfold in a man, nay in whole nations, that lead a savage life, the capacities, senses, and powers of beasts.

Man therefore is not properly deprived of instincts ; but they are *repressed* in him, and made *subordinate* to the dominion of the nerves and finer senses. Without them the creature, who is still in great measure an animal, could not live.

But how are they repressed ? how does nature bring them under the dominion of the nerves ? Let us contemplate their progress from infancy ; and this will show us what men have often so foolishly lamented as human weakness in a very different light.

The young of the human species comes into the world weaker than that of any other animal : and for an obvious reason ; because it is formed to receive a figure that cannot be fashioned in the womb. The fourfooted beast acquires the quadruped figure in the matrix : and though at first it's head is equally disproportionate with that of man, it ultimately attains it's due proportions. Such, indeed, as abound in nerves bring forth their young feeble : yet still the equilibrium of their powers is established in a few days or weeks. Man alone remains a long time weak : for his limbs are yet to be fashioned to the head, if I may be allowed the expression, which was formed disproportionately large in the womb, and so comes into the world. The other limbs, which require earthly nutriment, air, and motion, for their growth, are long before they overtake it ; though during the whole period of childhood and youth they are growing up to a just proportion with it, while the head does not grow equally with them. The feeble child, therefore, is an invalid, as I may say, in it's superiour powers, and Nature is earliest improving these, and continues incessantly to improve them. Before the child learns to walk, it learns to see, to hear, to feel, and to practise the delicate mechanism and geometry of these senses. It exercises these in the same instinctive manner as the brute, only in a nicer degree. Not by innate art and ability : for all the qualities of brutes are the consequence of gross stimuli ; and if these were predominant from infancy, the man would remain a brute ; being able to do every thing before he learned, he would

learn nothing pertaining to man. Either reason must be born with him as an instinct, which appears a contradiction in terms, or he must come into the world feeble as he does, *that he may learn reason.*

This he learns from his infancy; being formed to it, to freedom, and to human speech, by art, as he is to his artificial mode of walking. The suckling at the mother's breast reposes on her heart: the fruit of her womb is the pupil of her embrace. His finest senses, the eye and ear, first awake, and are led forward by sound and figure: happy for him, if they be fortunately led! His sense of seeing gradually unfolds itself, and attentively watches the eyes of those around, as his ear is attentive to their language, and by their help he learns to distinguish his first ideas. In the same manner his hand learns gradually to feel: and then his limbs first strive after their proper exercise. He is first a pupil of the two finest senses: for the artful instinct to be formed in him is *reason, humanity, the mode of life peculiar to man*, which no brute possesses or learns. Domesticated animals acquire some things from man; but it is as brutes: they do not become men.

Hence it appears what human reason is: a word so often misused in modern writings to imply an innate automaton, in which sense it can lead only to error. Theoretically and practically reason is nothing more than something *understood*; an acquired knowledge of the proportions and directions of the ideas and faculties, to which man is formed by his organization and mode of life. An angelic reason we know not, any more than we are capable of having a clear perception of the internal state of a creature beneath us: the reason of man is human reason. From his infancy he compares the ideas and impressions of his finer senses, according to the delicacy and accuracy, with which they perceive them, the number he receives, and the internal promptitude, with which he learns to bring them together. The one whole hence arising is his thought; and the various combinations of these thoughts and perceptions to judge of what is true or false, good or bad, conducive to happiness or productive of misery, are his reason, the progressive work of the appearances of human life. This is not innate in man, but acquired: and according to the impressions he has received, the ideas he has formed, and the internal power and energy, with which he has assimilated these various impressions with his mental faculties, his reason is rich or poor, sound or diseased, stunted or well-grown, as is his body. If Nature deceived us by false perceptions of the senses, we must suffer ourselves to be deceived in her way; and as many men as possessed the same senses would be deceived in the same manner. If men deceive us, and we have not organs or faculties to perceive the deception, and reduce the impressions to a more ac-

curate standard, our reason is crippled, and frequently remains so all our lives. As man must learn every thing, it being his instinct and destination to learn all, even to his mode of walking, he is taught to go only by means of falls, and frequently attains truth only through the help of error: the brute on the contrary moves securely on his four feet, for the more strongly imprinted proportions of his senses and impulses are his guides. Man enjoys the royal prerogative of seeing far and wide with head erect: yet it must be confessed he sees much obscurely and falsely, nay often forgets his steps, and is reminded by stumbling on what a narrow basis rests the whole frame of his ideas and judgments, the offspring of his head and heart. Still he remains, conformably to his high *rational destination*, what no other creature upon Earth is, a son of God, a sovereign of the World.

In order to be sensible of the preeminence of this destination, let us consider what is included in the great gifts of *reason* and *liberty*, and how much Nature hesitated as it were, before she entrusted them to such a feeble, complicated, earthly creature as man. Brutes are but stooping slaves; though some of the nobler species carry the head erect, or at least strive after liberty with uplifted neck. Their minds, not yet ripened into reason, must be subservient to the impulses of necessity, and in this service are first remotely prepared for the proper use of the senses and appetites. Man is the first of the creation left free: he stands erect. He holds the balance of good and evil, of truth and falsehood: he can examine, and is to choose. As Nature has given him two free hands as instruments, and an inspecting eye to guide him, she has given him the power, not only of placing the weights in the balance, but of being, as I may say, himself a weight in the scale. He can gloss over the most delusive errors, and be voluntarily deceived: he can learn in time to love the chains with which he is unnaturally fettered, and adorn them with various flowers. As it is with deceived reason, so is it with abused or shackled liberty: in most men it is such a proportion of powers and propensities, as habit or convenience has established. Man seldom looks beyond these; and is capable of becoming worse than a brute, when fettered by mean propensities and execrable habits.

Still in right of his liberty, even when he most detestably abuses it, is he a king. He may still choose, even though he chooses the worst: he is obedient to his own commands, even when he directs himself by his own will to that which is most contemptible. Before the omniscient, who conferred on him these powers, it is true both his liberty and reason are limited: and they are happily limited; for he, who created their sources, must have known and foreseen every channel, in which they could flow, and understood how to give them such directions,

that the stream most disorderly in its course could never escape the reach of his hand. This, however, makes no alteration in the thing itself, or in the nature of man. He is, and remains, with regard to himself, a free creature, though all-comprehending Goodness embraces him even in his follies, and turns these both to his own and the general good. As the bullet shot from the cannon's mouth cannot escape from the atmosphere, and, when it falls, falls by one uniform law of nature: so man, in error and in truth, in rising and in falling, is still man; feeble indeed, but free-born; if not yet rational, yet capable of superiour reason; if not yet formed to humanity, yet endued with the power of attaining it. The New-Zealand cannibal and a Fenelon, a Newton and the wretched petheray, are all creatures of one and the same species.

It seems, indeed, as if every possible variety in the use of these gifts were to be found upon our Earth; and there is evidently a progressive scale, from the man who borders on the brute to the purest genius in human form. At this we ought not to wonder, as we see the great gradation of animals below us, and the long course Nature has been obliged to take organically to prepare the little germinating flower of reason and liberty in us. It appears, that every thing possible to be on our Earth was actually to exist on it: and then only shall we be able sufficiently to explain the order and wisdom of this copious plenitude, when, advanced a step farther, we perceive the end for which such variety was ordained to spring up in the great garden of Nature. Here we see little more than the laws of necessity prevail: for the whole earth was to be inhabited, even in its remotest wildernesses; and only he, who stretched it out so far, knows the reasons, why he left on this his world both petherays and new-zealanders. The greatest contemner of the human race cannot deny, that the noble plants of reason and liberty have produced beautiful fruits, when warmed by the celestial beams of the Sun, notwithstanding the many wild branches they have shot forth among the children of men. It would be almost incredible, did not history confirm it, to what heights human *reason* has ventured, endeavouring not merely to trace out, but also to imitate, the creating and sustaining deity. In the chaos of beings, which the senses point out to him, he has sought and discovered unity and intelligence, order and beauty. The most secret powers, with the internal springs of which he is unacquainted, he has observed in their external appearances, and traced motion, number, measure, life, and being, wherever he has perceived their effects, either in Heaven or upon Earth. All his essays, even when erroneous or visionary, are proofs of his majesty, of divine power and elevation. The being, who created all things, has indeed placed a ray of his light, a stamp of his peculiar power, in our feeble frame; and low as man is, he can say to

himself, 'I have something in common with God: I possess faculties, that the supreme, whom I know in his works, must also possess: for he has displayed them in the things around me.' Apparently *this similitude with himself* was the sum of all his works upon Earth. He could produce nothing higher on this theatre; but he neglected not to ascend thus high, and to carry the series of his organized beings up to this extreme point. Hence is the progress to it so uniform, through all the variety of figure that occurs.

In like manner *liberty* has produced noble fruits in man, and displayed its merits, as well in what it has rejected, as in what it has pursued. That men have renounced the unsteady reins of blind appetite, and voluntarily assumed *the bonds of matrimony*, of social friendship, succour, and fidelity, in life and death; that they have given up their own wills, and chosen to be governed by laws, so as to establish and defend with their life's blood *the rule of men over men*, though it still remains far from perfection; that noble-minded mortals have sacrificed themselves for their *country*, and not only lost their lives in a tumultuous moment, but, what is far more magnanimous, night and day, for months and years, have thought nothing of the uninterrupted labour of a whole life, to confer peace and happiness, at least in their opinion, on a blind ungrateful multitude; that divine philosophers have voluntarily submitted to slander and persecution, poverty and want, from a glorious thirst for promoting *truth, freedom, and happiness* among the human species, and cherished the idea, that they had conferred on their brethren the highest boon of which they were capable; must surely have arisen from great human virtue, and the most powerful exertions of that *self-government*, which is inherent in us; or I know not to what it is to be ascribed. It is true the number of those, who have thus distinguished themselves from the multitude, and as physicians salutarily compelled them to what they would not of themselves have chosen, has ever been but small: yet these few have been the flower of the species, the free immortal sons of God upon Earth. The name of one such outweighs those of millions.

CHAPTER V.

Man is organized to the most delicate State of Health, yet at the same time to the longest Durability, and to spread over the Earth.

MAN with his erect posture acquired a delicacy, warmth, and strength, that no brute can attain. In the savage state he was in great measure covered with hair, particularly on the back; and for the deprivation of this coat the elder Pliny has loudly complained against Nature. The benevolent mother of all has given man a more beautiful covering in his skin, which, with all its delicacy, is capable of supporting the changes of season, and the temperature of every climate, when aided by a small portion of art, which to him is second nature.

To this art he is led not solely by naked necessity, but by something more lovely and more appropriate to man. Whatever some philosophers may assert, modesty is natural to the human species; and indeed something bearing an obscure analogy to it is so to a few of the brutes; for the female ape covers herself, and the elephant retires to some thick unfrequented wood, to propagate his species. We know scarcely any nation upon Earth * so brutal, that the women do not seek some kind of veil, from the period when the passions begin to awake: at the same time the tender sensibility of the parts in question, and other circumstances, require a covering. Even before man sought to protect his other limbs against the fury of the elements, or the stings of insects, by clothes or unctions, a kind of sensual economy led him to guard the most vehement and necessary of his appetites. Among all the nobler animals the female does not offer herself, but will be sought. In this she unconsciously fulfils the purposes of Nature: and in the human species, the delicate woman is the prudent guardian of charming modesty, which, in consequence of the erect posture, cannot fail to be developed at an early period.

Thus man was led to clothe himself: and no sooner had he acquired this and a few other arts, but he was capable of enduring any climate, and taking possession of every part of the Earth. Few animals, scarcely any indeed except the dog, have been able to follow him into every region: and then how greatly

* We are told but of two completely naked nations, and they live in a manner like brutes; the pesherays, at the extreme point of South America; and a savage people between Arracan and Pegu: though I cannot implicitly cre-

dit the existence of the latter in such a region of the world, notwithstanding it is confirmed by one of our latest travellers: see Mackintosh's Travels: Vol. I, p. 341: London, 1782.

has the form of these been changed! how much has their native constitution been altered! Man alone has but little varied, and this in no essential part. It is astonishing how uniformly he has retained his nature, when we contemplate the variations, that have taken place in other migrating animals. His delicate nature is so fixed, so perfectly organized, that it stands on the highest point, and he is capable of few varieties, none of which are to be termed anomalies.

Whence comes all this? From his upright form: and from nothing else. Did we walk on all fours, like the bear and the ape, there is no doubt but the different species of the genus man, if I may be allowed the ignoble expression, would have their more limited regions, which they would never quit. The bear man would love his cold clime, the ape man his warm: even as we now perceive, that, the more brutal a nation is, the more firmly is it enchained, body and mind, to its country and climate.

As Nature exalted man, she exalted him to rule over the Earth. His upright form gave him, with a more finely organized structure, a more elaborate circulation of the blood, a more multifarious mixture of the vital fluids, and that *more intrinsic and fixed temperature of vital warmth*, which alone could enable him to be an inhabitant of Siberia and of the torrid zone. Nothing but his erect, more artificial, organic structure renders him capable of bearing the two extremes of heat and cold, which no other creature upon earth can undergo, and which notwithstanding alter him in a very small degree.

It must be confessed, this delicate structure, and all the consequences arising from it, have opened the door to a series of diseases, with which no brute is acquainted, and which Moscati * has eloquently enumerated. The blood that carries on its circulation in a perpendicular machine, the heart pressed into an oblique position, and the bowels that perform their functions in an upright situation, must be exposed to more danger of being deranged, than they are in the body of a brute. The female sex in particular, it would seem, must pay dearer than we for its greater delicacy — Yet the beneficence of Nature compensates and mitigates this in a thousand ways. Our health, our well-being, all our perceptions and excitements, are finer and more spiritual. No brute enjoys for a moment the health and happiness of man: no one tastes a drop of the nectarine stream, that man drinks. Nay, considered merely with respect to the body, the diseases of the brute are fewer, it is true, because his corporal structure is more gross; but then they are the more obstinate, and the more constant in their effects. His cellular membrane, the coats of his nerves, his arteries, bones,

* *Vom körperlichen wesentlichen Unterschiede der Thiere und Menschen*, 'On the essential bodily Differences between Men and Brutes': Göttingen, 1771.

and even brain, are harder than ours: whence all the quadrupeds man sees around him, the elephant alone perhaps excepted, whose period of life approaches his, live a shorter time, and die a natural death, the death of indurating age, much sooner than he. Accordingly Nature has appointed man the longest life, and at the same time the healthiest and happiest, compatible with a terrestrial frame. Nothing can succour itself more easily, or in more various ways, than man's complicated nature: and it is owing to the excesses of madness and vice, of which indeed no brute is capable, that our frame is so enfeebled and deteriorated as it is in many instances. Nature has benevolently bestowed on every climate the plants, that heal the diseases, to which it is subject; and nothing but the confounding of all climates could have converted Europe into that sink of evils, which no people living according to the dictates of Nature can experience. Still for these self-acquired evils it has given us a self-acquired good, the only one we deserve, *physicians*, who assist Nature, when they follow her steps, and when they cannot, or dare not follow her, at least send the patient to rest according to art.

O what maternal care and wisdom of the divine economy determined the stages of our lives, and the duration of our existence! All living creatures here upon Earth, that have soon to attain perfection, grow as quickly: they are early ripe, and soon reach the goal of death. Man, planted upright as a tree of Heaven, grows slowly. Like the elephant he remains longest in the womb: the years of his youth are many, far more than those of any brute. Nature has spun out as long as she could the most favourable time for learning, growing, feeling the happiness of life, and enjoying it in the most innocent manner. Many animals are full grown in a few years, or days; nay even almost at the instant they are born: but they are so much the more imperfect, and die the earlier. Man must longest learn, because he has most to acquire: every thing in him depends on self-taught ability, reason, and art. If his life be afterward shortened by the innumerable multitude of dangers and accidents, to which he is exposed: yet he has enjoyed a long youth free from care, while with the growth of his body and mind the world grew around him, while with his slowly rising, still extending sphere of vision the circle of his hopes enlarged, and his youthfully noble heart learned to beat more ardently in eager curiosity, in impatient enthusiasm, for every thing that is great, and good, and beautiful. The flower of sexual appetite blooms later in a sound unirritated man, than in any other animal: for he is intended to live long, and not dissipate too early the noblest fluid of his mental and corporal powers. The insect, that soon enjoys the pleasures of love, dies speedily. All chaste monogamous animals live longer, than those that do not

enter into the connubial bonds. The lustful cock dies early : the constant stock-dove may attain the age of fifty years. Marriage, therefore, is ordained for Nature's favourite here below ; and he should spend his first years of vigour as the unopened bud, innocence itself. Hence follow long years of manly and ardent powers, in which his reason ripens ; and this, as well as the prolific faculty, continues to flourish in a green old age unknown to any brute ; till at length a gentle death steals on, and releases the falling dust, as well as the included spirit, from an unfuitable alliance. Thus Nature has associated with the fragile shell of the human body all the arts, that a creature of this Earth can attain : and, even in what shortens and enfeebles life, she has compensated the brevity of enjoyment with it's acuteness, the destroying power with intensity of sensation.

CHAPTER VI.

Man is formed for Humanity and Religion.

I WISH I could extend the signification of the word *humanity*, so as to comprize in it every thing I have thus far said on the noble conformation of man to reason and liberty, to finer senses and appetites, to the most delicate yet strong health, to the population and rule of the Earth : for man has not a more dignified word for his destination, than what expresses himself, in whom the image of the creator lives imprinted as visibly as it can be here. We need only delineate his form, to develope his noblest duties.

All the appetites of a living being may be traced to the *support of self*, and to a *participation with others* : the organic structure of man, if a superior direction be added to it, gives to these appetites the nicest order. While a right line possesses the most stability, man has also for his protection the smallest circumference without, and the most varied velocity within. He stands on the narrowest basis, and therefore can most easily cover his limbs. His centre of gravity falls between the supplest and strongest haunches, that any creature upon Earth can boast ; and no brute displays in these parts the mobility and strength of man. His flattened, steely chest, and the position of his arms, give him the most extensive sphere of defence above, to protect his heart, and guard his noblest vital parts from the head to the knee. It is no fable, that men have encountered lions, and overcome them : the african, when he combines prudence and address with strength, is a match for more than one. It must be confessed, however, that man's structure is less calculated for attack than de-

fence : in that he needs the assistance of art ; in this he is by nature the most powerful creature upon Earth. Thus his very form teaches him to live in *peace*, not to addict himself to deeds of blood and rapine : and this constitutes the first characteristic of humanity.

2. Among the appetites, that have reference to others, the desire of propagating the species is the most powerful : and this in man is subordinate to the promotion of humanity. What with fourfooted beasts, even with the modest elephant, is copulation, with him, in consequence of his structure, is kissing and embracing. No brute has human lips, the delicate rim of which is the last part of the face formed in the womb : the beautiful and intelligent closing of these lips is, as it were, the last mark of the finger of love. The modest expression of ancient languages, that he knew his wife, is applicable to no brute. Ancient fables say, that the two sexes at first formed an hermaphrodite, as in flowers, but were afterwards separated. This and other expressive fictions were intended, to convey the secret meaning of the superiority of human over brutal love. That this desire in man is not subject to the control of seasons, as in brutes, though no accurate observations on the revolutions in the human body in this respect have yet been made, evidently shows, that it is not dependent on necessity, but on the incitement of love, remains under the dominion of reason, and was designedly left to voluntary temperance, like every thing pertaining to man. Thus love in man was to be *human* ; and with this view Nature appointed, exclusive of his form, the later development, duration, and state of desire, in both sexes : nay she brought it under the law of a *voluntary social alliance*, and the most friendly communion between two beings, who feel themselves united in one for life.

3. As all the tender affections, except imparting and receiving love, are satisfied with participation ; Nature has formed man most of all living creatures for participating in the fate of others, having framed him as it were out of all the rest, and organized him similarly to every part of the creation in such a degree, that he can feel with each. The structure of his fibres is so fine, delicate, and elastic, his nerves are so diffused over every part of his vibrating frame, that, like an image of the allsentient deity, he can put himself almost in the place of every creature, and can share it's feelings in the degree necessary to the creature, and which his own frame will bear without being disordered ; nay even at the hazard of disordering it. Accordingly our machine, so far as it is a growing, flourishing tree, feels even with trees ; and there are men, who cannot bear to see a young green tree cut down or destroyed. We regret it's blighted top : we lament the withering of a favourite flower. A feeling man views not the with-

ing of a bruised worm with indifference: and the more perfect a creature is, the nearer its organization approaches our own, the more sympathy is excited in us by its sufferings. He must possess rigid nerves, who can open a living creature, and watch its convulsive movements: nothing but an insatiate thirst for fame and science can gradually deaden his organic sensibility. More delicate women cannot bear even the dissection of a dead body: they feel pain in each limb, as their eyes follow the course of the knife; and this pain is more acute in proportion to the nobleness and sensibility of the part. To see the bowels torn out excites disgust and horror: when the heart is pierced, the lungs divided, the brain cut to pieces, we feel the keen edge of the instrument in our own. We sympathize with the corpse of a dead friend, even in the grave: we feel the cold pit, which he feels not: and shudder when we touch his bones. The common mother, who has taken all things from herself, and feels with the most intimate sympathy for all, has thus sympathetically compounded the human frame. Its vibrating fibres, its sympathizing nerves, need not the call of Reason: they run before her, they often disobey her, and forcibly oppose her. Intercourse with mad people, for whom we feel, excites madness; and the sooner, the more we apprehend it.

It is singular, that the ear should excite and strengthen compassion so much more powerfully than the eye. The sigh of a brute, the cry forced from him by bodily sufferance, bring about him all his fellows, who, as often has been observed, stand mournfully round the sufferer, and would willingly lend him assistance. Man, too, at the sight of suffering, is more apt to be impressed with fear and tremor, than with tender compassion: but no sooner does the voice of the sufferer reach him, than the spell is dissolved, and he hastens to him: he is pierced to the heart. Is it that the sound converts the picture in the eye into a living being, and recalls and concentrates in one point our recollection of our own and another's feelings? Or is there, as I am inclined to believe, a still deeper organic cause? Suffice it, that the fact is true, and it shows that sound and language are the principal sources of man's compassion. We sympathize less with a creature that cannot sigh; as it is destitute of lungs, more imperfect, and less resembling ourselves in its organization. Some, who have been born deaf and dumb, have given the most horrible examples of want of compassion and sympathy with men and beasts; and instances enough may be observed among savage nations. Yet even among these the law of Nature is perceivable. Fathers, who are compelled by hunger and want to sacrifice their children, devote them to death in the womb, before they have beheld their eyes, before they have heard the sound of their voices; and many infanticides have confessed,

that nothing was so painful to them, nothing took such fast hold of their memory, as the first feeble voice, the suppliant cry of their child.

4. Beautiful is the chain, by which the allsentient mother connects the reciprocal feeling of her children, and fashions it step by step. Where the creature is rude and insensible, so as scarcely to care for itself, it is not entrusted with the care of its offspring. The feathered inhabitants of the air, hatch and bring up their young with maternal love: the stupid ostrich, on the contrary, commits her eggs to the sand. 'She forgets,' says an ancient book, 'that a foot may tread upon them, or a wild beast destroy them: for God has deprived her of wisdom, and imparted to her no understanding.' From one and the same organic cause, whence a creature derives more brain, it also acquires more warmth, brings forth or hatches living young, gives suck, and is susceptible of parental affection. The creature, that comes into the world alive, is as it were a plexus of its mother's own nerves: the child brought up at its parent's breast is a branch of the mother-plant, which she nourishes as a part of herself.—On this most intimate reciprocal feeling are founded all the tender affections in the economy of the animal, to which Nature could exalt its species.

In the human species maternal love is of a higher kind: a branch of the humanity of the upright form. The suckling lies beneath his mother's eye on her bosom, and drinks the softest and most delicate fluid. It is a brutal custom, and even tending to deform the body, for women to suckle their children at their backs, which in some countries they are compelled to do by necessity. Parental and domestic love soften the greatest savages: even the lioness is affectionate to her young. The first society arose in the paternal habitation, being cemented by the ties of blood, of confidence, and love. Thus to destroy the wildness of men, and habituate them to domestic intercourse, it was requisite, that the infancy of the species should continue some years: Nature kept them together by tender bands, that they might not separate and forget each other like the brutes, that soon arrive at maturity. The father becomes the instructor of his son, as the mother had been of her infant; and thus a new tie of humanity is formed. Here lies the ground of a necessary *human society*, without which no man could grow up, and the species could not multiply. Man therefore is *born* for society: this the affection of his parents tells him; this, the years of his protracted infancy.

5. But as the sympathy of man is incapable of being universally extended, and could be but an obscure and frequently impotent conductor to him, a limited, complex being, in every thing remote; his guiding mother has subjected its numerous and lightly interwoven branches to her more unerring

standard: this is the *rule of truth and justice*. Man is formed erect; and as every thing in his figure is subordinate to the head, as his two eyes see only one object, his two ears hear but one sound; as Nature in his whole exterior has connected symmetry with unity, and placed unity in the midst, so that what is double always refers to it: so also is the great law of justice and equiponderance the internal rule of man: *what ye would not, that another should do unto you, do not to another; and do unto others, what ye would they should do unto you*. This incontestible rule is written even in the breast of the savage: for when he eats the flesh of others, he expects to be eaten in his turn. It is the rule of true and false, of the *idem et idem*, founded on the structure of all our senses, nay I might say on man's erect position itself. If we saw obliquely, or the light struck us in an oblique direction; we should have no idea of a right line. If our organization were without unity, our thoughts without judgment; our actions would fluctuate in curves devoid of rule, and human life would be destitute of reason and design. The law of truth and justice makes sincere brothers and associates: nay, when it takes place, it converts even enemies into friends. He, whom I press to my bosom, presses me also to his: he, for whom I venture my life, ventures his for me. Thus the laws of man, of nations, and of animals, are founded on similarity of sentiment, unity of design among different persons, and equal truth in an alliance: for even animals, that live in society, obey the laws of justice; and men, who avoid their ties by force or fraud, are the most inhuman of all creatures, even if they be the kings and monarchs of the Earth. No reason, no humanity, is conceivable without strict justice and truth.

6. The elegant and erect figure of man forms him to *decorum*: for this is the lovely friend and servant of truth and justice. Decorum of body is for it to stand as it ought, as God has fashioned it: true beauty is nothing more than the pleasing form of internal perfection and health. Consider the divine image in man disfigured by negligence and false art: the beautiful hair torn off, or clotted together in a lump; the nose and ears bored through, and stretched by a weight; the neck and the other parts of the body deformed in themselves, or by the dress that covers them: who, even if the most capricious fashion were to judge, would discover here the decorum of the erect human frame? Just so it is with manners and actions; just so with customs, arts, and language. One and the same *humanity* pervades all these, which few nations upon Earth have hit, and hundreds have disfigured by barbarism and false art. To trace this humanity is the genuine philosophy of man, which the sage called down from Heaven, and which displays itself in social intercourse, as in national policy, in all the arts, as in every science.

Finally, *religion* is the highest humanity of mankind. Let no one be surprized, that I thus estimate it. If the understanding be the noblest endowment of man, it is the business of the understanding to trace the connexion between cause and effect, and to divine it where it is not apparent. The human understanding does this in every action, occupation, and art: for, even where it follows an established process, some understanding must previously have settled the connexion between cause and effect, and thus introduced the art. But in the operations of Nature we properly see no cause in it's inmost springs: we know not ourselves, we perceive not how any thing is effected in us. So in all the effects around us every thing is but a dream, a conjecture, a name: yet it is a true dream, when we frequently and constantly observe the same effect connected with the same cause. This is the progress of philosophy; and the first and last philosophy has ever been religion. Even the most savage nations have practised it: for no people upon Earth have been found entirely destitute of it, any more than of a capacity for reason and the human form, language and the connubial union, or some manners and customs proper to man. Where they saw no visible author of events, they supposed an invisible one; and inquired after the causes of things, though with a glimmering light. It is true they attended more to the phenomena than the essence of nature; and contemplated the tremendous and transitory, more than the pleasing and permanent: so that they seldom advanced so far as to refer all causes to one. Still this first attempt was religion: and it is absurd to say, that *fear* invented the gods of most people. Fear, as fear, invents nothing: it merely rouses the understanding to conjecture, and to suppose something true or false. As soon therefore as man learned to use his understanding on the slightest impulse, that is to say, as soon as he beheld the World in a manner different from a brute, he must have believed in more powerful invisible beings, that benefitted or injured him. These he fought to make or preserve his friends; and thus religion, true or false, right or erroneous, was introduced, the instructor of man, his comforter and guide through the dark and dangerous mazes of life.

No! eternal source of all life, all being, and all form, thou hast not fore-born, to manifest thyself to thy creatures. The prone brute obscurely feels thy power and goodness, while he exercises his faculties and appetites suitably to his organization: to him man is the visible divinity of the Earth. But thou hast exalted man, so that, even without his knowing or intending it, he inquires after the causes of things, divines their connexion, and thus discovers thee, thou great bond of all things, being of beings! Thy inmost nature he knows not; for he sees not the essence of any one power: and when he would figure thee,

he has erred, and must err; for thou art without figure, though the first and sole cause of all forms. Still this false glimmering of thee is light; and the illusive altar he has erected to thee is an unerring monument, not only of thy being, but of the power of man to know and worship thee. Thus religion, considered merely as an exercise of the understanding, is the highest humanity, the noblest blossom of the human mind.

But it is more than this: it is an exercise of the human heart, and the purest direction of its capacities and powers. If man be created free, and subject to no earthly law, but what he imposes on himself, he must soon become the most savage of all creatures, if he do not quickly perceive the law of God in the works of Nature, and strive as a child to imitate the perfections of his father. Brutes are born servants in the great terrestrial family, and the slavish fear of laws and punishments is the most certain characteristic of the brute in man. The real man is free, and obeys from goodness and love: for all the laws of Nature, where he can perceive their tendency, are good; and where he perceives it not, he learns to follow them with the simplicity of a child. If thou go not willingly, say the philosophers, still thou must go: the law of Nature will not change on thy account; but the more thou discoverest its beauty, goodness, and perfection, the more will this living model form thee to the image of God in thine earthly life. True religion therefore is a filial service of God, an imitation of the most high and beautiful represented in the human form, with the extreme of inward satisfaction, active goodness, and love of mankind.

Hence it appears. why in all religions upon Earth more or less similitude of man with the deity must have taken place; as they either exalted man to God, or degraded the father of the World to the likeness of man. We know no form superiour to our own; and nothing can affect and humanize us, but what we conceive and feel as men. Thus a sensual nation has exalted the human form to divine beauty: others, of more refined sentiments, have represented the perfections of the invisible being to the human eye by means of symbols. Even when the deity has thought proper to reveal himself to us, he has spoken and acted after the manner of men, as was suitable to the spirit of the times. Nothing has so much ennobled our form and nature as religion, solely because it has led them back to their purest destination.

That the hope and belief of immortality were connected with religion, and established among men by its means, arose from the nature of the case; as they are scarcely separable from the idea of God and mankind. But how? We are children of the eternal, whom we here learn by imitation to know and love, to the knowledge of whom every thing excites us, and whom both our sufferings

and enjoyments impel us to imitate. Yet since we know him so obscurely; since we imitate him so feebly and childishly; nay even perceive the reasons why we cannot know him and imitate him otherwise in our present organization; is it possible for us to attain no other? Do our most indubitably best capacities admit of no advancement? Then, too, these our noblest faculties are so little adapted to this world: they expand themselves beyond it, since every thing here is subservient to the wants of our nature. And still we feel our nobler part incessantly contending against these wants: precisely that which seems the end of man's organization finds its birthplace indeed upon the Earth, but by no means its state of perfection. Has the deity, then, broken the thread, and with all these preparations in the human frame produced at last an immature creature, deceived in the whole of his destination? All things upon Earth are fragments: and shall they remain for ever and ever imperfect fragments, and the human race a group of shadows perplexing themselves with vain dreams? Here has religion knit together all the wants and hopes of mankind into *faith*, and woven an *immortal* crown for humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

Man is formed for the Hope of Immortality.

LET not the reader expect here any metaphysical proof of the immortality of the soul, from the simplicity of its nature, its spirituality, or the like. Natural philosophy knows nothing of this simplicity, and would rather incline to advance doubts against it, as we are acquainted with the soul only through its operations in a complicated organization, which appear to spring from a diversity of stimuli and perceptions. The most common thought is the result of innumerable single perceptions; and the ruler of our body acts upon the numerous tribe of subordinate faculties, as if she were locally present with them all —

Neither can Bonnet's philosophy, as it is called, the system of germes, be our guide here: for, in respect of the transition to a new existence, it is partly devoid of demonstration, partly inapplicable. No one has discovered in our brain a spiritual brain, the germe of a new existence; neither is the least analogy to this perceptible in its structure. The brain of the dead remains with us; and if the seed of our immortality possessed no other powers, it would lie and be consumed to dust. This system appears to me, too, to be altogether inapplicable to the subject: for we speak not here of young creatures descending from a creature of the same kind, but of a dying creature, that springs up to a new state of ex-

istence. Indeed, if it were exclusively true with regard to the generation of terrestrial beings, and all our hope rested upon this, it would oppose insuperable doubts to this hope. If it be eternally fixed, that the flower shall produce nothing but a flower, the brute a brute; and that every thing was mechanically framed at the beginning of creation in preformed germes; farewell enchanting hope of a superiour existence! from all eternity have I lain a germe preformed for my present existence and no other; all that was destined to spring from me consists in the preformed germes of my children; and when the tree dies, all the philosophy of germes dies with it.

If we would not deceive ourselves on this important subject with fine words, we must begin deeper, take in a wider sphere, and observe the general *analogy of Nature*. We cannot penetrate the inmost recesses of her powers: it would be as vain, therefore, as it is unnecessary, to seek there for profound essential conclusions upon any subject. But the modes and effects of her powers lie before us: these therefore we can compare, and perhaps collect *hopes* from the progress of Nature here below, and it's general prevailing character.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

A Series of ascending Forms and Powers prevails in our Earthly Creation.

1. **F**ROM stones to crystals, from crystals to metals, from these to plants, from plants to brutes, and from brutes to man, we have seen the *form of organization* ascend; and with this the powers and propensities of the creature have become more various, till at length they have all united in the human frame, at least as far as they were susceptible of being comprised in it. Here the series stops: we know no creature above man, organized with more diversity and art: he seems the highest point attainable by terrestrial organization.

2. Throughout this series of beings we observe, as far as the particular destination of the creature admits it, a *predominant similitude of the principal form*, which, varying in numberless ways, more and more approaches that of man.

3. As we have observed the forms of other creatures to approach man's, so also have we seen their *faculties and propensities*. From the powers of nourishment and propagation in plants they ascend to the mechanic arts of insects, the domestic economy and maternal care of birds and quadrupeds, and at length to thoughts almost human, and self-acquired capacities, till all ultimately concentrate in the *reasoning faculty, liberty, and humanity* of man.

4. The period of each creature's life also is regulated by the end Nature has designed it to answer. The plant quickly blossoms: the tree grows tardily. The insect, which brings its art into the World with it, and speedily and abundantly multiplies its species, soon departs: on beasts, that are longer growing up, bring forth few at a time, or lead a life of domestic economy bordering upon reason, a more extended period of existence is bestowed; and on man comparatively the most extensive. In this, however, Nature attends not to the individual, but to the maintenance of the species, and the other species that are above it. The inferior regions are not only peopled in abundance, but the lives of the crea-

tures are of longer duration, where the purpose of their existence admits it. The sea, that inexhaustible source of life, longest supports it's inhabitants, whose vital powers are very tenacious: and the amphibia, who half live in water, approach these in longevity. The inhabitants of the air, less loaded with terrestrial nutriment, which gradually indurates quadrupeds, live upon the whole longer than beasts. Air and water, therefore, seem to be the grand storehouses of living beings; which the earth afterwards consumes and destroys in quicker transitions.

5. The more elaborate the organization of a creature is, *the more it's structure is compounded from the inferiour kingdoms.* This complexedness begins underneath the earth, and grows up through plants and animals to the most complicated of all creatures, man. His blood and various component parts are a compendium of the World: earths and salts, acids and alkalies, oil and water, the powers of vegetation, of irritability, and of sensation, are organically combined in him and interwoven together.

Either we must consider these things as sports of Nature, and intelligent Nature never sports without design, or we shall be led to admit a *kingdom of invisible powers*, standing in the same close connexion, and blending by such imperceptible transitions, as we perceive in the external appearances of things. The more we learn of Nature, the more we observe these indwelling powers, even in the lowest orders of creatures, as mosses, funguses, and the like. In an animal, which almost inexhaustibly reproduces it's own likeness, in the muscle, which moves briskly and variously by it's own irritability, the existence of these powers cannot be denied: and thus all things are full of organically operating omnipotence. We know not where this begins, or where it ends: for, throughout the creation, wherever effect is, there is power, wherever life displays itself, there is internal vitality. Thus there prevails in the invisible realm of creation, not only a *connected chain*, but an *ascending series of powers*; as we perceive these acting before us, in organized forms, in it's visible kingdom.

Nay this invisible chain must be infinitely more close, firm, and progressive, than the series of external forms cognizable by our dull senses can show. For what is an organization but a mass of infinitely more compressed powers, the greater part of which, even in consequence of their connexion, are limited or suppressed by other powers; or at least are so concealed from our sight, that, as the drops of water appear to us only in the form of a cloud, we perceive not the individual parts, but the general figure, as the wants of the whole have required it to be organized? How different must the true chain of creatures be in the eye of omniscience, from that of which men speak! We arrange forms, which

our sight is unable to penetrate; and class them, like children, by particular limbs or other marks. The sovereign father sees and holds the chain of powers closely pressing on each other.

What is this to the immortality of the soul? Every thing. And not to the immortality of our soul alone, but the duration of all the acting and living powers of creation. No power can perish: for what is the meaning of a power's perishing? We have no instance of it in nature: nay we have no idea of it in our minds. It is a contradiction, that something should be or become nothing: it is more than a contradiction, that a living acting somewhat, in which the creator himself is present, in which by energies divine he manifests his residence, should be converted into nothing. The implement may be destroyed by external circumstances: but as not a single atom of it can be lost or annihilated, so neither can the invisible power, which operates in this atom. Since in every species of organization we perceive, that its operative powers are chosen with wisdom, arranged with art, and accurately adapted to their common duration and the perfection of the principal power: it would be absurd to suppose of Nature, that, the moment when a combination of these powers, that is an external form, ceases, she should suddenly depart from this care and wisdom, which alone constitute her divine Nature; and not only so, but turn *against herself*, with her whole omnipotence, for nothing less could suffice, to annihilate a single part of the living whole, in which she herself lives *eternally active*. What the all-vivifying calls into life, lives: whatever acts, acts eternally in his ~~eternal~~ whole.

As this is not the place to pursue these principles farther, let us consider some examples of them. The flower blows, and fades: that is to say, this instrument is no longer fit to continue the operations of the vegetative power: the tree, when it has produced its stock of fruit, dies; the machine has perished, and the component parts separate. But it by no means follows from this, that the power, that animated these parts, that could vegetate, and so powerfully propagate itself, has died with this decomposition: that power, which in this organization ruled over a thousand powers it had attracted. Each atom of the dissolved machine retains its inferior power: how much more, then, must the more potent remain, which in this form directed them all to one end, and acted in its narrow limits with omnipotent natural qualities! The chain of our thoughts breaks, when we think it *natural*, that a living creature should now possess in each of its limbs that powerful, self-restoring, irritable spontaneity, which it displays to our eyes; and the very next moment all these powers, the living proofs of an indwelling organic omnipotence, should so vanish from the chain of beings, from the sphere of reality, as if it had never been.

And shall this contradiction in thought take place with respect to the purest and most active power we know upon Earth, the human mind? a power so far raised above all the capacities of inferior organizations, as not only to rule with sovereign sway the numberless organic powers of my body, with a kind of omnipotence and ubiquity; but also, most wonderful of wonders, to be capable of inspecting and governing itself? Nought here below can exceed the subtilty, swiftness, and efficacy of a human thought; nought the energy, purity, and warmth of a human volition. Let man's thoughts be as devoid of reason as possible, still on every occasion, when he thinks, he imitates the disposing deity; in whatever he wills and performs, he imitates the creating God. The similitude lies in the thing itself: it is grounded on the essence of his mind. Shall the power, that is capable of knowing, loving, and imitating God; nay, that from the very essence of its reason is compelled to know and imitate him as it were against its will, since even its very faults and errors arise only from weakness and illusion; be no more? and the most powerful sovereign upon Earth perish; because an external circumstance of composition is changed, and some of its lowest subjects have revolted? Does the artist no longer exist, because the tools have dropped from his hand? If so, where is the concatenation of our thoughts?

CHAPTER II.

No Power in Nature is without an Organ; but the Organ is in no Instance the Power itself, that operates by its Means.

PRIESTLEY and others have objected to the spiritualists, that no such thing as pure spirit is known in the universe; and that we by no means see far enough into the nature of matter, to deny it the faculty of thinking, or other spiritual qualities. In both points they appear to me to be right. A spirit operating without and external to matter we know not: and we see in matter so many powers of a spiritual kind, that a complete *opposition* and *contradiction* between these two things, spirit and matter, though they are absolutely very different, appear to me, if not selfevidently inconsistent, at least altogether void of proof. How can two things operate in conjunction, and with internal harmony, that are perfectly dissimilar, and essentially opposite to each other? and how can we maintain, that they are so, when we know the nature neither of one nor of the other?

Wherever we perceive a power operate, it operates in some organ, and in harmony with it: at least without an organ it would be invisible to our senses;

but it exists with one, and if we may trust the analogy, that pervades all Nature, it has fashioned itself in it. Preformed germes, lying ready ever since the creation, no eye has yet beheld: all that we observe from the first instant of a creature's existence are acting *organic powers*. If an individual contain these in itself, it propagates it's species without assistance: if the sexes be divided, each must contribute to the organization of their progeny, and in different modes, according to the diversity of their structure. Beings of the nature of plants, the powers of which operate simply, and in consequence the more intimately, require but the contact of a slight effluvium, to give life to their selfprocreated offspring: also in animals, where the vital stimulus, and a tenacity of life, prevail in every limb, so that the power of production and reproduction pervades almost their whole substance, their progeny in many cases do not require to be animated, till they are excluded from the womb. The more complex the organization of a creature, the less distinguishable is what is called it's germe: it is *organic matter*, which must receive vital powers, before it can attain the form of the future creature. What processes take place in the egg of a bird, before the young acquires and completes it's form! The organic powers must destroy while they arrange; attract parts together, and separate them; nay it seems as if several powers were at strife, and at first would produce an abortion, till an equilibrium is established between them, and the creature becomes what it ought to be after it's kind. If we contemplate these changes, these living operations, as well in the egg of the bird, as in the womb of the viviparous quadruped; I think it is speaking improperly, to talk of germes that are merely evolved, or of an *epigenesis*, according to which the limbs are superadded from without. It is *formation (genesis)*, an effect of internal powers, for which Nature has prepared a mass, which they are to fashion, and in which they are to display themselves. This is the experience of Nature: this the periods of formation in the various species, according to their more or less complex organization and fulness of vital power, confirm: hence alone can we explain the malconformation of creatures, from disease, accident, or the intermixture of different species: and this is the only mode, that Nature, abounding in power and vitality, forces as it were upon our minds, by a progressive analogy in all her works.

The reader would misapprehend my meaning, if he were to ascribe to me the opinion, that, as some have expressed themselves, our *rational soul* had fabricated it's body in the womb by means of it's reason. We have seen how late the faculty of reason is formed in us; and that, though we come into the World with a capacity for it, we are not capable of possessing or acquiring it by our own power. And how could the maturest reason of man be capable of such

a structure; since we comprehend no part of it either within or without, and even the greater part of our vital functions are performed without any volition or consciousness of the mind? It was not our reason, that fashioned the body, but the finger of God, organic powers. These the eternal has led so far on the great road of Nature, that now, enchained by his hand, they have found their sphere of creation in a little world of organic matter, which he had separated, and distinctly enveloped for the formation of the young being. They unite harmonically with their frame, in which, as long as it endures, they harmonically act: and when it is worn out, their creator calls them from their post, and prepares for them another sphere of action.

If, therefore, we follow the course of Nature, it is evident,

1. That powers and organs are indeed intimately connected, but not one and the same. The matter of our body existed, but shapeless and lifeless, till fashioned and animated by the organic powers.

2. Every power operates in harmony with its organ: for it has fashioned it solely for the display of its essence, it has assimilated the parts, into which the almighty has introduced it, and in which he has increased it.

3. When the shell drops off, the power, which already existed before it, though in an inferior yet organized state, still remains. If it were possible, that the power should pass from its former state into this, it must be equally capable of a farther transition, when it loses this covering. He, who has brought it, and others still more imperfect, thus far, will take care to provide a medium.

And has not ever-uniform Nature given us a glimpse of the medium, in which all the powers of creation operate? In the deepest recesses of being, where we perceive germinating life, we discover the inscrutable and active element, which we designate by the imperfect appellations of *light*, *ether*, *vital warmth*; and which is probably the sensorium of the creator of all things, by which he warms and quickens whatever is quickened and warmed. This stream of celestial fire, poured out into thousands and millions of organs, runs still finer and finer: through this vehicle, it is probable, all the powers here below operate; and the generative faculty, the wonder of the terrestrial creation, is inseparable from it. It is likely, that our frame was constructed, even in its grosser parts, to attract this electric stream in greater quantity, and render it more elaborate: and in the nobler faculties, not the gross electric fluid, but something, prepared by our organization itself, infinitely more exquisite, yet similar to it, is the instrument of our mental and corporal perceptivity. Either the operation of my soul has nothing analogous to it here below; and in this case I can comprehend neither how it acts upon the body, nor how other objects are capable of acting

upon it : or it is this invifible fpirit of celeftial light and fire, which penetrates every living thing, and unites all the powers of nature. In the human frame it has attained the higheft degree of fubtility, of which it is capable in any terreftrial organization : by it's means the foul acts almoft omnipotently on her organs, and beams back upon herfelf with a confcioufnefs, that moves her inmoft effence. By means of it the mind is filled with noble warmth, and is capable by free volition of transporting itfelf as it were out of the body, nay even beyond the world, and bending them to it's will. It has, therefore, acquired a power over them ; and when it's hour is come, when it's external machine is diffolved, what can be more natural, than that it fhould draw after it what is affimilated to it, and intimately combined with it ? It removes into it's medium, and this draws us—or rather thou draweft and leadeft us, thou omniprefent plaftic power of God, thou foul and mother of all living being, thou gently leadeft and fafhioneft us to our new deftination.

Thus, I conceive, the fallacy of the arguments, by which the materialifts imagine they have refuted the opinion of our immortality, is evident. Be it, that we know nothing of our foul as pure fpirit : we defire not to know it as fuch. Be it, that it acts only as an organic power : it was not intended to act otherwife : nay, I will add farther, it muft neceffarily have firft learned in this ftate, to think with a human brain, and to feel with human nerves, and have fafhioned itfelf to fome degree of reafon and humanity. Laftly, be it, that it is originally the fame with all the powers of matter, of irritability, of motion, of life, and merely acts in a higher fphere, in a more elaborate and fubtile organization : has one fingle power of motion and irritability been feen to perifh ? are thefe inferiour powers one and the fame with their organs ? can he, who introduced an innumerable multitude of thefe into my body, and ordained each it's form ; who fet my foul over them, appointed the feat of her operations, and gave her in the nerves bands by which all thefe powers are linked together ; want a medium in the great chain of nature, to transport her out of it ? and can he fail to do this, when he has fo wonderfully introduced her into this organic houfe, evidently to form her to a fuperiour deftination !

CHAPTER III.

The general Composition of Powers and Forms is neither retrograde, nor stationary, but progressive.

THIS position appears selfevident : for how can we conceive any living power in nature to stand still, or retrograde, unless it be circumscribed, or repelled, by some inimical superiour power? It acts as an organ of the almighty, as an active idea of his permanent plan of creation ; and thus it must actively increase it's powers. All it's deviations must incline it again to it's right course ; for supreme goodness cannot want means to propel the rebounding ball to it's goal, by some new impulse, by some fresh incitement. But let us lay aside metaphysics, and consider the analogies of nature.

Nothing in nature stands still : every thing exerts itself, and pushes on. Could we contemplate the first periods of creation, and see how one kingdom of nature was erected on another ; what a series of powers urging onward would be displayed progressively unfolding themselves ! Why have we and all animals calcareous earth in our bones ? Because it is one of the last stages of gross terrestrial matter, which, from it's internal structure, is already capable of being employed in a living organized frame for it's bony fabric. It is the same with all the component parts of our bodies.

When the door of creation was shut, the forms of organization already chosen remained as appointed ways and gates, by which the inferiour powers might in future raise and improve themselves, within the limits of nature. New forms arise no more : but our powers are continually varying in their progress through those that exist, and what is termed organization is properly nothing more than *their conductor to a higher state.*

The first creature that stepped into light, and exhibited itself to the beams of the Sun, as a queen of the subterranean kingdom, was a plant. What are it's component parts ? Salts, oil, iron, sulphur, and such other powers of a finer kind, as were capable of being exalted to it. How did it acquire these parts ? By it's internal organic power, by means of which, aided by the elements, it strove to appropriate them to itself. And what does it with them ? It attracts them, elaborates them within it's essence, and renders them still finer. Thus plants, both wholesome and poisonous, are nothing more than conductors of gross particles to a finer condition : the whole mechanism of a plant consists in exalting inferiour substances to a superiour state.

The animal stands above the plant, and subsists on it's juices. The single elephant is the grave of millions of plants: but he is a living, operative grave; he animalizes them into parts of himself: the inferiour powers ascend to the more subtile form of vitality. It is the same with all carnivorous beasts: Nature has made the transition short, as if she feared a lingering death above all things. She has accordingly abridged it, and accelerated the mode of transformation into superiour vital forms. The greatest murderer among all animals is man, the creature that possesses the finest organs. He can assimilate to his nature almost every thing, unless it sink too far beneath him in living organization.

Wherefore has the Creator chosen this system of living beings, in external appearance so destructive? Did some hostile power interfere in the work, and make one species the prey of another? or was it want of power in the creator, who knew not how otherwise to support his children? Strip off the outer integument, and there is no such thing as death in the creation: every demolition is but a passage to a higher sphere of life; and the wise father of all has made this as early, quick, and various, as was consistent with the maintenance of the species, and the happiness of the creature, that was to enjoy it's integument, and improve it as far as possible. By a thousand violent modes of ending life, he has prevented tedious deaths, and promoted the germe of blooming powers to superiour organs. What is the *growth* of a creature, but it's steady endeavour to unite more organic powers with it's nature? The different stages of it's life are regulated by this end; and when it is no longer capable of this operation, it must decline, and die. Nature dismisses the machine, when she finds it no longer serviceable for her purpose of sound assimilation, of active improvement.

In what does the art of the *physician* consist, but in acting as the servant of Nature, and hastening to the aid of the multifariously working powers of our organization? He restores lost powers, strengthens the weak, diminishes and restrains the exuberant: and by what means? by the introduction and assimilation of similar or opposite powers *from the inferiour kingdoms*.

The *propagation* of all living beings tells us the same: for however deep it's secrets lie, it is evident, that organic powers expand themselves in the greatest activity, and strive to put on new forms. As every kind of organization has the faculty of assimilating to itself inferiour powers, so, strengthened by these, in the bloom of life, it has the capacity of producing it's own likeness, and giving to the world an image of itself, with all the powers that operate in it, to supply it's place.

Thus the scale of improvement ascends through the inferior ranks of nature; and shall it stand still, or retrograde, in the noblest and most powerful? The animal requires for its nutriment only vegetable powers, with which it enlivens parts of a vegetable nature: the juices of the muscles and nerves are incapable of contributing again to the nourishment of any terrestrial creature. Even the blood serves only to refresh rapacious animals: and in nations, that have been induced to make use of it, either as a matter of inclination or necessity, we perceive the propensities of beasts, whose living food they have barbarously adopted. Thus the kingdom of thought and irritability, as indeed its nature requires, is without any visible advancement and transition here; and the establishment of nations has made it one of the first laws of human feeling, not to desire for food a living animal with its blood. All these powers are evidently of a spiritual kind: whence perhaps many hypotheses relating to the nervous fluid as a *perceptible* vehicle of sensations might have been spared. The nervous fluid, if such a fluid there be, preserves the brain and nerves in health, so that without it they would become useless cords and vessels: its office therefore, is wholly corporal, and the operation of the soul, in its perceptions and powers, is altogether spiritual, whatever organs it may employ.

To what, then, are these spiritual powers converted, that escape every sense of man? Here Nature has wisely drawn a curtain before us; and, as we have no sense adapted to the purpose, has not given us any glimpse of the changes and transitions in the spiritual kingdom. Probably the fight would be incompatible with our existence upon Earth, and the sensual feelings with which we are here endowed. Accordingly she has placed before us only transitions from the inferior kingdoms, and ascending forms; the thousand invisible ways by which she conducts them onward she has kept to herself: and thus the kingdom of things unborn is the great $\omega\lambda\mu$, or Hades, into which no human eye can penetrate. Indeed the determinate form, which every species retains, and in which not the minutest bone varies, seems to contradict this extinction: but the ground of this is visible; for every creature can and must be organized only *by creatures of its own species*. Thus our stable, orderly mother has strictly determined the way, in which an organized power, whether paramount or subservient, should attain visible activity, so that nothing can escape her once determined forms. In man, for example, the greatest variety of inclinations and capacities prevails, which we often contemplate with astonishment, as wonderful and unnatural, yet cannot comprehend. Now since these cannot exist without organic grounds, we are led to consider the human species, if we may be allowed

a conjecture on this obscurity of the storehouse of creation, as *the great confluence of inferior organic powers*, which were to unite in it for the formation of man.

But farther: man has here born the image of God, and enjoyed the finest organization, that this Earth could give him: shall he turn backwards, and become again a stalk, a plant, an elephant? or does the machinery of creation terminate in him, so that there is no other wheel on which he can act? The latter is not to be conceived, as in the kingdom of supreme wisdom and goodness every thing is connected, and power acts on power in one eternal chain. Now if we look back, and observe how every thing behind us seems to travel onward to the human form; and again, that we find in man only the first bud and sketch of what he should be, and to which he is evidently framed: either man must proceed forwards, in whatever way or manner it may be, or all connexion and design in nature is but a dream. Let us see how the whole frame of human nature leads us to this point.

CHAPTER IV.

The Sphere of human Organization is a System of spiritual Powers.

THE principal doubt usually raised against the immortality of organic powers is deduced from the implements with which they operate; and I may venture to assert, that the illustration of this doubt will throw the greatest light, not merely on the hope, but on the assurance, of their eternal continuance in activity. No flower blossoms by means of the external dust, the gross particles of its structure: much less does an ever-growing animal reproduce itself by their means: and still less can we conceive an internal power like our mind, composed of so many united powers, to arise from the component parts into which a brain may be resolved. Even physiology convinces us of this. The external picture, that is painted on the eye, comes not to the brain: the sound, that strikes our ear, does not reach the mind mechanically as a sound. There is no nerve so stretched out as to vibrate to a point of union: in some animals the optic nerves do not unite in a visible point; and there is no creature in which the nerves of all the senses so unite. Still less is there an union of all the nerves of the whole body, though the soul feels herself present, and acts, in its minutest member. To imagine the brain, therefore, to be self-cogitative, the nervous fluid self-sentient, is a weak, unphysiological notion: it is more consistent with general experience, that there are *particular psychological*

laws, by which the soul performs her functions, and combines her ideas. That this is done conformably to her organs, and in harmony with them; that, when the tools are defective, the artist can do nothing; and the like; cannot be questioned: yet the nature of the case remains the same. The *manner* in which the soul operates, the *essence of her ideas*, come here under consideration. And with regard to this point it is,

1. Undeniable, that the *thought*, nay the first perception, with which the soul represents to herself an external object, is *something totally different from what the sense offers to her*. We name it an image: but it is not the image, that is the speck of light, which is pictured in the eye, and which does not reach the brain: the image in the soul is a spiritual being, formed by herself from the suggestions of the senses. From the chaos of things that surrounds her she calls forth a figure, on which she fixes her attention, and thus by her intrinsic power she forms out of the many a whole, that belongs to herself alone. This she can again revive, when it exists no more: dreams and the imagination can combine it according to laws very different from those, under which the senses exhibit it; and this they actually do. The reveries of disease, which have been so often urged as proofs of the materiality of the soul, attest her immateriality. Listen to the lunatic, and observe the progress of his mind. It proceeds on the idea that has touched it too deeply, and in consequence deranged its organ, and broken its connexion with other sensations. To this he refers every thing, because this is predominant, and he cannot shake it off: for this he forms a world of his own, a peculiar concatenation of thoughts; and all the wanderings of his mind in the connexion of its ideas are in the highest degree *spiritual*. He combines things not according to the position of the cells of his brain, not even as the sensations appear to it; but according to the affinity other ideas bear to his idea, and his power of bending them to it. All the associations of our thoughts proceed in the same way: they pertain to a being, which calls up remembrances by its own energy, and often with a particular idiosyncrasy; and connects ideas from internal affection or propensity, not from external mechanism. I wish, that ingenuous men would disclose to us the registers of their hearts on this point; and that acute observers, particularly physicians, would make known the qualities they perceive in their patients: if this were done, I am convinced, we should have clear proofs of the operation of a being, organic it is true, yet acting of itself, and according to spiritual laws.

2. The same thing is demonstrated by the *artificial formation of our ideas from childhood upwards*, and from the *tedious course*, by which the soul arrives not till late at a consciousness of herself, and learns with considerable labour, to

make use of the senses. More than one psychologist has observed the address, with which a child acquires the idea of colour, figure, magnitude, and distance, and thus *learns to see*. The corporal sense teaches nothing; for the image is depicted in the eye the first moment of it's opening, as faithfully as it is at the latest period of life: but the soul learns to measure, to compare, and spiritually to perceive, by means of the sense. In this she is assisted by the ear: and language is certainly a spiritual, not corporal, mean of forming ideas. No one, unless devoid of sense, can take sound and word for the same thing: yet these two differ as body and soul, as organ and power. A word brings to remembrance it's correspondent idea, and transfers it from the mind of another to ours: but the word is not the idea; and just as far is the material organ from being thought. As the body is increased by food, so is our mind enlarged by ideas: nay we remark in it the same laws of assimilation, growth, and production, only not in a corporal manner, but in a mode peculiar to itself. The mind can equally overgorge itself with food, which it is incapable of appropriating and converting into nutriment. There is also a symmetry of it's spiritual powers, every deviation from which is disease, either sthenic or asthenic, that is, depravity. Finally, it carries on this business of it's internal life with a genial power, in which love and hatred, inclination to what is of it's own nature, and aversion to whatever is dissimilar to it, display themselves as in terrestrial life. In short, fanaticism apart, an *internal spiritual man* is formed in us, who has a nature of his own, and uses the body only as his implement; nay, who acts conformably to his own nature, even if the bodily organs be ever so much deranged. The more the soul is separated from the body by disease, or any forced state of the passions, and compelled to wander as it were in her own ideal world; the more singular appearances of her own power and energy do we observe in the creation or connexion of ideas. In despair she wanders through the scenes of her former life; and, as she cannot relinquish her nature, and abandon her office, of forming ideas, she now prepares for herself a new *wild creation*.

3. A more clear *consciousness*, that great excellence of the human soul, is gradually^(see) required by it in a *spiritual manner*, and indeed through *humanity*. A child possesses little consciousness; though his soul is incessantly exercising herself to attain it, and to feel herself in every sense. All her endeavours after ideas are for the purpose of acquiring a perception of herself in this world of God's, and enjoying her existence with human energy. The brute still wanders in an obscure dream: his consciousness is diffused through so many bodily irritations, and so powerfully enveloped by them, that it is impossible for it, to

awake to a clear progressive exercise of thought on his own organization. Man too is conscious of his sensual state only through the medium of the senses: and when these suffer, we need not wonder, that a prevailing idea can drive him out of his mind, and set him to act within himself a mirthful or melancholy drama. But even his being thus transported into a region of more vivid ideas evinces an internal energy, with which the power of his consciousness, of his spontaneity, often displays itself in the most erroneous paths. Nothing renders man so strongly sensible of his own existence as knowledge; the knowledge of a truth, which he has himself acquired, which is interwoven with his inmost nature, and while he contemplates which the visible objects around him vanish from his sight. A man forgets himself, he is unconscious of the lapse of time, and of his vital powers, when some sublime thought calls him, and he pursues its course. The most acute bodily pain may be suppressed by the prevalence of some one vivid idea in the mind. Men under the influence of passion, particularly the most pure and lively of all, the love of God, have despised life, and contemned death; and, all other ideas being thus swallowed up in one, have felt themselves as if in Heaven. The most ordinary work is laborious, if the body alone perform it: but love makes the heaviest occupation light, and gives wings to the most tedious and distant exertions. Space and time vanish before her: she is ever at her point, in her own ideal region. This nature of the mind displays itself even among the most savage people: it matters not for what they fight; they fight in the throng of ideas. The cannibal, thirsting for revenge, strives, though in a horrible mode, for a *spiritual* enjoyment.

4. No state, disease, or quality, of the organ, can mislead us, to feel the power, that acts in it, as *primary*. The memory, for example, differs according to the variety of men's organization: in one it is formed and supported by images; in another, by abstract signs, by words or numbers. In youth, while the brain is soft, it is vivid: in age, when the brain hardens, it is dull, and adheres to old ideas. It is the same with the other faculties of the soul; and it cannot be otherwise if they operate organically. By the way, we may here remark the *laws of the retention and renovation of ideas*: they are altogether spiritual, and not corporal. There have been persons, who have lost the remembrance of certain years, nay of certain parts of speech, names, substantives, or even particular letters and characters; while they retained the memory of preceding years, and had the free use and recollection of other parts of speech: the soul was fettered only in one limb, where the organ suffered. If the chain of her mental ideas were material, she must either, conformably to these phenomena,

move about in the brain, and form particular records for certain years, for names and substantives; or, if the ideas harden with the brain, they must all be hardened; and yet the remembrance of youth is still very lively in the old. At a time when from the state of her organs the soul can no longer combine things quickly, or lightly think them over, she adheres the more firmly to the acquisitions of her more blooming years, of which she disposes as of her own property. Immediately before death, and in all situations in which she feels herself less fettered by the body, this remembrance awakes with all the vivacity of youthful joy; and on this the pleasure of the aged, and the happiness of the dying, principally depend. From the commencement of life our soul appears to have but one office; that of acquiring *internal shape*, the *form of humanity*, and to feel herself sound and happy in this, as the body in that which pertains to it. In this office she labours as incessantly, and with as much sympathy of all her powers, as the body does for its health; which, when any part is injured, immediately feels it all over, and applies its juices as far as it can, to repair the breach, and heal the wound. In the same manner does the soul labour for her always precarious and often illusory health; endeavouring to confirm and augment it, sometimes by proper means, at others by fallacious remedies. The art that she employs for this purpose is wonderful, and the store of medicaments and resources she knows how to provide is immense. If the semeiotics of the soul should ever be studied in the same manner as those of the body, her proper spiritual nature will be so apparent in all her diseases, that the dogmas of the materialists will vanish like mists before the Sun. Nay to him, who is convinced of this *internal life of himself*, all external circumstances, in which the body, like other matter, is continually changing, will be at length only transitions, that affect not his essence: he will pass out of this world into the next with as little attention as from night to day, or from one season of life to another.

The creator has given us daily experience how far every thing in our machine is from being inseparable from us, and from each other, in the brother of Death, refreshing Sleep. The gentle touch of his finger dissolves the most important functions of life: nerves and muscles repose: the senses cease to perceive: yet the soul continues to think in her own domain. She is no more separated from the body than when it was awake, as the perceptions often interwoven in our dreams evince: yet she acts according to her own laws, even in the profoundest sleep, of the dreams of which we have no remembrance, unless we be suddenly awakened. Many people have observed, that in undisturbed dreams their soul pursues the same series of ideas uninterruptedly, in a manner different from

what it does in the waking state, and wanders in a more beautiful, lively, and in general youthful world. The perceptions in a dream are more vivid, the passions more violent, the connexion of thoughts and possibility more easy, our sight more keen, and the light that surrounds us more brilliant. In healthy sleep we often fly rather than walk, our dimensions are enlarged, our resolutions have more force, our actions are less confined. And though all this depends on the body, as the least circumstance respecting the soul must harmonize with it, as long as her powers are so intimately incorporated with it's structure; yet the whole of the phenomena of sleep and dreaming, which are certainly singular, and would greatly astonish us, were we not accustomed to them, shows us, that every part of the body does not belong to us in the same manner; nay, that certain organs of our machine may be unstrung, and the superiour power act more ideally, vividly, and freely, from mere reminiscence. Now since all the causes that induce sleep, and all it's corporal symptoms, are, not metaphorically, but physiologically and actually *analogous to those of death*; why should not the spiritual symptoms of both be the same? Thus, then, when the sleep of death falls on us from weariness or disease, still the hope remains, that death, like sleep, only cools the fever of life, gently interrupts the too uniform and long continued movement, heals many wounds incurable in this life, and prepares the soul for a pleasurable awakening, for the enjoyment of a new morning of youth. As in dreams my thoughts fly back to youth; as in them, being only half-fettered by a few organs, but more centred in myself, I feel more free and active: so thou, revivifying dream of death, wilt smilingly bring back the youth of my life, the most pleasing and energetic moments of my existence, till I awake in it's form—or rather in the more beautiful form of celestial juvenility.

CHAPTER V.

Our Humanity is only Preparation, the Bud of a future Flower.

WE have seen, that the end of our present existence is the formation of *humanity*, to which all the meaner wants of this Earth are subservient, and which they are all contrived to promote. Our reasoning capacity is to be formed to reason, our finer senses to art, our propensities to genuine freedom and beauty, our moving powers to the love of mankind. Either we know nothing of our destination, and the deity deceives us in every internal and external symptom of it, to say which would be senseless calumny; or we may deem ourselves as certain of this end, as of the being of a god, or our own existence.

Yet how seldom is this eternal, this infinite end, attained here! In whole nations reason lies bound with the chains of animal sense; truth is sought in the most erroneous ways; and that beauty and uprightness, to which we were created by God, are corrupted by negligence and depravity. Few men make godlike humanity, in the pure and extensive signification of the word, the proper *study of their lives*: most begin very late to think of it; and in the best of men inferior propensities draw down the exalted human being to animality. Who among mortals can say, that he will reach, or has attained, the pure image of man, that lies in him?

Either, therefore, the creator has erred in the end he has placed before us, and the organization he has so skilfully composed for the attainment of it; or this end reaches beyond our present existence, and the Earth is only a *place of exercise*, and this life a *state of preparation*. On this, it is true, much that is base must be associated with the most exalted; and man is raised, upon the whole, but a short step above the brute. Nay even among men the greatest variety must subsist; as every thing upon Earth is so multifarious, and in many regions, and under many circumstances, the human species is so deeply depressed by the yoke of climate and necessity. The design of plastic Providence must have taken in all these steps, these zones, these varieties, at one view, and known how to advance man in all of them, as she has gradually exalted inferior powers, without their consciousness. It is surprising, though incontestible, that of all the inhabitants of the Earth man is the farthest from attaining the end of his destination. Every beast attains what his organization can attain: man only reaches it not, because his end is so high, so extensive, so infinite; and he begins on this

Earth so low, so late, and with so many external and internal obstacles. Instinct, the maternal gift of Nature, is the sure guide of the brute: he is still a servant in the house of the sovereign father, and must obey. Man lives in it as a child, and, a few necessary propensities excepted, has every thing that pertains to reason and humanity to learn. At the same time he learns imperfectly, because, with the seeds of understanding and virtue, he inherits prejudices and evil manners; and in his progress to truth and liberty is retarded by chains, that reach from the commencement of his species. The footsteps, that godlike men have imprinted before and around him, are united and confused with many others, in which brutes and robbers have wandered; and these, alas! are often more active, than the select few of great and good. We must therefore arraign Providence, as many have done, for suffering man to border so nearly on the brute, which he was not designed to be, and denying him such a degree of light, firmness, and certainty, as might have served his reason instead of instinct; or this defective beginning is a proof of his endless progress. For man must himself acquire by exercise this degree of light and security, so as under the guidance of his father to become a *nobler, freer* creature, by his own exertions; and *this he will become*. Thus the simular of man will become man in reality: thus the bud of humanity, benumbed by cold, and parched by heat, will expand in its true form, in its proper and full beauty.

Hence we may easily infer what part of us alone can pass into the other world: it is this *godlike humanity*, the unopened bud of the true form of man. All the dross of this Earth is for it alone: we leave the terrestrial part of our bones to the fossil kingdom, from which it was derived, and return to the elements what we had borrowed from them. All the sensual appetites, which in us, as in the brutes, have been subservient to the earthly economy, have performed their office: in man they were to be the occasions of nobler sentiments and exertions, and when they have done this, they have fulfilled the purpose, for which they were designed. The want of food was to excite him to labour, to society, to obedience to laws and establishments, and fetter him by a salutary chain, indispensable on Earth. The sexual appetite was to plant sociableness, and parental, connubial, and filial love, even in the rigid breast of barbarity; and render tedious exertions for his species pleasant to man, by his undertaking them for his own flesh and blood. Nature had similar purposes in all earthly wants: each was to be a matrix of some germe of humanity. Happy is it when the germe buds: it will blossom beneath the beams of a more glorious sun. Truth, beauty, and love are the objects, at which man aims in all his endeavours, even without being conscious of it, and often by the most devious paths: the perplexities of

the labyrinth will be unfolded, the seductive forms of enchantment will vanish, and every one will not only see the centre, far or near, to which his way tends, but thou, maternal Providence, under the form of the genius and friend he needs, wilt guide him to it thyself, with a gentle and forgiving hand*.

Thus, too, the good creator has concealed from us the form of that world, that our weak brain might not be dazzled, or a spurious premature desire excited in us. If with this we contemplate the progress of Nature in the species beneath us, and observe how the artist rejects the more ignoble, and mitigates the claims of necessity, step by step; while, on the other hand, she improves the spiritual, purifies the refined, and animates the beautiful with superiour beauty: we may with confidence trust the invisible operating hand, that the *flower of our bud of humanity* will certainly appear, in a future state of existence, in a form truly that of *godlike man*, which no earthly sense can imagine in all its grandeur and beauty. It is vain, therefore, for us to rack our imagination: and though I am convinced, that, as all the states of creation are most intimately connected, the organic powers of our soul, in their purest and most spiritual exertions, lay the foundations of their future appearance; or that at least, unconscious of it themselves, they weave the texture, that will serve for their clothing, till the beams of a more beautiful sun awaken their profoundest energies, which are here concealed from themselves: it would be rash, to sketch out the laws, by which the creator forms a world, with the operations of which we are so unacquainted. Suffice it, that all the changes we observe in the inferiour regions of nature are *tendencies to perfection*; and that thus we have at least hints of a subject, into which we are incapable of penetrating for more important reasons. The flower appears to our eye first as a seed, and then as a plantule: the plantule becomes a plant, and then at length comes out the flower, which begins its different stages of life in this terrestrial economy. Similar processes and changes occur in several creatures, among which the butterfly is so conspicuous, as to have become a wellknown emblem. Behold, there crawls the despicable caterpillar, obeying the gross appetite of eating: his hour comes, and the languor of death falls upon him: he seeks a support; he wraps himself up in his winding sheet, the web of which, as well as in part the organs of his future state, he has already within him. His rings now go to work, and the internal organic powers exert themselves. The change is at first slow, and has the appearance of destruction.

* In what way? what philosophy is there upon Earth, that gives us certainty in this respect? In the sequel of the work, we shall come to the systems of different people on trans-

migration and other purificative processes, and investigate their origin and design. But this is not the place for the inquiry.

Ten feet are cast off with the slough, and the limbs of the new creature are still shapeless. These are gradually formed, and attain their due proportion : but the creature awakes not till he is complete ; when he bursts into light, and the finishing act proceeds rapidly. In a few minutes the tender wings become six times as large as they were under the shell of death : they are endowed with elasticity, and adorned with all the splendid hues, that can be produced beneath this sun : they waft the creature as it were on the breath of zephyr. His whole structure is altered : instead of the coarse leaves, on which he was at first formed to feed, he drinks the nectareous juice of flowers from their golden cups. Even his destination is changed : instead of obeying the gross appetite of hunger, he is moved by the more refined passion of love. Who would divine the future butterfly in the figure of the caterpillar ? Who would perceive one and the same creature in both, unless taught by experience ? And since both these modes of existence are but different stages of the same being upon one and the same earth, where the organic circle again begins in a similar manner ; what fine forms must rest on the bosom of Nature, where the organic circle is more extensive, and the stages, that fashion them, embrace more than one world ! Hope, then, son of man, and foretell not : the prize is before thee ; exert thyself to obtain it. Throw from thee what is unbefitting a man : strive after truth, goodness, and godlike beauty : and thou canst not fail of attaining thy end.

Thus we are taught by Nature, in these analogies of changing creatures, that pass from one state to another, why the sleep of death is admitted into her system. It is a kind lethargy, that locks up the senses, while the organic powers are labouring to attain a new form. The creature itself, whether possessed of more or less consciousness, is not strong enough to oversee or direct their efforts : it slumbers, therefore, and awakes not, till its form is completed. Death, then, is the boon of a tender father sparing his child : it is a salutary opiate, during the operation of which Nature collects her powers, and the sleeping patient is restored to health.

CHAPTER VI.

The present State of Man is probably the connecting Link of two Worlds.

EVERY thing in Nature is connected : one state pushes forward and prepares another. If then man be the last and highest link, closing the chain of terrestrial organization, he must begin the chain of a higher order of creatures as it's lowest link, and is probably, therefore, the middle ring between two adjoining systems of the creation. He cannot pass into any other organization upon Earth, without turning backwards, and wandering in a circle : for him to stand still is impossible ; since no living power in the dominions of the most active goodness is at rest : thus there must be a step before him, close to him, yet as exalted above him, as he is preeminent over the brute, to whom he is at the same time nearly allied. This view of things, which is supported by all the laws of Nature, alone gives us the key to the wonderful phenomenon of man, and at the same time to the only *philosophy* of his *history*. For thus,

1. The singular *inconsistency* of man's condition becomes clear. As an animal he tends to the Earth, and is attached to it as his habitation : as a man he has within him the seeds of immortality, which require to be planted in another soil. As an animal he can satisfy his wants ; and men that are contented with this feel themselves sufficiently happy here below : but they who seek a nobler destination find every thing around them imperfect and incomplete ; what is most noble is never accomplished upon Earth, what is most pure is seldom firm and durable : this theatre is but a place of exercise and trial for the powers of our hearts and minds. The history of the human species, with what it has attempted, and what has befallen it, the exertions it has made, and the revolutions it has undergone, sufficiently proves this. Now and then a philosopher, a good man, arose, and scattered opinions, precepts, and actions on the flood of time : a few waves played in circles around them, but these the stream soon carried away and obliterated : the jewel of their noble purposes sunk to the bottom. Fools overpowered the councils of the wise ; and spendthrifts inherited the treasures of wisdom collected by their forefathers. Far as the life of man here below is from being calculated for eternity ; equally far is this incessantly revolving sphere from being a repository of permanent works of art, a garden of never-fading plants, a seat to be eternally inhabited. We come and go : every moment brings thousands into the World, and takes thousands out of it. The Earth is an inn for travellers ; a planet, on which birds of passage rest themselves, and from which they hasten away. The brute

lives out his life; and, if his years be too few to attain higher ends, his inmost purpose is accomplished: his capacities exist, and he is what he was intended to be. Man alone is in contradiction with himself, and with the Earth: for, being the most perfect of all creatures, his capacities are the farthest from being perfected, even when he attains the longest term of life before he quits the World. But the reason is evident: his state, being the last upon this Earth, is the first in another sphere of existence, with respect to which he appears here as a child making his first essays. Thus he is the representative of two worlds at once; and hence the apparent duplicity of his essence.

2. Thus it becomes clear, what part must predominate in most men here below. The greater part of man is of the animal kind: he has brought into the World only a capacity for humanity, which must be first formed in him by diligence and labour. In how few is it rightly formed! and how slender and delicate is the divine plant even in the best! Throughout life the brute prevails over the man, and most permit it to sway them at pleasure. This incessantly drags man down, while the spirit ascends, while the heart pants after a freer sphere: and as the present appears more lively to a sensual creature than the remote, as the visible operates upon him more powerfully than the invisible; it is not difficult to conjecture, which way the balance will incline. Of how little pure delight, of how little pure knowledge and virtue, is man capable! And were he capable of more, to how little is he accustomed! The noblest compositions here below are debased by inferior propensities, as the voyage of life is perplexed by contrary winds; and the creator, mercifully strict, has mixed the two causes of disorder together, that one might correct the other, and that the germe of immortality might be more effectually fostered by tempests, than by gentle gales. A man who has experienced much has learned much: the careless and indolent knows not what is within him; and still less does he feel with conscious satisfaction how far his powers extend. Thus life is a conflict, and the garland of pure immortal humanity is with difficulty obtained. The goal is before the runner: by him who fights for virtue, in death the palm will be obtained.

3. Thus, if superior creatures look down upon us, they may view us in the same light as we do the *middle species*, with which Nature makes a transition from one element to another. The ostrich flaps his feeble wings to assist himself in running, but they cannot enable him to fly: his heavy body confines him to the ground. Yet the organizing parent has taken care of him, as well as of every middle creature; for they are all perfect in themselves, and only appear defective to our eyes. It is the same with man here below: his defects are per-

plexing to an earthly mind; but a superiour spirit, that inspects the internal structure, and sees more links of the chain, may indeed pity, but cannot despise him. He perceives why man must quit the World in so many different states, young and old, wise and foolish, grown gray in second childhood, or an embryo yet unborn. Omnipotent goodness embraces madness and deformity, all the degrees of cultivation, and all the errors of man, and wants not balsams to heal the wounds, that death alone could mitigate. Since probably the future state springs out of the present, as our organization from inferiour ones, it's business is no doubt more closely connected with our existence here, than we imagine. The garden above blooms only with plants, of which the seeds have been sown here, and put forth their first germes from a coarser husk. If, then, as we have seen, sociality, friendship, or active participation in the pains and pleasures of others, be the principal end, to which humanity is directed; this finest flower of human life must necessarily there attain the vivifying form, the overshadowing height, for which our heart thirsts in vain in any earthly situation. Our brethren above, therefore, assuredly love us with more warmth and purity of affection, than we can bear to them: for they see our state more clearly, to them the moment of time is no more, all discrepancies are harmonized, and in us they are probably educating, unseen, partners of their happiness, and companions of their labours. But one step farther, and the oppressed spirit can breathe more freely, the wounded heart recovers: they see the passenger approach it, and stay his sliding feet with a powerful hand.

4. Since therefore we are of a middle species between two orders, and in some measure partake of both, I cannot conceive, that the future state is so remote from the present, and so incommunicable with it, as the animal part of man is inclined to suppose: and indeed many steps and events in the history of the human race are to me incomprehensible, without the operation of superiour influence. For instance, that man should have brought himself into the road of improvement, and invented language and the first science, without a superiour guidance, appears to me inexplicable; and the more so, the longer he is supposed to have remained in a rude animal state. A divine economy has certainly ruled over the human species from it's first origin, and conducted him into his course the readiest way. But the more the human powers have been exercised, the less did they require this superiour assistance, or the less were they susceptible of it; though in later times the greatest events have arisen in the World from inexplicable causes, or have been accompanied with circumstances, which we cannot explain. Even diseases have often been instruments of them: for when an organ loses it's proportion to the rest, and thus becomes useless in the ordinary course of life, it

seems natural, that the restless internal power should bend itself some other way, and probably receive impressions, of which a sound organization would be insusceptible, and which it would not require. Be this as it may, it is certainly a friendly veil, that separates this world from the next; and it is not without reason, that the grave of the dead is so mute and still. Men in general are kept throughout the whole course of their lives from impressions, one of which would break the whole chain of their ideas, and render it useless in this world. Man, formed for freedom, was not intended to be the imitative ape of superiour beings; but, even where he is led, to retain the happy opinion, that he acts of himself. To preserve the quiet of his mind, and that noble pride, which supports his destination, man was deprived of the sight of more exalted beings; for probably an acquaintance with these would lead him to despise himself. Man therefore was not to look into a future state, but merely to believe in it.

5. Thus much is certain, that there dwells an infinity in each of his powers, which cannot be developed here, where it is repressed by other powers, by animal senses and appetites, and lies bound as it were to the state of terrestrial life. Particular instances of memory, of imagination, nay of prophecy, and presension, have discovered wonders of that hidden treasure, which reposes in the human soul: and indeed the senses are not to be excluded from this observation. That diseases, and partial defects, have been the principal occasions of indicating this treasure, alters not the nature of the case; since this very disproportion was requisite, to set one of the weights at liberty, and display it's power. The expression of Leibnitz, that the soul is a mirror of the universe, contains perhaps a more profound truth, than has usually been deduced from it: for the powers of an universe seem to lie concealed in her, and require only an organization, or a series of organizations, to set them in action. Supreme goodness will not refuse her this organization, but guides her like a child in leading-strings, gradually to prepare her for the fullness of increasing enjoyment, under a persuasion that her powers and senses are self-acquired. Even in her present fetters, *space* and *time* are to her empty words: they measure and express relations of the body, but not of her internal capacity, which extends beyond time and space, when it acts in perfect internal quiet. Give thyself no concern for the place and hour of thy future existence: the Sun, that enlightens thy days, is necessary to thee during thy abode and occupation upon Earth; and so long it obscures all the celestial stars. When it sets, the universe will appear in greater magnitude: the sacred night, that once enveloped thee, and in which thou wilt be enveloped again, covers thy Earth with shade, and will open to thee the splendid volumes of immortality in Heaven. There are ha-

bitations, worlds, and spaces, that bloom in unfading youth, though ages on ages have rolled over them, and defy the changes of time and season : but every thing that appears to our eyes decays, and perishes, and passes away ; and all the pride and happiness of Earth are exposed to inevitable destruction.

This Earth will be no more, when thou thyself still art, and enjoyest *God* and his creation, in other abodes, and differently organized. On it thou hast enjoyed much good. On it thou hast attained an organization, in which thou hast learned to look around and above thee as a child of Heaven. Endeavour, therefore, to leave it contentedly, and bless it as the field, where thou hast sported as a child of immortality, and as the school, where thou hast been brought up, in joy, and in sorrow, to manhood. Thou hast no farther claim on it ; it has no farther claim on thee : crowned with the cap of liberty, and girded with the zone of Heaven, cheerfully set thy foot forward.

As the flower stands erect, and closes the realm of the subterranean inanimate creation, to enjoy the commencement of life in the region of day ; so is man raised above all the creatures, that are bowed down to the Earth. With uplifted eye, and outstretched hand, he stands as a son of the family, awaiting his father's call.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK VI.

HITHERTO we have considered the Earth as an abode of the human species in general; and endeavoured to mark the rank, that man holds among the living creatures, by which it is inhabited. Having thus formed an idea of his general nature, let us proceed, to contemplate the various appearances he assumes on this globular stage.

But who will give us a clew to this labyrinth? where are the footsteps, that we may follow with security? At least the deceitful robe of pretended omniscience shall not arrogantly be assumed, to conceal the defects, to which he who writes the history of man, and still more he who attempts a philosophy of that history, must necessarily be exposed; for none, but the genius of mankind himself, can take a complete view of the history of the human species. We will begin with the varieties in the organization of different races, if for no other reason, at least because these varieties are already noticed in elementary treatises on natural history.

CHAPTER I.

Organization of the People that dwell near the North Pole.

No navigator has yet been able to set his foot on the axis of our Earth*, and draw from the north pole perhaps some more accurate conclusions respecting its general structure; though men have proceeded far beyond the habitable parts of the Globe, and described regions, that may be termed the cold and bare ice-throne of Nature. Here may be seen wonders of the creation, incredible to an

* The hopes of our countryman, Samuel Engel, on this subject, are well known; and one of the latest northern adventurers, Pages, seems to have weakened the supposition of its impracticability.

inhabitant of the equator, those immense masses of beautifully coloured rocks of ice, those splendid northern lights, astonishing deceptions of the eye by means of the air, and the frequently warm caverns of the earth notwithstanding the rigid frost above *. The steep broken rocks of naked granite appear to extend much farther here, than they could toward the south pole; and the greater part of the habitable earth in general stands on the northern hemisphere. And as the sea was the first abode of living creatures; the northern ocean, with its swarms of inhabitants, may still be considered as a womb of vitality, and its shores as the margin, on which the organization of terrestrial creatures commenced in mosses, insects, and worms. Waterfowl frequent the land, that yet supports few birds of its own: aquatic animals and amphibia crawl on the strand, to bask in the beams of the Sun, which these coats but seldom enjoy. The confines of the living creation of the earth are displayed as it were amid the utmost fury of the turbulent waves.

How has the organization of man preserved itself on these confines! All that the cold could effect upon him was, to compress his body in some measure, and thus as it were contract the circulation of his blood. The greenlander seldom attains the height of five feet; and the eskimaux, his brother, living farther to the north, is still shorter †. But as the vital power works from within to without, it has compensated in warm and tough thickness, what it could not bestow in aspiring height. His head is large in proportion to his body; his face broad and flat: for Nature, who produces beauty only when acting with temperance, and in a mean betwixt extremes, could not here round a soft oval; and still less could allow the ornament of the face, the beam of the balance, if I may use the expression, the nose, to project. As the cheeks occupy the chief breadth of the visage, the mouth is small and round: the hair is stiff, for the fine penetrating juices to form soft silky hair are wanting: no mind beams from the eye. In like manner the shoulders grow broad, the limbs large, the body corpulent and sanguine: the hands and feet alone remain small and slender, like the buds and extreme parts of the frame. As is the external form, so are the irritability and the economy of the fluids within. The blood circulates more slowly, the heart beats more languidly: hence the desire of the sexes, the stimulus of which rises to such a height with the increasing warmth of other countries, is here more faint. It awakens not till late; the unmarried live chastely: and the women almost require compulsion, to take upon them the troubles of a married life.

* See Phipps's Voyages, Cranz's *Geschichte von Grönland*, 'History of Greenland,' &c.

† See Cranz, Ellis, Egede, Roger Curtis's Account of the Coast of Labrador, &c.

They have but few children ; whence they compare the amorous and prolific europeans to dogs. In their connubial state, as in their general way of life, a calm sobriety, a tenacious stillness of the passions, prevails. Insensible of those irritations, which a warmer climate and more volatile animal spirits produce, they live and die peaceable and patient, contented from indifference, and active only from necessity. The father educates his son to that apathy, which he esteems the grand virtue and happiness of life ; and the mother suckles her infant a long time, with all the profound tenacious affection of animal maternity. What Nature has denied them in irritability and elasticity of fibre, she has given them in permanent indefatigable strength ; and has clothed them with that warming fatness, that abundance of blood, which render their very breath suffocatingly hot in close habitations.

No one, I think, can fail here to observe the equal hand of the organizing creator, who acts uniformly in all his works. If the human stature be diminished in these regions, vegetation is not less stunted : few trees grow, and these small ; mosses and shrubs creep on the ground. Frost contracts even the rod of iron ; and shall it not shorten the human fibre, even in despite of its inherent organic life ? It can only be compressed, however, and circumscribed as it were within a narrower sphere : another analogy of effect in every kind of organization. The extremities of the marine animals and other creatures of the frigid zone are small and slender : Nature has kept every thing as much as possible together in the region of internal warmth. The birds are supplied with thick plumage, the beasts with enveloping fat, as the men are with their warm sanguineous cases. Nature has also necessarily denied them in externals, and indeed from one and the same principle of all terrestrial organization, what is unsuitable to this constitution. Roots would be destructive to their bodies, prone to internal putrefaction ; as the liquor of madness, brandy, which has been introduced among them, has destroyed many. These accordingly the climate refuses them : and on the other hand, notwithstanding their great love of repose, which their internal structure promotes, it compels them, by the external circumstances of their barren abodes, to activity and bodily exercise ; which are the groundwork of all their laws and institutions. The few plants, that grow here, are such as purify the blood, and are thus precisely adapted to their wants. The atmosphere is in a high degree dephlogisticated *, so that it resists putrefaction even in dead bodies, and promotes longevity. Poisonous animals cannot

* See Wilson's Observations on the Influence of Climate on Plants and Animals, and Cranz's History of Greenland, vol. II.

endure the dry cold : and the people are protected against troublesome insects by smoke, by a long winter, and by their natural insensibility. Thus does Nature indemnify them, and act harmoniously in all her operations.

After describing this first nation, it will not be necessary to be equally minute, with regard to others that resemble it. The eskimaux of America are the brethren of the greenlanders in figure, as well as in language and manners. But as these poor wretches are pressed upon as bearded strangers by the beardless americans, their mode of life is in general more toilsome and precarious : nay, so hard is their fate, that in winter they are often obliged to support themselves in their caves by sucking their own blood *. Here, and in a few other parts of the Earth, dire Necessity sits on her loftiest throne, and compels man to lead almost the life of a bear. Yet everywhere he still continues man : for, even in what appear to be features of the greatest inhumanity among these people is humanity visible, when they are closely examined. Nature thought proper, to try what forced circumstances the human species could endure, and it has stood the test.

The laplanders inhabit a comparatively mild climate, and they are a milder people †. The size of the human figure increases : the flat roundness of the visage diminishes : the cheeks are lengthened : the eye is dark gray : the straight black hair becomes carrotty : and the internal organization of the man expands with his external frame, as the bud that blows beneath the beams of a more genial sun ‡. The mountain laplander grazes his reindeer, which neither the eskimaux nor greenlander can do, and obtains from them food and raiment, coverings for his house and his bed, conveniencies and enjoyments ; while the greenlander, dwelling on the verge of the earth, is reduced to seek almost every thing from the sea. Thus man acquires an animal for his friend and servant, and hence learns arts, and a more domestic mode of life. It inures his foot to the chace, his arm to the guidance of the rein, his mind to a taste for acquisition and permanent property ; while at the same time it cherishes his love of liberty, and accustoms his ear to that timid watchfulness, which we observe in many nations in a similar condition. The laplander listens as fearfully as his beast, and sets off at the slightest noise : he loves his way of life, and looks, like his reindeer, to the summits of the moun-

* See Roger Curtis's Account of Labrador.

† It is well known, that Sainovic found the language of the laplanders to resemble the hungarian. See *Sainovic Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*, ' Sainovic's Demonstration, that the Languages of the Hun-

garians and Laplanders are the same,' Copenhagen, 1770.

‡ On the subject of the laplanders see Høchstrem, Leem, Klingstedt, Georgi's *Beschreibung der Nationen des Russischen Reichs*, ' Description of the Nations of the Russian Empire,' &c.

tains, to spy the returning Sun: he talks to his beast, and is understood by him; he is careful of him as his wealth, and a member of his family. Thus with the first tameable animal, that Nature could bestow on this region, she gave man a guide to a more human mode of life.

Of the people that dwell by the Frozen Ocean, along the wide extent of the ruffian empire, not to mention the many modern wellknown travels, in which they are described, we have a collection of delineations, the inspection of which speaks more forcibly than any description *. Mixed and huddled together as many of these people dwell, we perceive the most different races brought under the same yoke of the northern form, and forged as it were into a chain of the north pole. The *samoiede* has the round, broad, flat visage, the straight black hair, the squat sanguineous body of the northern mould: but his lips are more full, his nose more broad and prominent, and his beard diminished; and this we shall find continually decreasing along an immense tract of land to the eastward. Thus the samoiedes are as it were the negroes of the north: and the great irritability of their nerves, the early puberty of the females, in the eleventh or twelfth year †, nay, if the account be true, their black nipples, and some other circumstances, render them still more similar to the negroes, notwithstanding the coldness of their climate. Yet, in spite of their warm and delicate constitution, which they probably brought with them as a national character, and which it may be presumed even the climate itself could not subdue, their form is on the whole that of the north. The *tungoosus* ‡, who dwell farther to the south, begin to have some resemblance to the mungalian stem, from which however they are as different in race and language, as the samoiedes and ostiaks are from the laplanders and greenlanders. Their bodies are better shaped and more slender; their eyes small like those of the mungals; their lips thin; their hair softer: yet their faces retain the flat northern form. It is the same with the yakouts and yukagirians, who appear to run into the tatarian form, as those into the mungalian; nay, it is the same with the tatarian race itself. Near the Black Sea and the Caspian, on mounts Caucasus and Ural, consequently in the most temperate climate in some measure in the World, the tatarian form is blended with more beauty. The body is slender and pliable: the head quits the heavy rotundity for a more ele-

* See Georgi's *Beschreibung, &c.* 'Description, &c.', Petersburg, 1776.

† See Klingstedt's *Mémoires sur les Samoïedes et sur les Lapons*, 'Accounts of the Samoiedes and Laplanders.'

‡ For an account of all these people see Georgi's *Descript.* of the Nat. of the Ruff.

Emp., Pallas, the Travels of the elder Gmelin, &c. The most remarkable circumstances relating to the different people have been extracted from Pallas's Travels and Georgi's Remarks, and published separately, *Merkwürdigkeiten der verschiedenen Völker*, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1773—7.

gant oval: the complexion is florid: the nose projects boldly and wellshaped: the eye is lively, the hair dark brown, the step alert: the countenance pleasingly modest and timid. Thus the nearer we come to the regions where Nature is most profuse of life, the more exquisite and better proportioned is the organization of man. The more we proceed to the north again, or the farther into Kalmuc Tatory, so much more flat and barbarous we find the features, either after the northern or kalmuc model. In this, however, much must be attributed to the way of life of a people, it's descent and intermixture with others, and the qualities of the country it inhabits. The mountain tatars preserve their features with more purity, than those that dwell in the plains: hordes that are near towns and villages mix and soften down both their features and manners. The less a nation is pressed upon, the truer it must remain to it's rude and simple way of life, and the more pure must it preserve it's original form. As on this great platform of Tatory, inclining as it does to the sea, so many roving and incursions have taken place, which have operated more powerfully to mingle, than mountains, deserts, and rivers could to separate, the exceptions to the rule cannot fail to be observed: but the rule is confirmed by these very exceptions, for the northern, tatarian, and mungal forms divide the whole among them.

CHAPTER II.

Organization of the Nations on the Asiatic Ridge of the Earth.

As there are many probabilities, that the first abode of the human species was on this ridge of the Earth, we might be inclined to seek on it the most beautiful race of men. But how greatly should we be deceived in our expectation! The form of the kalmucs and mungals is well known. With a middling stature, they have at least remains of the flat visage, the thin beard, and the brown complexion, of the northern climate: but they are distinguishable by the inner angle of the eye being acute, fleshy, and inclined obliquely to the nose; by narrow, black, slightly arched eyebrows; a small, flat nose, too broad at the upper part; large, prominent ears; the legs and thighs bowed; and strong white teeth*, which, together with the rest of the features, appear to characterize a beast of prey among men.

* See Pallas's *Sammlungen ueber die Mongolischen Völkerstämme*, 'Collections respecting the Mungal Nations,' Vol. I, p. 98, 171, &c.; Georgi's *Beschreib.* Vol. IV, Petersburg, 1780; Schnitscher's Account of the Ajuc Kalmucs in

Mueller's *Sammlung zur Russ. Gesch.*, 'Collections for a History of Russia,' Book IV, Ess. 4.; Schläezer's Extract from Schober's *Memorabilia Russo-Asiatica*, 'Memoirs of Asiatic Russia,' in the same Collections, Book VII, Ess. 1.; &c.

Whence proceeds this form? Their bow-legs originate from their way of life. From their childhood they slide along upon their legs, or cling to the back of a horse: their lives are spent between sitting and riding; and to the only position, that gives the human foot it's straight fine form, that of walking, they are strangers, except for a few steps. And to their way of life may not more of their figure be traced? Are not the prominent brutal ear, that is ever listening, the small, acute eye, that perceives the least dust or smoke at the greatest distance, the white, projecting, bone-gnawing tooth, the thick neck, and the backward reclining position of the head on it, become substantial features, and characteristics of their mode of living? If we add to this, that, as Pallas says, their children, even to the age of ten, frequently have deformed puffed up faces, and are of a cacochymic aspect, till, as they grow up, they become better shaped: if we consider, that extensive tracts of their country are strangers to rain, have little water, or at least none that is pure, and that thus from their infancy they scarcely know what it is to bathe: if we reflect on the salt lakes and marshes, and the saline nature of the soil where they dwell, the alkaline favour of which they relish in their food, and even in the deluges of tea, with which they daily enfeeble their digestive faculty: if to these we add the elevation of the country they inhabit, the thinner air, dry winds, alkaline effluvia, and long winters spent in the smoke of their huts, and with snow continually before their eyes: is it not probable, that their figure originated from these causes some thousands of years ago, when many of them perhaps operated still more forcibly, and thus gradually became their hereditary nature? Nothing invigorates our bodies more, and contributes more to their growth and firmness, than washing and bathing in water; particularly if to these be added walking, running, wrestling, and other bodily exercises. Nothing has a greater tendency to debilitate them, than drinking warm liquors; and these they gulp down in immoderate quantities, seasoned too with corrugating alkaline salts. Hence, as Pallas has already observed, the feeble effeminate figures of the mungals and burats, five or six of whom, with their utmost exertions, cannot do what a single ruffian can perform: hence the extreme lightness of their bodies, with which on their little horses they seem to fly, or skim along the surface of the ground: hence, lastly, the cacochymic habit transmitted to their children. Even some of the neighbouring tatar races are born with features of the mungal form, which disappear as they grow up: and this renders it more probable, that some of the causes are dependent on the climate, which are more or less engrafted into the frame of the people by their mode of life and descent, and rendered hereditary. When ruffians or tatars intermix with the mungals, hand-

some children are produced, being of delicate and wellproportioned shapes, but according to the mungal standard *. Here also Nature remains true to herself in their organization : a race of nomades, beneath this sky, on this ridge of the Globe, and with such modes of living, must be such airy vultures.

And traces of their form spread far around : for whither have not these birds of prey extended their flight ? More than once have their conquering pinions sped over one quarter of the Globe. Accordingly the mungals have established themselves in various countries of Asia, and improved their form by the features of other nations. Nay these warlike expeditions were preceded by more ancient emigrations from this early peopled ridge of the Earth into many adjacent lands. Hence, it is probable, the oriental part of the Globe as far as Kamtschatka, as well as throughout Tibet and the peninsula beyond the Ganges, previously bore marks of the mungal form. Let us take a view of this region, in which much that is singular appears.

Most of the refinements of the chinese with regard to their shape bear the mungal stamp. We have observed the mishapen feet and ears of the mungals ; and probably a similar defect of form, aided by false taste, gave occasion to that unnatural confinement of the foot, and that frightful distortion of the ears, common to many nations in this region. People were ashamed of their form, and wished to alter it ; but hit upon parts, which yielding to change, at length rendered their disgusting beauties hereditary. As far as the great difference of their provinces and mode of life will permit, the chinese display evident marks of the oriental form, which is most striking to the eye only on the mungalian heights. Climate has merely reduced the broad face, little black eyes, stump nose, and thin beard, to a softer rounder form ; and the taste of the chinese seems to be as much a consequence of illconstructed organs, as despotism is of their form of government, and barbarism of their philosophy. The japanese, a people of chinese tuition, but probably of mungal origin †, are almost universally illmade, with thick heads, small eyes, stump noses, flat cheeks, scarcely any beard, and generally bandy-legged. Their form of government and philosophy abound with violent restrictions, suited only to their own country. A third species of despotism prevails in Tibet ; the religion of which country extends far into the savage deserts.

* Pallas in the *Samml. zur Gesch. der Mongol. Volk.* ' Collections for the History of the Mungal Nations,' Travels Vol. I, p. 304, II, &c.

† *Allg. Samml. der Reisen,* ' General Collec-

tion of Travels,' Vol. II, p. 595; Charlevoix. On the chinese see Olave Toree's *Reise nach Surate und China,* ' Travels to Surat and China,' p. 68; *Allg. Reis.* Vo. VI, p. 130.

The oriental form * stretches down with the mountains through the peninsula beyond the Ganges, the people probably extending themselves along the course of the hills. The natives of Affam, bordering upon Tatar, are remarkable, if we may trust the accounts of travellers †, for swelled throats and flat noses, particularly towards the north. The rude ornaments affixed to their lengthened ears, their indelicacy in respect to food, and want of clothing in such a temperate climate, denote a savage uncultivated people. The arracanese, with broad nostrils, flat foreheads, little eyes, and ears stretched down to their shoulders, display the same deformity of the oriental regions ‡. The barmas in Ava and Pegu are as inveterate enemies to the slightest appearance of beard, as the tibetians and other nations higher up: they will not suffer more bountiful Nature to remove their tatarian beardlessness §. It is the same, only with some differences according to the people and climate, even in the islands that are more to the south.

To the north there is no change, even to the koriacs and kamtschadales on the shores of the eastern world. The language of the latter still bears some resemblance to that of the chinese mungals, though, as they are yet unacquainted with the use of iron, they must have separated from these people long ago. Neither does their form belie their country ||. Their hair is black, their faces broad and flat, their nose and eyes deep sunk; and we shall find their character, apparently incongruous with this cold inhospitable climate, not unsuitable to it. Lastly, the koriacs, the tshoutschies, the kuriles, and the islanders farther to the east ¶, appear to me to be gradual transitions from the mungal to the american form: and if we could obtain an acquaintance with the north western end of America, which remains for the most part unknown to us, and with the interior parts of Jedso and the extensive region above New Mexico, of which we know as little as of the heart of Africa, I am of opinion, we should find evident gradations losing themselves in each other, according to the remarks in Cook's last voyage **.

So

* The more ancient accounts describe the tibetians as deformed. See *Allg. Reisen*, Book VII, p. 382. According to the more modern (Pallas's *Nord. Beitr.* Book IV, p. 280) they are become less so, to which the situation of their country appears favourable. Probably they are a rude approach to the hindustanic form.

† See *Allg. Reisen*, Book X, p. 557, from Tavernier.

‡ *Allg. Reis.* B. X, p. 67, from Ovington.

§ See Mariden's History of Sumatra, p. 62, *Allg. Reis.* Vol. II, p. 487, &c.

|| *Allg. Reis.* Vol. XX, p. 289, from Steller.

¶ See Georgi's *Bejch. Sc.* Vol. III.

** See Ellis's Account of Cook's last Voyage, p. 114; *Tagebuch der Entdeckungsreise*, 'Journal of a Voyage of Discovery translated by Forster,' p. 231; with which may be compared the older

So wide is the extent of the partly disfigured, but every where more or less beardless, oriental form: and the various manners and languages of the several nations testify, that they are not the descendants of one people. What then is the cause of it? What for instance has urged so many nations to quarrel with the beard, or to stretch the ears, or to bore the nose and lips? In my opinion an original deformity must have given rise to it, which afterwards claimed the assistance of savage art, and at length became an ancient custom transmitted from father to son. The degeneracy of brutes displays itself in the hair and ears, before it attacks the form: it next descends to the feet, as in the face it first attacks its extremity, the profile. When the genealogy of the nations, the state and qualities of this extensive country, and more especially the variations in the internal physiology of these people, are more thoroughly investigated; we shall not fail to obtain new ideas on the subject. And will not *Pallas*, skilled in science and acquainted with various nations, be the first to give us a *spicilegium anthropologicum*?

CHAPTER III.

Organization of the Region of wellformed Nations.

EMBOSOMED in alpine heights lies the kingdom of Cashmere, like a hidden paradise. Its fertile and pleasant hills are surrounded with mountains ascending still higher and higher, till the summits of the last, covered with eternal snow, are lost in the clouds. Here pellucid streams and rivulets flow: the earth is adorned with salubrious herbs and fruits: gardens and islands are clad in refreshing green: flocks and herds are spread over one universal pasture: and no venomous animal, or wild beast, annoys this Eden. These may be fitly named the mountains of innocence, as *Bernier* says, which flow with milk and honey; and the race of men, that dwells there, is not unworthy of the place. The cashmirians are deemed the most witty and ingenious people of India, equally capable of excelling in poetry and science, in arts and manufactures; the men finely formed, and the women often models of beauty*.

How happy might Hindustan have been, if the hands of men had not combined to desolate the garden of nature, and to depress the most innocent of human beings by tyranny and superstition! The hindoos are the gentlest race

accounts of the islands between Asia and America. See *neue Nachricht von den neu entdeckten Inseln*, 'New Account of the lately discovered Islands,' Hamb. and Leipf. 1776; the accounts in *Pallas's Nordischen Beiträgen*, 'Northern Memoirs'; *Muel-*

ler's Russische Sammlungen, 'Russian Collections'; the *Beiträgen zur Völker- und Länderkunde*, 'Essays on Countries and Nations'; &c.

* *Allg. Reiz.* Vol. II, p. 116, 117, from *Bernier*.

of mankind. They intentionally injure nothing that breathes; they respect every thing that has life; and support themselves by the most innocent food, milk, rice, and the nutritious plants and fruits, that their country affords. In shape, says a modern traveller *, they are straight, slender, and elegant; their limbs are well proportioned; their fingers long, and endued with great accuracy of feeling; their countenances open and benign: the features of the females display the most delicate lineaments of beauty; those of the males, manly tenderness. Their gait, and their whole carriage, are in the highest degree graceful and attractive. The legs and thighs, which in all the northeastern countries are misshapen, or shortened like those of apes, are lengthened here, and bear the stamp of germinating human beauty. Even the mungal form, intermingled with this race, is lost in noble benignity. And the original disposition of their mind is consonant to the frame of their body. So indeed is their manner of life, when considered free from the yoke of slavery or superstition. Temperance and quiet, gentle feelings and peaceful meditation, are conspicuous in their labours and enjoyments, their morals and mythology, their arts, and even their patience under the severest tyranny. Happy lambs! why could not Nature feed you careless and undisturbed on your native plains!

The ancient persians were ugly mountaineers, as we see from their remains, the gaur †. But as scarcely any country in Asia is so much exposed to irruptions as Persia, and as it lies immediately beneath nations of wellformed people, a compound has resulted, which in the nobler Persians combines beauty and worth. On one hand lies Circassia, the parent of beauty: on the other side of the Caspian sea dwell tatarian races, which have already improved their form in this happy climate, and have spread themselves in great numbers to the south. On the right is Hindustan, and the persian blood has been improved by maidens purchased in this country and in Circassia. Their minds have moulded themselves to this man-ennobling spot: for the quick and penetrating understanding, the fertile and lively imagination of the Persians, with their supple, courteous manners, their propensity to idleness, pomp, and pleasure, nay their disposition to romantic love, are perhaps the chief qualities, that promote an equilibrium of the passions and features. Instead of those barbarous embellishments, with which deformed nations have increased while they strove to hide

* Mackintosh's Travels, Vol. I, p. 321.

† Chardin's Travels in Persia, Vol. III, Chap. XI, and following. In Le Brun's *Voyages en Perse*, 'Travels in Persia,' Vol. I, Chap. 42, n° 86—88, we have a delineation of the per-

sians, which may be compared with those of the blacks immediately following, n° 89, 90, the uncivilized samoiedes, chap. 2, n° 7, 8, the wild southern negroes, n. 197, and the gentle beninians, n. 109.

their bodily defects, more agreeable customs have here been adopted, which heightened the beauty of the form. Want of water compels the mungal to be uncleanly: the effeminate hindoo bathes: the voluptuous persian anoints himself. The mungal sits on his heels, when he does not bestride his horse: the gentle hindoo lolls at his ease: the romantic persian divides his time between games and amusements. The persian tinges his eyebrows; he invests himself in a garment, that improves the growth. Beautiful form! sweet equilibrium of passions and mental powers! why could ye not diffuse yourselves throughout the Globe!

We have already observed, that some *tatarian* races originally belonged to the well formed nations of the Earth, and have degenerated only in the northern countries, or in the deserts. The finer forms appear on each side of the Caspian sea. The usbeck women are described as stout, wellmade, and agreeable*: they accompany their husbands to battle: their eyes, says the description, are large, black, and lively: their hair is black and fine: the men are of a dignified figure, that commands respect. Similar commendations are bestowed on the bokharians: and the beauty of the circassians, their dark silken eyebrows, black sparkling eyes, smooth foreheads, little mouths, and round chins, are known and valued far and wide †. We may suppose, that the tongue of the balance of the human form stood here precisely in the middle, while the scales extended east and west to Hindustan and Greece. Fortunately for us, Europe lay at no great distance from this centre of beautiful forms; and many nations, that peopled this quarter of the Globe, either inhabited or slowly traversed the regions between the Caspian and Euxine seas. At least we are thus no antipodes to the land of beauty.

All the nations who have made irruptions into this region of fine forms, and tarried in it, have softened their features. The *turks*, originally a hideous race, improved their appearance, and rendered themselves more agreeable, when handfomer nations became servants to them, as conquerors of extensive territories in this neighbourhood. To this probably the commandments of the Koran have contributed, by which they were enjoined ablution, cleanliness, and temperance, while they were indulged in voluptuous ease and love. The *hebrews*, whose ancestors likewise came from the heights of Asia, and led a wandering life, sometime in thirsty Egypt, sometime in the deserts of Arabia, still bear the stamp of the asiatic form, even in their present long and wide dispersion; though in their nar-

* *Allg. Reif.* Vol. VII, p. 316.—18.

au Levant, 'Travels in the Levant,' Vol. I,

† See some delineations by Le Brun, *Voyages* Chap. 10, n° 34—37.

row country, and under the oppressive yoke of the law, they could never attain that pitch of beauty, for which more liberty of action, and voluptuousness of life, are requisite. Neither do the hardy *arabs* constitute an exception: for though Nature has formed their peninsula more for a land of liberty than a land of beauty, and neither a desert nor a wandering life can possibly be the best nurse of fine forms; yet are these brave and hardy people at the same time wellmade* Their extensive influence on three quarters of the globe we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

Lastly the perfect human form found a site on the coast of the Mediterranean †, where it was capable of uniting with the intellect, and displaying all the charms of terrestrial and celestial beauty to the mind; as well as to the eye: this was triple Greece, in Asia and the islands, in Greece proper, and on the shores farther to the west. Gentle zephyrs fanned the tree, gradually transplanted from the heights of Asia, and breathed life into every part. Time and circumstances assisted in exalting it's juices, and crowning it with that perfection, which still excites the admiration of every one in the models of grecian art and wisdom. Here figures were conceived and executed, which no admirer of circassian beauty, no indian or cashmirian artist, could have invented. The human form ascended Olympus, and clothed itself in divine beauty.

I shall not wander farther into Europe. It so abounds in forms and mixtures, it has changed nature in so many ways by cultivation and art, that I know not how to make any general remarks on it's wellformed intermingled nations. It will be better to take a retrospective glance from the shores of that quarter of the Globe that we have traversed, and, after an observation or two, proceed to footy Africa.

In the first place it is obvious to every one, that the region of the most perfectly formed people is a middle region of the Earth, lying, as beauty itself, between two extremes. It feels not the compressing cold of Samoieda, or the drying saline winds of Mungalia: on the other hand it is equally a stranger to the burning heat of the sandy african deserts, and the wet and violent changes of the american climate. It lies neither on the utmost height of the equator, nor on the declivity of the polar region: but on one side it is defended by the lofty walls of the tatarian and mungal mountains, on the other it is cooled by the sea-breeze. It's seasons change with regularity, yet without that violence, which

* See delineations of them in Niebuhr, vol. II, 7, n° 17—20; Choiseul Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque*, 'Picturesque Tour;' &c. The remains of ancient grecian art exceed all these representations.

† See Le Brun's Trav. in the Levant, chap.

prevails under the equinoctial: and as Hippocrates formerly observed, that a mild regularity of the seasons appeared to have great influence in attemperating the passions, it has no less on the ideas and impressions of our minds. The predatory turcoman, who roams the deserts or the mountains, retains a hideous countenance even in the finest climate: when he sits down in peace, and divides his life between softer enjoyments, and occupations that connect him with more civilized nations, his features, as well as manners, in time assimilate with theirs. The beauty of the Earth is calculated only for peaceful enjoyment: by means of this alone does it impart itself to man, and become incorporated with him.

In the second place, it was of no small advantage to the human species, not only to have commenced it's existence in this region of perfect forms, but to have derived it's principal cultivation thence. As the deity could not make the whole Earth the seat of beauty, he permitted mankind to enter it at least through the gate of beauty, and have it's features imprinted on them for a considerable time before they repaired to other countries. It was one and the same principle of Nature, which caused those nations, that excelled in form, to operate with most beneficence and activity upon others: for she gave them that quickness and elasticity of mind, adapted equally to form the body, and to act thus beneficently upon other nations. The tungoose and eskimaux sit eternally in their holes, and give themselves no concern about other nations, either as friends or enemies. The negro has invented nothing for the european: he has never once conceived the design of improving or of conquering Europe. From the region of wellformed people we have derived our religion, our arts, our sciences; the whole frame of our cultivation and humanity, be it much or little. In this tract has been invented, imagined, and executed, at least in it's rudiments, every thing that can form and improve man. The history of man's cultivation will incontestibly prove this; and in my opinion our own experience shows it. We northern inhabitants of Europe should have been still barbarians, had not the kind breath of fate wafted us at least some flowers from those climes, to impregnate our wild blossoms, and thus in time ennoble our stock.

CHAPTER IV.

Organization of the People of Africa.

IT is but just, when we proceed to the country of the blacks, that we lay aside our proud prejudices, and consider the organization of this quarter of the Globe with as much impartiality, as if there were no other. Since whiteness is a mark of degeneracy in many animals near the pole, the negro has as much right to term his savage robbers albinos and white devils, degenerated through the weakness of nature, as we have to deem him the emblem of evil, and a descendant of Ham, branded by his father's curse. I, might he say, I, the black, am the original man. I have taken the deepest draughts from the source of life, the Sun: on me, and on every thing around me, it has acted with the greatest energy and vivacity. Behold my country: how fertile in fruits, how rich in gold! Behold the height of my trees! the strength of my animals! Here each element swarms with life, and I am the centre of this vital action. Thus might the negro say; let us then enter the country appropriate to him with modesty.

On the very isthmus, that joins Africa to Asia, we meet with a singular people, the egyptians. Large, strong, corpulent; for the Nile bestows on them fatness, bigboned, and of a yellow brown complexion; they are at the same time healthy and prolific, temperate and longlived. Though now indolent, they were once diligent and laborious. A people of such bone, and such a frame*, could alone have produced the arts and establishments, that we admire among the ancient egyptians; to which a people of a finer mould could not easily have applied themselves.

Of the inhabitants of Nubia, and the interior regions of Africa beyond it, we yet know but little. If however we may trust the preliminary communications of Bruce †, no negro race dwells upon the whole of this elevated region,

* See the statues of their ancient artists, their mummies, and the paintings on the cases of the mummies.

† Buffon's *Supplément à l'Histoire Naturelle*, 'Supp. to Nat. Hist.' 4to, Vol. IV, p. 495. Lobo says, at least, that the blacks there are neither ugly nor stupid, but ingenious, delicate,

and possessed of some taste: *Relation historique d'Abyssinie*, 'Historical Account of Abyssinia,' p. 85. As all our accounts of this country are ancient and doubtful, the publication of Bruce's travels, if he did visit Abyssinia, is much to be wished*.

* He undoubtedly did, as we have sufficient testimony of that fact, and his travels, containing much curious information, have at length been published. T.

they being confined to the east and west coasts of this quarter of the Globe, where the land is lower, and the heat more intense. Even under the equator, he says, on these temperate and rainy heights, we find none but white or yellow brown complexions. Remarkable as this fact would be in explaining the origin of the negro blackness; yet the figure of the nations in these parts, which is more to our purpose, displays a gradual declension to the negro form. We know, that the abyssinians were originally of arabian descent, and both nations have been frequently and long connected: yet, if we may judge from the representations of Ludolf * and others, how much harsher features do we meet with here, than among the arabs, and more distant asiatics! They approach those of the negro, though yet remotely; and the great diversity of the country, with its lofty mountains and pleasant plains, the variations of the climate, in heat and cold, sunshine and storms, with a chain of other causes, seem sufficient to account for these harsh compounded features. In a diversified part of the World a diversified race of men must occur, whose character appears to consist in great sensuality, long duration, and an approach to the extreme in figure, which brings them nearer to the brute. The government of the abyssinians, and their state of civilization, are conformable to their figure, and the nature of their country; a wild mixture of heathenism and christianity, of careless freedom and savage tyranny.

On the other side of Africa in like manner we know too little of the *berbers*, or *brebers*, to be able to form any judgment of them. Their residence on mount Atlas, and their hardy and active way of life, have preserved to them that well-proportioned, light, and flexible make, by which they are distinguishable from the arabs †. Consequently they are as little of the negro race, as the moors, who are descended from the arabs, but intermixed with other nations. A modern observer says ‡, they are handsome people, with delicate features, oval faces, fine large sparkling eyes, longish noses, neither broad nor flat, and beautiful black hair slightly falling in ringlets; so that they are of the asiatic form, though in the midst of Africa.

The negro race properly begins with the rivers Gambia and Senegal; yet here with gradual transitions §. The *jaloofs*, or *wulufs*, have neither the flat noses nor thick lips of the common negroes. Both they, and the smaller, more active

* Ludolf's *Hist. Æthiop.*, 'History of Ethiopia.'

† Hoff's *Nachrichten von Maroko*, 'Account of Morocco,' p. 141, compared with 132 and following.

‡ Schott's Account of the State of Senegal, in the *Beitrag. z. Volk. und Landerkunde*, Vol. I, p. 47.

§ See Schott's Account of Senegal, p. 50, *Allg. Reis.* Vol. 315.

foulies, who, according to some accounts, live under the happiest regulations, and spend their time in mirth and dancing, are models of beauty, compared with the *mandingoes*, and the negroes that live farther to the south; their limbs being well made, their hair sleek and but little woolly, and their countenances open and inclined to oval. Thus the thick lips and flat noses of the negro form, which spreads far down through innumerable varieties of little nations in Guinea, Loango, Congo, and Angola, commence not till we cross the Senegal. In Congo and Angola, for instance, the black skin assumes an olive hue, the crisped hair is reddish, the irides of the eyes are green, the lips are less thick, and the stature diminishes. In Zanguebar, on the opposite coast of Africa, we again find the same olive hue, but in men of a large stature, and better proportioned limbs. Lastly the hottentots and caffres are retrogradations from the negro form to another. Their nose begins to lose somewhat of its depressed flatness, their lips of their swelling prominence: their hair is a mean between the wool of the negro and the hair of other nations: their complexion is of a yellow brown: their size is that of europeans in general, only they have smaller hands and feet*. Did we know the numerous nations, that dwell beyond these arid regions, in the interior country, as far as Abyssinia, and among whom, from many indications on their borders, we may expect to find more fertility, beauty, strength, arts, and civilization, we might fill up the shades of the human picture in this quarter of the Globe, and should probably find not a single break.

But how deficient are we in authentic information respecting this country! We barely know its coasts; and are in many parts acquainted with these no farther than our cannons reach. No modern european has traversed the interior of Africa, which the arabian caravans frequently do †; and what we know of it is either from tales of the blacks, or pretty ancient accounts of lucky or unfortunate adventurers ‡. Even the nations, that we might know as things are, the eye of the european seems to behold with too tyrannical indifference, to attempt to investigate the variation of national form in wretched black slaves. Men handle them like cattle; and, when they buy them, distinguish them by the marks of their teeth. A single moravian missionary § has transmitted us from another quarter of the Globe more accurate discriminations of the negroes, than

* Sparmann's Travels.

† Schott's Account of Senegal, p. 49, 50.

‡ Zimmermann's comparison of the known and unknown parts, an essay replete with learning and sound judgment, in the *Geogr. Gesch. der*

Menschen, 'Geographical History of Man,' book III, p. 104, and following.

§ Oldendorp's *Missionsgeschichte auf St. Thomas*, 'History of the Mission to St. Thomas,' p. 270 and following.

all the voyagers, that have infested the african shores. How fortunate would it have been for the knowledge of nature, and of man, had a company of travellers, endued with the penetration of Forster, the patience of Sparrmann, and the science of both, visited this undiscovered country! The accounts, that are given of the cannibal jagas and ancicans, are certainly exaggerated, when they are extended to all the interior nations of Africa. The jagas appear to be a mixed, predatory people, a sort of artificial nation, composed of the outcasts of several, living by plunder, and at length becoming inured to savage and barbarous practices*. The ancicans are mountaineers; probably the mungals and calmucs of this country. But how many happy and peaceful nations may dwell at the feet of the Mountains of the Moon! Europeans are unworthy to behold their happiness; for they have unparadonably sinned, and still continue to sin, against this quarter of the Globe. The peaceably trading arabs traverse the country, and have planted colonies far within it.

But I forget, that I had to speak of the form of the negroes, as of an organization of the human species; and it would be well, if natural philosophy had applied it's attention to all the varieties of our species, as much as to this. The following are some of the results of it's observations.

1. The black colour of the negro has nothing in it more wonderful than the white, brown, yellow, or reddish, of other nations. Neither the blood, the brain, nor the seminal fluid of the negro is black, but the reticular membrane beneath the cuticle, which is common to all, and even in us, at least in some parts, and under certain circumstances, is more or less coloured. Camper has demonstrated this †; and according to him we all have the capacity of becoming negroes. Even amid the frosts of Samoieda we have noticed the sable mark in the female breast: the germe of the negro blackness could not be farther extended in that climate.

2. All depends therefore on the causes, that were capable of unfolding it here: and analogy instructs us, that sun and air must have had great share in it. For what makes us brown? What makes the difference between the two sexes in almost every country? What has rendered the descendants of the portugese, after residing some centuries in Africa, so similar in colour to the negroes? Nay, what so forcibly discriminates the negro races in Africa itself? The climate, considered in the most extensive signification of the word, so as to include the manner of life, and kind of food. The blackest negroes live precisely

* See Proyard's History of Loango, Cacongo, &c., to the german translation of which, Leipzig, 1770, is added an able collection of accounts re-

specting the jagas.

† See Camper's *Kleine Schriften*, 'Tracts,' Vol. I, p. 24 and following.

in that region, where the east wind, blowing wholly over the land, brings the most intense heat : where the heat is diminished, or cooled by the sea-breeze, the black is softened into yellow. The cool heights are inhabited by white, or whitish people : while in the close lower regions the oil, that occasions the black appearance beneath the cuticle, is rendered more aduft by the heat of the Sun. Now if we reflect, that these blacks have resided for ages in this quarter of the World, and completely naturalized themselves to it by their mode of life : if we consider the several causes, that now operate more feebly, but which in earlier periods, when all the elements were in their primitive rude force, must have acted with greater power : and if we take into the account, that so many thousands of years must have brought about a complete revolution as it were of the wheel of contingencies, which at one period or another turns up every thing that can take place upon this Earth : we shall not wonder at the trifling circumstance, that the skin of some nations is black. Nature, in her progressive secret operations, has produced much greater changes than this.

3. And how did she effect this small change ? To me the thing seems to speak for itself. It is an oil, that colours the reticular membrane. The sweat of the negroes, and even of europeans, in this country frequently has a yellow colour. The skin of the blacks is a thick soft velvet, not so tense and dry as that of the whites ; the heat of the Sun having drawn from their inner parts an oil, which, ascending as near as it could to the surface, has softened their cuticle, and coloured the membrane beneath it. Most of the diseases of this country are bilious ; and if we read the descriptions of them *, we shall not wonder at the yellow or black complexions of the inhabitants.

4. The woolly hair of the negro may be accounted for on similar principles. As the hair is nourished only by the finer juices of the skin, and is generated as it were unnaturally in the fat, it becomes curled in proportion to the abundance of nutriment it receives, and dies where this is deficient. Thus in the coarser organization of brutes, we find their wool converted into rough hair, in countries uncongenial to their nature, where the juices, that flow into it, are incapable of elaboration. The finer organization of man on the contrary, intended for all climates, is capable of converting the hair into wool, when the oil, that moistens the skin, is superabundant.

5. But the peculiar formation of the members of the human body says more than all these : and this appears to me explicable in the african organization. According to various physiological observations, the lips, breasts, and private

* See Schott's Treatise on the *Synochus atrabiliosa*.

parts, are proportionate to each other: and as Nature, agreeably to the simple principle of her plastic art, must have conferred on these people, to whom she was obliged to deny nobler gifts, an ampler measure of sensual enjoyment, this could not but have appeared to the physiologist. According to the rules of physiognomy, thick lips are held to indicate a sensual disposition; as thin lips, displaying a slender rosy line, are deemed symptoms of a chaste and delicate taste; not to mention other circumstances. What wonder then, that in a nation, for whom the sensual appetite is the height of happiness, external marks of it should appear? A negro child is born white: the skin round the nails, the nipples, and the private parts, first become coloured; and the same consent of parts in the disposition to colour is observable in other nations. A hundred children are a trifle to a negro; and an old man, who had not above seventy, lamented his fate with tears.

6. With this oleaginous organization to sensual pleasure, the profile, and the whole frame of the body, must alter. The projection of the mouth would render the nose short and small, the forehead would incline backwards, and the face would have at a distance the resemblance of that of an ape. Conformably to this would be the position of the neck, the transition to the occiput, and the elastic structure of the whole body, which is formed, even to the nose and skin, for sensual animal enjoyment*. Since in this quarter of the Globe, as the native land of the solar heat, the loftiest and most succulent trees arise, herds of the largest, strongest, and most active animals are generated, and vast multitudes of apes in particular sport, so that air and water, the sea and the sands, swarm with life and fertility; organizing human nature could not fail to follow, with respect to its animal part, this general simple principle of the plastic powers. That finer intellect, which the creature, whose breast swells with boiling passions beneath this burning sun, must necessarily be refused, was countervailed by a structure altogether incompatible with it. Since then a nobler boon could not be conferred on the negro in such a climate, let us pity, but not despise him; and honour that parent, who knows how to compensate, while she deprives. He spends his life void of care in a country, which yields him food with unbounded liberality. His limber body moves in the water, as if it had been formed for that element: he runs and climbs, as if each were his sport: and not less strong and healthy than light and active, his different constitution supports all the accidents and diseases of his climate, under which so many

* Camper has shown, in the Haarlem Tran- tion nearer together than the european, and in
actions, that the negro has the centres of mo- consequence possesses greater elasticity of body.

europeans sink. What to him are the tormenting sensations of superiour joys, for which he was not formed? The materials were not wanting: but Nature took him in hand, and formed of him what was most fit for his country, and the happiness of his life. Either no Africa should have been created, or it was requisite, that negroes should be made to inhabit Africa.

CHAPTER V.

Organization of Man in the Islands of the torrid Zone.

NOTHING is more difficult, than to characterise under certain leading features the countries scattered over the bosom of the ocean. For as they are remote from each other, and have been peopled for the most part by different emigrants from near or distant regions, and at an earlier or later period; they exhibit to the mind as motley a picture in the history of nations, as they do to the eye on a map. Yet even here the principal features never belie themselves, in what may be termed natural organization.

1. On most of the asiatic islands we meet with a kind of negro race, which appears to constitute the most ancient inhabitants of the country*. Yet, according to the difference of the land on which they live, these are more or less swarthy, with curled woolly hair: occasionally the thick lip, flat nose, and white teeth appear; and it is remarkable, that with these the negro temperament is found united. The same rude healthy strength, the thoughtless disposition, the noisy love of pleasure, which we observe in the blacks of the continent, are discoverable in the negrilloes of the islands: yet everywhere proportionate to their climate and mode of living. Many of these are at the lowest stage of cultivation, having been confined to the mountains by later comers, who now occupy the shores and plains: and hence we have few certain and authentic accounts of them †.

Now whence comes this resemblance of the negro form on such remote islands? Certainly not because they were peopled in early periods by colonies from Africa, but because Nature works every where uniformly. These too are situate in the regions of extreme heat, only cooled by the sea-breeze: why then, should there not be negrilloes on the islands, as there are negroes on the continent? especially as, being the first inhabitants of the islands, they must bear the

* Sprengel's *Geschichte der Philippinen*, 'History of the Philippine Islands;' Forster's Account of Borneo and other islands in the *Beiträgen zur Fauna und Länderkunde*, Vol. II, p. 57, 237, &c.; *Allg. Reis.* Vol. II, p. 393; Le Gen-

til's Travels in Ebeling's Collection, Vol. IV, p. 70.

† See *Reisen um die Welt*, 'Voyages round the World,' Vol. I, p. 554, Leipzig, 1775.

strongest marks of the plastic Nature of the climate. Among these must be reckoned the igolots of the Philippine islands, and similar blacks on most of the rest; as likewise the savages on the western coast of New Holland, whom Dampier describes as the most wretched of mankind, and who appear to be the lowest class of this race, inhabiting one of the most barren tracts on the Globe.

2. In later times other people have settled on these islands, whose form is less striking. Such, according to Forster *, are the *biajoes* of Borneo, the *alfoories* in some of the Moluccas, the *subadoes* of Mindanao, and the inhabitants of the Ladrone islands, the Carolines, and others farther south in the Pacific ocean. They are said to have great resemblance in language, complexion, form, and manners: their hair is long and sleek, and we know from late voyagers to what a degree of attractive beauty this race has been capable of arriving in Otaheite, and some islands near it. Yet this beauty is altogether sensual, and the last impression of the plastic climate is observable in the flattish noses of the otaheiteans.

3. The malays, arabs, chinese, japanese, and some others, are still later comers on many of these islands, and bear still clearer traces of their descent. In short, this group of islands may be considered as a repository of forms, variously modified according to the character they bore, the land they inhabit, the time of their residence, and the way of life they have enjoyed; so that the most striking differences are frequently found bordering, on each other. The new-hollanders that Dampier saw, and the inhabitants of Mallicollo, appear to be of the coarsest form; and the people of the New-Hebrides, New-Caledonia, New-Zealand, &c., rise gradually above these. The Ulysses of these regions, Reinhold Forster †, has given us such a learned and intelligent account of the species and varieties of the human race in them, that we cannot but wish we had similar materials for a *philosophico-physical geography* of other parts of the World, as foundations for a history of man. I now turn to the last and most difficult quarter of the Globe.

* *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, Vol. II, p. 258. *die Welt*, 'Remarks on his Voyage round the World,' Berlin, 1783, § 6.

† Forster's *Bemerkungen auf seiner Reise um*

CHAPTER VI.

Organization of the Americans.

No one is ignorant, that America extends through all the zones, and experiences not only the extremes of heat and cold, but the most sudden changes of weather; while at the same time its surface exhibits the loftiest and steepest mountains, with the most level and extensive plains. It is a matter of no less notoriety, that this longextended quarter of the Globe, deeply indented with large bays on the eastern side, has a chain of mountains stretching from north to south, whence both its climate and living productions have little similitude with those of the old world. Hence our attention is drawn to its people, as to the progeny of an opposite hemisphere.

On the other hand, it results from the very situation of America, that this extensive region, so widely separated from the rest of the world, could not have been peopled from many different points. The winds and seas cut off its connexion with Europe, Africa, and the southern parts of Asia; and there is no short passage to it from the old world, except on its north-western side. This, in a certain degree, diminishes the expectation, we may have been led to form, of a great diversity in it: for if the majority of its inhabitants, and they by whom it was first peopled, came from one and the same region, and gradually spread themselves, till at length they filled the whole country, probably with little intermixture of others; the make and disposition of its natives would display a certain uniformity, to which there would be few exceptions, in spite of the climate. And this the various accounts we have of North and South America confirm: for they tell us, that, notwithstanding the great variety of climates, and of nations who frequently endeavour to distinguish themselves from others by arts, that do the greatest violence to nature, the figure of the people in general bears a stamp of uniformity, not to be found even in Negroland. In America, therefore, the organization of the inhabitants is in some degree a simpler problem, than in any other more compound region; and for its solution it will be most advantageous, to begin with that side, where it is probable the passage into it took place.

The nations of America visited by Cook * were from the middle size to six feet high. Their complexion inclined to copper-colour, the form of their faces

* W. Ellis's Account of Cook's third Voyage, p. 114 and following.

to square; their cheek-bones were somewhat prominent, and they had little beard. Their hair was long and black, their limbs were strongly made, and only their feet misshapen. He who is well acquainted with the nations in the east of Asia, and the neighbouring islands, will observe the gradual transition, line for line. I do not draw this conclusion from a single nation, for probably many, even of various races, passed over: but they were orientals, as appears from their figure, and even their deformities; and especially from their ornaments and manners. Were the whole north-western coast of America, in which we now know but two or three ports, thoroughly explored; and had we as accurate delineations of the inhabitants, as Cook, for example, has given us of the chiefs of Oonalaska and other places; much more light would be thrown upon the subject. It would appear, whether the chinese and japanese have also passed over lower down on the extensive coast, of which we yet know so little, and what traditions of a civilized bearded nation are to be found there. The spaniards have indeed the best opportunity of making these discoveries from Mexico, if they shared with the two greatest maritime nations of Europe, the english and french, the honourable spirit of advancing science. In the mean time may Laxmann's visit to the northern coast, and the attempts of the english from Canada, procure us some new and valuable information.

It is singular, that so many accounts agree in representing the western nations of North America as the most civilized. The *affinipoels* are famed for their size, strength, and agility; the *christinaux* for their liveliness and loquacity*. We have little information, however, respecting these nations, and the shawanese in general, that can be deemed much better than fable: our more authentic accounts begin properly with the naudowessees. With these, the chippewaws, and the winnobages, Carver † has made us acquainted; with the cherokees, chickasaws, and muskegoes, Adair ‡; with the Five Nations, as they are called, Colden, Rogers, and Timberlake; with those to the north, the french missionaries: and, amid all their varieties, who is not impressed with the idea of one prevailing form, of one predominant character? This consists in that firm health and permanent strength, that proud savage love of liberty and war, which their mode of life and domestic economy, their education and government, their customs and occupations both in peace and war, equally tend to promote. A character, that stands alone on the Globe, both in its vices, and in its virtues.

If we ask, how this character was acquired; much, in my opinion, may be

* *Allg. Reif.* Vol. XVI, p. 646.

† Carver's Travels through the interior Parts of North America, 1776—8.

‡ Adair's History of the American Indians.

explained from their gradual migration from the north of Asia, and the general constitution of their new abode. They came over hardy, uncultivated nations, fashioned amid mountains and storms. When they had passed the coasts, and found a finer, extensive, open country before them, must not their character in time have moulded itself to the land? Between large lakes and rivers, in these woods, in these savannahs, other nations were formed, than on those raw and cold lands declining to the sea. As the lakes, mountains, and rivers divided, so did the nations: tribe waged inveterate war with tribe, and hence that hostile hatred of each to other became a predominant feature of nations, in other respects the most equanimous. Hence they became warlike, and addicted themselves to every local circumstance, that could increase their *magnanimity*. Their priests are the shamans, or magicians, of the north of Asia; their religion being the same, only dressed in an American garb. Their healthy air, the verdure of their fields and woods, and the invigorating waters of their lakes and rivers, have infused into them the spirit of liberty and property in this land. By what herds of wretched Russians have all the Siberian nations, even to Kamtschatka, suffered themselves to be subjugated! while these firmer savages have given ground, it is true, but never bowed their necks to the yoke.

As their character may be traced to this origin, so may their singular taste in ornamenting themselves. All the nations of America eradicate the beard: consequently they must have migrated from some region, where little beard was generated, the custom naturally springing from a wish to resemble their ancestors. The eastern part of Asia is such a region. Thus, in a climate capable of supplying this part with more nutritious juices, they held it in aversion: and this aversion they still retain; whence they begin its extirpation, as soon as it appears. The people in the north of Asia have round heads, while more to the east their figure inclines to a square: what then could be more natural, than the wish of the American nations, not to degenerate from the resemblance of their forefathers, and to mould their faces on this principle? Probably they dreaded the softer oval as an effeminate form, and thus endeavoured by force of art, to retain the compressed warlike countenances of their progenitors. The northern round-heads formed the head to a sphere, in conformity to the figure of the highest north: others formed it square, or compressed the head between the shoulders, that the new climate might effect no change either in their countenance or stature. No country, except the east of Asia, affords examples of such violent attempts at embellishment; and, as we have seen, probably for the same purpose, to preserve the appearance of the race in distant regions: it is even likely, that

they brought with them into America the taste for this mode of beautifying themselves.

Lastly, the red coppercolour of the americans is least of all capable of misleading us: for already in the east of Asia the complexion had become of a brown red, and it is probable, that the air of a different quarter of the Globe, the practice of inunction, and other circumstances, had heightened the colour. I much less wonder, that the negro is black, and the american red, after having dwelt for some thousands of years in such different climates, than I should if all the inhabitants of the Globe were fair, or brown. Even in the more coarsely organized brutes do we not see the solid parts themselves alter with change of climate? But which is most wonderful, an alteration of the limbs of the body in their general proportion and economy, or a little more or less colour in the membrane beneath the skin?

After this introduction, let us accompany the people of America downwards, and observe how the uniformity of their primitive character has been variously modified, yet never lost.

The most northern americans are described as small, yet strong: the interior parts are inhabited by the stoutest and handsomest tribes: they that are farther to the south, in the flat country of Florida, are inferior in strength and courage. It is remarkable, says George Forster *, that amid all the characteristic varieties of the several north-americans delineated in Cook's work, one general cast of countenance prevails through the whole, which was perfectly familiar to me, and which, if my memory do not deceive me, I observed even in the pesherays of Tierra del Fuego.

Of New Mexico we know little. The spaniards found the inhabitants of this country well-clothed, industrious, and neat, their lands cultivated with care, and their towns built with stone. Poor nation! what are you now, not having defended yourself like *los bravos gentes* [the brave fellows] on the mountains? The apaches proved themselves a brave active people, whom the spaniards were unable to subdue: and how advantageously does Pages † speak of the chahtaws, yataches, and tekaws!

Mexico is now a melancholy picture of what it was under its own kings. Scarcely a tenth part of its inhabitants remain ‡: and how is their character

* *Gotting. Magazin*, 1783, p. 929.

† Pages *Voyage autour du Monde*, 'Voyage round the World,' Paris, 1783, p. 17, 18, 26, 40, 52, 54, &c.

‡ *Storia antica del Messico*, 'Ancient History

of Mexico,' from which there is an extract in the *Gottingen Review*, *Ger. gelehrten Anzeigen*, for 1781, supplement. 35, 36; and there is another more copious in the *Kiel Magazine*, Vol. II. N° I, p. 38, &c.

changed by the most unjust of oppressions! I do not believe there exists on the face of the Earth a more deep, inveterate hatred, than the suffering american cherishes against his oppressors, the spaniards: for however highly Pages, for example *, extols the greater mildness the spaniards now display towards their slaves, he cannot avoid noticing in other places the dejection of these poor creatures, galled by the yoke, and the barbarity exercised towards those, who have maintained their freedom. The mexicans are described as of a deep olive complexion, with pleasing countenances, and wellmade; their eyes large, lively, and sparkling; their senses quick; and their limbs active: but their spirits are depressed by slavery.

In the centre of America, where every thing sinks beneath humid heat, and europeans lead the most miserable lives, the pliable nature of the americans maintains itself uninjured. Wafer †, who, having escaped from the buccaneers, resided some time among the savages on the continent, relates the friendly reception they gave him, and describes their persons and way of life in the following words. ‘The men were from five to six feet in height, big boned, broad chested, and well-proportioned. There was not a cripple or deformed person to be seen among them. Their joints are supple, they are active, and they run with great speed. Their eyes are gray and lively, their faces round, their lips thin, mouth small, and chin wellformed. Their hair is long and black, and they take great delight in combing it frequently. Their teeth are white and regular: and they paint and ornament themselves like the rest of the indians.’ Are these the people, that are represented to us as an enervated, unfinished race of men! these, who inhabit the most debilitating region of the isthmus!

Fermin, an accurate examiner of nature, describes the indians of Surinam as well-made, and as cleanly as any people on the face of the Earth ‡. ‘As soon as they rise in the morning, they bathe, and their wives anoint them with oil, to preserve their skin, and defend them from the stings of the moschettoes. They are of a cinnamon colour, inclining to red; though they are as fair as we when born. A crippled or ricketty person is not to be found among them. Their long coal-black hair does not turn gray till extreme old age. They have black eyes, sharp visages, little or no beard, plucking it out by the roots as fast as it appears. Their fine white teeth remain sound to the last: and even the women, delicate as they appear to be, enjoy almost uninterrupted health.’ Let a

* P. 88 and following.

† *Allg. Reis.* Vol. XV, p. 263. and following.

‡ Fermin's *Besch. von Surinam*, ‘Description of Surinam,’ Vol. I, p. 39, 41.

man read Bancroft's description * of the brave caribs, indolent worrows, serious accawaws, social arrowauks, &c., and, I am persuaded, he will find the notion of the feeble frame and worthless character of these indians, even in the most sultry climate in the World, a prejudice no longer tenable.

If we proceed southwards to the innumerable tribes of Brazil, what a number of nations, languages, and characters shall we find! yet described by ancient and modern travellers as greatly similar †. 'Their hair never grows gray,' says Lery, 'they are ever gay and active, as their fields are continually green.' The brave tapinamboes, to avoid the portuguese yoke, withdrew into the unexplored and impenetrable woods, as other warlike nations have done. Such of more docile dispositions, as the missionaries of Paraguay contrived to subject, have degenerated almost to childishness: but this was a natural consequence, and neither they, nor their valiant neighbours, can on this account be deemed the dregs of mankind ‡.

But we are approaching the throne of Nature, and of the most barbarous tyranny, the kingdom of Peru, rich in mines and misery. Here the poor indians are most severely oppressed; and their oppressors are monks, or europeans more effeminate than women. All the powers of these tender children of Nature, who once lived so happily under their incas, are now compressed into the single faculty of suffering and forbearing with silent hatred. 'At first sight,' says Pinto §, governor of Brazil, 'a south-american appears gentle and harmless: but on a closer inspection, something savage, mistrustful, gloomy, and repining, is discoverable in his countenance.' May not all this be accounted for by the fate of the people? They were gentle and harmless, when you visited them; and the unfashioned wildness of a well-disposed race should have received that improvement, of which it was capable. What otherwise can you now expect, than that, gloomy and mistrustful, they should cherish in their hearts the most profound, ineradicable discontent? They are bruised worms, that appear hateful to our eyes, in consequence of our having crushed them with our feet. The negro slave in Peru is a lordly creature, compared with the oppressed wretches, to whom the country of right belongs.

Yet it is not wholly taken from them, for happily the Cordilleras, and the wastes of Chili, are there, to bestow freedom on many valiant nations. Such,

* Bancroft's Essay on the Natural History of Guiana.

† Acunha, Gumilla, Lery, Marggraf, Condamine, &c.

‡ Dobritzhofer's *Gesch. der Abiponer*, 'His-

tory of the Abiponians,' Vienna, 1783. See the description of several nations in father Gumilla's *Oronoco ilustrado*, &c.

§ Robertson's History of America, Vol. I, p. 537.

for instance, are the unconquered maloches, puelches, and araucuans, and the patagonian tehuelhets, or the gigantic southern people, six feet high, big, and strong. 'Their persons are not disagreeable; they have round faces, somewhat flat; lively eyes; white teeth; and long black hair. I saw some,' says Commerfon *, 'with long but not very thick whiskers. Their skin is copper-coloured, as in most of the americans. They wander over the extensive plains of South America, with their wives and children, constantly on horseback, in pursuit of game.' Falkener and Vidaure † have given us the best accounts of these, and beyond them nothing remains but the cold barren verge of the land, Tierra del Fuego, and in it the pefherays, probably the lowest species of man ‡. Diminutive, ugly, and of an insupportable smell, they feed on shell-fish, wrap themselves in a seal's skin, freeze all the year in dismal winter, and, though they have plenty of wood, are destitute of solid houses, and strangers to the warmth of fire. Happy is it, that compassionate Nature has suffered the land toward the south pole to terminate here: had it extended farther, what wretched semblances of man must there have slumbered out their lives in benumbing frost!

These are some of the principal features of the nations of America; and what upon the whole may be inferred from them?

In the first place, that we should speak generally of the nations of a quarter of the Globe, which extends through all the different zones, as seldom as possible. Whoever says America is warm, healthy, wet, low, and fertile, says truly: and if another should say the reverse, he would equally speak truth, that is, with respect to different seasons and places. So is it with the american nations, for there are men of a whole hemisphere, and of each of the zones. At one extremity and the other are dwarfs, and close by the dwarfs are giants: in the midst inhabit nations of intermediate and more or less wellformed proportions, gentle and warlike, indolent and active, of all the various ways of life, and of every cast of character.

Secondly: there is nothing to prevent this branchy stock of mankind, with all its numerous ramifications, from having arisen from one single root, and consequently displaying an uniformity in its produce. And this is meant, when people speak of the prevailing figure and features of the Americans §. Ulloa

* *Journal encyclop.* 1772. Several testimonies are brought together in Zimmermann's *Gesch. der Menschheit*, 'History of Man,' Vol. I, p. 59, and Robertson's *History of America*, Vol. I, p. 540.

† Falkener's *Description of Patagonia*: Vi-

daure's *history of the kingdom of Chili*, in Ebeling's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. IV, p. 108.

‡ See Forster's *Voyage*, Vol. II; Cavendish; Bougainville; &c.

§ Robertson's *History of America*, Vol. I, p.

539.

observed particularly in the central parts the small forehead covered with hair, little eyes, thin hooked nose, broad face, large ears, handsome legs, diminutive feet, and corpulent bodies: and these characteristics extend beyond Mexico. Pinto adds, that the nose is somewhat flat; the eyes black or hazel, and piercing though small; the ears remote from the face*: all which are observable in the delineations of very distant people. This general physiognomy, in various states of improvement according to the country and climate, appears as a family likeness, distinguishable in those that differ most, and denotes a pretty uniform origin. Had people from all quarters of the Globe arrived in America at very distant periods, the diversity of the human species must have been greater here, whether they had intermixed with each other or not. Blue eyes and light hair are not to be found throughout the whole country; the blue-eyed ceffares of Chili, and the acanfas of Florida, have disappeared in modern times.

Thirdly: if, after this form, we were to ascribe to the americans a leading or common character, it would be goodness of heart, and infantile innocence: a character, which their ancient establishments, their habits, their few arts, and above all their conduct towards the europeans, confirm. Sprung from a savage land, and unsupported by any assistance from the civilized world, all the progress they made was their own; and in their feeble beginnings of cultivation they exhibit a very instructive picture of man.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion.

FOR a magic wand, which, at once transforming into faithful pictures all the vague verbal descriptions † that have hitherto been given, might present man with a gallery of figures of his fellow-creatures! But we are yet far from the accomplishment of such an anthropological wish. For centuries the Earth has been traversed with the sword and the cross, by toymen and brandy-merchants: no one thought of the peaceful pencil, and it has scarcely entered the minds of any of the numerous herd of travellers, that words do not paint forms, particularly that, which is of all the most delicate, most various, and ever changing. For a long time men fought after the wonderful and dealt in fiction: then they occasionally idealized, even when they gave figures; without consider-

* Robertson's History of America, Vol. I, p. 537.

† He who wishes for farther accounts of particular features will find them in Buffon's

natural History, Vol. VI, Mart. ed.; and in Blumenbach's learned work *de Varietate Generis humani*, 'On the Varieties of the human Species.'

ing, that no faithful zoologist idealizes, when he delineates foreign animals. And is human nature alone unworthy of that accurate attention, with which plants and animals are drawn? Yet, as in modern days the laudable spirit of observation has begun to be excited towards the human species, and we have delineations of some nations, though but few, with which those of de Bry, or le Brun, not to mention the missionaries, will bear no comparison *; it would be a valuable present to the world, if any one, who has sufficient abilities, would collect such scattered delineations of the varieties of our species as are authentic, and thus lay the foundations of a perspicuous *natural philosophy and physiognomy of man*. Art could not easily be employed in a more philosophical pursuit: and an anthropologic map of the Earth, similar to the zoological one sketched by Zimmermann, in which nothing should be noticed except real varieties of man, but these in all their appearances and relations, would crown the philanthropic work.

* Not that I undervalue the attempts of these gentlemen: but to me le Brun's figures have much of a french air; and those of de Bry, which have been badly copied into most subsequent publications, do not appear to be authentic. Hodges, too, according to Forster, has idealized his otaheiteans †. Yet it is highly to be wished, that, after the commencements we have, the accurate and natural-historic manner of delineating the human species may be ex-

tended uninterruptedly to all the regions of the Globe. Niebuhr, Parkinson, Cook, Hæst, Georgi, Marion, and some others, I reckon among these beginners: Cook's last Voyage, if we may trust what Fame says of it's engravings, commences a new and higher period, the continuation of which in other parts of the world I ardently desire, and that they may be rendered of more general utility and more extensively known.

† But still greater deviations may be suspected, to have been committed by the artist, who attended Cook's last voyage. Either he, or the engraver, to whose favourite tool the department of antarctic forms was entrusted, seems to have sacrificed the realities before their eyes, to a faint reminiscence and stale repetition of Cipriani-Beauties. F.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK VII.

THE picture of nations hitherto sketched must be considered only as the foreground, serving as a basis to farther observations: while it's groups answer the purpose of the *templa* of the augurs in the skies, forming definite spaces for our contemplation, and aids to our memory. Let us see what they afford towards a philosophy of our species.

CHAPTER I.

Notwithstanding the Varieties of the human Form, there is but one and the same Species of Man throughout the Whole of our Earth.

NO two leaves of any one tree in nature are to be found perfectly alike; and still less do two human faces, or human frames, resemble each other. Of what endless variety is our artful structure susceptible! Our solids are decomposable into such minute and multifariously interwoven fibres, as no eye can trace; and these are connected by a gluten of such a delicate composition, as the utmost skill is insufficient to analyse. Yet these constitute the least part of us: they are nothing more than the containing vessels and conduits of the variously compounded, highly animated fluid, existing in much greater quantity, by means of which we live and enjoy life. 'No man,' says Haller *, 'is exactly similar to another in his internal structure: the courses of the nerves and bloodvessels differ in millions and millions of cases, so that amid the variations of these delicate parts, we are scarcely able to discover in what they agree.' But if the eye of the anatomist can perceive this infinite variety, how much greater must that be, which dwells in the invisible powers of such an artful organization! so that every man is ultimately a world, in external appearance indeed similar to others, but internally an individual being, with whom no other coincides.

* Preface to Buffon's Nat. Hist. Vol. III.

And since man is no independent substance, but is connected with all the elements of nature; living by inspiration of the air, and deriving nutriment from the most opposite productions of the Earth, in his meats and drinks; consuming fire, while he absorbs light, and contaminates the air he breathes; awake or asleep, in motion or at rest, contributing to the change of the universe; shall not he also be changed by it? It is far too little, to compare him to the absorbing sponge, the sparkling tinder: he is a multitudinous harmony, a living self, on whom the harmony of all the powers that surround him operates.

The whole course of a man's life is change: the different periods of his life are tales of transformation, and the whole species is one continued metamorphosis. Flowers drop and wither; others sprout out and bud: the vast tree bears at once all the seasons on its head. If, from a calculation of the insensible perspiration alone, a man of eighty have renovated his whole body at least four and twenty times*; who can trace the variations of matter and its forms through all the race of mankind upon the Earth, amid all the causes of change; when not one point on our complicated Globe, not one wave in the current of time, resembles another? A few centuries only have elapsed since the inhabitants of Germany were patagonians: but they are so no longer, and the inhabitants of its future climates will not equal us. If now we go back to those times, when every thing upon Earth was apparently so different; the times for instance, when elephants lived in Siberia and North-America, and those large animals existed, the bones of which are to be found on the Ohio; if men then lived in those regions, how different must they have been from those, who now inhabit them! Thus the history of man is ultimately a theatre of transformations, which He alone can review, who animates all these figures, and feels and enjoys in them all. He builds up and destroys, improves and alters forms, while he changes the World around them. The wanderer upon Earth, the transient ephemeron, can only admire the wonders of this great spirit in a narrow circle, enjoy the form that belongs to him in the general choir, adore, and disappear with this form. 'I too was in Arcadia:' is the monumental inscription of all living beings in the ever-changing, ever-renewing creation.

As the human intellect, however, seeks unity in every kind of variety, and the divine mind, its prototype, has stamped the most innumerable multiplicity upon the Earth with unity, we may venture from the vast realm of change to revert to the simplest position: *all mankind are only one and the same species.* /

* According to Bernoulli: see Haller's *Physiolog.* Vol. VIII, L. 30, where will be found a multitude of observations on the changes of human life.

How many ancient fables of human monsters and prodigies have already disappeared before the light of history! and where tradition still repeats remnants of these, I am fully convinced, more accurate inquiry will explain them into more beautiful truths. We are now acquainted with the ourang-outang, and know, that he has no claim to speech, or to be considered as man: and when we have a more exact account of the ourang-kubub, and ourang-guhu, the tailed savages of the woods in Borneo, Sumatra, and the Nicobar islands will vanish*. The men with reverted feet in Malacca †, the probably ricketty nation of dwarfs in Madagascar, the men habited like women in Florida, and some others, deserve such an investigation as has already been bestowed on the albinos, the dondoes, the patagonians, and the aprons of the hottentot females ‡. Men, who succeed in removing wants from the creation, falsehoods from our memory, and disgraces from our nature, are to the realms of truth, what the heroes of mythology were to the primitive world; they lessen the number of monsters on the Earth.

I could wish, too, that the affinity of man to the ape had never been urged so far, as to overlook, while seeking a scale of Being, the actual steps and intervals, without which no scale can exist. What for example can the ricketty ourang-outang explain in the figure of the kamtschadale, the little pigmy in the size of the greenlander, or the pongo in the patagonian? for all these forms would have arisen from the nature of man, had there been no such thing as an ape upon the Earth. And if men proceed still farther, and deduce certain deformities of our species from an intermixture with apes, the conjecture, in my opinion, is not less improbable than degrading. Most of these apparent resemblances of the ape exist in countries where no apes are to be found; as the reclining skulls of the calmuks and mallicollese, the prominent ears of the pevas and amicuans, the small hands of some savages in Carolina, and other instances, testify. Even these appearances, as soon as we have surmounted the illusion of the first view, have so little of the ape, that the calmuks and the negro remain completely men, even in the form of the head, and the mallicollese dis-

* Even Mariden mentions these in his history of Sumatra, but only from hearsay. Monbodo, in his work on the Origin and Progress of Language, Vol. I, p. 219 and following, has collected all the traditions respecting men with tails he could find. Professor Blumenbach, *De Generis humani Varietate*, 'On the Varieties of the human Species,' has shown from what sources the delineations of tailed men of the woods have been derived.

† Sonnerat also, in his *Voyage aux Indes*, 'Voyage to India,' Vol. II, p. 103, speaks of these, but from report merely. Commerçon has revived the story of dwarfs in Madagascar after Flaucourt; but later travellers have rejected it. On the hermaphrodites of Florida see Heyne's critical essay in the *Comment. Societ. Reg. Gætting.*, 'Memoirs of the Royal Society of Göttingen,' for the year 1778, p. 993.

‡ See Sparmann's *Voyage*, p. 177.

plays capacities, that many other nations do not possess. In fact, apes and men never were one and the same genus, and I wished to rectify the slight remains of the old fable, that in some place or other upon the Earth they lived in community, and enjoyed no barren intercourse *. For each genus Nature has done enough, and to each has given it's proper progeny. The ape she has divided into as many species and varieties as possible, and extended these as far as she could : but thou, O man, honour thyself : neither the pongo nor the gibbon is thy brother : the american and the negro are : these therefore thou shouldst not oppress, or murder, or steal ; for they are men, like thee : with the ape thou canst not enter into fraternity.

Lastly, I could wish the distinctions between the human species, that have been made from a laudable zeal for discriminating science, not carried beyond due bounds. Some for instance have thought fit, to employ the term of *races* for four or five divisions, originally made in consequence of country or complexion : but I see no reason for this appellation. Race refers to a difference of origin, which in this case does not exist, or in each of these countries, and under each of these complexions, comprises the most different races. For every nation is one people, having it's own national form, as well as it's own language : the climate, it is true, stamps on each it's mark, or spreads over it a slight veil, but not sufficient to destroy the original national character. This originality of character extends even to families, and it's transitions are as variable as imperceptible. In short, there are neither four or five races, nor exclusive varieties, on this Earth. Complexions run into each other : forms follow the genetic character : and upon the whole, all are at last but shades of the same great picture, extending through all ages, and over all parts of the Earth. They belong not, therefore, so properly to systematic natural history, as to the physico-geographical history of man.

* In the *Aufsaugen aus dem Tagebuch eines neuen Reisenden nach Asien*, 'Extracts from the Journal of a late Traveller in Asia,' Leipzig, 1784, p. 256, this is asserted anew, still only from report.

CHAPTER II.

The one Species of Man has naturalized itself in every Climate upon Earth.

OBSERVE you locusts of the Earth, the kalmuc and mungal : they are fitted for no region but their own hills and mountains *. The light rider flies on his little horse over immense tracts of the desert ; he knows how to invigorate his fainting courser, and by opening a vein in his neck, to restore his own powers, when *He* sinks with fatigue. No rain falls on many parts of these regions, which are refreshed solely by the dew, while inexhaustible fertility clothes the earth with continually renovated verdure. Throughout many extensive tracts no tree is to be seen, no spring of fresh water to be discovered. Here these wild tribes, yet preserving good order among themselves, wander about among the luxuriant grass, and pasture their herds : the horses, their associates, know their voices, and live like them in peace. With thoughtless indifference sits the indolent kalmuc, contemplating the undisturbed serenity of his sky, while his ear catches every sound, that pervades the desert his eye is unable to scan. In every other region of the Earth the mungal has either degenerated or improved : in his own country he is what he was thousands of years ago, and such will he continue, as long as it remains unaltered by Nature or by art.

The arab of the desert † belongs to it, as much as his noble horse, and his patient, indefatigable camel. As the mungal wanders over his heights, and among his hills, so wanders the better-formed bedouin over his extensive asiatic-african deserts ; also a nomade, but a nomade of *his own* region. With this his simple clothing, his maxims of life, his manners, and his character, are in unison ; and, after the lapse of thousands of years, his tent still preserves the wisdom of his forefathers. A lover of liberty, he despises wealth and pleasure, is fleet in the course, a dextrous manager of his horse, of whom he is as careful as of himself, and equally dextrous in handling the javelin. His figure is lean and muscular ; his complexion brown ; his bones strong. He is indefatigable in supporting labour, bold and enterprising, faithful to his word, hospitable and

* For particular regions see Pallas and others already quoted. The account given by G. Opitz of his life and imprisonment among a kalmuc horde at Yaik would be a very descriptive picture of their mode of living, if it were

not embellished with so many of the editor's remarks, which give it an air of romance.

† Beside the many ancient travels in Arabia see those of Pages, Vol. II, p. 62—87.

magnanimous, and, connected with his fellows by the desert, he makes one common cause with all. From the dangers of his mode of life he has imbibed wariness and shy mistrust; from his solitary abode, the feelings of revenge, friendship, enthusiasm, and pride. Wherever an arab is found, on the Nile or the Euphrates, on Libanus or in Senegal, nay even in Zanguebar or the islands of the indian ocean, if a foreign climate have not by length of time changed him into a colonist, he will display his original arabian character.

The californian, on the verge of the earth, in his barren country, exposed as he is to want, and amid the vicissitudes of his climate, complains not of heat or cold, eludes the force of hunger, though with the utmost difficulty, and enjoys happiness in his native land. 'God alone can tell,' says a missionary*, how many thousand miles a californian, that has attained the age of eighty, must have wandered over before he finds a grave. Many of them change their quarters perhaps a hundred times in a year, sleeping scarcely three nights together on the same spot, or in the same region. They lie down wherever night overtakes them, without paying the least regard to the filthiness of the soil, or endeavouring to secure themselves from noxious vermin. Their dark brown skin serves them instead of coat and cloak. Their furniture consists of a bow and arrows, a stone for a knife, a bone or sharp stake to dig up roots, the shell of a tortoise for a cradle, a gut or a bladder to carry water, and, if they be peculiarly fortunate, a pouch made of the fibres of the aloe, somewhat in the fashion of a net, to contain their utensils and provision. They feed on roots, and all sorts of small seeds, even those of grass, which they collect with great labour; nay, when pressed by want, they pick them out of their own dung. Every thing that can be called flesh, or barely resembles it, even to bats, grubs, and worms, is to be reckoned among the dainties, on which they feast; and the leaves of certain shrubs, with their young shoots, leather, and spongy bones, are not excluded from their list of provision, when urged by hunger. Yet these poor creatures are healthy: they live to a great age, and are strong; so that it is uncommon to see a man grayheaded, and never but at a late period. They are always cheerful; for ever jesting and laughing; well made, straight, and active; they can lift stones and other things from the ground with their two foremost toes; they walk as erect as a dart to the extreme of old age; and the children go alone before they are a year old. When weary of talking, they lie down and sleep, till awakened by hunger, or the desire of eating: and as soon as they are awake, the

* *Nachrichten von Kalifornien*, 'Account of California,' Mannheim, 1773.

laugh, the talk, and the jest, recommence. Thus they go on, till worn out by old age, when they meet death with calm indifference. The inhabitant of Europe,' continues the missionary, 'may envy the happiness of the Californian: but for this the native of California is indebted solely to his perfect indifference whether he possess much or little in this world, and his absolute resignation to the will of God in all the occurrences of life.'

In this manner I might go on, and exhibit climatic pictures of several nations, inhabiting the most different regions, from Kamtschatka to Tierra del Fuego: but why should I give these brief sketches, since every traveller, who sees with accuracy, or feels as a man, gives the shade of the climate to every little stroke of his delineations? In India, the grand resort of commercial nations, the Arab and the Chinese, the Turk and the Persian, the Christian and the Jew, the Negro and the Malay, the Japanese and the Gentoos, are clearly distinguishable*: thus every one bears the characters of his country and way of life on the most distant shores. The ancient allegorical tradition says, that Adam was formed out of the dust of all the four quarters of the Globe, and animated by the powers and spirits of the whole Earth. Wherever his children have bent their course, and fixed their abode, in the lapse of ages, there they have taken root as trees, and produced leaves and fruit adapted to the climate. Hence let us deduce a few consequences, which seem to explain to us many things, that might otherwise be deemed striking singularities in the history of man.

In the first place it is obvious why all sensual people, fashioned to their country, are so much attached to the soil, and so inseparable from it. The constitution of their body, their way of life, the pleasures and occupations to which they have been accustomed from their infancy, and the whole circle of their ideas, are climatic. Deprive them of their country, you deprive them of every thing

'It has been remarked,' says Cranz †, 'of the six Greenlanders, who were brought over to Denmark, that, notwithstanding all the friendly treatment they received, and the abundance of stockfish and train-oil, with which they were supplied, their eyes were often turned toward the north and their native country, with melancholy looks and piteous sighs; and at length they attempted to make their escape in their canoe. A strong gale having driven them on the coast of Scania, they were brought back to Copenhagen, when two of them died of grief. Two of the others again ran away, and only one of them was retaken,

* See Mackintosh's Travels, Vol. II, p. 27.

† *Gesch. von Grönland*, 'History of Greenland,' p. 355.

who wept bitterly whenever he saw a child in it's mother's arms; whence it was inferred, that he had a wife and children, for no one was able to converse with him, or prepare him for baptism. The last two lived ten or twelve years in Denmark, and were employed in the pearl-fishery at Coldingen, but were so hard-worked in winter, that one of them died. The other, again attempting to escape, was retaken thirty or forty leagues from land, when he too died of grief.'

No words can express the sorrow and despair of a bought or stolen negro-slave, when he leaves his native shore, never more to behold it while he has breath. 'Great care must be taken,' says Rœmer *, 'that the slaves do not get hold of a knife, either in the fort, or aboard the ship. To keep them in good humour on their passage to the West Indies requires the utmost exertion. For this purpose violins are provided, with fifes and drums; they are permitted to dance; and they are assured, that they are going to a pleasant country, where they may have as many wives as they please, and plenty of good food. Yet many deplorable instances have been known of their falling upon the crew, murdering them, and letting the ship drive ashore.' But how many more deplorable instances have been known of these poor stolen wretches destroying themselves in despair! Sparmann informs us †, from the mouth of a slave-dealer, that at night they are seized with a kind of frenzy, which prompts them to commit murder, either on themselves or others; 'for the painful recollection of the irreparable loss of their country and their freedom commonly awakes by night, when the bustle of the day ceases to engage their attention.' And what right have you, monsters! even to approach the country of these unfortunates, much less to tear them from it by stealth, fraud, and cruelty? For ages this quarter of the Globe has been theirs, and they belong to it: their forefathers purchased it at a dear rate, at the price of the negro form and complexion. In fashioning them the african sun has adopted them as it's children, and impressed on them it's own seal: wherever you convey them, this brands you as robbers, as stealers of men.

Secondly. Thus the wars of savages for their country, or on account of it's children, their brethren, torn from it, or degraded and oppressed, are extremely cruel. Hence, for instance, the lasting hatred of the natives of America toward europeans, even when these behave to them with tendernefs: they cannot suppress the feeling: 'this land is ours; you have no business here.' Hence the

* Rœmer's *Nachrichten von der Kueste Guinea*,
'Account of the Coast of Guinea,' p. 279.

† Sparmann's *Voyages*, p. 73. This humane

traveller has interspersed through his work
many melancholy accounts of the capture and
treatment of slaves, p. 195, 612, &c.

treachery of all savages, as they are called, even when they appear altogether satisfied with the courtesy of european visitors. The moment their hereditary national feelings awake, the flame they have long with difficulty smothered breaks out, rages with violence, and frequently is not appeased, till the flesh of the stranger has been torn by the teeth of the native. To us this seems horrible; and it is so, no doubt: yet the europeans first urged them to this misdeed: for why did they visit their country? why did they enter it as despots, arbitrarily practising violence and extortion*? For ages it had been to it's inhabitants the universe: they had inherited it from their fathers, and from them too they had inherited the barbarous practice of destroying in the most savage manner all, who would deprive them of their territory, tear them from it, or encroach upon their rights. Thus to them an enemy and a stranger are the same: they resemble the *muscipula*, which, rooted to it's soil, attacks every insect that approaches it: the right of devouring an unbidden or unfriendly guest is the tribute they exact; as *cyclopi* a tribute as any in Europe.

Lastly, I cannot pass over those joyful scenes, when a stolen son of nature revisits his paternal shores, and is restored to the bosom of his country. When the worthy soley priest, Job Ben Solomon †, returned to Africa, every soley embraced him with brotherly affection, 'he being the second of their countrymen, that had ever returned from slavery.' How ardently had he longed for this! How little was his heart satisfied with all the tokens of friendship and respect he received in England, which, as an enlightened, good-hearted man, he gratefully acknowledged! He was never at ease, till he was certain of the ship, that was to carry him home. This longing depends not on the state or advantages of a man's native land. The hottentot Coree threw away all his european accoutrements, useful as they might be, to share again the hardships of his countrymen ‡. Instances might be cited from almost every climate, and the most inhospitable countries have the strongest attractions for their natives. Even the difficulties surmounted, to which body and mind are formed from infancy, impart to the natives that love of country and climate, which the inhabitants of fertile and populous plains feel much less, and to which the citizen of an european metropolis is almost a stranger. It is time, however, to investigate the term climate

* See the editor's remarks on the unfortunate Marion's *Voyage à la Mer du Sud*, 'Voyage to the South Sea:' also R. Forster's preface to the *Journal of Cook's last Voyage*, Berlin, 1781, and the accounts of the conduct of the europeans.

† *Allg. Reisen*, Vol. III, p. 127 and following.

‡ *Ib.* Vol. V, p. 145. For other examples see Rousseau, in the notes to his *Discourse on the Inequality of Men*.

more narrowly; and while some build so much upon it, in the philosophy of the history of man, and others almost deny it's influence altogether, I shall venture on nothing more than problems.

CHAPTER III.

What is Climate? and what Effect has it in forming the Body and Mind of Man?

THE two most fixed points of our Globe are the poles: without these it could not revolve, nay probably could not be a globe. If we knew the genesis of the poles, and the laws and effects of the magnetism of our Earth on the various bodies it contains, should we not have found the warp, which Nature, in the formation of beings, afterwards variously interwove with other superiour powers? But, notwithstanding the many and fine experiments that have been made, as we yet know little of it on the whole*, we are still in the dark with respect to the basis of all climates from the polar regions. At some period, perhaps, the magnet will render us the same service in the sphere of physical powers, as it has already full as unexpectedly on sea and land.

The revolution of our Globe about it's own axis, and round the Sun, affords us a nearer indication of climates; but here too the application of even generally admitted laws is difficult and deceptive. The zones of the ancients have not been confirmed by our later knowledge of foreign parts, as, physically considered, they were founded on ignorance of them. It is the same with our calculations of heat and cold from the quantity and angle of the solar beams. As a mathematical problem, the effect of these has been industriously calculated with the greatest accuracy; but the mathematician himself would deem it an abuse of his rule, if the philosopher, in writing the history of climates, should build conclusions on it, without admitting exceptions †. In one place the proximity of the sea, in another the wind, here the height of the land, there it's depth, in a fifth place the vicinity of mountains, in a sixth rain or mist, gives such a particular local qualification to the general law, that we frequently find the most opposite climates in places bordering upon each other. Beside this, it is evident from modern experiments, that every living being has it's own mode of receiv-

* See Brugmann *Ueber den Magnetismus*, On Magnetism, propositions 24—31.

† See Kästner's elucidation of Halley's Me-

thod of calculating heat, in the *Hamburg Magazine*, p. 429 and following.

ing and evolving heat; nay, that the more elaborate the organization of a creature, and the more active the vital power it exerts, the greater capacity it possesses of generating relative heat and cold *. The old position, that man can live only in a climate, the heat of which does not exceed that of the blood, has been confuted by experience: on the other hand, the modern systems of the origin and effect of animal heat are far from having attained sufficient perfection, for us in any wise to think of a climatology of the human frame merely, not to mention the faculties of the mind, and their arbitrary application. Every one indeed knows, that heat extends and relaxes the fibres, attenuates the fluids, and promotes perspiration; and that thus it is capable in time of rendering the solids light and spongy, &c. This law remains incontestible on the whole †; and in consequence, from it and its antagonist, cold, many physical phenomena have been already explained ‡: but general inferences from this principle, or from a part of it, as relaxation or perspiration for instance, to whole nations and countries, nay to the most delicate functions of the human mind, and the most accidental ordinances of society, are all in some measure hypothetical; and this the more, in proportion as the head that considers and arranges them is acute and systematic. They are contradicted almost step by step, by examples from history, or even by physiological principles; because too many powers, partly opposite to each other, act in conjunction. It has even been objected to the great Montesquieu, that he has erected his climatic spirit of laws on the fallacious experiment of a sheep's tongue. It is true, we are ductile clay in the hand of Climate; but her fingers mould so variously, and the laws, that counteract them, are so numerous, that perhaps the genius of mankind alone is capable of combining the relations of all these powers in one whole.

Heat and cold are not the sole principles of the atmosphere, that act upon us; for it appears from late observations, to be a magazine of other powers, which combine with us to our detriment or advantage. In it operates the stream of electric fire; a powerful substance, of the influence of which on the animal machine we yet know little: and we are fully as ignorant how it is received into the human body, and what changes it undergoes in it. We live by the inspiration of air: yet its balsam, our vital aliment, is a mystery to us. If

* Crell's *Versuche ueber das Vermögen der Pflanzen und Thiere Wärme zu erzeugen und zu vernichten*, 'Experiments on the Capacities of Plants and Animals to generate and destroy Heat,' Helmstadt, 1778: Crawford's *Experiments on the Power of Animals to produce*

Cold, *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LXXI, Part II, Art. 31.

† See the Pathology of Gaubius, Chap. V, X, &c.

‡ See Montesquieu, Castillon, Falconer, not to mention a number of less important tracts.

now we add the various and almost innumerable local modifications of it's component parts, from the effluvia of different substances; if we recollect the frequent instances of extraordinary, often terrible, and for ages inextinguishable diseases, that have arisen from an invisible malignant seed, to which the physician is unable to give any other name than that of miasma; if we reflect on the secret poison, that has brought us the smallpox, the plague, syphilis, and many other disorders, which in the course of time have disappeared; and consider how little we know, not of the *harmattan* and *smoom*, the *sirocco* and north-east wind of Tatar, but of the constitution and effects of our own winds: how many introductory labours shall we perceive to be wanting, ere we arrive at a physiologico-pathology, to say nothing of a climatology, of all the sensitive and cognitive faculties of man! In the mean time, every judicious attempt deserves it's laurels, and posterity will have many honourable ones, to bestow on the present times*.

Lastly, the elevation or depression of a region, it's nature and products, the food and drink men enjoy in it, the mode of life they pursue, the labours in which they are employed, their clothing, even their ordinary attitudes, their arts and pleasures, with a multitude of other circumstances, which considerably influence their lives, all belong to the picture of changeable climate. What human hand can reduce this chaos of causes and effects to a world of order, in which every individual thing, and every individual region, shall enjoy it's rights, and no one receive too much or too little? The best and only thing we can do is, to examine particular regions climatically, after the manner of Hippocrates †, with his sagacious simplicity, and then slowly, slowly deduce general inferences. The natural historian and physician are here the pupils of Nature, and the teachers of the philosopher. To them we and posterity also are already indebted for several materials, collected in different regions, toward a general doctrine of climates and their effects upon man.—But here we must content ourselves with general remarks, as we cannot descend to particular observations.

1. *As our Earth is a globe, and the firm land a mountain raised above the sea, a climatic community, affecting the life of every thing living, is promoted on it by various causes.* Not only is the climate of every region periodically changed by the alternation of day and night, and the revolution of the seasons; but the

* See Gmelin *ueber die neuern Entdeckungen in der Lehre von der Luft*, 'on the modern Discoveries in Aerology,' Berlin, 1784.

† See Hippocrates *de Aere, Locis, et Aquis*, particularly the second part of the treatise. He is my principal author on the subject of climate.

jarring of the elements, the mutual action of sea and land upon each other, the situation of mountains and plains, the periodical winds, that arise from the motion of the Globe, the changes of the season, the appearance and disappearance of the Sun, and many less important causes, maintain this salutiferous union of the elements, without which every thing would stagnate in drowsiness and corruption. We are surrounded by an atmosphere; we live in an electric ocean: but both, and probably the magnetic fluid with them, are in continual motion. The sea emits vapours; the mountains attract them, and send them down in rain and streams on every side. Thus winds relieve each other: thus years, or periods of years, fulfil their climatic days. Thus different regions and ages follow one another; and every thing on our Globe combines in one general connexion. Had the Earth been flat, or angular, as the Chinese have dreamed, its corners might have produced climatic monsters, incompatible with its present regular structure, and diffusive movement. The Hours dance in a circle round the throne of Jove, and what is formed under their feet is only an imperfect perfection, because all originates from the union of things various in kind: but from an internal love and conjunction with one another, the children of Nature, sensible Regularity and Beauty, are every where produced.

2. *The habitable land of our Earth is accumulated in regions, where most living beings act in the mode best adapted to them; and this situation of the quarters of the Globe influences all its climates.* Why does the cold in the southern hemisphere commence so near the line? The natural philosopher answers, 'because there is so little land, so that the cold winds and ice of the south pole extend themselves to a great distance.' Thus we perceive what would have been our fate, had the whole of our firm land been scattered about in islands. Now three quarters of the Globe, lying in contact, warm each other: the fourth, being remote from them, is on this account colder; and in the South Sea, a very little beyond the line, degeneracy and deformity begin with the deficiency of the land. Fewer species of the more perfect animals also dwell there. The southern hemisphere was made the grand reservoir of water for our Globe, that the northern might enjoy a better climate. Thus, whether we consider the World geographically, or climatically, we find Nature intended mankind to be neighbourly beings, dwelling together, and imparting to each other climatic warmth, and other benefits, as well as the plague, diseases, and climatic vices.

3. *By the formation of the land on the frame of the mountains, not only were its climates infinitely diversified for the great variety of living beings, but the degeneration of the human species was provided against as much as possible.* Mountains were necessary to the Earth: but we find mongals and tibetians only on one ridge of

them; the lofty Cordilleras, and many others their fellows, are uninhabitable. Barren deserts, also, are rare, from the mountainous structure of the Earth: for the mountains rise as conductors of the clouds, and pour out from their horns of plenty fertilizing streams. The barren shore, the bleak or marshy border of the sea, is every where more recently formed land; and consequently men have taken possession of it later, and when their powers were already improved. The vale of Quito was inhabited unquestionably before Tierra del Fuego; Cashmire, sooner than New Holland or Nova Zembla. The middle and broadest part of the earth, the land of the finest climate between sea and mountains, was the nursery of our species, and is even now the most fully peopled part of the Globe.

There is no question, but, as climate is a compound of powers and influences, to which both plants and animals contribute, and which every thing that has breath promotes in its reciprocating mutations, so man is placed in it as a sovereign of the Earth, to alter it by art. Since he stole fire from Heaven, and rendered steel obedient to his hand; since he has made not only beasts, but his fellow men also, subservient to his will, and trained both them and plants to his purposes; he has contributed to the alteration of climate in various ways. Once Europe was a dank forest; and other regions, at present well cultivated, were the same. They are now exposed to the rays of the Sun; and the inhabitants themselves have changed with the climate. The face of Egypt would have been nothing more than the slime of the Nile, but for the art and policy of man. He has gained it from the flood; and both there, and in farther Asia, the living creation has adapted itself to the artificial climate. We may consider mankind, therefore, as a band of bold though diminutive giants, gradually descending from the mountains, to subjugate the earth, and change climates with their feeble arms. How far they are capable of going in this respect futurity will show.

4. Finally, if it be allowable to speak in general terms on a subject, which rests so completely on particular cases, local or historical, I will insert, with a little variation, some cautions, that Bacon gives with respect to the history of revolutions*. The action of climate extends itself indeed to bodies of all kinds, but chiefly to the more delicate, to fluids, the air, and the ether. It operates rather on the mass, than on the individual: yet on this, through that. It is not confined to points of time, but prevails through long periods: though it is often late before it becomes obvious, and then perhaps is rendered so by slight circumstances. Lastly, climate does not force, but incline: it gives the imper-

* *Baco de Augm. Scient. l. 3.*

ceptible disposition, which strikes us indeed in the general view of the life and manners of indigenous nations, but is very difficult to be delineated distinctly. Sometime possibly a traveller may be found, who will pursue without prejudice or exaggeration the *spirit of climate*. At present our duty is rather to note the living powers, for which each climate is formed; and which, by their existence, induce in it various changes and modifications.

CHAPTER IV.

The genetic Power is the Mother of all the Forms upon Earth, Climate acting merely as an Auxiliary or Antagonist.

How must the man have been astonished, who first saw the wonders of the creation of a living being *! Globules, with fluids shooting between them, become a living point; and from this point an animal forms itself. The heart soon becomes visible, and, weak and imperfect as it is, begins to beat: the blood, which existed before the heart, begins to redden: soon the head appears: soon eyes, a mouth, the senses, and limbs, display themselves. Still there is no breast, yet there is motion in the internal parts: there are no bowels, yet the animal opens its mouth. The little brain is not yet inclosed in the head; or the heart, in the breast: the ribs and bones are like a spider's web: but quickly the wings, feet, toes, hips, appear, and the living creature receives more nourishment. What was naked becomes covered: the breast and head close: the stomach and bowels are still pendulous. These also at length assume their proper form, as more matter is furnished: the integuments contract and ascend: the belly closes: the animal is formed. It now swims no longer, but assumes a recumbent posture: it wakes and sleeps by turns: it moves, it rests, it cries, it seeks an exit, and comes complete in all its parts into the light of day. What would he who saw this wonder for the first time call it? There, he would say, is a *living organic power*: I know not whence it came, or what it intrinsically is: but that it is there, that it lives, that it has acquired itself organic parts out of the chaos of homogeneal matter, I see: this is incontestible.

If he observed farther, and saw, that each of these organic parts was fashioned as it were *in actu*, in its own operation: the heart formed itself no otherwise than by a confluence of the channels, that existed before it; as soon as the stomach was perceptible, matter to be digested was in it. It was the same with

* See Harvey *de Generat. Animal.*, Wolf's *Theor. Generat.*, &c.

the arteries and all the vessels: the contents existed before what was to contain them, the fluids before the solids, the spirit before the body, in which it is merely clothed. If he observed this*, would he not say, that the invisible power did not fashion arbitrarily, but only *reveal* itself as it were according to its internal nature? It becomes visible in a mass appertaining to it, and must have *the prototype of its appearance in itself*, whence or wherever it may be. The new creature is nothing but the realization of an idea of creative Nature, who never thinks inactively.

If he go farther and observe, that this creation is promoted by maternal or solar warmth; but that the egg will produce no living fruit, notwithstanding the presence of the necessary warmth and materials, unless quickened by the father: what would he suppose, but that the principle of heat may indeed have some affinity to the principle of life, which it promotes, yet that the cause, which sets this organic power in action, to give the dead chaos of matter a living form, must actually lie in the union of two living beings? Thus we, thus all living creatures, are formed; each after the kind of its organization; but all according to the evident laws of an analogy, that prevails universally with every thing, that lives upon this Earth.

Lastly, when it appears, that this vital power does not quit the finished creature, but *continues to display itself actively* in him; no longer creating indeed, for he is created, but supporting, vivifying, nourishing: from the moment he enters the World, he performs all the vital functions for which, nay in some measure in which, he was made; the mouth opens, as opening was its first action, and the lungs respire; the vocal organs emit sound, the lips suck, the stomach digests; he lives, he grows, all the external and internal parts assist each other; they attract, reject, and assimilate, with associated action and sympathy, and assist one another in pain and disease in a thousand wonderful and incomprehensible ways: what would he, what would any one, who saw this for the first time, say, but that the innate genetic vital power still *resides* in the creature, that was formed by it, in all its parts, and in each after its proper manner, that is organically? It is present in him every where in the most multifarious manner; for only by its means is he a living whole, self supporting, growing, and acting.

This vital power we all have in us: it assists us in sickness and in health, assimilates homogeneous substances, separates heterogeneous matters, and expels such as are injurious; at length it grows feeble with age, and lives in some parts even after death. It is not the faculty of reason: for this assuredly did not fashion

* Wolf's *Theor. Generat.* p. 169, b. 180—216.

the body, which it does not know, and which it employs merely as an imperfect adventitious instrument, to execute it's thoughts. Yet this faculty is connected with the vital power, as all the powers of nature are connected: for even incorporeal thought depends on the health and organization of the body, and all the desires and propensities of our hearts are inseparable from animal warmth. All these are natural *facts*, which no hypothesis can shake, no logic of the schools overturn: the enunciation of them is the most ancient philosophy of the Earth, as probably it will be the last*. Certainly as I know that I think, yet know not my thinking faculty; as certainly do I see and feel that I live, though I know not what the vital principle is. This principle is innate, organical, genetic: it is the basis of my natural powers, the internal genius of my being. Man is the most perfect of earthly creatures, only because in him the finest organic powers we know act with the most elaborately organized instruments. He is the most perfect animal plant, a native genius in human form.

If the principles hitherto advanced be just, and they are founded on indisputable experience, our species cannot in any way degenerate, but by the operation of these organic powers. Whatever climate may effect, every man, every animal, every plant, has his own climate; for every one receives all external impressions in his own manner, and modifies them according to his organs. Even in the minutest fibre man is not affected as a stone, as a hydatid. Let us consider some steps, or shades, of this degeneration.

The first step in the degeneration of the human species exhibits itself in the external parts: not as if these suffered or acted of themselves, but because the power dwelling in us acts from within to without. By the most wonderful mechanism it strives to expel from the body what is incongruous or detrimental to it: the first alterations of it's organic structure, therefore, must be perceptible on the confines of it's domain; and accordingly the most striking varieties of the species affect only the skin and hair. Nature protects the internal essential form, and drives out as far as possible the aggrieving matter.

If the altered external power proceed farther, it's effects show themselves in the same way as the vital principle itself acts, *in the way of nutrition and propagation*. The negro is born fair: the parts that first grow black in him † are

* Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Harvey, Boyle, Stahl, Giffon, Gaubius, Albinus, and many others of the greatest observers or philosophers of the human species, compelled by experiment, have admitted this vital principle,

only bestowing on it various appellations, or sometimes not sufficiently discriminating it from collateral powers.

† See the preceding book, p. 151.

evident signs, that the miasma of his change, which the external air merely develops, acts genetically. The age of puberty, as well as a multitude of facts observed in diseases, shows us the extensive sway, that the powers of nutrition and propagation possess in the human body. By these the remotest parts of the body are connected; and in the degeneration of the species these parts suffer in conjunction. Hence, the skin and sexual parts excepted, the ears, the neck and voice, the nose, the lips, the head, &c., are precisely the parts, in which most changes appear.

Finally, as the vital principle connects all the parts together, and the organization is a complicated knot, which has properly neither beginning nor end, it is easy to comprehend, that the most internal change of any consequence must ultimately become visible even in the parts possessing the greatest solidity, the relations of which are altered, by means of the internal power that is affected, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot. Nature does not easily yield to this change: even in monstrous births, when she has been forcibly disturbed in her operations, she has astonishing ways of reparation, as a defeated general displays most skill in a retreat. The various national forms of people however testify, that even this, the most difficult change of the human species, is possible: and it is rendered so by the multifarious complication and delicate mobility of our frame, with the innumerable powers that act upon it. But this difficult change is effected only from within. For ages particular nations have moulded their heads, bored their noses, confined their feet, or extended their ears: Nature remains true to herself; and if for a time she be compelled to take a course she would not, and send fluids to the distorted parts; she proceeds on her own way, as soon as she can recover her liberty, and produces her own more perfect image. If the deformity be genetic, and effected in the natural way, the case is totally different: it is then hereditary, even in particular parts. Let it not be said, that art or the Sun has flattened the negro's nose. As the figure of this part is connected with the conformation of the whole skull, the chin, the neck, the spine; and the branching spinal marrow is as it were the trunk of the tree, on which the thorax and all the limbs are formed; comparative anatomy satisfactorily shows*, that the degeneration has affected the whole figure, and none of these solid parts could be changed without an alteration of the whole. Thus the negro form is transmitted in hereditary succession, and is capable of being rechanged no otherwise than genetically. See the negro in Europe: he remains as he was. Let

* See Sömmering *Ueber die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Mohren vom Europäer*, 'On the bodily Difference between the Negro and the European,' Mentz, 1784.

him marry a white woman, and a single generation will effect a change, which the fair-complexioned climate could not produce in ages. So it is with the figures of all nations: regions alter them very slowly; but by intermixture with foreigners, in a few generations every mungal, chinese, or american feature vanishes.

If it be agreeable to the reader to pursue this path, let us go on a few steps farther.

1. It must be obvious to every observer, that, *amid the innumerable varieties of the human figure, certain forms and proportions not only reoccur, but pertain exclusively to each other.* With artists this is an acknowledged fact: and we see in the statues of the ancients, that they placed this proportion, or symmetry as they termed it, not merely in the length and breadth of the limbs, but also in their harmonic adjustment to the spirit of the whole. The characters of their gods and goddesses, their youths and heroes, were so determinate in their whole conformation, that they are in some degree to be known from single limbs, and no one figure will admit of an arm, a breast, a shoulder, that belonged to another. The genius of a particular living being exists in each of these forms, which serves it merely as a shell, and characterizes itself in the least attitude or motion as distinctly as in the whole. Among the moderns, the Polyclete of our country *, Albert Durer †, has industriously examined the measure of various proportions of the human body; and thus rendered it obvious to every eye, that the figures of all the parts differ with their proportions. What would it be, if a man united Durer's accuracy with the spirit and taste of the ancients, and studied the differences of the genetic forms and characters of men, in their concordant figures! Thus, I think, Physiognomy would return to her old natural way, to which her name points; and in which she would be neither Ethognomy, nor Technognomy, but the expositor of the living *nature* of a man, the interpreter as it were of his genius rendered visible. As within these bounds she remains true to the analogy of the whole, which is most conspicuous in the face, Pathognomy must be her sister, Physiology and Semeiotics her friends and assistants: for the external figure of man is but the case of his internal mechanism, a consistent whole, in which every letter forms a part of the word indeed, but only the whole word has a determinate signification. It is thus we practise and apply physiognomy in common life: the experienced physician sees from a man's make

* This epithet can allude only to the canon of proportions, which Polyclete is said to have established in one of his figures: Plin. L. XXXIV, c. 8: for surely neither the materials

nor the style of the scysonian genius were those of Albert of Nuremberg. F.

† Albert Durer's four Books on human Proportion, Nuremberg, 1528.

and countenance to what diseases he is subject, and the physiognomic eye even of a child observes the natural disposition (*φύσις*) of a man in his person, that is, the form in which his genius discloses itself.

Farther. *Are not these forms, these concords of harmonizing parts, capable of being noted, and reduced like letters as it were to an alphabet?* Not that we must expect this system of letters ever to be complete, as there is no such thing as a perfect alphabet in any language; but a careful study of these living orders of human columns unquestionably opens a wide field for the science of character. If in this pursuit we were not to confine ourselves to Europe, and still less to our common idea of the summit of health and beauty, but followed living Nature throughout the Globe, in whatever harmony of congruous parts she displays herself, variously diversified, yet ever one: numerous discoveries respecting the concert and melody of living powers in the human structure would undoubtedly reward our exertions. Nay it is probable, this study of the natural consent of forms in the human body would carry us farther, than the doctrine of complexions and temperaments, often attempted, though commonly to little purpose. The most acute observers have made little progress here, because they have wanted a determinate alphabet, to note the differences, that were to be expressed*.

As the physiology of life must every where carry the torch before such a *figural history of the formation and diversification of the human species*, the wisdom of Nature, who fashions and alters forms only according to one law of multifariously compensating goodness, would be visible at every step. Why, for example, did the creative mother separate species from each other? For no other reason, but to make and preserve the image of their conformation more perfect. We know not how many of the present species of animals may have approached nearer to each other in an earlier age of our Earth; but we see, that *their boundaries are now genetically separated*. In the wild state, no beast couples with one of a different kind: and if the despotic art of man, or the wanton indolence, to which pampered animals yield, cause a deviation from their real propensities, Nature permits not her unchangeable laws to be surmounted by art or debauchery. Either the union is unproductive, or the forced illegitimate offspring is propagated only among the nearest species. Nay, among these bastard species themselves, we perceive the deviation no where but in the extreme parts of the figure, as in the degeneration of the human species already described: if the internal essential form had been susceptible of alteration, no

* I find this doctrine reduced to great simplicity in Metzger's miscellaneous Works, Vol. I. Platner too, and some others, have their acknowledged merits on this head.

living creature could have preserved it's identity. Thus in consequence of the fundamental laws of creative nature, and the genetic essential type of each genus, neither a centaur, nor a satyr, neither a Scylla, nor a Medusa, is within the sphere of procreation.

3. Lastly, *the most exquisite means employed by Nature, to unite variety and stability of form in her genera, were the creation and union of the two sexes.* With what wonderful delicacy and spirit do the features of the two parents unite in the countenances and make of their children! as if their souls had been transfused into them in different proportions, and the multifarious natural powers of organization had been divided between them. That diseases and features, nay that tempers and dispositions, are hereditary, is known to all the world: even the forms of ancestors long departed frequently return in the course of generations in a wonderful manner. Equally undeniable, though not easy to be explained; is the influence of the bodily and mental affections of the mother on the fœtus; many lamentable examples of the effects of which have been born till death. Thus Nature has turned into each other two currents of life, to endow the future creature with one complete natural power, which will live in it according to the features of both the parents. Many a declining race is again restored by a cheerful healthy mother: many a debilitated youth must first be awakened to a living natural creature in the arms of his wife. In the genial formation of man Love is the most powerful of all deities: he ennobles races, and revives the declining: a ray of the divinity, the sparks of which kindle the flame of human life, and make it burn here more vividly, there more obscurely. Nothing, on the contrary, counteracts the plastic genius of Nature more than cold antipathy; or disgusting convenience, which is even worse. This brings persons together, who were never designed for each other, and perpetuates miserable beings, never in harmony with themselves. No brute has yet sunk so low, as man has fallen from this cause of degeneracy.

CHAPTER V.

Concluding Remarks on the Opposition between Genesis and Climate.

IF I mistake not, the hints, that have been given, may be considered as the commencement of the line, that marks this opposition. No man will expect, for instance, that the rose should become a lilly, the dog a wolf, in a foreign climate : for Nature has drawn determinate lines round her species, and permits a creature rather to disappear, than essentially deface or falsify it's figure. But, that the rose can admit of variation, that the dog can acquire something wolfish, is conformable to experience : yet here the variation is producible only by slow or speedy violence done to the resisting organic powers. Thus both the contending principles act with great force, yet each in it's own way. Climate is a chaos of causes, very dissimilar to each other, and in consequence acting slowly and in various ways, till at length they penetrate to the internal parts, and change them by habit, and by the genetic power itself : this resists long, forcibly, uniformly, and like itself ; but as it is not independent of external affections, it also must accommodate itself to them in length of time.

To an extensive view of the opposition in general, I would prefer an instructive examination of particular cases, of which history and geography afford us an ample store. We know, for example, what effect the adoption of the mode of life of the natives, or the retaining of their own european customs, has had on the portuguese colonies in Africa, or the spanish, dutch, english, and german settlers, in America and the East Indies. When all these were accurately investigated, we might proceed to more ancient transitions ; as for instance of the malays to the islands, the arabs to Africa and the East Indies, and the turks to the countries conquered by them ; and thus go on to the mungals, the tatars, and lastly the swarm of nations, that covered Europe in the course of the great migration. We should never overlook the climate from which a people came, the mode of life it brought with it, the country that lay before it, the nations with which it intermingled, and the revolutions it has undergone in it's new seat. If this inquiry were carried through those ages of which we have authentic accounts, we might probably arrive at conclusions respecting those more early migrations, of which we know nothing but from the traditional tales of ancient writers, or the coincidences of language and mythology ; for in fact all, or most of the nations upon Earth at least, have sooner or later migrated. Thus, with the assistance of a few maps for the convenience of inspection, we should ob-

tain a *physico-geographical history of the descent and diversification of our species according to periods and climates*, which at every step must afford us important results.

Without anticipating the labours of the inquiring mind, that shall undertake this task, I will introduce a few facts from modern history, as brief examples of my preceding examination.

1. *Too sudden, too precipitate transitions to an opposite hemisphere and climate are seldom salutary to a nation*; for Nature has not established her boundaries between remote lands in vain. The history of conquests, as well as of commercial companies, and especially that of missions, afford a melancholy, and in some respects a laughable picture, if we delineate this subject and its consequences with impartiality, even from the narrations of the parties themselves. We shudder with abhorrence when we read the accounts of many european nations, who, sunk in the most dissolute voluptuousness and insensible pride, have degenerated both in body and mind, and no longer possess any capacity for enjoyment and compassion. They are fullblown bladders in human shape, loft to every noble and active pleasure, and in whose veins lurks avenging death. If to these we add the wretches, to whom both the Indies have proved insatiate graves; if we read the histories of the diseases of foreign climates, given by english, french, and dutch physicians; and if we then turn our eyes to the pious missionaries, who have not been so ready to quit the garb of their order, and their european mode of life; what instructive inferences press upon us, which alas! belong to the history of man!

2. *Even the european industry of less debauched colonies in other quarters of the Globe is not always able to avert the effect of climate.* It is observed by Kalm *, that the europeans in North-America arrive earlier at the age of puberty, but at the same time sooner grow old and die, than in their native country. 'It is nothing uncommon,' says he, 'to find little children answer questions put to them with astonishing readiness and vivacity, and yet not attain the age of europeans. Eighty or ninety years are seldom reached by one born in America of european parents, though the aborigines frequently live much longer: and the natives of Europe commonly live much longer in America, than such of their children as are born in that country. The women sooner cease child-bearing, some as early as the age of thirty: and it is generally observed, that the offspring of the european colonists lose their teeth soon and prematurely, while

* Gottingen Collection of Travels, Vols. X and XI, *passim*.

the americans retain their teeth white and sound to the end of their lives.' This passage has been improperly quoted as a proof of the unhealthiness of America with respect to her own children: but it is to foreigners only that she is a stepmother, who, as Kalm observes, dwell in her bosom with different constitutions and manners.

3. *Let it not be imagined, that human art can with despotic power convert at once a foreign region into another Europe*, by cutting down it's forests, and cultivating it's soil: for it's whole living creation is conformable to it, and this is not to be changed at discretion. Even Kalm informs us, from the mouths of american swedes, that the speedy destruction of the woods, and cultivation of the land, not only lessened the number of edible birds, which were found in innumerable multitudes in the forests and on the waters, and of fishes with which the brooks and rivers swarmed, and diminished the lakes, streams, rivulets, springs, rains, thick long grafs of the woods, &c.; but seemed to affect the health and longevity of the inhabitants, and influence the seasons. 'The americans,' says he, 'who frequently lived a hundred years and upwards before the arrival of the europeans, now often attain scarcely half the age of their forefathers: and this, it is probable, we must not ascribe solely to the destructive use of spirits, and an alteration in their way of life, but likewise to the loss of so many odoriferous herbs, and salutary plants, which every morning and evening perfumed the air, as if the country had been a flower-garden. The winter was then more seasonable, cold, healthy, and constant: now the spring commences later, and, like the other seasons, is more variable and irregular.' This is the account given by Kalm; and however local we may consider it, still it shows, that Nature loves not too speedy, too violent a change, even in the best work, that man can perform, the cultivation of a country. May we not also attribute the debility of the civilized americans, as they are called, in Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, and Brasil, to this among other things, that we have changed their country and manner of living, without the power or the will of giving them an european nature? All the nations, that live in the woods, and after the manner of their forefathers, are strong and bold, live long, and renovate their vigour like their own trees: those on the cultivated land, deprived of shade and moisture, decline miserably; their souls are left behind in the woods. Read, as an example, the affecting history of a simple flourishing family, drawn from it's wilds by Dobritzhofer *. Both the mother and daughter soon died; and both in dreams continued to call on their son and brother left behind, till death closed

* Dobritzhofer's *Geschichte der Abiponer*, 'History of the Abiponians,' Vol. I, p. 114.

his eyes without the aid of disease. This alone renders it comprehensible, how nations, that once were valiant, active, and resolute, should in a short time sink into such a state of weakness, as the jesuits of Paraguay and travellers in Peru describe: a weakness of which we cannot read without sorrow. In the course of ages this subjugation of Nature may have it's good effects in particular places *; though I doubt this, if it were generally practicable: but for the first races, both of the civiliziers and civilized, it appears to have none; for Nature is every where a living whole, and will be gently followed and improved, not mastered by force. Nothing has been made of any of the savages, who have been suddenly brought into the throng of an european city: from the splendid height, on which they were placed, they longed for their native plains, and for the most part returned inexpert and corrupted to their ancient way of life, which also they were now rendered incapable of enjoying. It is the same with the forcible alteration of savage climates by european hands.

O sons of Dedalus, emissaries of Fate, how many instruments are in your hands for conferring happiness on nations by humane and compassionate means! and how has a proud insolent love of gain led you almost every where into a different path! All new comers from a foreign land, who have submitted to naturalize themselves with the inhabitants, have not only enjoyed their love and friendship, but have ultimately found, that their mode of life was not altogether unsuitable to the climate: but how few such are there! how seldom does an european hear from the native of any country the praise, 'he is a rational man like us!' And does not Nature revenge every insult offered her? Where are the conquests, the factories, the invasions, of former times, when distant foreign lands were visited by a different race, for the sake of devastation or plunder! The still breath of climate has dissipated or consumed them, and it was not difficult for the natives to give the finishing stroke to the rootless tree. The quiet plant, on the other hand, that has accommodated itself to the laws of Nature, has not only preserved it's own existence, but has beneficially diffused the seeds of cultivation through a new land. Future ages may decide, what benefit, or injury, our genius has conferred on other climates, and other climates on our genius.

* See Williamfon's attempt to explain the causes of change of climate, in the Berlin Collection, Vol. VII.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK VIII.

AS it would be with one, who, from navigating the sea, should attempt a voyage through the air, so it is with me, now that, having gone over the figure and natural powers of man, I come to his mind, and attempt to investigate it's variable faculties, as they exist throughout the wide World, from indirect, defective, and partly questionable accounts. The metaphysician has here a much easier task. He sets out with establishing a certain idea of the mind, and from this deduces every thing, that can be deduced, wherever, or under whatever circumstances, it may be found. The philosopher of history can proceed on no abstract notion, but on history alone; and he is in danger of forming erroneous conclusions, if he do not generalize at least in some degree the numerous facts before him. I shall attempt to explore the way, however: yet, instead of launching out into the ocean, I shall rather coast along the shore; or, to speak in plain terms, confine myself to undoubted facts, or such as are generally considered so, distinguishing them from my own conjectures, and leaving it to those who are more fortunate, to arrange and employ them in a better manner.

CHAPTER I.

The Appetites of the human Species vary with their Form and Climate; but a less brutal Use of the Senses universally leads to Humanity.

ALL nations, the diseased albinos perhaps excepted, enjoy the five or six senses of man: the men without feeling of Diodorus, and the nations of deaf and dumb, are proved fabulous in modern history. Yet he, who attends only to the difference of the external senses among us, and then considers the innumerable multitudes living in all the climates of the Earth, will find himself contemplating an ocean, where wave loses itself in wave. Every man has a particular proportion, a particular harmony as it were, between all his sensitive feelings; so that, in extraordinary cases, the most wonderful appearances

frequently occur, to show the state of an individual on this or that occasion. Hence physicians and philosophers have already formed whole collections of singular and peculiar feelings, that is of idiosyncrasies, which are in many instances equally rare and inexplicable. For the most part these are observed only in disease, or unusual incidents, not in the common occurrences of life. Language too has no terms for them; as every man speaks and understands according to his own perceptions alone, and different organizations of course want a common standard for their different feelings. Even in the clearest sense, that of seeing, these differences display themselves, not only with respect to distance, but also to the figure and colour of things: hence so many painters have their peculiarities of outline, and almost every one his particular style of colouring. It is not the part of the philosophy of the history of man to exhaust this ocean, but by some striking differences to call our attention to the more delicate, that lie around us.

The most general and necessary sense is that of feeling: it is the basis of the rest, and one of the greatest organic preeminences of man*. It has conferred on us dexterity, invention, and art; and contributes more perhaps to the formation of our ideas, than we imagine. But how different is this sense, according as it is modified by the way of life, climate, application, exercise, and native irritability of the body! To some American nations, for example, an insensibility of the skin is ascribed, conspicuous even in women, and under the most painful operations †. If the fact be true, I conceive it easily explicable both from corporal and mental circumstances. For ages many nations in this quarter of the Globe have exposed their naked bodies to the piercing winds, and the stings of insects; and, to protect them in some measure from these, have besmeared them with acrid unguents. They also pluck out the hair, which promotes the tenderness of the skin. Alkaline roots and plants, and the meal of acrimonious vegetables, are used by them as food; and the close sympathy between the organs of digestion, and the seat of feeling, the skin, is well-known, this sense completely failing in consequence of it in many diseases. Even their immoderate indulgence in eating, after which they will endure hunger to a degree equally uncommon, seems to confirm this insensibility, which is also a symptom of many of their diseases ‡, and consequently must be reckoned among the advantages

* See Metzger on the bodily excellences of man over brutes, in his *Vermischten Medicinischen Schriften*, 'Miscellaneous Medical Tracts,' Vol. III.

† Robertson's History of America, Vol. I, p. 562.

‡ Ulloa, Vol. I, p. 188.

and disadvantages of their climate. With it Nature has gradually armed them against evils, which greater sensibility would have rendered insupportable; and with them Art has followed the steps of Nature. The north-americans suffer pain and torment with heroic insensibility, from principles of honour. They are formed to it from infancy; and in this the women yield not to the men. Thus stoic apathy under bodily pain is to them a natural habitude: and their feebler appetite for pleasure, notwithstanding the vivacity of their natural powers in other respects, and even that lethargic insensibility, in consequence of which many subjugated nations appear as if in a waking dream, seem deducible from this cause. Brutes therefore must they have been, who, from a still greater want of human feeling, have abused, or put to painful trials, a want, which Nature bestowed on her children for their solace and convenience.

Experience has shown, that an immoderate degree of heat or cold scorches up or benumbs the external feeling. Nations that walk barefoot on the sands acquire a sole as hard as iron; and instances have been known of such persons standing on burning coals for twenty minutes. Corrosive poisons can so change the skin, that a man may plunge his hand into melted lead; and rigorous cold, as well as anger and other passions of the mind, also contributes to deaden the feeling*. This sense on the other hand appears most exquisite in regions, and under a mode of life, that are most favourable to the gentle contraction of the skin, and an harmonious extension as it were of the nerves of touch. The east-indian enjoys perhaps in the highest perfection the organs of sense. His palate, which has never been blunted by strong drink or stimulating food, tastes the slightest accidental flavour in pure water; and his fingers imitate the most delicate works in such a manner, that the copy is not to be distinguished from the original. His mind is calm and serene, an echo of the gentle feelings, that every thing around him excites. So play the waves about the swan: so whisper the winds through the thin foliage of spring.

Next to the warmth and serenity of the climate, nothing contributes so much to this exquisiteness of feeling, as cleanliness, temperance, and motion: three physical virtues, in which many nations, that we term uncivilized, exceed us, and which the inhabitants of the most delightful countries appear particularly to claim as their own. Keeping the mouth clean, frequent bathing, love of exercise in the open air, and even the healthy and voluptuous rubbing and extension of the body, which was as well known to the romans, as it is now common among the indians, persians, and many tatar nations through a consider-

* Haller's *Physiology*, Vol. V, p. 16.

able tract of country, promotes the circulation of the fluids, and maintains the elastic tone of the muscular fibres. The inhabitants of the most fertile country live temperately: they have no conception, that an unnatural stimulation of the nerves, and a daily overloading of the vessels, can be pleasures, for which man was created: the cast of bramins have tasted neither flesh nor wine from the beginning of the World. Now since the effects of these on the whole system of sensation in brutes are apparent, must they not operate much more powerfully on the flower of all organizations, man? Moderation in sensual enjoyment without doubt contributes more effectually to the philosophy of humanity, than a thousand learned and artificial abstract considerations.

All people of coarse feelings, in a savage state, or rigorous climate, are gluttonous; as they are frequently obliged to suffer hunger afterwards: for the most part, too, they eat whatever comes in their way. Nations possessing finer senses love more delicate pleasures. Their meals are simple, and they eat daily the same food: but then they are fond of luxurious unguents, fine perfumes, pomp, and convenience; and their highest pleasure is sensual love. If we were talking merely of the fineness of organs, there can be no doubt, which way the preference would incline: for no polished european would hesitate, to choose between the fat and train-oil of the greenlander, and the aromatics of the hindoo. But it is a question, in spite of our verbal polish, to which of the two we approach nearest upon the whole. The hindoo places his happiness in tranquillity undisturbed by passion, in an uninterrupted enjoyment of serenity and pleasure. He breathes voluptuousness: he floats on a sea of pleasing dreams, and exhilarating fragrance. On the other hand, what are the objects of our luxury? for what does it disturb the whole World, and plunder ever quarter of the Globe? New and pungent spices for a blunted palate; foreign fruits and food, which are often jumbled together in such a medley, that we cannot taste their proper flavour; intoxicating liquors, that bereave us both of our senses and our peace; whatever can be invented to exhaust nature by exciting it, are daily the grand aim of our lives. By these, conditions are distinguished: by these, nations are made happy.—Happy! Why do the poor suffer hunger, and with benumbed senses drag on a wretched life of toil and labour? That the rich and great may deaden their senses in a more delicate manner, without taste, and probably to the eternal nourishment of their brutality. ‘The europeans eat every thing,’ says the hindoo, whose more exquisite smell revolts at the mere effluvia of what they swallow. According to his ideas, he can rank them only in the cast of the pariahs, who, as a mark of supreme contempt, are allowed to eat what

they please. In many countries, too, the mohammedans call the europeans unclean beasts; and this not merely from religious antipathy.

It can hardly be possible, that Nature should have given us a tongue, in order that the gratification of a few papillæ on it should be the aim of a laborious life, or the cause of wretchedness to others. She endowed it with the sense of taste, partly to sweeten the duty of satisfying the calls of hunger, and enticing us to labour by more pleasing motives: and partly also to be the scrupulous guard of our health; but this it has long ceased to be in all nations addicted to luxury. The cow knows what is salutary for herself, and selects her food with apprehensive caution: noxious and poisonous plants she avoids, and is seldom mistaken. Men, who live among beasts, can discriminate their food like them; but lose this faculty, when they come to associate with mankind, as the indians, who relinquish the simplicity of their diet, lose the purity of their smell. Nations, that enjoy healthful freedom, still possess much of this guiding sense. They seldom or never err with respect to the products of their own country: nay, the north-american can trace his enemy by the smell, and by this the carib distinguishes the footsteps of different nations. Thus man may heighten his most sensual, his animal powers, by cultivating and exercising them: but the highest perfection of them consists in a due proportion of them all, adapted to a truly human life, so that no one be lost, and no one predominate. This proportion varies with country and climate. The inhabitant of hot countries eats with eager appetite food to us highly disgusting: for his nature requires it, as a medicine, as an antidote*.

Lastly, the sight and hearing are the noblest senses, for which man is particularly formed by his organization; for in him the organs of these senses are more artfully constructed, than in any other animal. How acute have the sight and hearing been rendered by many nations! The calmuc sees smoke, where nothing can be perceived by an european eye: the shy arab hears far around in his silent desert. If these acute and fine senses be exercised with unremitting attention, the consequence is obvious: for we see in many nations how far practice can carry a man beyond the unpractised, even in the most trifling things. People who live by hunting know every tree and bush in their country: the north-americans never lose their way in their forests: they travel in quest of their enemies hundreds of miles, and return again to their huts. Dobritzhofer informs us, that the civilized guaranies imitate with astonishing exactness any piece

* Wilson's Observations on the Influence of Climate, p. 93, &c.

of delicate workmanship, that is set before them, but verbal descriptions convey scarcely any ideas to their minds: this is the natural consequence of their education, in which the understanding is formed by present visible objects, not by words; while on the other hand men taught by words have often heard so much, that they are incapable of seeing what is before their eyes. The understanding of the free son of Nature is divided as it were between the eye and the ear: he knows with accuracy the objects he has seen, he relates with precision the tales he has heard. His tongue stammers not, as his arrow deviates not from its mark: for how should his mind err, or hesitate, with respect to what it has seen and heard with precision?

Nature has disposed things well for a creature, the first buds of whose understanding and well-being arise only from the perceptions of the senses. If our bodies be sound, if our senses be well-ordered and exercised; the foundations of a serenity and internal satisfaction are laid, the loss of which speculative reason cannot easily repair. The ground of man's physical happiness every where consists in his living where it is his lot to live, enjoying what is set before him, and perplexing himself as little as possible with provident or retrospective care. If he confine himself to this point, he is vigorous and tranquil: but if, while he should enjoy and think only on the present, he suffer his thoughts to wander, how does he distract and enfeeble himself, often leading a more painful life than the brute, happily restricted to a narrower sphere! The free child of Nature contemplates his parent, and is enlivened, without knowing it, by the sight of her garb; or he follows his occupations, and, while he enjoys the revolving seasons, scarcely grows old with any increase of days. His ear, undisturbed by imperfect thoughts, and unperplexed by written symbols, hears perfectly what it hears: it eagerly takes in words, which, indicating determinate objects, are more satisfactory to the mind than volumes of barren abstract terms. Thus lives, thus dies the savage; satisfied, but not glutted, with the simple pleasures, that his senses enable him to enjoy.

But Nature has conferred another beneficent gift on our species, in leaving to such of its members as are least stored with ideas the first germe of superiour sense, exhilarating music. Before the child can speak, he is capable of song, or at least of being affected by musical tones; and among the most uncultivated nations music is the first of the fine arts, by which the mind is moved. The pictures, which Nature exhibits to the eye, are so various, changeable, and extensive, that imitative taste must long grope about, and seek the striking in wild and monstrous productions, ere it learns justness of proportion. But music, however rude and simple, speaks to every human heart; and this, with the dance,

constitutes Nature's general festival throughout the Earth. Pity it is, that most travellers, from too refined a taste, conceal from us these infantile tones of foreign nations. Useless as they may be to the musician, they are instructive to the investigator of man: for the music of a nation, in its most imperfect form, and favourite tunes, displays the internal character of the people, that is to say, the proper tone of their sensations, much more truly and profoundly, than the most copious description of external contingencies.

The more in general I trace the whole sensibility of man, in his various regions and ways of life, the more do I find Nature every where a kind parent. Where an organ is less capable of being gratified, she excites it less, and leaves it for ages in a gentle slumber: where she has refined and expanded an organ, she has disposed means to gratify it fully: so that the whole Earth, with this checked or heightened organization of man, sounds to her ear as a well-tuned instrument, from which every possible note is, or will be, produced.

CHAPTER II.

The human Fancy is every where organic and climatic, but it is every where led by Tradition.

OF a thing that lies without the sphere of our perception we know nothing: the story of a king of Siam, who considered ice and snow as non-entities, is in a thousand instances applicable to every man. The ideas of every indigenous nation are thus confined to its own region: if it professes to understand words expressing things utterly foreign to it, we have reason to remain long in doubt of the reality of this understanding.

'The greenlanders,' says the worthy Cranz*, 'are fond of hearing tales of Europe; but they can comprehend nothing unless illustrated by some comparison. "The town, or the country," for instance, "has so many inhabitants, that several whales would hardly suffice to feed them a day: they do not eat whales, however, but bread, which grows out of the ground like grass, and the flesh of animals that have horns; and they are carried about on the backs of large strong beasts, or drawn along by them upon a wooden stage." On hearing this, they call bread, grass; oxen, reindeer; and horses, great dogs; are struck with admiration, and express a wish to live in such a fine fruitful country, till

* *Gesch. von Grønland*, 'History of Greenland, p. 225.

they are informed, that it frequently thunders, and no seals are to be procured there. They willingly hear of God and divine things, also, as long as you do not contradict their superstitious fables.' From the same author * I will compose a catechism of their theologico-natural philosophy, showing, that they can neither answer nor comprehend european questions, otherwise than according to the circle of their own conceptions.

Question. Who created Heaven and Earth, and every thing that you see?

Answer. That we cannot tell. We do not know the man. He must have been a very mighty man. Or else these things always were, and will always remain so.

Q. Have you a soul?

A. O yes. It can increase and decrease: our angekoks can mend and repair it: when a man has lost his soul, they can bring it back again: and they change a sick soul for a fresh found one from a hare, a rein-deer, a bird, or a young child. When we go a long journey, our soul often stays at home. At night, when we are asleep, it wanders out of the body: it goes a hunting, dancing, or visiting, while the body lies still.

Q. What becomes of it after death?

A. Then it goes to the happy place at the bottom of the sea. Torngarfuck and his mother live there. There it is always summer, bright sunshine, and no night: and there, too, is good water, with plenty of birds, fishes, seals, and rein-deer, all of which may be caught without any trouble, or taken out of a great kettle ready boiled.

Q. And do all men go thither?

A. No: only good people, who were useful workmen, have done great actions, caught many whales and seals, endured much, or been drowned at sea, died in the birth, &c.

Q. How do these get thither?

A. Not easily. They must spend five days or more in scrambling down a bare rock, which is already covered with blood.

Q. But do you not see those beautiful heavenly bodies? Are not they more probably the place of our future abode?

A. It is there, too, in the highest Heaven, far above the rainbow; and the journey thither is so quick and easy, that the soul can repose the same evening in his house in the moon, which was once a greenlander, and dance and play at bowls with the other souls. Those northern lights are the souls playing at bowls and dancing.

* Sect. V, VI.

Q. And what do they there besides ?

A. They live in tents, by a vast lake, in which are multitudes of fishes and birds. When this lake overflows, it rains upon Earth ; if the banks were to break down, it would cause an universal deluge.—But in general only the vile and worthless go to Heaven ; the diligent go to the bottom of the sea. Those souls must often suffer hunger, are lean and feeble, and can have no rest for the quick turning round of the sky. Bad people and forcerers go thither : they are tormented by ravens, which they cannot keep out of their hair, &c.

Q. What do you believe was the origin of mankind ?

A. The first man, Kallak, came out of the earth, and his wife soon after came out of his thumb. She bore a greenland woman, and the woman bore *Kablumat*, that is, foreigners and dogs : hence both dogs and foreigners are incontinent and prolific.

Q. And will the world endure for ever ?

A. Once already it has been overwhelmed, and every body drowned, except one man. He struck the earth with his staff, a woman came out, and they re-peopled the World. It now rests on it's supporters, but they are so rotten with age, that they often crack ; so that it would long ago have fallen down, if our angekoks were not continually repairing them.

Q. But what think you of those beautiful stars !

A. They were all formerly greenlanders, or beasts, who have travelled up thither on particular occasions, and appear pale or red according to the difference of their food. They that you see there meeting are two women visiting each other : that shooting star is a soul gone on a visit : that great star (the Bear) is a rein-deer : those seven stars are dogs hunting a bear : those (Orion's belt) are men who lost themselves hunting seals, could not find the way home, and so got among the stars. The Sun and Moon are a brother and sister. Malina, the sister, was assaulted by her brother in the dark : she endeavoured to escape by flight, ascended into the sky, and became the Sun : Anninga pursued her, and became the Moon. The Moon is continually running round the virgin Sun, in hopes to catch her, but in vain. When he is weary and exhausted (in the last quarter) he goes seal hunting, at which he continues some days, and then he returns again as fat as we see him in the full Moon. He is glad when women die, and the Sun is pleased at the death of men.

I should be little thanked for my trouble, were I to go on thus exhibiting the fancies of various nations. If any one should be found desirous of travelling through these realms of imagination, the true Limbo of vanity, which extend to every part of the World, I wish he may be endued with the spirit of calm obser-

vation, which, free from all hypotheses of the descent and similitude of nations, shall be in all places as it were at home, and know how to render every folly of our fellow-creatures instructive. For my part, I have only to extract some general observations from this kingdom of living shadows formed by musing nations.

1. *Climates and Nations are universally marked in it.* Compare the greenland mythology with the indian, the laplandic with the japanese, the peruvian with that of Negroland ; a complete geography of the inventing mind. If the *Völuspá* of the icelander were read and expounded to a bramin, he would scarcely be able to form a single idea from it ; and to the icelander the *Vedam* would be equally unintelligible. Their own mode of representing things is the more deeply imprinted on every nation, because it is adapted to themselves, is suitable to their own earth and sky, springs from their mode of living, and has been handed down to them from father to son. What is most astonishing to a foreigner they believe they most clearly comprehend ; he laughs at things, on which they are most serious. The indians say, that the destiny of a man is written on his brain, the fine lines of which represent the illegible letters of the book of Fate : the most arbitrary national ideas and opinions are frequently such brain-drawn pictures, lines of the fancy most firmly interwoven with both body and mind.

2. Whence is this ? Have all these tribes of men invented their own mythology, and thus become attached to it as their own property ! By no means. They have not invented, but *inherited it*. Had they produced it themselves, their own reflection might have carried them from the bad to better, which has not been the case. When Dobritzhofer * represented to a whole tribe of brave and intelligent abiponians, how ridiculous it was in them, to be terrified at the menaces of a conjuror, who threatened to turn himself into a tiger, and whose claws they fancied they already felt : ‘ you daily kill real tigers in the field,’ said he to them, ‘ without being afraid ; why are you alarmed in such a dastardly manner at an imaginary one, that does not exist ?’ ‘ You, father,’ answered a valiant abiponian, ‘ have no accurate ideas of our affairs. The tigers in the field we fear not, because we see them : there we kill them without difficulty. The artificial tigers we dread, because we cannot see them, and consequently are unable to kill them.’

This, I conceive, is the key of the mystery. Were all notions as clear to us, as those we acquire by the sight ; had we no other ideas, than those which we

* *History of the Abiponians, Vol. I.*

derive from visual objects, or can compare with them; the source of error and deception would be stopped, or at least soon discoverable. But at present most national fictions spring from verbal communications, and are instilled into the ear. The ignorant child listens with curiosity to the tales, which flow into his mind like his mother milk, like choice wine of his father, and form it's nutriment. They seem to him to explain what he has seen: to the youth they account for the way of life of his tribe, and stamp the renown of his ancestors: the man they introduce to the employment suited to his nation and climate, and thus they become inseparable from his whole life. The greenlander and tungoose see in reality all their lives only what they heard of in their infancy, and thus they believe it to be evidently true. Hence the timid practices of so many nations, even far remote from each other, in eclipses of the Sun or Moon: hence their trembling belief in spirits of the air, sea, and other elements. Wherever there is motion in nature; wherever any cause seems to exist and produce change, without the eye being able to discover the laws, by which the change is effected; the ear hears words, which explain to it the mystery of what is seen, by something unseen. The ear is in general the most timorous, the most apprehensive, of all the senses: it perceives quickly but obscurely: it cannot retain and compare things, so as to render them clear, for it's objects hasten to the gulf of oblivion. Appointed to awaken the mind, it can seldom acquire clear and satisfactory information, without the aid of the other senses, particularly the eye.

3. Thus it appears *among what people the imagination is most highly strained:* among those namely, who love solitude, and inhabit the wild regions of nature, deserts, rocks, the stormy shores of the sea, the feet of volcanoes, or other moving and astonishing scenes. From the remotest times the deserts of Arabia have fostered sublime conceptions, and they who have cherished them have been for the most part solitary, romantic men. In solitude Mohammed began his Koran: his heated imagination rapt him to Heaven, and showed him all the angels, saints, and worlds: his mind was never more inflamed, than when it depicted the thunders of the day of resurrection, the last judgment, and other immense objects. To what extent has the superstition of the shamans spread itself! From Greenland and the three Laplands, over the whole benighted coast of the Frozen Ocean, far into Tatar, and almost throughout the whole of America. Magicians every where appear, and fearful images of nature every where form the world in which they dwell. Thus more than three fourths of the Globe receive this faith: for even in Europe most nations of finnish or flavian origin are still addicted to the forceries of the worship of Nature, and the super-

fiction of the negroes is nothing but shamanism moulded to their genius and climate. In the polished countries of Asia, indeed, this is suppressed by positive, factitious religion, and political institutions: yet it is discernible, wherever it can peep out, in solitude, and among the populace; till on some of the islands in the South-Sea it again rules with powerful sway. Thus the worship of Nature has gone round the Globe, and its reveries have seized on those local objects of power and alarm, on which human wants confine. In ancient times it was the worship of almost all the nations upon Earth.

4. *That the way of life and genius of each nation have powerfully cooperated in this*, scarcely requires to be mentioned. The shepherd beholds nature with different eyes from those of the fisherman or hunter: and again, in every region these occupations differ as much as the character of the people, by whom they are exercised. I was astonished, for instance, to observe in the mythology of the kamtschadales, dwelling so far to the north, a lasciviousness, that might have been more naturally expected from a southern nation: but their climate and genetic character afford us some explanation of this anomaly*. Their cold land is not without burning mountains and hot springs: benumbing cold and melting heat there contend against each other; and their dissolute manners, as well as their gross mythological tales, are the natural offspring of the two. The same may be said of the fables of the passionate, talkative negro, which have neither beginning nor end †: the same of the fixed concise mythology of the north-american ‡: the same of the flowery reveries of the hindoo §, which breathe, like himself, the voluptuous ease of Paradise. The gods of the last bathe in seas of milk and honey: his goddesses repose on cooling lakes, in the cups of fragrant flowers. In short, the mythology of every people is an expression of the particular mode, in which they viewed nature; particularly whether from their climate and genius they found good or evil to prevail, and how perhaps they endeavoured to account for the one by means of the other. Thus even in the wildest lines, and worst-conceived features, it is a philosophical attempt of the human mind, which dreams ere it awakes, and willingly retains its infant state.

5. Men generally consider the angekoks, conjurers, magicians, shamans, and priests, as the inventors of these tales, to blind the people; and think they have explained the whole, when they call them deceivers. That they are so in most places is very true: but let it be remembered, that they also are people, and

* See Steller, Krafcheninikow, &c.

‡ See Lafiteau, le Beau, Cerver, &c.

† See Roemer, Boffmann, Mueller, Olden-
dorp, &c.

§ Baldeus, Dow, Soanerat, Holwell, &c.

the dupes of tales older than themselves. They were born and brought up amid the imaginations of their tribe: their consecration was attended with fasting, solitude, intension of the fancy, and exhaustion of body and mind; so that no one became a conjurer, till his familiar had appeared to him, and the business was first accomplished in his own imagination, which he afterwards carried on during his whole life for others, with repetition of similar exaltations of the mind, and debilitations of the body. The coolest travellers have been astonished by many juggling tricks of this kind, seeing such effects of the power of imagination, as they could scarcely have believed possible, and often knew not how to explain. Of all the powers of the human mind the imagination has been least explored, and is probably the most inexplicable: for, being connected with the general structure of the body, and with that of the brain and nerves in particular, as many wonderful diseases show, it seems to be not only the band and basis of all the finer mental powers, but the knot, that ties body and mind together; the bud, as it were, of the whole sensual organization, expanding to the higher use of the thinking faculties. Thus it is necessarily the first, that descends from parents to children; as many instances of deviation from the course of nature, and the undeniable similitude of the external and internal organization, even in the most accidental circumstances, sufficiently prove.

It has long been questioned, whether there be innate ideas: and in the common acceptations of the words the answer must certainly be in the negative. But if we understand them to signify a predisposition to receive, connect, and expand certain ideas and images, nothing appears to make against the affirmative, and every thing for it. If a child can inherit six fingers, if the family of the *porcupine-man* in England could derive from their parent his unnatural excrescences, if the external form of the head and face be often transmitted, as it evidently is, from father to son; would it not be strange, that the form of the brain, perhaps even in its finest organic divisions, should not be hereditary likewise? Diseases of the imagination, of which we have no idea, prevail in many nations: and all the countrymen of those, who are so affected, compassionate them, because they feel in themselves the genetic disposition to the same disease. Among the valiant abiponians, for instance, a periodical madness prevails, of which the madman has no consciousness in the intervals: he is in health, as he was before, only his soul, they say, is gone out of him. In many nations, in order to give vent to this evil, dream-feasts have been established, in which the visionaries are permitted to do whatever comes into their minds. Dreams, indeed, are of astonishing force among all people of warm imaginations: nay probably they were the first muses, the parents of poetry

and fiction. They introduced men to forms and things, which no eye had seen, but the desire of which lay in the human mind: for what could be more natural, than that the beloved dead should appear in dreams to those they left behind, and that they, who had lived so long with us awake, might now wish to live with us at least as shades in a dream? The history of nations will show, how Providence has employed the instrument of imagination, by which man might be acted upon so powerfully, simply, and naturally: but it is horrible, when deceit or despotism abuses it, and renders subservient to its purposes that ocean of human fancies and dreams, which no one has yet been able to subdue.

Great Spirit of the World, with what eyes dost thou contemplate all the shadowy forms and visions, that course each other on this our globe! for we are shadows, and dreams of shadows are all that our fancies imagine*. As little as we are capable of respiring pure air, as little can pure reason impart itself wholly at present to our compound clay-formed shell. Yet, amid all the errors of the imagination, the human species is moulding to it: men are attached to figures, because they express things; and thus through the thickest clouds they seek and perceive rays of truth. Happy the chosen few, who proceed, as far as is possible in our limited sphere, from fancies to essences, that is from infancy to manhood, and whose clear understandings go through the history of their brethren with this end in view. The mind nobly expands, when it is able to emerge from the narrow circle, which climate and education have drawn round it, and learns from other nations at least what may be dispensed with by man. How much, that we have been accustomed to consider as absolutely necessary, do we find others live without, and consequently perceive to be by no means indispensable! Numberless ideas, which we have often admitted as the most general principles of the human understanding, disappear, in this place and that, with the climate, as the land vanishes like a mist from the eye of the navigator. What one nation holds indispensable to the circle of its thoughts, has never entered into the mind of a second, and by a third has been deemed injurious. Thus we wander over the Earth in a labyrinth of human fancies: but the question is; where is the central point of the labyrinth, to which all our wanderings may be traced, as refracted rays to the Sun?

* Τι δε τις; τι δ' ουτις;

Σκιας ὄναρ ἀνθρώπων. κ. τ. λ. Pindar. F.

CHAPTER III.

The practical Understanding of the human Species has every where grown up under the Wants of Life; but every where it is a Blossom of the Genius of the People, a Son of Tradition and Custom.

IT has been customary, to divide the nations of the Earth into hunters, fishermen, shepherds, and husbandmen; and not only to determine their rank in civilization from this division, but even to consider civilization itself as a necessary consequence of this or that way of life. This would be very excellent, if these modes of life were determined themselves in the first place: but they vary with almost every region, and for the most part run into each other in such a manner, that this mode of classification is very difficult to apply with accuracy. The greenlander, who strikes the whale, pursues the reindeer, and kills the seal, is occupied both in hunting and fishing; yet in a very different manner from that, in which the negro fishes, or the araucoan hunts on the deserts of the Andes. The bedouin and the mungal, the laplander and the peruvian, are shepherds: but how greatly do they differ from each other, while one pastures his camels, another his horses, the third his reindeer, and the last his pacoos and llamas. The merchants of England differ not more from those of China, than the husbandmen of Whidah from the husbandmen of Japan.

Want alone, even when there is no deficiency of powers in a nation to obey its demands, seems equally incapable of producing civilization: for as soon as the Indolence of man has rendered him contented under his Necessities, and both together have begotten the child he names Convenience, he persists in his condition, and cannot be impelled to improve it without difficulty. Other causes cooperate to determine the mode of life of a people: but let us at present consider it as fixed, and inquire what active powers of the mind are displayed in its various forms.

Men who live on roots, herbs, and fruits, will remain inactive, and their faculties will continue limited, if some particular motives do not impel them to civilization. Born in a fine climate, and descended from a gentle race, they are gentle in their lives: for why should contention take place among men, on whom bountiful Nature bestows every thing without toil? Their arts and inventions, too, extend only to their daily wants. The islanders, whom Nature feeds with vegetable productions, particularly the salubrious bread-

fruit, and clothes in a delightful climate with the rind of trees, lead a tranquil happy life. Birds, we are told, sat on the shoulders of the natives of the Ladrone islands, and sang undisturbed: with the use of the bow they were unacquainted, for no beast of prey obliged them, to have recourse to weapons of defence. They were strangers to fire, also; for the mildness of their climate rendered it unnecessary. The same might be said of the people of the Caroline and other happy islands in the southern ocean; only in some of them society had arrived at a higher degree of civilization, and more arts and manufactures had arisen from various causes. Where the climate was less temperate, men were necessitated to live more hardly, and with less simplicity. The new-hollander pursues his opoffum and kangaroo, shoots birds, catches fish, and eats yams: he has united as many ways of life as his rude convenience required, till he had rounded them as it were into a circle, in which he could live happily after his fashion. It is the same with the new-caledonian and new-zealander; nor must we except even the miserable inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego. They had their canoes of bark, bows and arrows, baskets and pitchers, huts and fire, clothes and hatchets; and consequently the commencement of all the arts, by means of which the most enlightened nations upon Earth have attained their present civilization; only with them, under the pressure of benumbing cold, and amid their dreary rocks, every thing has remained in the rudest state. The californian displays as much understanding, as his country and way of life afford or require. So does the native of Labradore, and of every country on the most barren verge of the earth. Every where men have reconciled themselves to necessity, and from hereditary habit live happy in the labours, to which they are compelled. What makes not a part of their wants they despise: actively as the eskimaux plies his oar, he has not yet learned to swim.

On the great continents of our globe men and beasts crowd more together; and in consequence brutes have contributed in various ways, to exercise the human intellect. The inhabitants of many morasses in America, indeed, have been obliged to have recourse to snakes and lizards, to the iguana, the armadillo, and the alligator: but most nations have been hunters in a nobler mode. What does a north or south-american require, to fit him for the way of life, to which he is destined? He knows the beasts of his chase, their abodes, manners, and artifices, and arms himself against them with strength, address, and exercise. The boy is educated, to aspire to the fame of a hunter; as the son of a greenlander, to seek renown by catching seals: this forms the subject of the discourse, the songs, the tales of famous deeds, that meet his ears; this is represented to his eyes in expressive actions, and animating dances. From his

infancy he learns, to fabricate and employ the implements of the chase: weapons are his toys, and women the objects of his contempt; for the narrower the sphere of life, and the more determinate the object, in which perfection is sought, the sooner will this be attained. Nothing interrupts the course of the aspiring youth, but every thing tends rather to stimulate and encourage him, as he lives exposed to the eyes of his countrymen, in the state and occupation of his father. If a man were to compose a book of the arts of various nations, he would find them scattered over the whole Earth, and each flourishing in its proper place. Here the negro leaps into the surf of a sea, into which no european would venture: there he climbs a tree, on which our eye can scarcely follow him. This fisherman pursues his trade with such art, as if he fascinated his prey: that savage encounters the white bear, and opposes him singly: for yonder negro, uniting strength with address, two lions are not more than a match. The hottentot attacks the rhinoceros and hippopotamus: the inhabitant of the Canary isles traverses the steepest rocks, leaping like a chamois from crag to crag: the strong manly wife of the tibetian carries the stranger over the loftiest mountains of the Earth. The children of Prometheus, composed of the parts and instincts of all animals, have excelled every one of these in arts and capacities, in one place or another, after having learned from them, whatever they have acquired.

That men have learned most of their arts from nature and animals, cannot be doubted. Why does the inhabitant of the Ladrone islands clothe himself with the bark of trees? or the american and papoo adorn themselves with feathers? Because the former lives amid trees, and obtains from them his food; and the elegant plumage of their birds is the most beautiful object, that occurs to the sight of the latter. The hunter clothes himself like the game he pursues, and takes lessons in architecture from the beaver of his lakes: others build their huts like nests on the ground, or, with the birds, fix them upon trees. The beak of a bird was the model, from which men formed their arrows and spears; as the figure of the canoe was taken from that of a fish. From the snake they learned the pernicious art of poisoning their weapons; and the singularly extensive custom of painting the body was equally an imitation of birds and beasts. What! thought man, shall these be so beautifully adorned, so distinguishingly coloured, while I bear a pale uniform skin, because my indolence refuses, to prepare the covering my climate does not require? Hence he began to paint and embroider himself with symmetry. Even nations, that were not strangers to the use of clothes, envied the ox his horns, the bird his crest, the bear his tail, and made them objects of imitation. The north-americans

relate with gratitude, that maíze was brought to them by a bird : and the use of most indigenous medicines was unquestionably learned from animals. But all these things required the sensual minds of free children of Nature, who, living with these animals, think themselves not infinitely exalted above them. It is difficult for an european in other parts of the world even to discover, what the natives daily use : after many endeavours, they are obliged to obtain the secret from these either by force or entreaty.

But man went incomparably farther, when he attracted animals about him, and finally brought them under his yoke. The immense difference between neighbouring nations, living with or without these auxiliaries to their powers, is evident. Whence came it, that America, on it's first discovery, was so far behind the old world, and the europeans could treat it's inhabitants like a flock of defenceless sheep ? It depended not on corporal powers alone, as the examples of all the numerous savage nations show: in growth, in swiftness, in prompt address, they exceed, man for man, most of the nations, that play at dice for their land. Neither was understanding, as far as it relates to the individual, the cause: the american knew how to provide for himself, and lived happily with his wife and children. It arose, therefore, from art, weapons, close connexion, and principally from domesticated animals. Had the american possessed the horse, the warlike majesty of which he tremblingly acknowledged; had the fierce dog, which the spaniard sent against him as a fellow-soldier in the pay of his catholic majesty, been his; the conquest would have been more dearly purchased, and at least a retreat to their mountains, deserts, and plains, would have remained open to a nation of horsemen. Even now, all travellers say, the horse makes the greatest difference between the american nations. The horsemen in the northern part of America, and still more in the southern division of that continent, are so superior to the poor slaves of Mexico and Peru, that a man would scarcely suppose them to be neighbouring sons of the same climate. The former have not only maintained their freedom, but are become more manly both in body and mind, than they were probably at the discovery of their country. The horse, which the oppressors of their brethren employed as an unconscious instrument of fate, may at some future period perhaps be the deliverer of the whole land; as the other domestic animals, that have been introduced into it, have already been in some measure conducive to a more comfortable life, and may hereafter possibly become auxiliary means of a degree of civilization peculiar to the west. But as all this is in the hand of Fate, to the same Fate must be ascribed, what was in the nature of this quarter of the Globe, that it was so long unacquainted with either horse, ass, ox, dog, sheep, goat, hog, cat,

or camel. It had fewer kinds of quadrupeds, because the land was less extensive, separated from the old world, and in great part probably later emerged from the bosom of the ocean than the other continents; so that it had fewer to tame. The paco and llama, the camel-sheep of Mexico, Peru, and Chili, were the only tameable and domesticated beasts: for even the europeans, with all their understanding, have been unable to add any to these, or render either the quiqui or puma, the sloth or tapir, an animal of domestic utility.

In the old world, on the contrary, how many animals are domesticated! and how much have they assisted the active mind of man! But for the horse and camel, the deserts of Arabia and Africa would be inaccessible: the sheep and the goat have been aids to domestic economy; the ox and the ass, to agriculture and trade. The human animal, in a state of simplicity, lives in friendship and society with these beasts; he treats them with kindness, and acknowledges his obligations to them. It is thus the arab, thus the mungal, lives with his horse, the shepherd with his flock, the hunter with his dogs, the peruvian with his llama*. It is also generally known, that all animals subservient to the purposes of man are more useful, in proportion to the humanity of the treatment they receive: they learn to understand and have an affection for man: capacities and inclinations are developed in them, which are to be found neither in the wild animal, nor in such as are abused by man, which lose even the powers and instincts of their species in stupid fatness, or degraded forms. Thus man and beast have improved themselves together in a certain sphere: the practical understanding of man has been strengthened and extended by the beast; the capacity of the beast, by man. When we read of the dogs of the kamtschadales, we are almost in doubt, which is the more rational creature, the kamtschadale or his dog.

In this sphere the first active exertion of the human mind stands still: nay it is difficult, for any nation accustomed to it, to quit; and every one particularly dreads submission to the yoke of agriculture. Notwithstanding the fine arable lands to be found in North-America; much as every nation values and defends its property; however highly some have been taught by europeans, to prize gold, brandy, and certain of the conveniencies of life: still the tilling of the ground, with the cultivation of maize, and a few garden vegetables, is left to the women, as well as the whole care of the huts; the warlike hunter could never bend his mind, to become a gardener, shepherd, or husbandman. The savage, as he is called, prefers the active free life of Nature to every consideration: sur-

* Read in Ulloa, for instance, of the childish joy, with which the peruvian dedicates a llama to his service. The manner, in which

other nations live with their beasts, is sufficiently known from the accounts of various travellers.

rounded with perils, it awakens his powers, his courage, his resolution, and rewards him with health in the field, with independent ease in his hut, with respect and honour among his tribe. He wants, he desires, nothing more : and what addition to his happiness could he derive from another state, with the advantages of which he is unacquainted, and to the inconveniences of which he cannot submit ? Read the various unadorned speeches of those, whom we call savages, and say, whether sound sense and natural justice be not conspicuous in them. The frame of man, too, in this state, is as much improved, though with a rude hand, and to few purposes, as it is capable of being improved in it : he is formed to a contented equanimity, and to welcome death with calmness, after the enjoyment of a life of permanent health. The bedouin and abiponian are both happy in their condition : but the former shudders at the thought of inhabiting a town, as the latter does at the idea of being interred in a church when he dies ; according to their feelings, it would be the same as if they were buried alive.

Even where agriculture has been introduced, it has cost some pains, to limit men to separate fields, and establish the distinction of mine and thine : many small negro nations, who have cultivated their lands, have yet no idea of it ; for, say they, the earth is common property. They annually parcel out the ground among them, till it with little labour, and as soon as the harvest is gathered in, the land reverts to its former common state. Generally speaking, no mode of life has effected so much alteration in the minds of men, as agriculture, combined with the enclosure of land. While it produced arts and trades, villages and towns, and, in consequence, government and laws ; it necessarily paved the way for that frightful despotism, which, from confining every man to his field, gradually proceeded to prescribe to him, what alone he should do on it, what alone he should be. The ground now ceased to belong to man, but man became the appertenance of the ground. Soon even the consciousness of powers, that had been used, was lost by their disuse : the oppressed, sunk in cowardice and slavery, were led from wretchedness and want into effeminate debauchery. Hence it is, that, throughout the whole World, the dweller in a tent considers the inhabitant of a hut as a shackled beast of burden, as a degenerate and sequestered variety of the species. The former feels pleasure in the severest want, while seasoned and rewarded by freedom in act and will : on the other hand, the greatest dainties are poisons, when they benumb the mind, and deprive the frail mortal of worth and independence, the sole enjoyments of his precarious life.

Imagine not, that I seek to derogate from the value of a mode of living,

which Providence has employed as a principal instrument for leading man to civil society: for I myself eat the bread it has produced. But let justice be done to other ways of life, which, from the constitution of our Earth, have been destined, equally with agriculture, to contribute to the education of mankind. Land is cultivated in our manner by the smallest portion of the inhabitants of the Earth, and Nature herself has pointed out to the rest their different modes of living. The numerous nations, that live on roots, rice, fruits, fishing, fowling, and hunting, the innumerable nomades, although perhaps they now purchase bread from their neighbours, or sow a little corn themselves, and all the nations, that cultivate land without having a fixed property in it, or by means of their women and slaves, are not, properly speaking, husbandmen: what a small part of the World remains, therefore, for this artificial way of life! If Nature have any where attained her end, she has attained it every where. The practical understanding of man was intended, to blossom and bear fruit in all its varieties: and hence such a diversified Earth was ordained for so diversified a species.

CHAPTER IV.

The Feelings and Inclinations of Men are every where conformable to their Organization, and the Circumstances in which they live; but they are every where swayed by Custom and Opinion.

SELF-PRESERVATION is the first object of every existing being: from the grain of sand to the solar orb, every thing strives, to remain what it is: for this purpose instinct is impressed on the brute; for this, reason, the substitute of instinct, is given to man. In obedience to this law, he every where seeks food at the impulse of inexorable hunger: from his infancy, without knowing why or wherefore, he strives to exercise his powers, to be in motion. The weary does not call for sleep; but sleep comes, and renovates his existence: the vital powers relieve the sick, when they can, or at least strive to remove the disease. Man defends his life against every thing, that attacks it; and even without being sensible, that Nature has taken measures, both within and around him, for his support.

There have been philosophers, who, on account of this instinct of self-preservation, have classed man with the beasts of prey, and deemed his natural state a state of warfare. It is evident, there is much impropriety in this. Man, it

is true, is a robber, in tearing the fruit from the tree ; a murderer, in killing an animal ; and the most cruel oppressor on the face of the Earth, while with his foot, and with his breath perhaps, he deprives of life innumerable multitudes of invisible creatures. Every man knows the attempts of the gentle hindoo and extravagant egyptian philosophy, to render man a perfectly harmless creature : but to the eye of the speculatist they appear to have been in vain. We cannot look into the chaos of the elements ; and if we refrain from devouring any visible animal, we cannot avoid swallowing a number of minute living creatures, in water, air, milk, and vegetables.

But away with these subtilities, and, considering man among his brethren, let us ask : is he by nature a beast of prey toward his fellows, is he an unfocial being ? By his make he is not the former ; and by his birth the latter still less. Conceived in the bosom of Love, and nourished at the breast of Affection, he is educated by men, and receives from them a thousand unearned benefits. Thus he is actually formed in and for society, without which he could neither have received his being, nor have become a man. Infociability commences with him, when violence is done to his nature, by his coming into collision with other men : but this is no exception, as here he acts conformably to the great universal law of self-preservation. Let us inquire what means Nature has invented, to satisfy and restrain him as much as possible even here, and prevent a state of general warfare among mankind.

1. As man is the most artfully complicated of all creatures, so great a variety of genetic character occurs in no other. Blind imperious instinct is wanting to his delicate frame ; but in him the varying currents of thoughts and desires flow into each other, in a manner peculiar to himself. Thus man, from his very nature, will clash but little in his pursuits with man ; his dispositions, sensations, and propensities, being so infinitely diversified, and as it were individualized. What is a matter of indifference to one man, to another is an object of desire : and then each has a world of enjoyment in himself, each a creation of his own.

2. Nature has bestowed on this diverging species an ample space, the extensive fertile Earth, over which the most different climates and modes of life have room to spread. Here she has raised mountains, there she has placed deserts or rivers, which keep men separate : on the hunter she has bestowed the extensive forest, on the fisherman the ample sea, on the shepherd the spacious plain. It is not her fault, that birds, deceived by the fowler's art, fly into his net, where they fight over their food, peck out each other's eyes, and contaminate the air they breathe : for she has placed the bird in the air, and not in the net of the fowler. See those wild species, how tamely they live together ! no one

envies another; each procures and enjoys what he wants in peace. It is repugnant to the truth of history, to set up the malicious discordant disposition of men crowded together, of rival artists, opposing politicians, envious authors, for the general character of the species: the rankling wounds of these malignant thorns are unknown to the greater part of mankind; to those, who breathe the free air, not the pestilential atmosphere of towns. He who maintains laws are necessary, because otherwise men would live lawlessly, takes for granted what it is incumbent on him to prove. If men were not thronged together in close prisons, they would need no ventilators to purify the air: were not their minds inflamed by artificial madness, they would not require the restraining hand of correlative art.

3. Nature, too, has shortened, as far as she could, the time, that men must remain together. Man requires a long time to educate; but then he is still weak: he is a child, quickly provoked, and as easily forgetting his anger; often displeased, but incapable of bearing malice. As soon as he arrives at years of maturity, a new instinct awakes in him, and he quits the house of his father. Nature acts in this instinct: she drives him out, to construct his own nest.

And with whom does he construct it? With a creature as dissimilarly similar to himself, and whose passions are as unlikely to come into collision with his, as is consistent with the end of their forming an union together. The nature of the woman is different from that of the man: she differs in her feelings, she differs in her actions. Miserable he, who is rivalled by his wife, or excelled by her in many virtues! She was destined to rule him by kindness and condescension alone, which render the apple of discord the apple of love.

I will not pursue the history of the dispersion of mankind any farther: with their division into different houses and families, the foundations of new societies, laws, manners, and even languages, were laid. What do we learn from these different, these unavoidable dialects, which occur upon our Earth in such infinite numbers, and frequently at such little distance from each other? We learn, that the object of our diffusive parent was not to crowd her children together, but to let them spread freely. As far as it may be, no tree is permitted to deprive another of air, so as to render it a stunted dwarf, or force it to become a crooked cripple, that it may breathe with more freedom. Each has its place allotted it, that it may ascend from its root by its own impulse, and raise its flourishing head.

Peace, therefore, not war, is the natural state of mankind when at liberty: war is the offspring of necessity, not the legitimate child of enjoyment. In the hand of Nature it is never an end, cannibalism itself even included, but here

and there a severe and melancholy mean, with which even the mother of all things could not entirely dispense, but which, as a compensation, she has employed for various, higher, and more valuable purposes.

Before we proceed to the afflicting consideration of enmity, let us therefore examine delightful love: love, which extends its sway over all the Earth, though every where appearing in different forms.

As soon as the plant has attained its full growth, it blossoms: thus the time of blossoming is regulated by the period of growth, and this by the impulse of the solar heat. The early or late arrival of man at maturity equally depends on climate, and the various circumstances connected with it. The age of puberty differs astonishingly in different regions, and under different modes of life. The persian maiden marries at eight, and becomes a mother in her ninth year: our ancient german heroines attained the age of thirty, before they thought of love.

It is obvious to every one, how much this difference must alter the relation of the sexes to each other. The eastern virgin is a child, when she is married: she blooms early, and quickly fades: the maturer husband treats her as a child, or as a flower. Since in those warmer regions the stimulus of physical desire not only awakes earlier in both sexes, but operates more intensely, what step could be more natural for the man, than to abuse the superiority of his sex, and endeavour to form a garden of these perishable flowers? The consequences of this step to the human species were far from trifling. It was not merely, that the jealousy of the husband confined his numerous wives in a haram, where their improvement could not possibly keep pace with that of the men: but as the females were educated from their infancy for the haram, and the society of women, nay the child was frequently sold or betrothed at two years of age; how could it be otherwise, than that the general behaviour of the man, domestic economy, education of children, and lastly even the fecundity of the women, must in time be affected by this abuse? It is sufficiently proved, for instance, that too early marriage on the part of the wife, and too powerful a stimulus on the part of the husband, contribute neither to the fertility of the sex, nor excellence of form. Indeed the accounts of various travellers render it probable, that in several of these countries more females are actually born than males; and if this be true, it may be both an effect of polygamy, and a cause promoting its continuance. It is certain, this is not the only case, in which art, and the licentiousness of man, have turned Nature out of her course: for elsewhere Nature maintains a pretty exact proportion between the births of both sexes. But as woman is the most delicate production of our Earth, and love the most

powerful engine, that acts throughout the whole creation, the manner, in which women are treated, must be the first critical point of distinction in the history of our species. Every where woman has been the first object of contentious desire, and from her nature not less the first failing stone in the human edifice.

For examples let us accompany Cook on his last voyage. While in the Society and other islands the female sex appeared to be wholly dedicated to the rites of Cytherea, so as not only to refuse nothing for a nail, an ornament, a feather, but even the husband was ready to barter his wife for any trifle he wished to possess; the scene completely changed with the climate and character of other islanders. Where the men appeared armed with the hatchet of war, the women were more confined to their houses; and the ruder manners of the husband rendered the wife more strict, so that neither her charms nor deformities were exposed to the eyes of the world. There is no circumstance, I believe, which so decisively shows the character of a man, or a nation, as the treatment of women. Most nations, that acquire subsistence with difficulty, degrade the female sex to domestic animals, and impose on them all the labours of the hut: the husband imagines bold, dangerous, manly enterprise sufficiently excuses him from submitting to more trifling occupations, and leaves these to his wife. Hence the extreme subjection of the women in most savage nations throughout the World: and hence the little respect paid the mother by her sons, as soon as they arrive at years of maturity. They are early initiated in perilous undertakings, so that the superiority of the man is frequently occurring to their minds, and a rude disposition to toil or danger soon takes place of a more tender affection. From Greenland to Caffraria this contempt of the women prevails in all uncultivated nations; though it appears among every people, and in every particular region, in a different form. The wife of the negro is far beneath her husband in slavery, and at home the wretched carib imagines himself a king.

But the feebleness of the woman seems not to have been the only circumstance, that has rendered her subordinate to the man; in most places her greater sensibility, her artfulness, and in general the more delicate mobility of her mind, appear to have contributed to it still more. The asiatics, for instance, cannot conceive, how the unbounded liberty of the women, as in Europe, the seat of female empire, can subsist without exposing the men to extreme peril: with them, they are persuaded, every thing would be in a perpetual state of commotion, if these artful creatures, easily moved, and ready to attempt any thing, were not under restraint. The only reasons assigned for

many tyrannical customs are, that the women formerly brought on themselves such rigid laws by such or such an action, and the men were compelled to have recourse to them for their own peace and security. It is thus they account for the inhuman custom of burning wives with their husbands in Hindustan: the life of the husband, they say, would never have been safe, but for this dreadful remedy, which impels the wife, to sacrifice herself with him: and when we read of the ardent passions of the women in those countries, the fascinating charms of the indian dancing girls, and the cabals of the haram among the turks and persians, we are led to think something of the kind not incredible. The men were incapable of securing from sparks the inflammable tinder, which their voluptuousness had composed; and too weak and indolent, to unravel the immense web of female capacities and contrivances, and turn them to better purposes: accordingly, as weak and voluptuous barbarians, they sought their own quiet in a barbarous manner; and subjected by force those, whose artfulness their understanding was unable to sway. Read what the greeks and asiatics have said of women, and you will find materials for explaining their singular fate in most warm climates. The whole, it must be confessed, is ultimately ascribable to the men, whose stupid brutality did not eradicate the evil, they have so lamely attempted to restrain; as appears, not only from the history of civilization, which, by a rational education, has placed woman on a level with man, but from the example of some uncivilized yet intelligent nations. The ancient german, in his wild forests, understood the worth of the female sex, and enjoyed in them the noblest qualities of man, fidelity, prudence, courage, and chastity: but to this his climate, his genetic character, and every part of his way of life, contributed. He and his wife grew, like their oaks, slowly, unexhausted, and strong: the stimulus of seduction his country did not supply; and both the general condition and necessity inclined each sex to virtue. Daughters of Germany, be not insensible of the fame of those, from whom ye are descended, and aspire to emulate them: there are few nations, on whose females history has conferred equal renown; and there are few nations, in which the husband has so honoured the virtues of the wife, as in ancient Germany. The women of most nations in a similar state were slaves: your mothers were the friends and counsellors of their husbands, and every worthy woman among you is so now.

Let us proceed to the virtues of women, as they display themselves in the history of mankind. Even among the most savage people the woman is distinguished from the man by more delicate civility, and love of ornament and decoration: and these qualities are discernible, even where the nation has to

contend against an unfriendly climate, and the most distressing want. Every where the woman adorns herself, however scanty the materials she is able to procure. So in the early spring the Earth, rich in life, sends forth at least a few inodorous blossoms, to show what she is capable of effecting in other seasons.

Cleanliness is another female virtue, to which woman is impelled by nature, and excited by her desire to please. The regulations, nay often supererogatory laws and customs, by which all unvitiated nations keep women when labouring under disease in a state of separation, that no injury may accrue from them, reflect disgrace on many civilized people. They are in consequence unacquainted with a great part of the weaknesses, which among us are both the effects, and again new causes, of that deep degeneracy, which licentious, diseased effeminacy transmits to a wretched offspring.

The gentle endurance, the indefatigable activity, for which the softer sex, when not corrupted by the abuses of civilization, are distinguished, deserve still greater commendation. They bear with resignation the yoke, that the rude superiority of strength in man, his love of idleness and inaction, and lastly the faults of their ancestors, have entailed on them as an hereditary custom; and the most perfect examples of this are often found among the most wretched people. It is not from dissimulation, that in many regions the marriageable females must be compelled by force to submit to the drudgery of the wedded state: they run from their hut, they flee into the desert: with tears they put on the bridal garland, the last flower of their freer, playful youth. Most of the epithalamiums of such nations are meant to encourage and console the bride, and are composed in a melancholy strain*, at which we are apt to laugh, because we are insensible of their innocence and truth. The bride takes a tender leave of all, that was dear to her youth, quits the house of her parents, as one dead to them for ever, loses her former name, and becomes the property of a stranger, who in all likelihood will treat her as a slave. She must sacrifice to him every thing, that is most dear to a human being, her person, her liberty, her will, nay probably her life and health; and all for the gratification of a passion, to which the modest virgin is yet a stranger, and which will soon be drowned in a sea of inconveniences. Happy is it, that Nature has endowed and adorned the female heart with an unspeakably affectionate and powerful sense of the personal worth of man. This enables her to bear also his severities: her mind willingly turns from them to the contemplation of whatever she con-

* See some of them in the *Volkliedern*, 'Popular Songs,' Vol. I, p. 33, Vol. II, p. 96-98, 104.

siders as noble, great, valiant, and uncommon in him : with exalted feelings she participates in the manly deeds, the evening recital of which softens the fatigue of her toilsome day, and is proud, since she is destined to obedience, that she has such a husband to obey. Thus the love of the romantic in the female character is a benevolent gift of Nature ; a balsam for the woman, and an animating reward for the man : for the most valuable prize of the youth was ever the love of a maiden.

Lastly must be mentioned that sweet maternal affection bestowed on woman by Nature ; almost independent of cool reason, and far remote from the selfish desire of reward. The mother loves her child, not because he is amiable, but as a living part of herself, the child of her heart, the copy of her nature. Hence her bowels yearn with compassion for his sufferings ; her heart beats higher at his happiness ; her blood flows more placidly, while he receives the stream from her breast. These maternal feelings pervade every uncorrupted nation upon Earth : no climate, by which all other things are changed, could alter this : the most depraved customs of society alone can in time perhaps render enervating vices more pleasing than the tender pains of maternal love. The greenlander suckles her son three or four years, because her climate affords no food proper for infants : she submits to all the perversities arising from the latent infolence of the future man with indulgent forbearance. The negroes display more than manly strength, when a monster attacks her child : we read with astonishment instances of maternal magnanimity contemning life. Lastly, when the tender mother, whom we call a savage, is deprived of her chief consolation, the object of her care, and that for which she values life, her feelings surpass description *. How then can these nations be deficient in sentiments of true female humanity, unless perhaps want and mournful necessity, or a false point of honour and some barbarous hereditary custom, occasionally lead them astray ? The germes of every great and noble feeling not only exist in all places, but are universally unfolded, as much as the way of life, climate, tradition, or peculiarity of the nation will permit.

If these things be so, the husband would not remain inferior to the wife : and what manly virtue can we conceive, that has not found some place of the Earth or other, in which to flourish ? Aspiring courage, to be a sovereign on Earth, and to enjoy life with freedom, but not with inactivity, is the first virtue of the man. This has formed itself most extensively and diversely ; as it has been almost every where fostered by necessity, and every region, every variation

* See Carver's Travels, p. 338 &c., the lamentations of the *naudowessie* woman, who had lost her husband, and her son of four years old.

of manners, has given it a different turn. Thus man soon sought fame in perils; and to surmount them was the most precious jewel of his life. This disposition descended from father to son: the rudiments of education promoted it, and in a few generations the tendency became hereditary. No other man is affected by the sound of the horn, and the voice of the hound, like him who is born a hunter: to this the impressions he received in his childhood contribute. Nay frequently the countenance of the hunter, and the structure of his brain, are transmitted to his posterity. It is the same with all the other ways of life of free, active nations. The songs of a people are the best testimonies of their peculiar feelings, propensities, and modes of viewing things; they form a faithful commentary on their way of thinking and feeling, expressed with openness of heart*. Even their customs, proverbs, and maxims, express not so much as these: but still more should we learn from the characteristic dreams of a nation, if we had examples of them, or rather if travellers would note them. In dreaming, and at play, man exhibits himself just as he really is, but in the former most.

Paternal love is the second virtue, which is best displayed by a manly education. The father early inures his son to his own mode of life: teaches him his art, awakens in him the sense of fame, and in him loves himself, when he shall grow old, or be no more. This feeling is the basis of all hereditary honour and virtue: it renders education a public, an eternal work: it has been the instrument of transmitting to posterity all the excellencies and prejudices of the human species. Hence in almost all nations and tribes the mutual joy, when the son arrives at manhood, and equips himself with the implements or weapons of his father: hence the deep sorrow of the father, when he loses this his proudest hope. Read the lamentations of the greenlander for the loss of his son †, listen to the complaints of Ossian on the death of his Oscar, and in them you will perceive the bleeding wounds of the paternal heart, the noblest of the manly breast.

The grateful love of the son to his father is certainly but a slight return for the affection, with which the father has loved his son: but this too is the design of Nature. When the son becomes a father, his heart acts in the line of descent upon his children: the full stream is ordained to flow downward, not upward; for thus only the ever growing chain of new races can be upheld. It is not therefore to be reprobated as unnatural, if some nations, oppressed by want, prefer the child to the decayed parent; or, as some accounts say, even

* See the *Völklieder*, 'Popular Songs,' partly in general, partly the northern songs in particular, Vol. I, p. 166, 175, 177, 242, 247,

Vol. II, p. 210, 245.

† *Völklieder*, Vol. II, p. 128.

accelerate the death of those, who are worn out by age. It is not hatred, but melancholy necessity, or rather cool benevolence, from which this springs: as they cannot feed the aged, as they cannot take them with them, they choose rather with friendly hand, to bestow on them an easy death, than leave them to perish by the fangs of wild beasts. Cannot a friend, when impelled by necessity, deprive his friend of life, however painful the task may be; and thus confer on him, whom he is unable to save, the only benefit in his power? But, that the fame of the father lives and acts immortally in the minds of his descendants, appears in most nations, from their songs and wars, their history and traditions, and still more especially from their rooted esteem for that way of life, which they have received as an inheritance.

Finally, common perils excite common courage: thus they knit the third and noblest tie of man, *friendship*. In countries and modes of life, that render union in enterprize necessary, heroic minds are found wearing the bonds of friendship through life and death. Such were those friends of the heroic ages of Greece, whose fame will live immortally: such were those renowned scythians; and such are still to be found among nations addicted to hunting, war, or adventures of any kind, amid woods and deserts. The husbandman knows only a neighbour, the mechanic a workfellow, whom he aids or envies: the merchant, the man of letters, the courtier—how remote are they from that chosen, active, tried friendship, with which the wanderer, the prisoner, the slave who groans with another in one chain, are much better acquainted! In times of need, on occasions of exigence, minds unite: the dying man calls on his friend, to avenge his blood, and rejoices in the hope of meeting him beyond the grave. The friend thirsts with an unquenchable desire, to take vengeance for the death of him, to whom he is attached, to deliver him from prison, to assist him in the combat, and to share with him the meed of glory. An united tribe, among little nations, is nothing but a band of sworn friends, segregated from all the rest, whether in love or hatred. Such are the arabian tribes; such are many of the tatar hordes; and such are most of the nations of America. The bloodiest wars between them, which seem to disgrace humanity, originally sprung from the noble sentiment of an injury done to the honour of the tribe, or an offence committed against its friendship.

I shall not at present pursue this subject through the different forms of government of the male or female sovereigns of the Earth. For, since in all, that has hitherto been said, we find no grounds to explain, why one man should rule over thousands of his fellows by right of birth; why he should exact from them obedience to his will without conditions and without control, send

thousands of them to be killed without contradiction, dissipate the wealth of the state without rendering any account of it, and beside this lay the most oppressive taxes precisely on the poor: since we are still less capable of deducing from the original dispositions of Nature, why a bold and valiant people, that is to say thousands of worthy men and women, frequently kiss the feet of a weak creature, or worship the sceptre, with which a madman tears their flesh from their bones; still less what god or demon it is, that inspires them, to submit their understanding, their abilities, nay frequently their lives, and all the rights of man, to the will of one, and deem it their greatest joy and happiness, that the despot should beget a future despot like himself; since all these things appear at first view the most inexplicable enigma of human nature, and happily, or unhappily, to the greater part of the Earth this form of government is unknown; we cannot reckon them among the primitive, necessary, universal laws, that Nature has imposed upon mankind. Husband and wife, father and son, friend and enemy, are determinate relations and names: but the ideas of leader and king, an hereditary legislature and judge, an arbitrary sovereign and ruler of the state, in his own person and in those of all his posterity yet unborn, require a different explanation, from what we can here bestow on them. Let it suffice, that we have hitherto considered the Earth as a seminary of natural senses and endowments, arts and capacities, mental faculties and virtues, in considerable variety: but how far man is qualified, or enabled, to procure himself happiness thereby, or where the standard of happiness is to be found, let us now proceed to inquire.

CHAPTER V.

The Happiness of Man is in all Places an individual Good; consequently it is every where climatic and organic, the Offspring of Practice, Tradition, and Custom.

TH E very name of happiness * implies, that man is neither susceptible of pure bliss, nor capable of creating felicity for himself. He is the child of Accident,

* Being derived from *hap*, chance. The terms here contrasted in the original are *seligkeit* and *glueckseligkeit*: the former, which I have rendered bliss, implies the permanent felicity of the other world; to this *glueck*, signifying chance, or fortune, is prefixed to express the

casual felicity of this. Our language has not two words expressing precisely the same ideas, and contrasted in a similar manner; so that I am obliged to content myself with the term happiness, pointing out the contingency implied in it's derivation. T.

who has placed him on this spot, or on that, and determined his capacity of enjoyment, and the kind and measure of his joys and sorrows, according to the country, time, organization, and circumstances, in which he lives. It would be the most stupid vanity to imagine, that all the inhabitants of the World must be Europeans to live happily. Should we ourselves have become what we are out of Europe? He who placed us here, and others there, undoubtedly gave them an equal right to the enjoyment of life. Happiness is an internal state; and therefore its standard is not seated without us, but in the breast of every individual, where alone it can be determined: another has as little right to constrain me to adopt his feelings, as he has power to impart to me his mode of perception, and convert his identity into mine. Let us not place, therefore, from indolent pride, or too common presumption, the form and standard of human happiness higher or lower, than it has been fixed by the creator; for he alone knows, what a mortal can attain upon Earth.

1. Our complexly organized bodies, with all their senses and limbs, have been bestowed on us for use, for exercise. Without this our fluids stagnate; our organs become languid; and the body, a living corpse, dies long before its decease; it perishes by a slow, miserable, unnatural death. If Nature, therefore, would secure us the first indispensable foundation of happiness, health, she must bestow on us exercise, toil, and labour, and rather compel man thereby to a state of wellbeing, than leave him to dispense with it. Hence, as the Greeks say, the gods sold every thing to mortals at the price of labour; not out of envy, but from kindness; for the greatest enjoyment of existence, the sensation of active striving powers, lies in this very struggle, in this striving after the comforts of ease. Human nature languishes only in those climates, or conditions, in which enervating idleness, in which voluptuous indolence entombs the body alive, and renders it a pallid carcase, or a burden to itself; in other countries, in other modes of life, even in the most severe, the most energetic growth, the healthiest and most beautiful symmetry of the limbs, prevail. Turn over the history of nations, and read what Pages says, for example, of the make of the Chactaws and Tegaws, of the characters of the Biffagoans, Indians, and Arabs*: even the most unfavourable climates make little difference in the duration of life, and want itself strengthens the cheerful son of need for the performance of health-giving labour. Even the mal conformations of the body, that occur here and there upon the Earth as genetic characters or hereditary modes, are less detrimental to health, than our artificial embellishments, our

* *Voyages de Pages*, 'Pages's Travels,' p. 17, 18, 26, 52, 54, 140, 141, 156, 167, 188, &c.

many forced unnatural ways of life: for what is a larger lobe of the ear of an arracanese, the eradicated beard of an east or west indian, or perhaps a perforated nose, to the straitened, tortured breast, bent knee, mishapen foot, distorted or rickety form, and compressed bowels, of so many delicate male and female europeans? Let us therefore thank Providence, that, as health is the foundation of all physical happiness, it is so diffused over the Earth. Nations, to whom we are inclined to think Nature has played the step-mother, are perhaps her most favoured children: for, if she have prepared them no idle feast of pleasing poisons, she has presented to them from the hard hand of labour the cup of health, and an internal invigorating vital warmth. Children of the rosy morn, they bloom to the last: a frequently careless serenity, an internal sensation of well-being, is to them happiness, is to them the end and enjoyment of life: could any other, could happiness more sweet and durable, be conferred upon them?

2. We boast of the refinement of our mental powers: but let melancholy experience teach us, that every refinement does not promote happiness; nay, many an instrument becomes unfit for use by its very delicacy. Contemplation, for instance, can form the pleasure only of a few idle men: and to them, like opium to the asiatics, it is frequently an enervating, confuming, stupefying, visionary pleasure. The waking, healthy use of the senses, an understanding employed about the real concerns of life, vigilant attention, accompanied with active recollection, quick determination, and happy effect, alone constitute what we call presence of mind, real mental vigour, which repays itself with the consciousness of a present active power, with happiness and joy. Think not, sons of men, that a premature disproportionate refinement or cultivation is happiness; that the dead nomenclature of all the sciences, the holiday use of all the arts, can secure to a living being the science of life: the feeling of happiness is not acquired from words learned by rote, or a knowledge of the arts. A head stuffed with knowledge, even of golden knowledge, oppresses the body, straitens the breast, dims the eye, and is a morbid burden to the life of him who bears it. The more we divide our mental powers by refinement, the more the inactive powers decay: stretched on the scaffold of art, our limbs and faculties wither while displayed with ostentation. The blessing of health arises only from the use of the whole mind, and of its active powers in particular: let us thank Providence, therefore, for not rendering the human species in general too refined, and the Earth an auditory of the learned sciences. In most nations and conditions of men, the mental powers are kindly left bound together in a firm knot, and developed only where need requires. Most nations of the Earth

act and think, love and hate, hope and fear, laugh and cry, like children: at least, therefore, they enjoy the happiness of the childish dreams of infancy. Unhappy he, who first takes the pains, to dive beneath the surface for the happiness of life!

3. As our well-being is rather a quiet feeling, than a brilliant thought; so our lives are embellished with love and joy much more from the feelings of the heart, than from the effects of the most profound understanding. How good, therefore, has our common mother been, in rendering the source of goodwill toward ourselves and others, the true humanity of our species, for which it was created, almost independent of motives and artificial incentives. Every living being rejoices in his existence: he inquires not, he does not scrupulously examine, why he exists: his existence is to him an end, and his end is existence. No savage commits suicide, as no beast destroys himself: he propagates his species, without knowing to what purpose; and in the severest climate submits to every toil and labour, merely that he may live. The simple, rooted feeling of existence, for which there is no equivalent, is happiness, therefore: a drop from the infinite ocean of the Allblissful, who is in all, and feels and enjoys himself in all. Hence that imperturbable joy and tranquillity, which many europeans admire in the countenances and lives of foreigners, because their restless anxiety prevents them from entertaining similar feelings: hence, too, that openhearted benevolence, that anticipating unconstrained courtesy, which we find in all happy nations, not compelled to defence or revenge. From impartial accounts, this is so generally diffused over the Earth, that it might be deemed the characteristic of man; were it not, alas, equally the character of his equivocal nature, to restrain this frank benevolence, this courteous tranquillity and joy in himself and others, at the call of reason or fancy, to guard against future want. Why should not a creature happy in himself see others happy about him, and endeavour what he can to promote their being so? But while we ourselves, surrounded with wants, increase our necessities still more by our own art and contrivance, our being is contracted, and the clouds of distrust, anxiety, labour, and care, obscure a countenance formed for open participating joy. Yet even here Nature has taken the human heart in hand, and moulded the sensible clay in such various ways, that where she could not gratify with giving, she has sought at least to satisfy in refusing. The european has no idea of the boiling passions and imaginations, that glow in the negro's breast; and the hindoo has no conception of the restless desires, that chase the european from one end of the World to the other. The savage cannot gratify his

passions in voluptuousness, and therefore they incline more to composure and tranquillity: on the other hand, where the flame of benevolence scatters light sparks all around, it quickly kindles, and perishes in these sparks. In short, the human feelings have received every form, that could find a place in the various climates, states, and organizations of our Globe: yet every where the happiness of life consists not in a tumultuous crowd of thoughts and feelings, but in their relation to the actual internal enjoyment of our existence, and what we reckon as part of our existence. No where upon Earth does the rose of happiness blossom without thorns: but what proceeds from these thorns is every where, and under all its forms, the lovely though perishable rose of vital joy.

If I err not, from these simple data, the truths of which every heart must feel, a few lines may be drawn, which determine at least many doubts and mistakes concerning the destination of the human species. How, for instance, can it be, that man, as we know him here, should have been formed for an infinite improvement of his mental faculties, a progressive extension of his perceptions and actions? nay, that he should have been made for the state, as the end of his species, and all preceding generations properly for the last alone, which is to be enthroned on the ruined scaffolding of the happiness of the rest? The fight of our fellow-creatures, nay even the experience of every individual life, contradicts this plan attributed to creative Providence. Neither our head nor our heart is formed for an infinitely increasing store of thoughts and feelings; our hand is not made, our life is not calculated for it. Do not our finest mental powers decay, as well as flourish? do they not even fluctuate with years and circumstances, and relieve one another in friendly contest, or rather in a circular dance? And who has not found, that an unlimited extension of his feelings enfeebles and annihilates them, while it gives to the air in loose flocks what should have formed the cord of love, or clouds the eyes of others with its ashes? As it is impossible, that we can love others more than ourselves, or in a different way; for we love them only as part of ourselves, or rather ourselves in them; that mind is happy, which, like a superiour spirit, embraces much within the sphere of its activity, and in restless activity deems it a part of itself: but miserable is that, the feelings of which, drowned in words, are useful neither to itself nor others. The savage, who loves himself, his wife, and child, with quiet joy, and glows with limited activity for his tribe, as for his own life, is, in my opinion, a more real being, than that cultivated shadow, who is enraptured with the love of the shades of his whole species, that is of a name. The savage has

room in his poor hut for every stranger, whom he receives as his brother with calm benevolence, and asks not once whence he comes. The deluged heart of the idle cosmopolite is a hut for no one.

See we not, then, my brethren, that Nature has done all she could, not to diffuse, but to circumscribe us, and to accustom us to the sphere of our lives? Our senses and powers have their measure: the Hours of our days and lives take hands only in rotation, while those that come relieve those that depart. It is a trick of the fancy, when the old man still dreams, that he is a youth. Is that concupiscence of the mind, which, forerunning even desire, is momentarily changing to disgust, the pleasure of Paradise? Is it not rather the Hell of Tantalus, the bottomless buckets of the vainly labouring Danaids? Thy sole art below, O man, is moderation: Joy, the child of Heaven, for whom thou pantest, is around thee, is in thee, the daughter of Temperance and calm Enjoyment, the sister of Content and Satisfaction with thy being in life and death.

Still less comprehensible is it, how man should be made for the state, so that his first true happiness must necessarily spring from it's constitution: for how many people upon Earth are entirely ignorant of all government, and yet are happier than many, who have sacrificed themselves for the good of the state? I will not enter upon the benefits or mischiefs, which this artificial form of society brings with it: but it may be observed, as every art is merely an instrument, and the most complicated instrument necessarily requires the most prudence and delicacy in managing it, this is an obvious consequence, that with the greatness of a state, and the intricate art of it's constitution, the danger of rendering individuals miserable is infinitely augmented. In large states, hundreds must pine with hunger, that one may feast and carouse: thousands are oppressed, and hunted to death, that one crowned fool or philosopher may gratify his whims. Nay, as all politicians say, that every well constituted state must be a machine regulated only by the will of one, what increase of happiness can it bestow, to serve in this machine as a thoughtless member? or, probably indeed, contrary to our better knowledge and conscience, to be whirled round all our lives on an Ixion's wheel; that leaves the tormented wretch no hope of comfort, unless perhaps in strangling the activity of his free, self governing mind, as a fond father would his darling babe born to misery; to seek happiness in the insensibility of a machine? O, if we be men, let us thank Providence, that this was not made the general destination of mankind. Millions on this Globe live without government; and must not every one of us, even under the most exquisite government, if he will be happy, begin where the savage begins,

seeking to acquire and maintain health of body and soundness of mind, the happiness of his house and of his heart, not from the state, but from himself? Father and mother, husband and wife, son and brother, friend and man, are natural relations, in which we may be happy: the state gives us nothing but instruments of art, and these, alas! may rob us of something far more essential, may rob us of ourselves.

Kindly considerate was it therefore in Providence, to prefer the easier happiness of individuals to the artificial ends of great societies, and spare generations these costly machines of state as much as possible. It has wonderfully separated nations, not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations, and characters; that the work of subjugating despotism might be rendered more difficult, that all the four quarters of the Globe might not be crammed into the belly of a wooden horse. No Nimrod has yet been able to drive all the inhabitants of the World into one park for himself and his successors; and though it has been for centuries the object of united Europe, to erect herself into a despot, compelling all the nations of the Earth to be happy in her way, this happiness-dispensing deity is yet far from having obtained her end. Weak and childish must our creative mother have been, had she constructed the sole and genuine destination of her children, that of being happy, on the artificial wheels of some latterlings, and expected the end of the creation from their hands. Ye men of all the quarters of the Globe, who have perished in the lapse of ages, ye have not lived and enriched the Earth with your ashes, that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by european civilization: is not a proud thought of this kind treason against the majesty of Nature?

If happiness be to be met with upon Earth, it is in every sentient being, it must be in every one by Nature, and assisting art must become nature in him to produce enjoyment. Every man has the standard of his happiness within himself; he bears about him the form, to which he is fashioned, and in the pure sphere of which alone he can be happy. For this purpose has Nature exhausted all the varieties of human form on Earth, that she might find for each in it's time and place an enjoyment, to amuse mortals through life.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

Ready as Man is to imagine he produces every thing from himself, he is nevertheless dependant on others for the Developement of his Faculties.

NOT only has the philosopher exalted human reason to an independency on the senses and organs, and the possession of an original simple power; but even the common man imagines in the dream of life, that he has become every thing that he is of himself. This imagination is easily explained, particularly in the latter. The sense of spontaneity, given him by the creator, excites him to action, and rewards him with the pleasing recompense of a deed performed in obedience to his own will. The days of his childhood are forgotten: the seeds, which he then received, and still daily receives, are dormant in his mind: he sees and enjoys only the budding plant, and is pleased with it's flourishing growth, with it's fruitful branches. The philosopher, however, who studies the origin and progress of a man's life in the book of Experience, and can trace through history the whole chain of the formation of our species, must, I think, as every thing brings dependence to his mind, soon quit his ideal world, in which he feels himself alone and allsufficient, for our world of realities.

As man at his natural birth springs not from himself, equally remote is he from being selfborn in the use of his mental faculties. Not only is the germe of our internal disposition genetic, as well as our bodily frame, but every developement of this germe depends on fate, which planted us in this place or in that, and supplied us with the means by which we were formed, according to time and circumstances. Even the eye must learn to see, the ear to hear; and no one can be ignorant with what art language, the principal instrument of our thought, is acquired. Nature has evidently calculated our whole mechanism, with the condition and duration of each period of our lives, for this

foreign aid. The brain of infants is soft, and suspended from the scull: it's strata are slowly formed; it grows firmer with increasing years, and gradually hardens, till at length it will receive no more new impressions. It is the same with the organs and with the faculties of a child: those are tender, and formed for imitation; these imbibe what they see and hear with wonderfully active attention, and internal vital power. Thus man is an artificial machine, endowed with a genetic disposition, it is true, and plenitude of life; but the machine does not work itself, and the ablest of mankind must learn how to work it. Reason is an aggregate of the experiences and observations of the mind, the sum of the education of man, which the pupil ultimately finishes in himself, as an extraneous artist, after certain extraneous models.

In this lies the principle of the history of mankind, without which no such history could exist. Did man receive every thing from himself, and develop every thing independantly of external circumstances, we might have a history of an individual indeed, but not of the species. But, as our specific character lies in this, that, born almost without instinct, we are formed to manhood only by the practice of a whole life, and both the perfectibility and corruptibility of our species depend on it, the history of mankind is necessarily a whole, that is a chain of socialness and plastic tradition, from the first link to the last.

There is an education, therefore, of the human species; since every one becomes a man only by means of education, and the whole species lives solely in this chain of individuals. It is true, should any one say, that the species is educated, not the individual, he would speak unintelligibly to my comprehension; for species and genus are only abstract ideas, except so far as they exist in individuals: and were I to ascribe to this abstract idea all the perfections of human nature, the highest cultivation, and most enlightened intellect, that an abstract idea will admit; I should have advanced as far towards a real history of our species, as if I were to speak of animalkind, stonework, metalwork, in general, and decorate them with all the noblest qualities, which could not subsist together in one individual.

Our philosophy of history shall not wander in this path of the averroean system, according to which the whole human species possesses but one mind; and that indeed of a very low order, distributed to individuals only piecemeal. On the other hand, were I to confine every thing to the individual, and deny the existence of the chain, that connects each to others and to the whole, I should run equally counter to the nature of man, and his evident history. For

no one of us became man of himself: the whole structure of his humanity is connected by a spiritual birth, education, with his parents, teachers, friends; with all the circumstances of his life, and consequently with his countrymen and their forefathers; and lastly with the whole chain of the human species, some link or other of which is continually acting on his mental faculties. Thus nations may be traced up to families; families to their founders: the stream of history contracts itself as we approach it's source, and all our habitable Earth is ultimately converted into the school of our family, containing indeed many divisions, classes, and chambers, but still with one plan of instruction, which has been transmitted from our ancestors, with various alterations and additions, to all their race. Now if we give the limited understanding of a teacher credit for not having made a separate division of his scholars without some grounds; and perceive, that the human species every where finds a kind of artificial education, adapted to the wants of the time and place: what man of understanding, who contemplates the structure of our Earth, and the relation man bears to it, would not incline to think, that the father of our race, who has determined how far and how wide nations should spread, has also determined this, as the general teacher of us all? Will he who views a ship deny the purpose of it's builder? and who, that compares the artificial frame of our nature with every climate of the habitable Earth, will reject the notion, that the climatic diversity of various man was an end of the creation for the purpose of educating his mind? But as the place of abode alone does not effect every thing, since living beings like ourselves contribute to instruct us, fashion us, and form our habits; there appears to me an education of the species, and a philosophy of the history of man, as certainly, and as truly, as there is a human nature, that is, a cooperation of individuals, which alone makes us men.

Hence the principles of this philosophy become as evident, simple, and indubitable, as the natural history of man itself is: they are called *tradition* and *organic powers*. All education must spring from imitation and exercise, by means of which the model passes into the copy; and how can this be more aptly expressed than by the term tradition? But the imitator must have powers to receive what is communicated or communicable, and convert it into his own nature, as the food by means of which he lives. Accordingly, what and how much he receives, whence he derives it, and how he uses, applies it, and makes it his own, must depend on his own, the receptive powers. So that the education of our species is in a double sense genetic and organic: genetic, inasmuch as it is communicated; organic, as what is communicated is received and

applied. Whether we name this second genesis of man *cultivation* from the culture of the ground, or *enlightening* from the action of light, is of little import; the chain of light and cultivation reaches to the end of the Earth. Even the inhabitant of California or Tierra del Fuego learns to make and use the bow and arrow: he has language and ideas, practices and arts, which he learned, as we learn them: so far, therefore, he is actually cultivated and enlightened, though in the lowest order. Thus the difference between enlightened and unenlightened, cultivated and uncultivated nations, is not specific; it is only in degree. This part of the picture of nations has infinite shades, changing with place and time: and, like other pictures, much depends on the point of view, from which we examine it. If we take the idea of European cultivation for our standard, this is to be found only in Europe: and if we establish arbitrary distinctions between cultivation and the enlightening of the mind, neither of which, if it be genuine, can exist independently of the other, we are losing ourselves still more in the clouds. But if we keep close to the Earth, and take a general view of what Nature, to whom the end and character of her creatures must be best known, herself exhibits to our eyes as forming man, this is no other than *the tradition of an education to some form or other of human happiness and the economy of life*. This is general as the human species; and often the most active among savages, though in a narrower circle. If a man remain among men, he cannot avoid this improving or vitiating cultivation: tradition lays hold of him, forms his head, and fashions his limbs. As that is, and as these are fashioned, so is the man, so is he formed. Even children, whom chance has thrown among beasts, have acquired some human cultivation, when they have lived for a time among men, as most known instances show; while a child, brought up from the moment of his birth by a brute, would be the only uncultivated man upon Earth.

What follows from this fixed point of view, confirmed as it is by the whole history of our species? First a principle, consolatory and animating both to our lives, and to this reflection; namely, that, as the human species has not arisen of itself, and as there are dispositions in it's nature, for which no admiration can be too high, the creator must have appointed means, conceived by his paternal goodness, for the development of these dispositions. Is the corporal eye so beautifully formed in vain? Does it not find before it the golden beams of the Sun, which were created for it, as the eye for them, and fulfil the wisdom of it's design? It is the same with all the senses, with all the organs: they find the means of their development, the medium for which they

were created. And can it be otherwise with the spiritual senses and organs, on the use of which the character of man, and the kind and measure of his happiness, depend? Shall the creator have failed here of attaining his purpose; the purpose too of all nature, as far as it depends on the use of human powers? Impossible! Every such conjecture must arise from ourselves; either attributing erroneous ends to the creator, or endeavouring as much as in us lies to frustrate his purposes. But as this endeavour must have its limits, and no design of the Allwise can be thwarted by a creature of his thoughts; let us rest secure in the certainty, that, whatever is God's purpose with regard to the human species upon Earth remains evident even in the most perplexing parts of its history. All the works of God have this property, that, although they belong to a whole, which no eye can scan, each is in itself a whole, and bears the divine characters of its destination. It is so with the brute, and with the plant: can it be otherwise with man? Can it be, that thousands are made for one? all the generations that have passed away, merely for the last? every individual, only for the species, that is for the image or an abstract name? The Allwise sports not in this manner: he invents no finepun shadowy dreams: he lives and feels in each of his children with paternal affection, as though it were the only creature in the world. All his means are ends: all his ends are means to higher ends, in which the Infinite, filling all, reveals himself. What every man, therefore, attains, or can attain, must be the end of the species: and what is this? Humanity and happiness, on this spot, in this degree, as this link, and no other, of the chain of improvement, that extends through the whole kind. What and wherever thou wast born, O man, there thou art, and there thou shouldst be: quit not the chain, set not thyself above it, but adhere to it firmly. Life and happiness exist for thee only in its integrity, in what thou receivest or impartest, in thy activity in each.

Secondly. Much as it may flatter man, that the deity has admitted him as an assistant, and left the forming him here below to himself and his fellow-creatures, the very choice of these means shows the imperfection of our earthly existence, inasmuch as we are not yet men, but are daily *becoming* so. How poor must the creature be, who has nothing of himself, but receives every thing from imitation, instruction, and practice, by which he is moulded like wax! Let the man, who is proud of his reason, contemplate the theatre of his fellow-beings throughout the wide world, or listen to their many-toned dissonant history! Is there any species of barbarity, to which some man, some nation, nay frequently a number of nations, have not accustomed themselves; so that many, perhaps most, have even fed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures? Is there a

wild conception the mind can frame, which has not been actually rendered sacred by hereditary tradition, in one place or another? No creature, therefore, can stand lower than man: for, throughout his whole life, he is not only a child in reason, but a pupil of the reason of others. Into whatever hands he falls, by them he is formed; and I am persuaded, no form of human manners is possible, which some nation, or some individual, has not adopted. In history every mode of vice and cruelty is exhausted, while here and there only a nobler train of human sentiments and virtues appears. From the means chosen by the creator, that our species should be formed only by our species, it could not possibly be otherwise: follies must be inherited, as well as the rare treasures of wisdom: the way of man resembles a labyrinth, abounding on all sides with divergent passages, while but few footsteps lead to the innermost chamber. Happy the mortal, who reaches it himself, or leads others to it; whose thoughts, inclinations, and wishes, or even the beams of whose silent example, have promoted the humanity of his brethren! God acts upon Earth only by means of superiour, chosen men: religion and language, art and science, nay governments themselves, cannot be adorned with a nobler crown, than the laurels gathered from the moral improvement of human minds. Our body moulders in the grave, and our name soon becomes a shadow upon the Earth: but incorporated in the voice of God, in plastic tradition, we shall live actively in the minds of our posterity, even though our name be no more.

Thirdly. The philosophy of history, therefore, which follows the chain of tradition, is, to speak properly, the true history of mankind, without which all the outward occurrences of this World are but clouds, or revolting deformities. It is a melancholy prospect, to behold nothing in the revolutions of our Earth but wreck upon wreck, eternal beginnings without end, changes of circumstance without any fixed purpose. The chain of improvement alone forms a whole of these ruins, in which human figures indeed vanish, but the spirit of mankind lives and acts immortally. Glorious names, that shine in the history of cultivation as genii of the human species, as brilliant stars in the night of time! Be it that with the lapse of ages many of your edifices decay, and much of your gold is sunk in the slough of forgetfulness; the labours of your lives were not in vain, for such of your works, as Providence thought fit to save, have been saved in other forms. In any other way no human monument can endure wholly and eternally upon Earth; being formed in the succession of generations by the hand of time for temporal use, and evidently prejudicial to posterity, as soon as it renders unnecessary or retards their farther exertion. Thus the mutable form and imperfection of all human operations entered into

the plan of the creator. Folly must appear, that wisdom might surmount it: decaying fragility even of the noblest works was an essential property of their materials, that men might have an opportunity of exerting fresh labours in improving or building upon their ruins: for we are all here in a state of exercise. Every individual must depart, and as it will then be indifferent to him what posterity may do with his works, it would be repugnant to a good mind, to condemn succeeding generations to venerate them with inactive stupidity, and undertake nothing of their own. This new labour he wishes them; for what he carries with him out of the World is his strengthened power, the internal ripe fruit of his human activity.

Golden chain of improvement, that surrounded the Earth, and extended through all individuals to the throne of Providence, since I perceived thee, and traced thee in thy finest links, the feelings of the parent, the friend, and the preceptor, history no longer appears to me, what it once did, an abominable series of desolations on a sacred Earth. A thousand deeds of shame stand there veiled with detestable praise, and thousands in their native ugliness, to set off the rare true merit of active humanity; which has ever proceeded on its way quietly and obscurely, seldom aware of the consequences, that Providence would educe from its life, as the leaven from the dough. Only amid storms can the noble plant flourish: only by opposing struggles against false pretensions can the sweet labours of man be victorious. Nay men frequently appear to sink under their honest purposes; but it is only in appearance: the seed germinates more beautifully in a subsequent period from the ashes of the good, and when irrigated with blood seldom fails, to shoot up to an unfading flower. I am no longer misled, therefore, by the mechanism of revolutions: it is as necessary to our species, as the waves to the stream, that it become not a stagnant pool. The genius of humanity blooms in continually renovated youth, and is regenerated as it proceeds, in nations, generations, and families.

CHAPTER II.

Language is the special Mean of improving Man.

IN man, nay even in the ape, there is a peculiar disposition to imitation, which appears to be by no means the consequence of rational conviction, but the immediate offspring of organic sympathy. As one string resounds to another, and the vibrating capacity of all bodies increases with their more equable density and homogeneity; the human organization, being the most exquisite of all, is of necessity more peculiarly formed, to repeat the tones of all other beings, and sympathize with them. The history of diseases shows, that not only hurts and affections of the body, but even mental derangement, may be propagated by sympathy.

We perceive the operation of this consent of beings in unison in the highest degree in children. For this purpose their bodies remain, during many years, easily resounding stringed instruments. Actions and gestures, nay even passions and thoughts, take place in them unnoticed, so that they are at least tuned to what they cannot yet practice, and unconsciously obey a propensity, which is a kind of spiritual assimilation. It is so with all savage nations, the children of nature. Born pantomimes, they imitate in a lively manner whatever is related to them, or what they wish to express; and display their peculiar ways of thinking in dances, games, jests, and maxims. Their fancy acquired these figures by imitation: the treasure of their memories and language consists in such types; and hence their thoughts so readily pass into action, and living tradition.

But man did not attain the artificial characteristic of his species, reason, by all this mimicry: he arrived at it by speech alone. Let us descant on this miracle of divine institution; the greatest perhaps of our terrestrial creation, except the generation of living beings.

Should any one ask, how images depicted on the eye, and all the perceptions of our most opposite senses, are not only capable of being represented by sounds, but these sounds are endued with such inherent power, that they can express thoughts and excite them; no doubt the problem would be deemed the folly of a madman, who, substituting the most dissimilar things for each other, thought of making colour sound, sound thought, and thought a depicting voice. This problem the deity has effectively solved. The breath of our mouths is the picture of the world, the type that exhibits our thoughts and feelings to the mind of

another. All that man has ever thought, willed, done, or will do, of human, upon Earth, has depended on the movement of a breath of air: for if this divine breath had not inspired us, and floated like a charm on our lips, we should all have still been wanderers in the woods. The whole history of man, therefore, with all the treasures of tradition and cultivation, is nothing but a consequence of the solution of this divine problem. What renders it the more wonderful to us is, that we ourselves, notwithstanding it's solution by the daily use of speech, do not in the least comprehend the connection of the instruments, by which it is effected. Hearing and speech are connected with each other; for as creatures degenerate, a mutual change of their auditory and vocal organs evidently takes place. We see, too, that the whole body is framed, to be in unison with them; but we comprehend not the internal mode of their cooperation. That all the passions, particularly grief and joy, become sounds; that what is heard by the ear moves the tongue; that images and sensations may become mental characters, and these characters significant, nay impressive, sounds; arises from a concert of so many dispositions, like a voluntary league, which the creator has thought proper to establish between the most opposite senses and instincts, powers and members, of his creature, in a manner not less wonderful, than that in which the mind and body are conjoined.

How singular, that a moveable breath of air should be the sole, or at least the best medium of our thoughts and perceptions! Without it's incomprehensible connexion with all the operations of our mind, which are so dissimilar to it, these operations would never have taken place, the elaborate structure of our brain would have remained idle, the whole purpose of our Being unaccomplished, as the instances of men who have fallen among beasts sufficiently prove. They who are born deaf and dumb, though they may live long in a world of gestures and other characters of ideas, still carry themselves like children, or human animals. They act analogously to what they see, and do not understand; for all the stores of vision do not render them capable of a proper employment of reason. A nation has no idea, for which it's language has no word: the liveliest imagination remains an obscure feeling, till the mind finds a character for it, and by means of a word incorporates it with the memory, the recollection, the understanding, and lastly the understanding of mankind, tradition: a pure understanding, without language, upon Earth, is an utopian land. It is the same with the passions of the heart, with all the social propensities. Speech alone has rendered man human, by setting bounds to the vast flood of his passions, and giving them rational memorials by means of words. No cities have been erected

by the lyre of Amphion, no magic wand has converted deserts into gardens : but language, the grand assistant of man, has done these. By it men welcomed one another into society, and knit the bonds of love. It framed laws, and united families : it alone renders a history of mankind, in transmitted modifications of the heart and mind, possible. Even now I behold the heroes of Homer, and feel the complaints of Ossian, though the shades both of the poets and their heroes have so long departed from the Earth. A moveable breath of air has rendered them immortal, and brings their forms before me : the voice of the dead is in my ear : I hear their long silent thoughts. Whatever the mind of man has conceived, what the sages of old have thought, comes to me, if Providence think good, by the means of language alone. By it my thinking mind is connected with the mind of the first man that thought, and probably of the last. In short, language is the mark of our reason, by which alone it acquires and propagates forms.

A little closer inspection, however, shows how imperfect this mean of our improvement is, not only considered as the instrument of reason, but as the bond between man and man ; so that a more light, insubstantial, fugitive web can scarcely be conceived, than that with which the creator thought proper to connect the human species. Kind father ! was no other less failible ~~communication~~ of our thoughts, was no more intimate connexion of men's hearts and minds, possible ?

1. *No language expresses things, but names : accordingly no human reason perceives things, but only marks of them, which it depicts by words.* This is an humiliating observation, which gives the whole history of our intellect narrow limits, and a very insubstantial form. All our science of metaphysics is properly metaphysics, that is an abstracted systematic index of names following observations of experience. As a method, and an index, it may be very useful, and must guide our artificial understanding to a certain degree in all other sciences : but considered in itself, and according to the nature of things, it affords not a single perfect and essential idea, not a single intrinsic truth. All our science reckons with abstract, individual, extrinsic characters, which reach not the interior of the existence of any one thing, as we have no organ to perceive or express it. We know not, and can never learn to know, any power in it's essence : for even that, which animates us, and thinks in us, we feel and enjoy it is true, but we do not know. Thus we understand no connexion between cause and effect, because we can see into the interior neither of what acts, nor of what is produced, and have absolutely no idea of the entity of a thing. Thus our poor reason is nothing

more than a figuring arithmetician, as it's name in many languages implies.

2. And with what does it reckon? with the characters themselves it has abstracted, however imperfect and unessential they may be? By no means. *These characters are afterwards changed into arbitrary sounds, altogether unessential to them, with which the mind thinks.* It reckons, therefore, with counters, sounds, and ciphers; for no one, who is acquainted with two languages, will believe, that there is an essential connexion between sounds and thoughts, not to say between sounds and things. Yet how many more languages than two are there upon Earth! and in all of them reason calculates, and satisfies itself with the magic lantern of an arbitrary connection. And why does it so? because itself possesses nothing but unessential characters, and it is a matter of indifference to it at bottom, whether it reckon with these figures, or with those. Melancholy prospect for the history of humankind! Opinions and errors, therefore, are inevitable from our nature; not from any fault of the observer, but from the very mode in which our ideas are generated, and in which they are propagated by reason and language. If we thought in things instead of abstract characters, and expressed the nature of things instead of arbitrary signs; farewell error and opinion, we should live in the land of truth. But now how far are we from it, even when we fancy ourselves standing on it's confines! since what I know of a thing is only an external detached symbol of it, clothed in another arbitrary symbol. If another man understand me, if he affix to the word I employ the same idea as I affixed to it, or indeed no idea, still he reckons on with the word, and gives it to others perhaps as an empty nutshell. This is the way of all sects of philosophy and religion. The founder had at least clear ideas of what he said, though probably erroneous ones: his scholars and followers understood him after their own manner; that is, they affixed their own ideas to his words, and at length echoed nothing but empty sounds into men's ears. Manifest are the imperfections in the sole means of propagating human thoughts: yet to this our improvement is enchained, and we cannot emancipate ourselves from it.

From this important consequences for the history of man may be deduced. *First*, since God has chosen this mean for our improvement, we could scarcely have been formed for mere speculation, or for purely contemplative lives; since either of these can be pursued but very imperfectly in our sphere. Not for pure contemplation; which is either a deception, since no man sees the interior of things, or at least remains wholly incommunicable, as it admits not of characters and words. Scarcely is the contemplative able to point out to an-

other the way, in which he attained his nameless treasures; and then it depends altogether on that other, and on his genius, how far he can participate in his contemplations. This necessarily opens the door to a thousand vain perplexities of the mind, and innumerable kinds of artful deceptions, as the history of all nations shows. As little can man have been created for speculation; since, from the way in which it is engendered and communicated, it is not a whit more perfect, and too frequently fills the heads of those, who repeat the speculations of others, with empty words. And when these two extremes, speculation and contemplation, attempt to unite, and the metaphysical enthusiast points to a speechless reason filled with contemplations; alas, poor human nature, thou floatest in a space of non-entity, between freezing heat and burning cold. By language the deity has led us a safer middle way. By it we acquire only ideas of the understanding; and they are sufficient to us for the enjoyment of nature, the application of our powers, the sound employment of life, the improvement of our humanity. We were not intended to respire ether, for which our machine is not adapted, but the wholesome air of our own Earth.

And can men be as distant from one another in the sphere of true and useful ideas, as proud speculation supposes? Both the history of nations, and the nature of reason and language, forbid me to think so. The poor savage, who has seen but few things, and combined very few ideas, proceeds in combining them after the same manner as the first of philosophers. He has language like them; and by means of it exercises his understanding and memory, his imagination and recollection, a thousand ways. Whether this be in a wider or narrower circle, is little to the purpose; he still exercises them after the manner of humankind. The philosopher of Europe cannot name a single faculty of the mind, that is peculiar to himself: nay Nature affords abundant compensation in the proportion of the faculties and their exercise. In many savages, for instance, the memory, the imagination, practical wisdom, promptitude of decision, accuracy of judgment, and liveliness of expression, flourish in a degree seldom attained by the artificial reason of European philosophers. It is true, the man of learning calculates, with his verbal ideas and ciphers, infinitely nice and artificial combinations, which never enter into the thoughts of the man of nature: but is a closeted multiplication-table the model of all human perfection, strength, and happiness? Be it, that the savage thinks in images, what he is incapable of conceiving abstractedly; even if he have no definite thought, that is no word, for God, and enjoys him as the great spirit of the creation active in his life; yet so he lives grateful, as he lives contentedly: and if he believe in the immortality of the soul, though he cannot demonstrate it in verbal

iphers, he goes to the land of his fathers with more tranquillity than many a word-learned sceptic.

Let us then adore kind Providence, for having rendered men intrinsically more similar to each other, by the imperfect but general mean of language, than their exterior indicates. By speech alone we all attain to reason; and by tradition, by belief in the words of our fathers, to speech. As he would be the most unteachable learner of language, who should require a cause and reason for the first use of words; a similar belief in things so difficult as experience and the observation of nature must lead us, with due precaution, through our whole lives. He who trusts not his senses is a fool, and must remain an idle speculatist; while he who trusting exercises them, and thereby inquires and corrects himself, alone obtains a treasure of experience for his sublunary life. To him language with all its limitations is sufficient; for it is designed only, to make the observer attentive, and lead him to an active use of his own mental powers. A nicer idiom, penetrating like the sunbeam, on one hand could not be universal, and on the other would be a real inconvenience in the present sphere of our gross activity. It is the same with the language of the heart; which can say but little, and yet says enough: nay, in a certain degree our human language is formed more for the heart than for the head. Gesture, motion, the thing itself, may come in to aid the understanding: but the feelings of our heart must lie hidden in our breast, if the melodious stream convey them not in gentle waves to the heart of another. For this reason the creator chose the music of sounds as the organ of our improvement; a language of feeling, a language of parent, child, and friend. Creatures, that cannot yet touch each other intimately, stand as behind lattices, and coo forth to each other the words of love: in beings, that speak the language of light or some other organ, the whole form and chain of their improvement necessarily differs.

Secondly. *A philosophical comparison of languages* would form the best essay on the history and diversified character of the human heart and understanding: for every language bears the stamp of the mind and character of a people. Not only do the organs of speech vary with climates, not only are there certain sounds and letters peculiar to almost every nation, but the giving of names, even in denoting audible things, nay in the immediate expressions of the passions, in interjections, varies over all the Earth. With respect to visible things, and subjects of cool reflection, this variation is still greater: and in allegorical expressions, in figures of speech, in the structure of a language lastly, in the relation, arrangement, and connexion of its parts, it is almost infinite: though still the genius of a people is no where more displayed than in the physiognomy

of their language. For instance, whether a nation have many names, or much action; how it expresses time and person; to what order of ideas it is attached; is often extremely characteristic in nice features. Many nations have a particular language for either sex: in others even condition is discriminated in the simple word *I*. The verbs of active nations have an abundance of moods: refined nations have a number of modifications of things, which they have exalted to abstract notions. Finally, the most singular part of human languages is the delineation of men's feelings, the expressions of love and esteem, of reproof and adulation, in which the weaknesses of a people are often laughably displayed*. Why can I yet quote no work, that has even in a slight degree fulfilled the wish of Bacon, Leibnitz, Sulzer, and others, for a *general physiognomy of nations from their languages*? Numerous materials for such a work are extant in the grammars and books of travels of particular nations; and it would be neither extremely difficult nor prolix, were every thing superfluous rejected, and good use made of what might be placed in a striking light. It would be as far from wanting instructive charms, which must occur at every step; since all the qualities of a people offer themselves to the various purposes of the observer in their practical understanding, imaginations, manners, and way of life, as a garden of the human species: and finally the richest *architecture of human ideas*, the best *logic and metaphysics of a sound understanding*, would arise from it. The laurel is not yet gathered; it waits for the appearance in due time of another Leibnitz.

The history of the revolutions of any particular language would be a similar task. As an example to us Germans, I would take the language of our country in particular: for though it has not been intermixed like others with foreign languages, yet it has essentially altered, and that even with respect to its grammar, since the time of Ottfried. The comparison of different cultivated languages with the various revolutions of the people that speak them would give, with every stroke of light and shade, a kind of changeable picture of the varied progressive improvement of the human mind, which, I am persuaded, has flourished in every dialect throughout all ages. Nations exist in the infancy, youth, manhood, and old age of the human species: and how many have been engrafted upon others, or arisen from their ashes!

Lastly the tradition of traditions, *writing*, is to be considered. If language be the mean of improving men as *men*, writing is the mean of improving them

* To give instances would lead me too far: they belong not to this book, but will appear in a

in *erudition*. All nations, who have been destitute of this artificial tradition, have remained, according to our ideas, uncultivated; while they, who have enjoyed it but imperfectly, have immortalized their understanding and laws by embalming them in letters. The mortal who invented the art of enchaining the fugitive mind, not by words merely, but by letters, acted as a deity among mankind*.

But what was obvious with respect to language is still more evident here, namely, that though this mean of perpetuating our thoughts fixes both the spirit and the letter, it in various ways fetters and restrains them. Not only are the living accents and gestures, which formerly gave language such power to penetrate the heart, gradually extinguished by writing; not only are dialects, and consequently the characteristic idioms of particular tribes and nations, rendered less numerous; but the memories of men, and the spirit of their mental powers, are enfeebled by this artificial assistance of prescribed forms of thought. The human mind would long ago have been stifled beneath books and learning, had not Providence given it breath by many destructive revolutions. The understanding, shackled with letters, creeps on laboriously: our best thoughts are crippled by dead written characters. All this, however, prevents not the tradition of writing from being the most durable, quiet, efficacious institution of God, by means of which nation acts upon nation, age upon age, and through which probably the whole human species will in time find itself encircled in one chain of fraternal tradition.

CHAPTER III.

All the Arts and Sciences of Mankind have been invented through Imitation, Reason, and Language.

As soon as man, by whatever god or genius led, was brought to appropriate to himself a thing as a sign, and to substitute an arbitrary character for the sign he had found, in other words, as soon as the language of reason commenced with the slightest beginnings, he was in the road to every art and science. For what does human reason more, in the invention of all these, than remark and designate? Thus with language, the most difficult of arts, a prototype of all the rest was in a certain degree given.

* The history of this invention and others, as far as they belong to the picture of man, will follow hereafter.

The man, for example, who conceived a mark of designation from an animal, in so doing laid the foundations of domesticating tameable animals, benefitting himself by such as were useful, and rendering himself the general lord of every thing in nature: for in every one of his appropriations he does nothing in reality but mark the characters of a tameable, useful being, to be employed for his own convenience, and designate it by language or pattern. In the gentle sheep, for instance, he remarked the milk sucked by the lamb, and the wool that warmed his hand, and endeavoured to appropriate each to his own use. In the tree, to the fruit of which he was guided by hunger, he remarked leaves, with which he might gird himself, wood, that would afford him heat. Thus he leaped on the back of the steed, that he might carry him; and kept him, that he might carry him again. He observed Nature, how she brought up her children, and protected them from danger: he observed the beasts, how they nourished and defended themselves. Thus he got into the road to every art, through nothing but the internal generation of a distinct mark, and the retention of it in a fact, or some other note; in short through language. Through it, and it alone, were observation, recognition, remembrance, possession, and a chain of thought, possible; and thus in time were born the arts and sciences, daughters of designating Reason, and Imitation for some purpose.

Bacon has already wished for an art of invention: but as it's theory would be difficult, and perhaps useless, a *history of inventions* would probably be the most instructive work, that the divinities and geniuses of the human species could frame for an everlasting model to their successors. In this it would every where appear, how accident and fate had presented a new mark to the eye of one inventor, introduced a new character as an instrument into the mind of another, and for the most part by a slight approximation of two long known thoughts given birth to an art, that operated on future ages. Such have often been invented and again forgotten: their theory existed, but they were not yet carried into practice, till some one more fortunate brought the hidden gold into circulation, or from a new station moved worlds with a trifling lever. Perhaps there is no species of history, that so evidently shows a superiour destiny ruling over human affairs, as that of the invention and improvement of arts, of which we are apt to be most vain. The character, and the material of it's designation, had long existed: but it was now for the first time remarked, now first designated. The production of an art, as of a human being, was an instant of pleasure, an union between idea and character, between body and spirit.

It is with reverence I trace the inventions of the human mind to this simple

principle of it's observing and describing understanding: for this is what is truly divine in man, this is his characteristic excellence. All, who use a learned language, wander, as if their reason were in a dream; they think with the reason of others, and are but imitatively wise: for is he, who employs the art of another, himself an artist? But he, in whose mind native thoughts arise, and form a body for themselves; he, who sees not with the eye alone, but with the understanding, and describes not with the tongue, but with the mind; he, who is so happy as to observe Nature in her creative laboratory, espy new marks of her operations, and turn them to some human purpose by implements of art; he is properly a man, and as such seldom appear, he is a god among men. He speaks, and thousands lift his words: he creates, and others play with what he has produced: he was a man, and children perhaps come after him again for centuries. A view of the World, and the history of nations, give us numerous proofs, how rarely inventors appear among mankind, and how indolently men adhere to what they possess, without troubling themselves for what is still wanting: nay the history of civilization sufficiently demonstrates the same.

Thus with the arts and sciences a new tradition pervades the human species; and while it is given but to a happy few, to add new links to the chain, the rest cling to it like industrious slaves, and mechanically drag it along. As this sugared water passed through many hands ere it came to me, and I have no other merit than that of swallowing it; so are our reason and way of life, our learning and acquired arts, our military and political science, a combination of the thoughts and inventions of others, which have been derived to us from all parts of the World without any merit of our own, and in which we have sunk or swum from our earliest youth.

Vain therefore is the boast of so many europeans, when they set themselves above the people of all the other quarters of the Globe, in what they call arts, sciences, and cultivation, and, as the madman by the ships in the port of Piræus, deem all the inventions of Europe their own, for no other reason, but because they were born amid the confluence of these inventions and traditions. Poor creature! hast thou invented any of these arts? have thy own thoughts any thing to do in all the traditions thou hast sucked in? thy having learned to use them is the work of a machine: thy having imbibed the waters of science is the merit of a sponge, that has grown on the humid soil. Steer thy frigate to Otaheite, bid thy cannon roar along the shores of the New Hebrides, still thou art not superiour in skill or ability to the inhabitant of the South-Sea islands, who guides with art the boat, which he has constructed with his own hand. Even the savages themselves have had an obscure perception of this, as

soon as they became more intimately acquainted with Europeans. In the preparation of their implements they appeared to them unknown superior beings, before whom they bowed themselves, and whom they saluted with reverence: but when the savage perceived, that they were vulnerable, mortal, liable to disease, and more feeble in bodily exercises than himself, he dreaded the art, but slew the man, whose art was no part of himself. This is applicable to all European cultivation. If the language of a people, even in books, be delicate and modest, every one who reads these books, and speaks this language, is not therefore to be concluded modest and delicate. How he reads, and how he speaks, are the question: and even then he thinks and speaks only after others, whose thoughts and expressions he follows. The savage, who in his narrower circle thinks for himself, and expresses himself in it with more truth, precision, and force; he, who in the sphere of his activity knows how to employ his mental and corporal faculties, his practical understanding, and few implements, with art, and with presence of mind; is palpably, man for man, more cultivated than the politic or learned machine, that sits like a child on a lofty stage, erected, alas! by the hands of others, nay perhaps by the labour of all preceding ages. The man of nature, on the contrary, more limited indeed, but a sounder, abler man, stands firmly on the ground. No one will deny Europe to be the repository of art, and of the inventive understanding of man: the destiny of ages has deposited its treasures there: they are augmented and employed in it. But every one, who makes use of them has not therefore the understanding of the inventors: nay, this very use tends to render the understanding inactive; for while I have the instrument of another for my purpose, I shall scarcely take the trouble, to invent one for myself.

It is a far more difficult point to determine, what the arts and sciences have contributed to the happiness of mankind, or how far they have increased it: and I do not think the question is to be answered with a simple affirmative or negative, since here, as in every thing else, all depends on the use made of what has been invented. That there are finer and more artificial implements in the World, so that more is done with less exertion, and consequently much human labour is spared where it can be dispensed with, admits not of question. It is equally incontestible, that every art and science knits a new bond of society, of that mutual want, without which men of art cannot live. But, on the other hand, whether this increase of wants extend the narrow circle of human happiness; whether art be capable of actually adding any thing to nature, or whether nature be not rather debilitated and dispensed with in many by means of art; whether all talents of art or science have not excited propensities in the

human breast, which render the attainment of man's highest blessing, content, much more rare and difficult, as the internal restlessness occasioned by these propensities must be incessantly at war with contentment; nay, finally, whether the concourse of men, and the augmentation of their sociability, have not converted many towns and countries into poor-houses and artificial hospitals, in the close atmosphere of which pallid human nature withers; and whether, while men are supported by so many unearned alms of science, art, and policy, they have not for the most part assumed the nature of beggars, applying themselves to all the arts of begging, and consequently incurring the effects of beggary: these, and many others, are questions, that luminous History, the daughter of Time, alone can solve.

Messengers of Fate, men of genius and invention, on what beneficial yet dangerous heights have you exercised your divine calling. You invented, but not for yourselves: it was not in your power to determine how the world, how posterity, should employ your inventions, what they should annex to them, what of new or opposite to them they would discover from analogy. The jewel often lay buried for centuries, and cocks scratched up the ground over it; till at length perhaps it was found by some unworthy mortal, and transferred to the crown of a monarch, not always to shine with beneficent splendour. You, however, performed your work, and gave posterity a treasure, dug up by your restless minds, or thrown into your lap by disposing Fate. Thus also you left to disposing Fate the effects and uses of your discoveries, who has done with them what seemed to her good. In periodical revolutions she has either perfected thoughts, or permitted them to perish, always contriving to mix and correct the poison with its antidote, the injurious with the beneficial. The inventor of gunpowder little thought, what destruction both of the political and physical powers of man would ensue from the explosion of his black dust; still less could he see, what we are scarcely able to conjecture, how the beneficent seeds of a different constitution of posterity will germinate from this barrel of powder, the fearful throne of many a despot. Does not thunder clear the air? When the giants of the Earth are destroyed, must not Hercules himself turn his hand to gentler works? The man, who first noticed the polarity of the magnet, saw neither the happiness nor misery, that this magic gift, aided by a thousand other arts, would confer on every quarter of the Globe; till here too, perhaps, some new catastrophe will compensate old evils, or engender new. So it is with the discoveries of glass, gold, iron, clothing, writing, printing, astronomy, and all the sciences. The wonderful connexion, that appears to prevail in the development and periodical improvement of these inventions; the

singular manner, in which one limits and mitigates the effect of others; all belong to the sovereign economy of God with regard to our species, the true philosophy of our history.

CHAPTER IV.

Governments are established Regulations among Men, chiefly founded on hereditary Tradition.

THE natural state of man is society: for in this he is born and brought up to this he is led by the awakening propensities of his youth; and the most pleasing appellations of father, son, brother, sister, lover, friend, are ties of the law of Nature, that exist in every primitive society of men. On these too the first governments have been founded: family regulations, without which the species could not subsist; laws, that Nature gave, and sufficiently limited. We will call this *the first step of natural government*: it will ever remain the highest, and the last.

Here Nature terminated her foundations of society, and left it to the reason or necessities of men, to erect higher structures upon them. In all those regions, where particular tribes and races have less need of each other's assistance, they concern themselves less about each other, and in consequence have never thought of forming one large political association. Such are the coasts inhabited by fishermen, the pastures of the shepherd, the forests of the hunter: in these, where paternal and domestic government ceases, the farther connexion between men is founded chiefly on compact, or on some office conferred. A nation of hunters, for instance, proceed to the chase: if they want a leader, it is a leader of the hunt; and for this purpose they elect the most skilful, whom they obey from their own free choice, and for the common end they have in view. All animals that live in herds have such a leader: in journeyings, defences, attacks, and all common occupations in general of a number, such a king of the game is necessary. Such an establishment we will call *the second step of natural government*: it is to be found among all people, that care for nothing but the supply of their wants, and live, as we term it, in the state of nature. Even the elected judge of a nation belongs to this step of government: for the wisest and best is chosen to this post, as to an office, and with the execution of his office his sovereignty terminates.

But how different is it with the third step, hereditary government! In this

where do the laws of Nature cease? or where do they begin? That the most wise and just of their fellows should be chosen by disputants as a judge, was in the natural course of things; and when he had so approved himself, he might remain so as long as he lived. But when the old man dies, why is his son to be judge? His being begotten by a just and wise father is no reason; for neither wisdom nor justice is hereditary. Still less, from the nature of the case, is the nation bound to acknowledge him as such, because his father was once chosen judge for personal reasons: since the son is not the father. And if it should think fit to establish it as a law for all its generations yet unborn, to acknowledge him as judge, and enter into a compact, in the name of the reason of them all to the end of time, that every future descendant of this stem should be born the judge, leader, and shepherd, of the nation, in other words, the most valiant, just, and wise, of the whole people, by every one of whom he should be so acknowledged to be on the score of his birth; it would be difficult, to reconcile an hereditary compact of this kind, I will not say with justice, but with reason. Nature distributes not her noblest gifts to particular families; and the right of blood, according to which one unborn shall have a claim to rule over others yet unborn, in right of his birth, at whatever future period they may happen to come into the World, is to me one of the most obscure phrases in human language.

There must have been other grounds, that introduced hereditary governments among men; and with respect to these grounds history is by no means silent. What has given Germany, what has given polished Europe its governments? War. Hordes of barbarians overran this quarter of the Globe: their leaders and nobles divided the land and the inhabitants among them. Hence sprung principalities and fiefs: hence the villanage of the subjugated people: the conquerors were in possession; and all the alterations, that have taken place in this possession in the course of time, have been determined by revolutions, by war, by mutual agreement between the powerful, and in every case therefore by the law of the stronger. History proceeds in this royal way, and historical facts cannot be disputed. What brought the World under the sway of Rome? What made Greece and the east bow to the sceptre of Alexander? What has founded all the monarchies, that have existed since the time of Sesostris and the fabulous Semiramis, and again overturned them? War. forcible conquest, therefore, has assumed the place of right, and has afterwards become law by course of years, or as our politicians phrase it, by a tacit compact: but the tacit compact in this case is nothing more, than that the stronger takes what he will, and the weaker gives what he cannot preserve, or endures what

he cannot avoid. Thus the right of hereditary government depends, like almost every other hereditary possession, on a chain of traditions, the first link of which was forged by force or accident, and which has been drawn out occasionally it is true by wisdom and goodness, but for the most part either by fortune or force. Heirs and descendants received what their progenitor took: and that to him, who has much, more is ever given, that he might have abundance, requires no farther illustration; as it is the natural consequence of the abovementioned first possession of lands and men.

Let it not be supposed, that this is true of monarchies alone, as monsters of conquest, and that the primitive kingdoms may have had a different origin; for in what other way could they possibly have originated? As long as a father ruled over his family, he was a father, and permitted his sons likewise to become fathers, over whom he sought no other sway than that of advice. As long as several families chose themselves from their own free deliberation judges or leaders for a particular purpose, they who bore the office were only servants of the common weal, the appointed presidents of the society: the names of sovereign, monarch, absolute, arbitrary, hereditary despot, were unknown to a people so constituted. But if the nation slumbered, and left their father, leader, and judge, to act for them; if, lastly, in drowsy gratitude, they put into his hand, whether on account of his merit, power, wealth, or any other cause, an hereditary sceptre, that he might conduct them and their children as a shepherd conducts a flock of sheep; what relation can we perceive between the two parties, but that of feebleness on the one side, and might on the other; that is, in fact, the right of the stronger? When Nimrod first killed beasts, and afterwards subjugated men, in both instances he was a hunter. The leader of a colony or horde, whom men followed like animals, soon availed himself of the right of men over animals in his behaviour towards them. Thus it was with those, by whom nations were civilized: while they were employed in civilizing them, they were the fathers, the instructors, of the people, the maintainers of the laws for the general good: as soon as they became absolute or indeed hereditary rulers, they were the strong commanding the weak. A fox often stepped into the place of the lion, and then the fox was the stronger: for strength consists not in force of arms alone; address, cunning, and artful deceit, are commonly still more effectual. In short, the great difference between men in the gifts of body, of mind, or of fortune, has established despotism and servitude on the Earth, varying in form according to the country, the age, or the way of life of the people; and in many places one kind has only given way to another. Warlike mountaineers, for example, have overrun

the peaceful plains : climate, necessity, want, had rendered them strong and courageous ; accordingly they spread themselves over the Earth as it's lords, till they were subdued by luxury in milder climates, and then fell under the yoke of others. Thus has our old Earth been a prey to violence ; and it's history forms a melancholy picture of man-hunting, and conquests : almost every little variation of a boundary, every new epoch, is delineated in the book of Time with the blood of human victims, and the tears of the oppressed. The most celebrated names are those of murderers of mankind, crowned or crownseeking executioners ; and what is still more to be lamented, the worthiest men have often been compelled by necessity, to appear on the dark scaffold, where the chains of their brethren were forged. Whence comes it, that the histories of kingdoms display so few rational purposes ? Because the greatest and most of their events originated not from any rational views : for the passions, not humanity, have overpowered the Earth, and urged it's people like wild beasts against each other. Had it pleased Providence, to permit us to be governed by superiour beings, how different would the history of man have appeared ! But instead of this, they have been for the most part *heroes*, that is to say ambitious men, possessed of power, or artful and enterprizing, who have spun the thread of events under the guidance of Passion, and woven it as it pleased Fate. If nothing else in the history of the World indicated the inferiority of the human species, the history of governments would demonstrate it ; according to which the greater part of our Earth merits not such a name, but that of Mars or child-devouring Saturn.

Now shall we complain of Providence for creating the different regions of our Earth so dissimilar, and dividing her gifts so unequally among mankind ? Such a complaint would be idle and unjust, for it would be at variance with the obvious end of our species. If the Earth were designed to be inhabited, mountains must necessarily form a part of it, and their ridges must produce hardy mountaineers. If these poured down and subdued the voluptuous inhabitants of the plains, the voluptuous inhabitants of the plains for the most part deserved this subjugation : for why did they suffer themselves to be subdued ? why slumbered they on the lap of Nature in childish luxury and folly ? It may be admitted as a principle in history, that no people are oppressed, but such as submit to oppression, and consequently deserve to be slaves. The coward only is born a slave ; the simple alone is destined by Nature to serve the wise : thus each is in his place, and would be unhappy were he forced to command.

Besides, the inequality of men is not so great by nature, as it is rendered by

education ; as the qualities of the very same people under different forms of government flow. The noblest nation soon loses its dignity under the yoke of despotism ; the very marrow is crushed in its bones ; and as its finest and most exquisite talents are abused to the purposes of falsehood and deceit, of crawling servility and dissolute voluptuousness, can we wonder, that it ultimately habituates itself to the yoke, kisses its chains, and decorates them with flowers ? Lamentable as this fate of mankind is both in history and in common life, since scarcely a nation has ever risen afresh out of the abyss of habitual slavery, without the miracle of a complete regeneration ; this wretchedness is evidently not the work of Nature, but of man. Nature extended the bonds of society only to families : beyond that, she left mankind at liberty to knit them, and to frame their most delicate work of art, bodies politic, as they thought proper. If they framed them wisely, happiness was their reward : if they chose, or endured, tyranny and bad forms of government, they had to bear the burden. Their good parent could do no more than instruct them by reason, by the tradition of history, or lastly by their own proper feeling of pain and misery. Thus the internal degeneration of mankind alone made way for the vices and depravities of governments : for, even under the most oppressive despotism, has not the slave always shared with his lord in plunder, and is not the despot always the greatest slave ?

But our unweariedly beneficent mother abandons not her children in the deepest degeneracy, contriving at least to diminish the bitterness of oppression by forgetfulness and habit. As long as nations retain their vigilance and activity, or where Nature feeds them with the hard bread of industry, no effeminate sultans exist : a rude land, a hardy way of life, are the guardians of their freedom. On the other hand, where nations sleep on her softer bosom, and suffer the net to be drawn over them, their consoling parent at least aids the oppressed with her milder gifts : for despotism always presupposes a kind of feebleness, and consequently more conveniences, arising either from the gifts of Nature, or from those of art. In most countries under despotic government Nature feeds and clothes man almost without any labour, so that he accommodates himself to the passing storm, and after it is over inhales the cool air, thoughtlessly and ignobly indeed, but not without enjoyment. The lot of men, and their destination to earthly happiness, are in general connected neither with servitude nor dominion. The poor may be happy, the slave may be free in his chains : the despot and his instruments are for the most part, and frequently throughout their whole race, the most miserable and unworthy of slaves.

As all the points on which I have thus far touched must receive their proper illustration from history, their display cannot be separated from the thread of it. For the present let me be permitted a few general hints.

1. A ready but bad fundamental principle of the philosophy of history would be: 'man is an animal, that needs a master, and must derive the happiness of his destination from this master, or from a connexion with him.' The proposition ought to be reversed: 'the man who needs a master is a mere animal; as soon as he becomes a man, a master is no longer necessary to him.' Nature has pointed out no master to the human species: brutal vices and passions render one necessary. The wife requires a husband; the husband, a wife; the untutored child has need of instructing parents; the sick, of a physician; the disputer, of a judge; the herd, of a leader. These are natural relations, existing in the notions of the things themselves. The idea of his wanting a despot in the form of a man like himself is not natural to the mind of man: we must first suppose him weak, to need a protector; incapable of managing his own concerns, to require a guardian; wild, that some one may be necessary to tame him; detestable, to demand a minister of vengeance. Thus all human governments arose from necessity, and exist only in consequence of its continuance. As he is a bad father, who educates his child in such a manner, that he may continue all his lifetime in a state of incapacity, and never cease to want a tutor; as he is a bad physician, who cherishes a disease, that the poor patient may not be able to dispense with his attendance till death; apply the same reasoning to the teachers of the human species, to the fathers of countries and their pupils. Either these must be altogether incapable of improvement; or, during the thousands of years that men have been governed, what they can become, and to what purposes they have been trained by their teachers, must be perceptible. The purposes will clearly be seen in the course of this work.

2. Nature educates families: the most natural state therefore is *one* nation, with one national character. This it retains for ages, and this is most naturally formed, when it is the object of its native princes: for a nation is as much a natural plant as a family, only with more branches. Nothing therefore appears to directly opposite to the end of government as the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixture of various races and nations under one sceptre. A human sceptre is far too weak and slender for such incongruous parts to be engrafted upon it: glued together indeed they may be into a fragile machine, termed a machine of state, but destitute of internal vivification and sympathy of parts. Kingdoms of this kind, which render the name of fathers of their country scarcely applicable to the best of potentates, appear in history like that type of

monarchies in the vision of the prophet, where the lion's head, the dragon's tail, the eagle's wings, and the paws of a bear, combined in one unpatriotic figure of a state. Such machines are pieced together like the trojan horse; guaranteeing one another's immortality, though, destitute of national character, there is no life in them, and nothing but the curse of Fate can condemn to immortality the forced union: for the very politics that framed them are those, that play with men and nations as with inanimate substances. But history sufficiently shows, that these instruments of human pride are formed of clay, and, like all other clay, will dissolve, or crumble to pieces.

3. As, in all associations between men, mutual assistance and security are the chief ends of their union; so, in all states, the natural order is the best: namely, that each of it's members should be what he was designed by Nature. As soon as the sovereign steps into the place of the creator, and, prompted by his own will or passions, endeavours to make the creature what God never intended: this heaven-controlling despotism becomes the parent of every disorder, and inevitable misfortune. Now as all ranks of men established by tradition counteract in a certain degree Nature, who has confined her gifts to no rank; it is not to be wondered, that most nations, after having tried various forms of government, and experienced the inconveniencies of each, have at length recurred in despair to that which renders them altogether machines, to despotic hereditary government. They said, like the king of the jews, when three evils were offered to him: 'let us rather fall into the hands of the lord, than into the hands of men:' and surrendered themselves at discretion to the will of Providence, submitting to whatever ruler Heaven might send them: for the tyranny of aristocracy is a severe tyranny, and popular sway is a very leviathan. Accordingly, all christian potentates style themselves *so by the grace of God*; thus acknowledging, that they derive their crowns, not from their own merit, which indeed could not exist before they were born, but from the will of Providence, which permitted them to be born on a throne. The claim of desert they must acquire by their own labours; with which it is incumbent on them to justify Providence, for acknowledging them worthy of their high office: for the office of a prince is nothing less than that of a god among men, a superiour being in a mortal form. The few, that have been sensible of this distinguished calling, shine like stars amid the endless night, dark with clouds of ordinary rulers; and animate the lost wanderer in his melancholy progress through the political history of mankind.

O for another Montesquieu, to feast us with the spirit of laws and governments on our Globe only during the centuries best known to us! not ac-

according to the empty names of three or four forms of government, which are alike in no two places, and never remain the same: not according to the political maxims of states; for no state is founded on verbal principles, and still less could any one adhere to them invariably at all times, and under all circumstances: not from detached examples, taken from all nations, times, and climates, out of which, in this confusion, the genius of our Earth himself could not form a whole: but solely by a philosophical animated representation of civil history; in which, uniform as it appears, no one scene occurs twice; and which, fearfully instructive, completes the picture of the vices and virtues of mankind and their governors, according to place and time always changing, always the same.

CHAPTER V.

Religion is the most ancient and sacred Tradition upon the Earth.

WEARY and tired of all these changes of climates, times, and nations, can we find on the Globe, no standard of the common property and excellence of our fraternity? Yes: the disposition to *reason*, *humanity*, and *religion*, the three graces of human life. All states have had a late origin, and arts and sciences have arisen in them still later; but families are the eternal work of nature, the progressive establishment, in which she plants the seeds of humanity, and fosters its growth. Languages vary with every people, in every climate; but in all languages one and the same type-searching human reason is conspicuous. Thus traces of religion, however different its garb may be, are found even among the poorest and rudest nations on the verge of the Earth. The greenlander and kamtschadale, the peshera and papoo, have notions of religion, as customs or traditions show: nay, were there a single people totally destitute of religion among the ancients, or those savages of the indian islands, who have been compelled to hide themselves in the woods, this very want would be a proof of the highly savage stage, to which they were reduced.

Now whence is the religion of these people derived? Can these poor creatures have invented their religious worship as a sort of natural theology? Certainly not; for, absorbed in labour, they invent nothing, but in all things follow the traditions of their forefathers. At the same time, they have been totally destitute of hints for this invention from external objects: for, if they learned to make bows and arrows, fishing tackle and clothing, from animals or from nature; in what beast, in what natural object, could they see religion? or from

what one could they learn, to worship a deity? Here therefore *tradition has been the propagator of their religion and sacred rites, as of their language and slight degree of civilization.*

Hence it directly follows, that *religious tradition could employ no other means, than those which were used by reason and speech, namely symbols.* If thoughts, to be propagated, must become words; if every institution must have a visible sign, in order to be transmitted to others and to posterity; how can that which is unseen be rendered perceptible, or an ancient history be preserved to future ages, but by words or characters? Hence, among the most uncultivated people, the language of religion is ever the most ancient and obscure; often unintelligible even to the initiated, much more to strangers. The most expressive sacred symbols of every people, however nicely adapted to the climate and nation, frequently become void of meaning in a few generations. And no wonder: for this must happen to every language, to every institution with arbitrary characters, unless they be often brought into comparison with their objects by common use, and thus retained in significant remembrance. In religion this actual comparison is difficult, if not impracticable; for the symbol refers either to an invisible idea, or an ancient history.

Thus it must inevitably follow, that *priests, the original philosophers of a nation, could not always remain so*: for as soon as the signification of the symbols were lost to them, they must become either the blind servants of idolatry, or the lying preachers of superstition. And so they have richly proved themselves almost every where; not from any particular propensity to deception, but from the natural course of things. In language, in every science, in every art and institution, the same destiny prevails: the ignorant, who endeavours to speak, or to teach an art, must conceal, must feign, must dissemble: a false appearance assumes the place of lost truth. This is *the history of all the mysteries* upon Earth: at first they concealed much, that was well worthy of being known; but in the end, particularly when the wisdom of men separated itself from them, they degenerated into despicable nonsense; and thus, the sanctuary being reduced to an empty shell, the priests at length became wretched deceivers.

They by whom the priests were chiefly exposed as such were the *princes and philosophers.* The princes, being soon led by their high rank, in which all power was vested, to the uncontrolled exercise of their own will, thought it a duty of their rank, to restrain an invisible superiour power, and consequently to annihilate it's symbols, or tolerate them as wires to move the puppet people. Hence the unhappy conflict between the throne and the altar in all half-civi-

lized nations, till men at length attempted to unite them, and thus produced to the world the incongruous structure of a throne on the altar, or an altar on the throne. In this unequal contest, the degenerate priests must necessarily continue to lose ground; for invisible belief had to contend against visible power, and the shadow of an ancient tradition against the splendour of that golden sceptre, which the priests themselves had formerly consecrated, and placed in the hand of the monarch. Thus with increasing civilization the days of priestly dominion passed away: the despot, who originally wore his crown in the name of the deity, now found it more easy to support it in his own; and to this the people were accustomed both by the sovereign and the philosopher.

Now, in the first place, it is unquestionable, that *religion alone introduced the first rudiments of civilization and science among all people; nay, that these rudiments were originally nothing more than a kind of religious tradition.* The little civilization and science we find in all savage nations, even at present, are connected with their religion. The language of their religion is an exalted solemn language, which not only accompanies their sacred rites with song and dance, but for the most part proceeds from the tales of the primitive world; and is accordingly the only relic these people have of ancient story, their sole memorial of antiquity, their single glimmer of science. The numbering and observance of days, the foundation of all chronology, is or was every where sacred: the magi of all quarters of the Globe appropriated to themselves the knowledge of the heavens and of nature, however humble it was. The arts of physic and soothsaying, the occult sciences and interpretation of dreams, the knowledge of writing, acts of atonement to the gods, of satisfaction to the dead and obtaining accounts from them, in short, the whole of the dark realm of doubts, respecting which human curiosity is ever on the wing, are in the hands of their priests; so that, in many nations, one common worship, and religious festivals, are all that imparts to independent families the shadow of a whole. The history of civilization will show, that this was the case with the most cultivated nations. The science of the Egyptians, and of all the people of the east to the utmost verge of Asia, as well as of all the polished nations of antiquity in Europe, the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans, began in the bosom and under the veil of religious tradition: thus were poetry and arts, music and writing, history and physic, natural philosophy and metaphysics, astronomy and chronology, and even morals and politics, imparted to them. The most ancient philosophers did nothing but separate the seed that was given them, and raise plants from it; and these plants continued to be propagated through subsequent ages. We of

the north, too, have received our sciences in no other way but under the garb of religion: so that we may boldly affirm, from the history of all nations, the Earth is indebted for the seeds of all superiour degrees of cultivation to religious traditions, oral or written.

Secondly. The nature of the case itself confirms this historical assertion: for what raised man above the brute, and prevented him, even in his rudest state, from being degraded to the rank of a beast? It will be said, reason and speech. But as without speech he could not attain to reason; so he could acquire neither but by the observation of unity in multiplicity, by the perception of the invisible in the visible, by the connection of cause with effect. Thus a kind of religious feeling of invisible operative powers, in the whole chaos of being that surrounded him, must have preceded that first formation and connection of abstract ideas, and formed their basis. Savages have this feeling of the powers of nature, even when they have no express idea of God: a lively and active feeling, as their idolatry and superstition evince. In all sensitive ideas of merely visible things man acts like an animal: the conception of something invisible in what is visible, of a power in it's action, must lift him to the first steps of superiour reason. This conception is almost the only one, referrible to transcendant reason, that uncultivated nations possess, and which others have developed in a greater variety of words. It is the same with regard to the duration of the soul after death. In whatever way men acquired this notion, man in dying is distinguished from the brute by this general article of belief alone. No savage nation can philosophically demonstrate the immortality of the human soul: which is perhaps more than any one philosopher can do; for even he can only confirm by rational arguments the belief of this immortality, which is rooted in man's heart: yet this belief is universal. Even the kamtschadale displays it, when he places a dog by the side of his dead; as the new-hollander does, when he sinks the corpse of the deceased in the sea. No nation buries it's dead, as a man would bury a dog: every savage, when he dies, departs for the country of his fathers, for the land of souls. Thus religious traditions, and the internal feeling of an existence which knows no proper annihilation, precede scrutinizing reason; else this would not easily have attained the notion of immortality, or would have presented it in an abstract, unenergetic form. Accordingly, the universal belief in the continuance of our existence is the pyramid raised by Religion over the graves of all nations.

Lastly, shall the divine laws and rules of humanity, which display themselves, though but in fragments, among the most savage nations, have been discovered by reason, after the lapse perhaps of thousands of years, and be in-

debted for their foundation to this changeable image of human abstraction? I cannot think so, even on the ground of history. Had men been dispersed over the Earth like brutes, to invent the internal form of humanity for themselves; we must still find nations without language, without reason, without religion, and without morals: for as man has been, so man is still. But no history, no experience, informs us of any place where human ourang-outangs dwell; and the fables, which the late Diodorus, or still later Pliny, relates of the men without feeling and other not human men, have the marks of falshood on the very face of them; or at least are not to be credited on the testimony of such writers. In like manner the accounts of the uncultivated nations of antiquity, which poets give to exalt the fame of their Orpheus and their Cadmus, are certainly exaggerated: for the times in which these poets lived, and the aim of their legends, exclude them from the rank of authentic historians. To reason from the analogy of climate, no european, not to say grecian, nation, has ever been more savage, than the new-zealander or the pefheray: yet these scarcely human beings possess humanity, reason, and language. No cannibals devour their children or brothers: their inhuman practice is a savage right of war, to nourish their valour, and terrify their enemies. It is, therefore, nothing more or less, than the work of a gross political reason; which in those nations has overpowered humanity with regard to these few sacrifices to their country, as it is overpowered by us europeans, even in the present day, in some other respects. Before strangers they are ashamed of this barbarous practice, though we europeans blush not at killing men: nay they behave nobly and like brethren to every prisoner of war, on whom the fatal lot does not fall. All these things, even when the hottentot buries his child alive, and the eskimaux abridges the days of his aged parent, are consequences of lamentable necessity; which, in the mean time, are not inconsistent with the original feeling of humanity. Misguided reason, or unbridled luxury, has engendered many more singular abominations among us, to which the polygamy of the negro is not to be compared. But as no one will on this account deny, that the figure of humanity is engraven on the heart of the sodomite, the oppressor, the assassin, though almost effaced by his licentious manners and passions; permit me, after all I have read and examined concerning the nations of the Earth, to consider this internal disposition to humanity to be as universal as human nature, or rather to be properly speaking human nature itself. It is older than speculative reason, which first formed itself in man by means of observation and language; nay, which would have had no standard in practical cases, had it not borrowed one from the obscure image within us. If all the duties of man be merely con-

ventional, invented by himself as the instruments of happiness, and confirmed by experience; they instantly cease to be my duties, if I renounce happiness, their end. The syllogism of reason is thus completed. But how entered they into the head of him, who never speculated concerning happiness, and the means that produce it? how came the duties of marriage, of parental and filial affection, of social and domestic love, into the mind of man, before he had gathered experience of the advantages and disadvantages attending each of them, and thus must have been in a thousand different ways something less than human, before he became a man? No, benevolent God, thou didst not leave thy creature to murderous chance. To the brute thou gavest instinct; and on the mind of man didst thou impress thy image, religion and humanity: the outline of the statue lies there, deep in the block; but it cannot hew out, it cannot fashion itself. Tradition and learning, reason and experience, must do this; and thou hast supplied sufficient means. The rule of justice, the principles of social rights, even monogamy as the species of nuptial love most natural to man, affection towards children, gratitude towards friends and benefactors, and even a sense of the most mighty and beneficent of beings, are traces of this image, which, in this place and in that, are at one time suppressed, at another brought forward to view, but every where display, notwithstanding, the primitive dispositions of man, which he cannot renounce, wherever he perceives them. These dispositions, and their improvement, form the proper kingdom of God upon Earth; of which all men are citizens, only in different classes and degrees. Happy he, who can contribute to the extension of this kingdom of the true internal human creation! he envies no inventor his knowledge, no king his crown.

But who is the man, that will inform us, where and how this enlivening tradition of religion and humanity arose, and spread to the utmost borders of the Earth, where it loses itself in the obscurest traces? Who taught man language, which every child now learns from others, and no one discovers by his own reason? What were the first symbols man conceived, so that the first germs of civilization came to nations under the veil of a cosmogony and religious stories? On what hangs the first link of the chain of our species, and its spiritual and moral formation? Let us hear what the natural history of the Earth, and the most ancient tradition, tell us on these heads.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I.

Our Earth is an Earth peculiarly formed for it's animate Creation.

AS the philosopher is much in the dark respecting the origin of human history, and singularities occur in it's remotest periods, which will not accord with this system or with that, men have fallen on the desperate mode of cutting the knot, and have not only considered the Earth as the ruins of a former habitation, but have supposed the human species to be a remnant of the former inhabitants of this planet, who escaped perhaps in caves or mountains, from the revolution of it's Last day. Thus it's reason, arts, and traditions, are treasures saved from the wrecks of the primitive World * ; whence on the one hand, they appear from the beginning with a splendour derived from the experience of thousands of years ; and on the other, never can be clearly traced, while the remnant of the human species has served like an isthmus, at once to unite and to confound the cultivation of two worlds. If this opinion were true, there could be no such thing as a pure philosophy of the history of man ; for the human species itself, and all it's arts, would be nothing more than the recrement arising from the destruction of a former world. Let us inquire what foundation there is for an hypothesis, which makes an inexplicable chaos of our Earth itself, and of the history of it's inhabitants.

In the original formation of our earth, in my opinion, it has none : for the first apparent ravages and revolutions it has undergone presuppose no ancient history of man, but belong to the creative series, by which our Earth was

* See in particular the acute Essay on the Origin of the Discovery of Truth and Science, *Versuch ueber den Ursprung der Erkenntnijs der Wahrheit, &c.* Berlin, 1781. Many natural

philosophers have maintained in common the hypothesis, that our Globe is formed from the ruins of another world, on very different grounds.

rendered habitable *. The ancient granite, the kernel of our Globe, exhibits, as far as we have any knowledge of it, no trace of organic beings destroyed : we neither find any such included in it, nor do it's component parts pre-require them. It's highest pinnacles probably rose above the waters of the creation, for they discover no marks of the action of a sea : but on these bare heights no human being could find nourishment, or even breathe. The air, that surrounded these masses, was not yet separated from water and fire : loaded with the various substances, which deposited themselves in various combinations, and at various periods, on the basis of the Earth, and gradually gave the World it's form, it was equally as incapable of supporting the respiration of the most exquisite creature upon the Globe, as of imparting to it the breath of life. Thus the first living creatures must have originated in water : and this was endowed from it's formation with a primitive creating power, which could yet act no where else, and accordingly first organized itself in an infinite multitude of shellfish, the only animals, that could live in this teeming sea. As the formation of the Earth proceeded, their destruction largely ensued, and their scattered parts became the bases of finer organizations. In proportion as the primitive rock was freed from water, and enriched by it's deposits, or the elementary particles and organized beings mingled with it ; the vegetable creation succeeded to that of the waters, and on every naked region what could vegetate vegetated. But no land animal could yet live in this hothouse of the vegetable kingdom. On heights, on which the plants of Lapland now grow, we find petrified productions of the torrid zone ; a clear proof, that their atmosphere had once the heat of the equatorial regions. Yet this atmosphere must already have been rendered in a considerable degree more pure, since so many substances had been precipitated from it, and since the life of a tender plant requires light : but as no animal, that lives on the face of the Earth, not to say no human skeleton, has ever been found along with these impressions of vegetables, it is highly probable, that no such animal then existed, because no nourishment was yet ready for it, and because the matter, out of which it was to be formed, was not yet prepared. Thus we proceed, till in very superficial strata of sand or clay the skeletons of the elephant and rhinoceros first appear : for those bones, that occur in deeper strata, which some have fancied to be human, are altogether equivocal, and more accurate examiners of nature have declared them to be the remains of aquatic animals. Thus Nature began on the Earth with the creatures of the

* The facts, on which the following assertions are built, are scattered through various modern books of geology, and are in part so well known from Buffon and others, that I shall not make a parade of quoting authorities for every thing I advance.

warmest climates, and as it appears, with the most bulky; as in the sea she first produced the mailed shell-fish and large cornua ammonis: at least it is certain, that among the numerous skeletons of elephants, which have been washed together at a late period, and in some places preserved even with their skins, snakes, marine animals, and the like, have been found, but no human bodies. And even had human bodies been discovered, they would have been unquestionably of a very modern date, compared with the ancient mountains, in which none of these remains of living creatures exist. So says the most ancient book of the Earth; thus it is written on it's leaves of marble, lime, sand, slate, and clay: and what says it for a new formation of the Globe, which a race of men, whose remains we are, had survived? All it says tends rather to prove, that our Earth has fashioned itself, from it's chaos of substances and powers, through the animating warmth of the creative spirit, to a peculiar and original whole, by a series of preparatory revolutions, till at last the crown of it's creation, the exquisite and tender creature man, was enabled to appear. Those systems, therefore, which talk of various changes of the poles and climates, of reiterated destructions of an inhabited and cultivated soil, of the driving of men from region to region, or of their graves under rocks and seas, and depict nothing but horror and destruction in all ancient history, are contradictory to the fabric of the Earth, or at least unsupported by it, notwithstanding all the revolutions it has unquestionably undergone. The fissures and veins in ancient stones, or the broken walls of our Earth, say nothing of a habitable World before the present: nay, had fate melted together the ancient mas, assuredly no living remnant of the primitive World could have survived. The Earth, therefore, as it now is, as well as the history of it's inhabitants, remains a simple and complete problem to be solved by the inquirer. Let us proceed then, and ask:

CHAPTER II.

Where was the Place of the Formation and most ancient Abode of Man?

THAT this place could have been no late-formed verge of the land requires no proof; we recur immediately, therefore, to the summits of the eternal, primitive mountains, and the lands gradually annexed to them. Have men sprung up every where, as every where shell-fish have sprung up? Did the Mountains of the Moon produce negroes, the Andes americans, Ural the asiatics, and

the Alps of Europe europeans ? and had each of the principal mountains of the World it's own variety of the human species ? As every region of the Earth has it's peculiar species of animals, which cannot live elsewhere, and consequently must have been born in it, why should it not have it's own race of men ? and are not the varieties of national features, manners, and character, and particularly the great difference in languages, proofs of this ? No one of my readers can be ignorant of the dazzling light, in which these arguments have been placed by many learned and acute investigators of history, so that they have at length considered it as one of the most strained hypotheses, to suppose, that Nature could every where produce apes and bears, but not men ; and thus, in complete contradiction to the course of her other operations, expose the most delicate of her creatures to a thousand perils, by this singular frugality, in creating only a single pair. ' Behold even now,' they say, ' the prodigality of all-teeming Nature ! What innumerable germes, not only of plants, but of animals and man, does she scatter into the lap of Destruction ! And is it possible, that at the very juncture when the human species was to be produced, our prolific mother, whose virgin youth was so rich in the seeds of all beings and forms, that, as the structure of the Earth shows, she could sacrifice millions of living creatures at one revolution, to produce new kinds, should have exhausted herself in inferior beings, and have completed her wild labyrinth of life with two weak human creatures ?' Let us examine how far this apparently brilliant hypothesis answers to the progress of the civilization and history of our species, or is consistent with it's form, character, and relation to the other living creatures of the Earth.

In the first place, it is evidently contrary to Nature, that all living beings should have received life in equal number, or at the same time : the structure of the Earth, and the internal constitution of the creatures, render this impossible. Elephants and worms, lions and animalculæ, exist not in equal numbers : from their essence, too, they could not have been created originally in like proportions, or at the same time. Millions of testaceous animals must have perished, before the bare rock of our Earth could have been covered with a soil to nourish more exquisite life : a world of plants is destroyed annually, to support the life of superior creatures. Thus, setting the final causes of the creation altogether aside, the making of one out of many, and the destruction of multitudes by the revolving wheel of creation, for the purpose of animating less numerous but more noble productions, arise out of the very substance of Nature. Thus she proceeded on an ascending scale ; and while she every where left enough of seed, to maintain those species, which she meant

to perpetuate, she cleared the way for others more select, more exquisite, and of a superiour order. If man were to be the crown of the creation, he could not have the same mass, the same day of production, the same place, and the same dwelling, as the fish, or the sea-blubber. His blood was not to be water: and therefore the vital warmth of Nature must have been so far elaborated and refined, as to give it redness. All his vessels and fibres, and even his bony frame itself, were to be formed from the purest clay: and as the omnipotent acts but by second causes, such causes must have previously prepared the materials for this purpose. Such had pervaded even the grosser animal creation: when and where each animal could arise, it arose: energies thronged through every gate, and formed themselves to life. The cornu ammonis existed before the fish: the plant preceded the animal, which could not live without it: here crawled the crocodile and caiman, before the sagacious elephant there waved his trunk, and selected his food. Carnivorous animals preredquired a numerous and already much increased progeny of such as were to form their nourishment: consequently they could not come into existence at the same time, and in equal number with these. Man, too, if he were to be the inhabitant of the Earth, and the lord of the creation, must find his habitation and his kingdom prepared: and accordingly must come late, and in smaller number than those he was to govern. If Nature could have produced from the materials of her terrestrial manufactory any thing more exquisite, more beautiful, and superiour to man, why should she not have produced it? And her not having done this shows, that with man she closed her work, and now completed with the choicest frugality the forms, which she had commenced with the most abundant superfluity in the depths of the sea. 'God created man,' says the most ancient written tradition, 'in his own image: in the likeness of God he created him, one man and one woman: after the multitudes he had created, the smallest number: there he rested, and created nothing more.' This was the summit, that completed the living pyramid.

Now where could this summit be placed? Where did the pearl of the finished Earth display itself? Necessarily in the centre of the most active organic powers, where, if I may be allowed such expressions, the creation was most widely extended, and most exquisitely laboured. And this could be no where, perhaps, but in Asia, as the structure of the Earth itself gives us room to conjecture. In Asia were those great and extensive heights of the Globe, which the waters never covered, and the rocky ridges of which branched out far and wide. Here too was the greatest attraction of active powers; here friction circulated the electric stream; here the materials of prolific chaos were most abundantly precipitated.

The most spacious quarter of the Globe was formed round these mountains, as it's figure shows: and on these mountains lived the greater number of all the species of the animal creation, which probably roamed over them in the enjoyment of existence, while the rest of the World lay under water, scarcely exhibiting the naked or woodcrowned summits of it's mountains. The mountain, that Linne imagined as the hill of creation *, exists in nature: not merely as a mountain, but as an extensive amphitheatre, a constellation of mountains, the arms of which stretch out into various climates. 'I must observe,' says Pallas †, 'that all the animals, which live in a tame state in the northern or southern countries, are to be found wild in the temperate climate of the middle of Asia; the dromedary excepted, neither species of which thrives out of Africa, or can be brought to endure the climate of Asia without difficulty. The native places of the wild ox and the buffalo, of the musimon, from which our sheep are descended, of the bezoar-goat and ibex, the intermixture of which has produced the fertile race of tame goats, are to be found in the mountainous chains, that embrace the middle of Asia and part of Europe. The reindeer abounds on the high mountains, that skirt Siberia, and cover it's eastern parts, where it is employed as a beast of draught and burden. It is also to be found on the Uralian chain, whence it has spread into the more northern countries. The camel with two bunches is to be found wild in the great deserts between Tibet and China. Wild swine inhabit the woods and morasses throughout all the temperate part of Asia. The wild cat, from which our domestic cat is derived, is sufficiently known. Lastly, the chief breed of our domestic dogs is certainly descended from the jackal; though I do not think it's blood wholly uncontaminated, for I am persuaded, that it has been intermixed, from a very remote period, with that of the common wolf, the fox, and even the hyena, which has occasioned the extreme variety of size and figure in our dogs.' Thus Pallas. And who is unacquainted with the richness of Asia, particularly of it's southern countries, in natural productions? It appears, as if not only the most spacious, but also the most fertile land, had settled itself round these the loftiest heights of the Globe, attracting to itself from the beginning the greatest share of organic warmth. The most sagacious elephants, the most cunning apes, and the most lively animals, are produced in Asia: and, notwithstanding it's decline, it has probably, with regard to genetic disposition, the most ingenious and exalted men.

* *Linneæi Amœnitates academicæ*, Vol. II, p. 439, Discourse on the habitable World. This oration has been repeatedly translated.

† Remarks on Mountains, translated in the

Materials for Physical Geography, Beytraegen zur physikalischen Eräschriftung, Vol. III, p. 250, and elsewhere.

But what is to be said of the other quarters of the Globe? It is demonstrable from history, that Europe was supplied both with men and animals chiefly from Asia, and was probably in great part covered with water, or with forests and morasses, when the higher land of Asia was already cultivated. With the interior part of Africa, indeed, we have yet but little acquaintance: both the figure and altitude of its central ridge of mountains in particular are totally unknown to us: yet it is on many accounts probable, that this ridge, in a quarter of the Globe so scantily watered, and having such extensive tracts of low ground, can scarcely equal in height and breadth that of Asia. This continent, therefore, was probably covered for a longer period; and though the torrid zone has not refused the animal or vegetable creation there a peculiar, powerful impression, yet it appears, as if Africa and Europe were but children, hanging to the breast of their mother Asia. These three quarters of the Globe have most animals in common, and form on the whole but one continent.

Lastly, when we consider the steep mountains, too lofty to be inhabited, that stretch through America, their still raging volcanoes, the low land at their feet, large tracts of which are on a level with the sea, and its living creation, which consists principally of plants, amphibia, insects, and birds, with fewer species of the more perfect and lively animals enjoyed by the old World; and when to these we add the rude immature governments of its nations in general; it will be difficult to conceive, that this continent was the earliest inhabited. Compared with the other half of the Globe, it rather offers to the natural philosopher a rich problem of the difference between two opposite hemispheres. Even the beautiful valley of Quito could not easily be the birthplace of an original couple of human beings, ready as I should be to allow this honour to it, and to the Mountains of the Moon in Africa, and unwilling to contradict any one, who should discover proofs of it.

But enough of mere conjecture, which I wish not to be abused, so as to deny the Omnipotent power and materials to create men, wherever he pleased. The word, that every where filled both sea and land with their proper inhabitants, could also have given each quarter of the Globe its native lord, had it thought fit. But are there not reasons discoverable in the character of man, as hitherto unfolded, why it did not think proper? We have seen, that the reason and humanity of man depended on education, language, and tradition: and that in this respect he differs totally from the brute, which brings its infallible instinct into the World with it. If this be so, man could not, from his specific character, have been generally dispersed over the desert World like the beasts. The tree, which could every where be propagated by art alone, was rather to spring

from one root, in a place where it would prosper best, where it could be fostered by him, by whom it was planted. Mankind, destined to humanity, were to be from their origin a brotherly race, of one blood, and formed by one guiding tradition; and thus the whole arose, as each individual family now rises, branches from one stem, plants from one primitive nursery. In my opinion, this striking plan of God with regard to our species, which distinguishes it in its very origin from the brute, must appear the most adequate, beautiful, and excellent, to every one, who weighs the characteristics of our nature, the frame and quality of our reason, the mode by which we acquire ideas, and the manner in which humanity is fashioned in us. According to this scheme, man was the favourite of Nature, whom she produced, as the fruit of her maturest industry, or, if you please, as the child of her age, in the spot which she deemed best for her tender offspring. Here she fostered him with maternal hand, and placed around him whatever could promote from the beginning the formation of his human character. As only one kind of human reason was possible upon this Earth, and as Nature therefore produced but one species of rational creatures, she left this creature capable of reason, to be educated in one school of language and tradition, and took upon herself this education through a series of generations from one origin.

CHAPTER III.

History, and the Progress of Civilization, afford historical Proofs, that the human Species originated in Asia.

WHENCE are all the nations of Europe? From Asia. Of most of them we know this with certainty: we know the origin of the laplanders, fins, germans and goths, gauls, slavians, celts, cimbrians, and others. Partly from their languages, or the remains of their languages, and partly from accounts of their ancient feats, we can trace them to a considerable distance on the borders of the Black Sea, or in Tatory, where some remains of their languages still exist. We know less of the descent of other nations, because we are less acquainted with their early history: for the ignorance of former times alone makes them indigenes. If Buettner, the ablest philologer of all, who have studied the history of ancient and modern nations, would impart to us the treasures his modesty conceals, and trace, as he undoubtedly could, a series of nations to their parental stock, of which they themselves are ignorant, he would confer no small benefit on mankind*.

* This learned man is busied in a work of this kind on a very comprehensive plan.

The origin of the africans and americans, it must be confessed, is more obscure : but from all we have learned of the northern frontier of Africa, and a comparison of the most ancient traditions respecting the origin of it's inhabitants, it is asiatic. As we proceed southward we must be satisfied, if we find nothing in the negro figure and complexion inconsistent with this origin, but rather a progressive climatic change of national features, as was attempted to be shown in the sixth book of this work. America more recently peopled is in a similar predicament ; the appearance of it's natives renders it probable, however, that they originally came from the eastern parts of Asia.

But the languages of nations are less equivocal than their features : and where, throughout the whole Earth, are the most anciently cultivated languages to be found? In Asia. Would you see the miracle of people speaking simple monosyllabic languages throughout a space of some thousands of miles ; visit Asia. The countries beyond the Ganges, Tibet and China, Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Brama, Tonquin, Laos, Cochin-China, Cambodia, and Siam, converse in simple uninflected monosyllables. It is probable, the early rules of their language and writing fixed this ; for in this corner of Asia, the most ancient institutions have remained in almost all things unchanged. Would you have languages, the extreme and almost superabundant copiousness of which is connected with a very few roots, so that they combine richness and poverty, with a singular regularity and the almost childish art of expressing a new idea by a trifling change of the radical word ; observe the south of Asia, from India to Syria, Arabia, and Ethiopia. The language of Bengal has seven hundred roots, the elements of reason as it were, from which nouns, verbs, and all the other parts of speech are formed. The hebrew and it's cognate languages, so very different in kind as they are, excite astonishment, when their structure is considered, even in the most ancient writings. All their words may be traced up to roots of three letters, which at first too were probably monosyllables, but afterwards, through the means of their peculiar alphabet in all likelihood, were brought into this form at an early period, and thence by means of very simple additions and inflections the whole language was constructed. In the polished arabic language, for example, an infinite copiousness of ideas is composed from a few roots ; so that the patchwork of most european languages, with their useless auxiliaries and tedious inflexions, cannot be more strikingly displayed, than by comparing them with the languages of Asia. Hence, too, these are difficult for an european to learn in proportion to their age ; for he must relinquish the useless riches of his own tongue, when he approaches their finely conceived and deeply regulated hieroglyphic of the invisible language of thought.

The most certain mark of the cultivation of a language is its writing: the more ancient this is, and the more art and reflection it displays, the more highly polished is the language. Now, if we except the scythians, perhaps, who were also an asiatic people, no european nation can boast of the invention of an alphabet: in this point the people of Europe rank as barbarians with the negro and american. To Asia alone belonged the art of writing, and this in the most ancient times. The earliest polished nation of Europe, the greeks, borrowed an alphabet from the east; and Buettner's tables show, that all the rest of the alphabetical characters used in Europe were borrowed, or altered, from those of the greeks*. The most ancient literal writing of the egyptians also, as it appears on their mummies, is phenician, and, like the coptic alphabet, a corrupt greek. Among the negroes and americans nothing like an originally invented alphabet is to be supposed; for even the mexicans never went beyond their rude hieroglyphics, or the peruvians beyond their knotted cords. Asia, on the other hand, has exhausted the art of writing as it were in letters and artificial hieroglyphics, so that among its characters may be found almost every kind, to which human speech may be limited. The bengal alphabet has fifty consonants, and twelve vowels: the chinese out of their multitude of characters have chosen no less than a hundred and twelve as vowels, and thirty six as consonants. The tibetian, singalese, mahratta, and mantchou alphabets are constructed on similar principles, though the directions of the strokes, that form their characters, vary. Some of the asiatic alphabets are evidently so ancient, that we may observe, how the language has been formed with them, and to them; and the beautifully simple writing on the ruins of Persepolis is altogether unintelligible to us.

If we proceed from the instruments of civilization to civilization itself, where did it earlier appear, or where could it appear earlier, than in Asia? whence it was farther propagated through channels, of which we are not ignorant. The sovereignty over animals was one of the first steps towards it; and in Asia this may be traced back beyond all the revolutions of history. Not only that, as has been shown, the greater number of animals, and the more tameable, were to be found on this primary mountain of the World; but the society of men tamed them so early, that our most useful animals, the sheep, goat, and dog, had their origin probably from this circumstance, and are in fact new species of animals produced by asiatic art. If a man would place himself in the centre

* See Comparative Tables of the Writing of various Nations, *Vergleichungs-tafeln der Schriftarten verschiedener Völker*, by Buettner: Göttingen, 1771.

of the distribution of tame animals, he must repair to the heights of Asia: the more distant from these, reckoning on the grand scale of nature, the fewer tame animals are to be found. In Asia, even to its southern islands, every place abounds with them: in New Guinea and New Zealand we find only the dog and the swine; in New Caledonia, the dog alone; and throughout the whole extent of America, the guanaco and llama were the only tame animals. The best breeds in Asia and Africa, too, are of the noblest and most beautiful kind. The dshiggetai and arabian horse, the wild and tame ass, the argali and the sheep, the wild and Angora goat, are the pride of their species: the sagacious elephant was managed with the greatest art in Asia from the earliest times, and the camel was indispensable to this quarter of the Globe. Africa comes next to Asia with regard to the beauty of some of these animals; but in the management of them is far behind. Europe is indebted to Asia for all its tame animals; being able to reckon as its own only fifteen or sixteen wild species, chiefly mice or bats *

The cultivation of the Earth and its plants have proceeded in a similar manner. A great part of Europe at a very late period was covered with wood; and its inhabitants, if they lived on vegetable food, could procure only roots and wild herbs, acorns and crabs. In many of the regions of Asia, of which we are speaking, corn grows spontaneously, and husbandry dates from time immemorial. The finest fruits of the Earth, the grape and the olive, the orange and the fig, the pomegranate and the almond, nuts, chestnuts, and all the productions of our gardens and orchards, were first brought from Asia into Africa and Greece, and thence spread into remoter countries. A few other vegetables we have derived from America: and with respect to most we know both the place from which they were procured, and the time when they were introduced. And these gifts of Nature were conferred on mankind by the aid of tradition: no wine is produced in America, and vineyards have been planted in Africa only by the hands of europeans.

That arts and sciences were first cultivated in Asia, and in the adjacent country of Egypt, requires no elaborate proof. Ancient monuments, and the history of nations, affirm it; and the testimonies adduced by Goguet † are in every hand. In this part of the World both the useful and fine arts have been pursued very early, in some place or other, but every where in the marked asia-

* See Zimmermann's Geographical History of *de leur Progres chez les anciens Peuples*, 'The Man, *Geographische Geschichte der Menschen*, Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and their Vol. III, p. 183. Progress among the Ancients,' 3 vols. 4to.

† *L'Origine des Loix, des Arts, des Sciences*, & 1758.

tic taste; as the ruins of Persepolis, and the hindoo temples, the pyramids of Egypt, and many other works, of which there are still remains, or of which accounts are handed down to us, sufficiently prove: for almost all of these were prior to the civilization of Europe, and in Africa and America there is nothing to compare with them. The lofty poetry of many of the southern asiatics is universally known*: and the more ancient it is, the more it displays of that nobleness and simplicity justly called divine. What acute thought, nay I may say what ingenious hypothesis, has ever entered into the mind of a modern inhabitant of the west, the germe of which is not discoverable in some earlier eastern maxim or fiction? at least if the foundations of it were within the sphere of an asiatic's knowledge. The trade of the asiatics is the most ancient upon Earth, and the most important inventions relative to commerce are theirs. So are astronomy and chronology. Without laying the least stress on the hypotheses of Bailly, who can avoid astonishment at the early and extensive propagation of many astronomical observations, periods, and practices, to which the most ancient nations of Asia have a claim not easy to be disputed †? It seems as if their ancient philosophers were particularly the philosophers of the heavens, the observers of silently progressive time; this calculating, numbering spirit displaying it's effects among them then, as it does even now, notwithstanding the deep decline of many of their nations ‡. The bramim reckons immense fums by memory: the divisions of time, from the smallest measure to the greatest revolutions of the heavens, are familiar to his mind; and he commits few mistakes in them, though he has none of the helps, which europeans employ. Antiquity has transmitted to him the formulæ, which he now does nothing but apply: and even our division of the year is asiatic; our arithmetical figures, and the constellations of our astronomers, are of egyptian or indian origin.

Lastly, if forms of government be the most difficult of the arts of civilization, where do we find the most ancient and extensive monarchies? where have the empires of the World found their firmest establishment? China has maintained it's ancient constitution for some thousands of years: and though this unwarlike country has been more than once overrun by tatar hordes, the vanquished have always civilized their vanquishers, and inured them to the chains of their

* See Jones *Poetes Asiaticæ Commentar.*, 'A Commentary on Sir W. Jones's *Poetes Asiaticæ.*'

† See Bailly's *Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne*, 'History of the Astronomy of the Ancients.'

‡ See le Gentil's *Voyage dans les Mers de*

l'Inde, 'Voyage in the Indian Seas;' Walter on the Indian Computation of Time, appended to Beger's *Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani*, 'History of the Bactrian Kingdom of the Greeks,' Petersburg, 1738.

old constitution. What form of government in Europe can make a similar boast? The most ancient hierarchy upon Earth reigns on the mountains of Tibet: and the casts of the hindoos indicate their primeval establishment, from the deeprooted power, which has been for ages a second nature to the gentlest of people. Warlike or peaceable established monarchies, on the Tigris and Euphrates, on the banks of the Nile and the mountains of Media, interfere in the history of the western nations in the remotest times: and even on the heights of Tatarly the unrestricted liberty of the hordes was interwoven with a despotism of the khans, whence the principles of many european forms of government have been derived. From every corner of the World, the nearer we approach Asia, the nigher we come to firmly established kingdoms, in which the unlimited power of the monarch has been for thousands of years so deeply impressed on the minds of the people, that the king of Siam laughed at a nation without a king, as an abortive birth destitute of a head. The most established despotisms in Africa are seated nearest to Asia: the more distant they are from it, the ruder the state of tyranny, till at length it is lost among the caffres in the patriarchal condition of the shepherd. In the southern ocean, the nearer we come to Asia, the deeper we find arts, manufactures, pomp, and the spouse of pomp, monarchical despotism, rooted: the farther we are from it, as in the remote islands, in America, and on the barren verge of the southern world, the more simple constitutions of society occur in a ruder state, the freedom of voices and independance of families; so that some historians have deduced even the two american monarchies of Mexico and Peru from the neighbourhood of despotic governments in Asia. The general aspect of this quarter of the Globe, particularly about the mountains, indicates the most ancient habitation: and the traditions of it's nations, with their religions and computations of time, ascend, as is well known, to the primitive ages. All the mythologies of the europeans and africans, from whom I exclude the egyptians, and still more of the americans and inhabitants of the western islands of the Pacific Ocean, are but scattered fragments of modern fables, compared with the gigantic structures of ancient cosmogony in India, Tibet, the old Chaldea, and even in the much inferiour Egypt; but confused sounds of an evanescent echo from the voice of the primitive asiatic world, losing itself in fiction.

What then if we were to follow this voice; and, as mankind had no means of being formed but by tradition, endeavour to trace it to it's original source? This, it must be confessed, is a treacherous path, as if a man were to pursue the rainbow, or chace an echo: for as a child is incapable of giving an account

of his birth, though present at it, as little may we hope, that the human species can tell us of it's creation and first lessons, the invention of language, and it's primitive feat, with the strict accuracy of authentic history. Yet a child remembers at least some circumstances of his later youth : and if several children, who were educated together, and afterward separated, relate the same or very similar things, why should we not give them credit ? why should we refuse at least to reflect, on what they say or dream has occurred, particularly if we have no other documents ? And as it has been the palpable design of Providence to instruct man by means of man, that is by progressively operating tradition ; let us not doubt, that in this point we are favoured with every thing, that it is necessary for us to know.

CHAPTER IV.

Asiatic Traditions on the Creation of the Earth and the Origin of the human Species.

BUT in what part of this wild waste, where so many deceitful voices call, and so many treacherous lights appear to mislead us, shall we begin ? I have no inclination, to add a syllable to the library of dreams on this subject, which human memory has committed to the press ; and shall separate, therefore, as far as I am able, the conjectures of different nations, or the hypotheses of their philosophers, from traditional facts ; distinguishing in these their age, and degree of certainty. The remotest people of Asia, who boast of the highest antiquity, the chinese, have no authentic history prior to the year 722 before our era. The reigns of Fohi and Hoangti are mythological ; and what precedes Fohi, the ages of spirits, or of the elements personified, is considered as allegorical fiction by the chinese themselves. Their most ancient book *, which was recovered, or rather restored from two copies saved out of the general burning of their books, in the year 176 before the birth of Christ, contains neither a cosmogony, nor the origin of the nation. In it we find Yao reigning with the mountains of his empire, the grandees : he had but to issue the command, and stars were observed, aqueducts were constructed, divisions of time were established. Thus we have nothing left but the chinese metaphysics of the great first Y † ; how four and eight arose from one and two ; how, after the

* *Le Chou-King, &c.*, 'The Shoo-King, one of the sacred Books of the Chinese,' Paris, 1770.

† See an inquiry into the times anterior to

those in which the Shoo-King speaks, by Pre-mare, prefixed to the edition of the Shoo-King by De Guignes.

opening of the heavens, Puanku and the three Hoangs reigned in miraculous shapes; till something more resembling human history begins with the first founder of their laws, Gin-Hoang, who was born on the mountain Hingma, and divided the land and water into nine portions. And still this sort of mythology proceeds down through several generations; so that nothing can be built upon it, except perhaps the seat on which they place these kings and their miraculous forms, the high mountains of Asia, which they deem sacred, and honour with all their most ancient fables. A great mountain in the centre of the earth is highly celebrated, even among the names of these fabulous beings, whom they style kings.

If we ascend to Tibet, we find the position of the earth round a lofty central mountain still more conspicuous; for the whole mythology of this ecclesiastical empire is founded on it. Its height and circumference are tremendously depicted: monsters and giants are its guards: seven seas, and seven mountains of gold, surround it. The lahs dwell on its summit, and other beings on various inferior stages. Those contemplators of Heaven had been sinking for æons of mundane ages into grosser bodies, till they arrived at the human form, in which a frightful pair of apes were their progenitors. The origin of beasts likewise is deduced from degraded lahs*. A harsh mythology, which frames the world descending into the sea, peoples it with monsters, and ultimately throws the whole system of beings into the throat of a demon, eternal necessity. This degrading tradition, however, which deduces man from apes, is so interwoven with later fancies, that much is requisite, to make it pass for a pure original doctrine of the primitive world.

If we could procure the oldest traditions of the ancient people the hindoos, they would form a valuable treasure. But, beside that the first sect of Brahma has been long extinguished by the followers of Vishnoo and Sheva, we possess, in what has hitherto been brought to Europe of their mysteries, evidently modern fables alone, being only a popular mythology, or an explanatory system of the philosophers. These two divaricate after the manner of fables according to the different provinces, so that we have probably long to wait for the true Vedas of the hindoos, as well as for the proper sanscrit language; and even in them we can expect little of their most ancient traditions, as they themselves deem the first part lost. Yet a few grains of primitive historic gold glitter through many of these later fables. The Ganges, for instance, is sacred throughout all Hindostan, and flows immediately from the holy mountains, the

* Georgii Alphabet. Tibetan. Rom. 1762, p. 181 and elsewhere.

feet of Brahma, the creator of the world. Vishnoo appeared in his eighth metamorphosis as Prassarama : the water still covered all the land, except the mountain Gatee : he entreated the god of the sea, to give him room, and to withdraw the flood, as far as he could shoot an arrow. The god promised ; Prassarama shot ; and the land dried as far as the arrow flew, which was to the coast of Malabar. This evidently instructs us, as Sonnerat also remarked, that the sea once reached to the mountain Gatee, and that the coast of Malabar is more recent land. Other indian tales relate the origin of the earth from out of the water in another manner. Vishnoo swam on a leaf : the first man sprung out of it as a flower. On the surface of the waves floated an egg, which Brahma hatched, and it's shell formed the atmosphere and the heavens, as it's contents did man and animals. These tales, however, should be read in the infantile style of the hindoos themselves*.

The doctrine of Zoroaster † is evidently a philosophic system, which, if it were not intermingled with the fables of other sects, could scarcely pass for an original tradition. Traces of such a tradition, however, are discernible in it. The great mountain Alborz appears again in the centre of the Earth, and with it's neighbouring mountains stretches round it. About it the Sun revolves : from it the rivers flow, and seas and lands are distributed. The forms of things existed first in prototypes, in germes : and, as in all the other mythologies of higher Asia the primitive World abounds with monsters, this too has the great bull Cayamort, from the carcase of which issued all the creatures of the Earth. On the top of this mountain, as on that of the Iahs, is Paradise, the seat of blessed spirits and enlightened men, and the primary source of rivers, the water of life. For the rest, the Light, that divides, dissipates, and overcomes darkness, that fructifies the earth, and animates all creatures, is evidently the first physical principle of the whole fire-worship of the parseees ; which simple idea they have applied theologically, morally, and politically, in a thousand ways.

The farther west we wander beneath the asiatic mountains, the shorter we find the periods of time, and the tales of the primitive World. We perceive in them all a later origin, and the application of foreign traditions from higher regions to lower lands. They become less and less adapted to local circumstances ; but on this account the system itself gains in fulness and clearness ; as only a few fragments of the ancient fable occasionally appear, and these few are clad in a more modern national garb. I am astonished, therefore, how Sancho-niathon has been represented on the one hand as a complete impostor, and on

* See Sonnerat, Baldeus, Don, Holwell, &c.

† Zend Avesta.

the other as the first prophet of the primitive world, to which he could not have belonged from the physical situation of his country. That the beginning of all things was an air void of light, a dark and troubled chaos; and that this chaos, without limits and without form, floated in the void space from infinite time, till the moving spirit fell in love with it's own principles, and a beginning of the creation arose from their conjunction; belong to a mythology so ancient, and so common to the most different nations, that the phenician had here little to invent. Almost every people of Asia, with the egyptians and greeks, related the tradition of chaos, or of a fecundated egg, in a similar manner: why therefore should not written traditions of this kind be found in a phenician temple? That the first seeds of creatures lay enveloped in mud; and the first rational creatures were a kind of wonderful beings, mirrors of Heaven (*zophafemim*), who, roused by the sound of thunder, awoke, and produced the various animals out of their miraculous forms; are likewise extensively prevailing tales, here only abridged, which spread in different garbs over the mountains of Media and Tibet to Hindostan and China, and descended likewise to Phrygia and Thrace, for remains of them are to be found in the mythologies of Orpheus and Hesiod. Now when we read long genealogies of the wind Colpias, that is, the voice of the breath of God, and his wife Night, their children First-born and Æon, their grand-children Genus and Species, their great-grandchildren Light, Fire, and Flame, their great-great-grandchildren the mountains Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, &c., and find human inventions ascribed to these allegorical names; a very indulgent prejudice is requisite, to discover a philosophy of the World, and a primitive history of man, in this misconceived confusion of ancient traditions, which the composer probably found before him as proper names, and out of which he formed persons.

We will not take the trouble to search farther down into Egypt for traditions of the primitive World. In the names of it's ancient deities are unquestionable remains of a sifter tradition to that of the phenicians; for ancient Night, the Spirit, the Creator of the World, the Mud wherein lay the seeds of things, here again occur. But as all we know of the most ancient mythology of Egypt is recent, doubtful, and obscure; and, besides, every mythological image in this country is altogether moulded to the climate; it would not answer our purpose, to grope among these idol forms, or farther on among the negro fables, for traditions of the primitive World, on which to build a philosophy of the most ancient history of man.

We have nothing historical, that remains, therefore, but the written tradition, which we commonly call the mosaic. Laying aside all prejudice, and

without entering into the question of its origin, we know, that this is above three thousand years old, and the most ancient book we possess. A bare inspection of its short and simple pages will acquaint us with their design and value, considering them not as history, but as tradition, or an ancient *philosophy of the history of man*, which I will therefore strip of its oriental poetic ornaments.

CHAPTER V.

The most ancient written Tradition concerning the Origin of the History of Man.

WHEN the creation of our Earth and our Heaven began, says this narration, the Earth was a void shapeless mass, on which a dark sea flowed, and a living fecundifying power moved on this water.—Now if the most ancient state of the Earth were to be deduced from all our late observations, as they offer themselves to the inquiring mind, without having recourse to gratuitous hypotheses, we should have precisely this old description. A vast rock of granite, for the most part covered with water, and on it natural powers big with life, are the circumstances we know: more we know not. That this rock was ejected glowing from the Sun, is a gigantic idea, but founded neither on the analogy of Nature, nor on the progressive developement of our Earth: for how came water on this glowing mass? whence acquired it a round form? whence its revolution, and its poles? since the power of a magnet is destroyed by fire. It is much more probable, that this wonderful primitive rock formed itself by its intrinsic powers; in other words, that it was deposited by condensation from the pregnant Chaos, from which our Earth was to be produced. All, that this philosophic fragment has in common with the fables we have noticed, perhaps is confined to the *elohim*, which may be compared possibly with the *lahs*, the *zophafemim*, &c., but here exalted to the idea of an operating One; not of creatures, but of a creator.

The creation of things began with light: this separated the ancient night, this divided the elements.—And what other separating and animating principle in nature do we know from ancient or modern experience beside light, or, if you will, elementary fire? It is universally diffused throughout nature, though unequally distributed according to the affinities of bodies. In constant motion and activity, fluid and active of itself, it is the cause of all fluidity, warmth, and motion. Even the electric principle seems only a modification of it: and as all life throughout nature is unfolded solely by warmth, and displays itself

by the motion of fluids ; as not only the seed of animals operates in a manner similar to light, by an extensile, stimulating, animating power, but light and electricity have been remarked in the feminification of plants : so in this ancient philosophic cosmogony light alone appears as the first operator. And, indeed, not light proceeding from the Sun ; but a light springing from the interior of the organic mass ; which is equally consonant to experience. It is not from the beams of the Sun, that all creatures derive life and nourishment : every thing is pregnant with internal warmth ; even the rock, and the cold iron, have it within them ; nay it is only in proportion to the quantity of this genetic fire it contains, and it's more subtle efficiency through the powerful circulation of internal motion, that a creature possesses life, perception, and activity. Thus here was fanned the first elementary flame ; not a volcanic eruption, not a pile of burning substances, but the separating power, the warm, cherishing balsam of nature, which gradually set all things in motion. How much more gross and far from the truth are the expressions of the phenician tradition, which awakens the powers of nature as a sleeping animal by thunder and lightning ! In this more refined system, which will certainly be still farther confirmed from time to time by experience, light is the agent of creation.

To remove the false notion of days from the following exposition, let me here observe, what is obvious to every one on a bare inspection *, that the whole system of this representation of a self-accomplishing creation rests on a comparison, by means of which the separations do not take place physically, but symbolically. As our eye, for instance, is incapable of comprehending at one view the whole creation, and it's complicated operations, it was necessary to form classes ; and it was most natural, to distinguish in the first place the Heavens from the Earth, and in the next the sea from the land ; though they still remain in nature one connected realm of active and passive beings. Thus this ancient document is the first simple *table of a natural order*, in which the term days, while it is subservient to another purpose of the author, is employed only as a *nominal scale* for the division. As soon as light existed as the agent of creation, it must operate at one and the same time both on the Heaven, and on the Earth. There it purified the air ; which, as a thinner water, and according to innumerable modern experiments the all-connecting vehicle of creation, aiding both light and the powers of terrestrial and aquatic beings in a thousand combinations, could be purified, or brought to it's elastic fluidity, by no other principle of nature, with which we are acquainted, than light, or

* *Älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts*, 'The most ancient Documents of the Human Race,' Vol. I.

elementary fire. But how could this purification be effected, unless by the deposition of all grosser matters in various precipitations and revolutions, whereby water and earth, as well as water and air, gradually became distinct regions? Thus the second and third operations contributed to the mutual accomplishment of each other, as they are placed together in the symbol of cosmogony, productions of the first principle, the separating light of the creation. These operations continued without doubt for some thousands of years, as the formation of mountains and strata, and the excavation of valleys to the beds of rivers, incontestably show. Three powerful agents acted in this grand period, water, air, and fire: those depositing, abrading, precipitating; this organically operating in them both, and in the self-forming earth, wherever it could so operate.

We come next to another grand view of this primitive naturalist, to which the comprehension of very few in our own times is equal. The internal history of the Earth shows, that in its formation the organic powers of nature were every where active at the same time, and that wherever any one could exert itself, there it was exerted. The earth vegetated as soon as it was capable of vegetation, though whole realms of plants were thus destroyed by subsequent depositions from air and water. The sea swarmed with living beings, as soon as it was sufficiently purified for this; though in consequence of overflowings of the sea millions of these found their graves, and thereby afforded materials for other organizations. Yet in each period of these purifying operations every creature of every element could not live: the different kinds of creatures followed each other, as their nature and their element would permit. And behold our natural philosopher includes all this in one word of the creator, which, as it called forth the light, and thereby commanded the air to purify itself, the sea to sink, and the land gradually to arise, that is, set in motion the simple active powers of nature, commanded *the earth, the waters, the dust, to bring forth organic beings, each after its kind, and the creation thus to animate itself by its own organic powers implanted in these elements.* Thus spoke the sage, and dreaded not the inspection of nature, which we still perceive, wherever organic powers exalt themselves into life according to their elements. Only he places the kingdoms of nature, which must be divided, separate from each other, as the naturalist separates them; though he well knew, that they acted not distinct from each other. Vegetation precedes: and as modern physics have shown how much plants in particular are nourished by light, a few rocks pulverized by the weather, a little mud washed together, aided by the powerful warmth of the brooding creation, sufficed to render vegetation pos-

fible. The prolific bosom of the sea followed with it's productions, and promoted farther vegetation. The earth, impregnated by these spoils, and by light, air, and water, delayed not, but proceeded to bring forth; though not all species at once; for as carnivorous beasts cannot live without animal food, their origin presumes the destruction of prior animals, which the natural history of the earth confirms. Marine or graminivorous animals are what we find in the inferiour strata of the earth, as deposits of the first ages; carnivorous animals never, or very rarely. Thus the creation has grown up in an ascending scale of still more exquisite organizations, till at length man came into existence, the most elaborate performance of elohim, the crown that completed creation.

But before we approach this crown, let us consider a few more master strokes, which animate the picture of the ancient sage. *First.* He does not introduce the Sun and stars as agents in his operative circle of creation. He makes them the central point of his symbol: for they maintain in motion our Earth and all it's organic productions, and are thus, as he says, the rulers of time; but they do not impart the organic powers themselves, and transmit them to the Earth. The Sun still shines, as it shone in the beginning of creation; but it awakens and organizes no new species of beings: and even in putrefaction heat would not develop the minutest living creature, if the power, that creates it, were not already there, prepared for the change. The Sun and stars therefore enter into this picture of nature as soon as they can, namely, as soon as the air is purified, and the Earth constructed: but only as witnesses of the creation, only as rulers of a sphere organic in itself.

Secondly. The Moon appears from the beginning of the World: to my mind a powerful testimony for this ancient picture of nature. The opinion of those, who deem it a younger neighbour of the Earth, and ascribe all the disorders in and upon the Globe to it's arrival, is to me far from convincing. It is destitute of all physical proof, since every apparent disorder of our planet is not only explicable without this hypothesis, but, from this better explanation, ceases to be disorder. For it is evident, that our Earth, with the elements contained in it's shell, could not be formed otherwise than by revolutions; and scarcely by these, except in the neighbourhood of the Moon. The Moon gravitates to the Earth, as the Earth does to it and the Sun: not only the movement of the sea, but vegetation also, at least as far as we are acquainted with the mechanism of the celestial and terrestrial powers, are connected with it's revolution.

Thirdly. With equal truth and acuteness this natural philosopher places the creatures of air and water in one class; and comparative anatomy has shown

a wonderful similitude in their internal structure, particularly in the brain, the proper index of the organization of animals. The difference of figure is generally adapted to the medium, for which an animal is formed: accordingly, in these two classes of aerial and aquatic animals the internal structure must bear the same analogy, as exists between air and water. Upon the whole, this history of the complete living circle of creation tends to show, that, as each element produced what it was capable of producing, and all the elements belong to one whole, properly speaking only *one organic formation could appear on our planet*, which commences in the lowest of living beings, and is completed in the last and noblest work of the elohim.

With joy and wonder therefore I approach the rich description of the creation of man: for it is the subject of my book, and happily it's seal. *The elohim took counsel together*, and impressed the image of this counsel on the future man: understanding and reflection therefore are his distinguishing characters. *They formed him in their own image*, which all the orientals place chiefly in the erect position of the body. *On him was stamped the character of dominion over the Earth*: to the human species therefore was given the organic excellence of being able to occupy it in every part, and, as the most fruitful among all the nobler animals, of living in all climates as the vicegerent of the elohim, as visible Providence, as acting God. Behold the most ancient philosophy of the history of man.

And now, when the circle of being was completed to the last ruling spring, *elohim rested, and created nothing more*: he is as invisible on the theatre of creation, as if every thing had produced itself, and thus had been eternal in necessary generations. The latter, however, cannot be: for the structure of the Earth, and the organizations of creatures founded on each other, sufficiently prove, that every thing on Earth had a beginning as a work of art, and was improved from lower to higher. But how was the first produced? Why did the work of creation close, and earth and sea no longer swarm with new kinds of living creatures, so that the creative power appears to rest, and acts only through the organs of established orders and species? Of these points our natural philosopher gives us a physical explication in the agent, which he makes the main spring of the whole creation. If it were light, or elementary fire, which divided the mass, raised the heavens, rendered the air elastic, and prepared the earth for vegetation; it formed the seeds of things, and organized itself from the lowest to the most exquisite life: thus the creation was completed, since, according to the word of the eternal, that is according to his ordaining wisdom, *these vital powers were distributed, and had assumed all forms, that could and should*

be maintained on our planet. That motive warmth, with which the brooding spirit hovered over the waters of the creation, and which had already displayed itself in the earlier subterranean forms, and that with a copiousness and energy, with which neither land nor sea is now capable of producing any thing; that primitive warmth of the creation, without which it was impossible for any thing then to be organized, as it is now for aught to assume organization without genetic warmth; distributed itself among all the productions that actually were, and is still the prime spring of their being. What an infinite quantity of gross fire, for instance, did the rocky mass of our Earth absorb, which still lies dormant, or acts in it, as volcanoes, inflammable minerals, and every little nebule that is struck, demonstrate! That inflammable matter pervades all vegetation, and that animal life is wholly occupied on the elaboration of this phlogiston, a number of modern facts and experiments show: so that the whole living circle of creation appears to consist in this, that fluids become solid, and solids fluid; that fire is evolved, and recombined; that living powers are enchain'd by organization, and again set at liberty. Now since the mass destined for the formation of our Earth had its number, weight, and measure, the internal spring operating in it necessarily had its limits. The whole creation now lives in mutual dependence: the wheel of created beings revolves without addition: it destroys, and constructs, within the genetic limits, in which it was placed by the first creative period. Perfected by the power of the creator, nature is become an art; and the energies of the elements are circumscribed by a circle of determinate organizations, from which they cannot deviate, as the plastic spirit has incorporated in it every thing of which it was susceptible. But, that such a fabric cannot eternally subsist, that the course, which had a beginning, must necessarily have an end, arises from the nature of things. The beautiful creation, as it produced itself from a chaos, is working itself to a chaos again: its forms wear out: every organization refines itself, and grows old. Even the grand organism of the Earth must find its grave, whence, in due time, it will arise in a new form.

CHAPTER VI.

Continuation of the most ancient written Tradition concerning the Commencement of the History of Man.

IF my reader be pleased with the simple notions of this ancient tradition, which I have presented without embellishment, and free from all hypothesis, let us pursue it farther, after casting a single look at this picture of creation as a whole. How does it so singularly distinguish itself above all the fables and traditions of upper Asia? By connexion, simplicity, and truth. However numerous the seeds of history and natural philosophy these contain, they all lie in wild confusion, necessarily arising from the transmissal of unwritten or figurative popular and sacerdotal traditions, a fabulous chaos as at the beginning of creation. Our philosopher has unravelled this chaos, and exhibited to us a structure, which in simplicity and connexion imitates the order of Nature herself. But whence acquired it this order and simplicity? We need only compare it with the fables of other nations, and we shall perceive the grounds of its purer philosophy to be the history of the Earth and of man.

First. Every thing incomprehensible to man, and lying out of his sphere of vision, it excludes; and confines itself to what we can see with our eyes, and comprehend with our minds. What question, for instance, has given birth to more controversy, than those concerning the age of the World, and the duration of our Earth and the human species? Men have deemed the asiatic nations, with their infinite computations of time, infinitely wise; and the tradition of which we are speaking infinitely childish, because, contrary to all reason as they say, nay contrary to the obvious testimony of the structure of the Globe, it hurries over the creation as a matter of small importance, and makes the human species so young. In my opinion this is palpable injustice. Had Moses been nothing more than the collector of these ancient traditions, he, a learned egyptian, could not have been ignorant of those æons of gods and semigods, with which the egyptians, as well as all the nations of Asia, began the history of the World. Why therefore did he not interweave them into his account? Why, as if in contempt and despite of them, did he symbolically compress the origin of the World into the smallest portion of time? Evidently because he was desirous of obliterating them from men's minds as useless fables. In this he appears to me to have acted wisely: for previous to the completion of our Earth, that is before the origin of the human species and its connected

history, there could be for us no chronology deserving the name. Let Buffon assign numbers as great as he pleases to the first six epochs of nature, of twenty six, thirty five, fifteen, ten thousand years; human intellect, feeling it's limits, laughs at these numbers of the imagination, should it even admit the truth of the developement of the epochs themselves; and still less does the historian wish to burden his memory with them. Now the primitive immense chronologies of different nations are evidently of the same kind as these of Buffon; for they run into those ages, in which the powers of the gods and of the World bore sway; consequently into the time of the Earth's formation, such as those nations, who were extremely fond of infinite numbers, framed from revolutions of the heavens, or from half-understood symbols of the most ancient figurative traditions. Thus among the egyptians Vulcan, the creator of the World, reigned an infinite time; the Sun, his child and successor, 30000 years; and then Saturn, and the other twelve gods, 3984, before the demigods, and their later successors, men. It is the same with the traditions of upper Asia concerning the creation, and the duration of time. According to the perses, the holy angels of light reigned three thousand years without an enemy: three thousand followed, before the monstrous bull arose, from whose seed different creatures first sprung; and last of all *Meschia* and *Meschiana*, man and woman. The first epoch of the tibetians, when the lahs reigned, is infinite; the second, 80000 years; the third, 40000; the fourth, 20000; whence they will descend to a period of ten years, and then gradually ascend again to 80000. The periods of the hindoos, abounding with metamorphoses of their gods, and those of the chinese, as abundant in metamorphoses of their most ancient kings, ascend still higher: infinitudes with which nothing could be done, except discarding them, as Moses did; since, from the information of the traditions themselves, they belong to the creation of the Earth, not to the history of man.

Secondly. If it be disputed, whether the World be young or old; both the disputants have right on their side. The rock of our Earth is very ancient, and it's covering has required long revolutions, of which there can be no doubt. Here Moses leaves every one at liberty to frame epochs as he pleases, and, with the chaldeans, to let king *Alorus*, or light, *Uranus*, Heaven, *Gea*, the Earth, *Helios*, the Sun, and so on, reign as long as he thinks proper. He reckons no epochs of this kind; and, to obviate them, has represented his connected systematic picture in the readiest cycle of a terrestrial revolution. But the older these revolutions are, and the longer their duration, the younger the human species must necessarily be, which, according to all traditions, and to the nature of the thing itself, was the last production of the finished Earth.

I thank the philosopher, therefore, for this bold amputation of monstrous ancient fables: for Nature as she now is, and mankind as they at present exist, are sufficient to the circle of my comprehension.

With regard to the creation of man, too, the history repeats*, that it took place, as soon as it naturally could. 'While there was neither plant nor tree upon the Earth,' it proceeds, 'man, destined by Nature to cultivate it, could not live: no rain yet descended, but mists arose, and from such an earth moistened with dew he was formed, and, animated with the breath of life, became a living being.' To me this simple narrative appears to say all, that man is capable of knowing of his organization, after every physiological inquiry, that has been made. In death our artificial frame dissolves into earth, water, and air, now organically united in it: but the internal economy of animal life depends on the invisible stimulus or balsam contained in the element of air, which sets in motion the more perfect circulation of the blood, nay the whole of the internal contest between the vital powers of our machine: and thus man actually became a moving soul through the breath of life. Through it he acquires and exerts the power of generating vital warmth, and of acting as a self-moving, sentient, thinking being. In this the most ancient philosophy is consistent with the most modern experiments.

The first abode of man was a garden: and this is such a feature of tradition as philosophy alone could invent. For new-born man it was the easiest way of life, since every other, that of the husbandman not excepted, requires art and experience of various kinds. This trait also indicates, what the whole disposition of our nature confirms, that man was not formed to live wild, but in tranquillity: and thus, as the creator best knew the destination of his creatures, man, like all the rest, was created as it were in his element, in the seat of that kind of life, for which he was intended. Every degree of wildness in the human race is a degeneracy, to which man has been impelled by necessity, climate, or the habitual sway of some passion: wherever this impulse ceases to act, men live more peaceably, as the history of nations shows. Man has been rendered wild by the blood of animals alone; by hunting, war, and, alas! many other mischiefs of human society. The most ancient tradition of the earliest nations of the World knew nothing of those forest monsters, who murderously roamed about for thousands of years as inhuman by Nature, and thus fulfilled their original destination. These wild tales first began in distant ruder regions, after the wide dispersion of mankind; later poets willingly copied them, these the

* Genesis, II, 5—7.

compiling historian followed, and him the metaphysician: but neither metaphysics, nor the descriptions of poets, give a true original history of man.

Where then lay the garden, in which the creator placed his gentle, defenceless creature? As this tradition is from the west of Asia, it places it eastwards, 'farther up toward the rising of the Sun, on a height from which flowed a stream, that afterwards divided itself into four great rivers*.' No tradition can display less partiality: for while every ancient nation is desirous of representing itself as the first, and its land as the birthplace of mankind, this removes the primitive country to a distance, on the highest ridge of the habitable earth. And where is this height? where do the four rivers, that are mentioned, arise from one stream, as the original writing plainly says? No where in our geography: and it is in vain to torture the names of the rivers in a thousand ways, for an impartial view of the map of the World informs us, that the Euphrates and three other rivers flow from one source, or stream, nowhere upon Earth. But if we recollect the traditions of all the upper asiatics, we shall find in them all this Paradise on the loftiest land of the Globe, with its original living fountain, with its rivers fertilizing the World. Chinese and tibetians, hindoos and persians, speak of this primitive mountain of the creation, round which lands, seas, and islands lie, and from the cloud capped summit of which the Earth has received the boon of its rivers. This tradition is not void of physical principles: without mountains our Earth could have no running waters, and the map shows, that all the rivers of Asia flow from these heights. Accordingly the tradition we are explaining passes by every thing fabulous respecting the rivers of Paradise, and names four of the most generally known, which flow from the mountains of Asia. It is true, these proceed not from one stream; but to the later collector of these traditions it was sufficient, to indicate a remote part of the east as the primitive seat of mankind.

And there can be no doubt, that he considered this primitive seat as a region between the indian mountains. The land abounding with gold and precious stones, which he names, can scarcely be any other than India, which has been famed from all antiquity for these treasures. The river that compasseth it is the sacred winding Ganges †, which all India acknowledges as the river of Paradise. That Gihon is the Oxus cannot be disputed: the arabs still give it this

* Genesis II, 10—14.

† The word Pison signifies a fertilizing, inundating stream, and seems a translation of the name Ganges: thus an ancient greek transla-

tion explains it the Ganges; while the arabs render it the Nile, and the country through which it flows India, an incongruity hitherto deemed irreconcilable.

name, and traces of the country it was said to water may be perceived in several neighbouring indian appellations *. The last two streams, the Tigris and Euphrates, flow widely to the west it is true; but as the collector of these traditions lived at the western extremity of Asia, these regions were necessarily lost to him in the distance, and it is possible, that the third stream which he mentions signifies a more eastern Tigris, the Hindus †: for it was the custom of all ancient nations, when they migrated, to appropriate the tales of the mountains of the primitive World to the mountains and rivers of their new country, and to naturalize them by a local mythology, as might be shown from the mountains of Media to Ida and Olympus. From his situation, therefore, the collector of these traditions could do no more, than indicate the remotest region they offered him. The indians of Paropamisus, the persians of Imaus, the iberians of Caucasus, were comprised therein, and they were all in the habit of placing their Paradise respectively in that part of the chain of mountains, which their tradition indicated. Our story, however, points properly to the most ancient of the traditions; for it places it's Paradise above India, and gives the rest as supplementary. Now if we find such a delightful vale as Cashmire, situate nearly in the centre of these streams, walled round with mountains, famed no less for it's salubrious refreshing water, than for it's fertility and freedom from wild beasts, and even now esteemed, from the beauty of it's inhabitants, as the Paradise of Paradises; may not this have been the primitive seat of the human race? The sequel, however, will show, that all researches of this kind on our present Earth are vain: accordingly, we shall mark the region as indeterminate as the tradition leaves it, and pursue the thread of the narrative.

Of all the miraculous things and romantic forms, with which the stories of all Asia have abundantly stored their Paradise of the primitive World, this tradition has only two marvellous trees, a speaking serpent, and a cherub: the innumerable multitude of others the philosopher has rejected, and these too he has introduced in a significant tale. In Paradise is one single forbidden tree; and this tree, in the persuasion of the serpent, bears the fruit of divine knowledge, for which man longs. Could he long for any thing superiour? Could he be more ennobled in

* Cathgar, Cashmire, the Cashian mountains, Caucasus, Cathay, &c.

† The third river is named Hiddekel; and, according to Otter, the Hindus is still called by the arabs Eteck, and by the ancient hindoos Enider. The termination of the word also appears indian: dewerkel, as the semigods of the

hindooos are called, is the plural of dewin. It is probable, however, that the collector of the traditions took it for the Tigris, as he places it to the east of Assyria. The remoter lands were too distant from him. The Phraath too was probably some other river, here translated *appellatively*, or as the most celebrated eastern river.

his fall? Compare this narrative, considered merely as an allegory, with the tales of other nations: it is of all the most refined and beautiful, a symbolical representation of what has ever been the cause of human happiness and misery. Our ambiguous striving after knowledge not suited to us, the irregular use and abuse of our liberty, the restless extension and infraction of those limits, within which it is necessary moral laws should confine a creature so feeble, who has to learn to govern himself, form the fiery wheel, under which we groan, and which still constitutes nearly the whole circle of our life. The ancient philosopher of human history knew this, as well as we know it; and delivers it in a popular tale, which embraces almost all the purposes of man. Thus the hindoos tell of giants digging for the fruit of immortality; the tibetians talk of their lahs, degraded by misdeeds: but nothing, in my opinion, equals the unfulfilled profundity, the infantile simplicity, of this tale; which has only so much of the marvellous, as serves to indicate its country and date. All the dragons and wondrous forms of the ancient fairyland stretching over the asiatic mountains, the simurgh and soham, the lahs, dewetas, gins, deeves, and peries, a mythology of this quarter of the Globe widely spread in a thousand tales of Ginnistan, Righiel, Meru, Albordi, &c., disappear in the most ancient written tradition, and only a cherub keeps watch at the gate of Paradise.

On the other hand, this instructive history informs us, that the first created men conversed with the instructing elohim; that, under their guidance, they acquired language and sovereign reason, through the knowledge of beasts; that, as man was desirous of resembling them in the knowledge of evil, acquired by a forbidden mode, he obtained it to his own injury, and thenceforward, removed into another place, began a new and more artificial way of life: plain traits of tradition, which conceal beneath the veil of a fabulous narrative more human truths, than voluminous systems of the state of nature of indigenous mortals. If, as we have seen, the excellencies of man are born with him only as capacities, but properly acquired and transmitted only by means of education, language, tradition, and art; the threads of this humanity formed in him must not only be derived to all nations and ends of the World from one origin, but they must have been artfully knit together from the beginning, if mankind were to be what they are. Impossible as it is for a child to be abandoned and left to himself for years, without perishing or becoming degenerate, as little could the human species be left to itself in its first germinating shoot. Men, once accustomed to live as ourang-outangs, would never of themselves labour against themselves, and learn to pass from speechless inveterate brutality to manhood. Thus if the deity willed, that man should exercise reason and foresight, he must have

conferred on him foresight and reason. Education, art, cultivation, were indispensable to him from the first moment of his existence; and thus the specific character of mankind itself is a testimony of the intrinsic truth of this most ancient philosophy of our history*.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion of the most ancient written Tradition concerning the Commencement of the History of Man.

IN every thing else, which this ancient tale relates, respecting names, years, the invention of arts, revolutions, &c., we find it the echo of national report. We know not what the first man was called, or what language he spoke: for Adam signifies a man of earth, Eve a living creature, in the language of the people, who employ these names: these appellations therefore are symbols of their history, and other significant names are given them by other nations. The inventions here noticed are such only as suit a pastoral and agricultural people in the west of Asia; and even of them, the tradition records nothing but names. The enduring race, it says, endured; the possessor possessed; he who was lamented was murdered: in such verbal hieroglyphics are drawn the genealogical trees of people living in two different modes, of shepherds, and of husbandmen or dwellers in caves. The history of the sethites and cainites is at bottom nothing more than an account of the followers of the two most ancient modes of life, called in the arabic bedouins and cabiles†, who still remain distinct, and at enmity with each other, in the east. The genealogical tales of a pastoral people of this country would note only these casts.

It is the same with regard to Noah's flood, as it is called. For, certain as it appears from natural history, that the habitable earth has been ravaged by an inundation, and Asia particularly bears incontestible marks of such a deluge; yet what is delivered to us in this narration is nothing more or less than a national story. The compiler has collected together several traditions with great

* But how did the elohim confer these on man? that is to say, how did they teach, warn, and instruct him? If it be not equally as bold to ask this question, as to answer it, the tradition itself will give us a solution in another place.

† Cain is called by the arabs Cabil: the tribes

of the cabiles are called cabail. The bedouins, according to the signification of their name, are wandering shepherds, *inhabitants of the desert*. Thus it is with the names Cain, Enoch, Nod, Jabal, Jubal, or Tubal-Cain, expressive of the tribes and way of life.

care *, and delivers the journal of this tremendous revolution possessed by his tribe: at the same time the style of the narrative is so completely adapted to the mode of thinking of this tribe, that it would be highly injurious to it, to extend it beyond those limits, which alone stamp on it credibility. As one family of this people, with a considerable household, escaped, so other families of other nations may have been saved, as their traditions show. Thus in Chaldea Xifuthrus escaped with his family, and a number of cattle, which were then necessary to the support of men's lives, in a similar manner: and in India Vishnu himself was the rudder of the ship, that conveyed the distressed people to land. Similar tales exist among all the ancient nations in this quarter of the Globe, adapted to the traditions and circumstances of each: and convincing as they are, that the deluge of which they speak was general throughout Asia, they help us at once out of the strait, in which we unnecessarily confine ourselves, when we take every circumstance of a family-history exclusively for a history of the World, and thus deprive the history itself of its wellfounded credibility.

The genealogical table of this race after the deluge proceeds in a similar manner: it is confined within the limits of the country and its topography, not stretching beyond them into Hindostan, China, eastern Tatory, &c. The three chief branches of those who were saved are evidently the people on either side the western asiatic mountains, including the eastern coast of Europe, and the northern of Africa, as far as they were known to the collector of the traditions †. He traces them as well as he can, and endeavours to connect them with his genealogical table; but does not give us a general map of the World, or a genealogy of all nations. The pains that have been taken, to make all the people of the Earth, according to this genealogy, descendants of the hebrews, and half-brothers of the jews, are contradictory not only to chronology and universal history, but to the true point of view of the narrative itself, the credibility of which has been nearly destroyed by its being thus overstretched. On all the primitive mountains of the World, nations, languages, and kingdoms, were formed, after the deluge, without waiting for envoys from a chaldean family:

* Genesis VI—VIII. See Eichhorn's *Einführung ins alte Testament*, 'Introduction to the Old Testament,' Vol. II, p. 370.

† Japhet is, both according to his name and his blessing, *far extended*, as the people north of the mountains were in their mode of life, and partly even in their names. Shem comprised tribes with whom the names, that is the ancient traditions of religion, writing, and cultivation,

chiefly remained, and who consequently appropriated to themselves the advantages of civilized nations over others, particularly the hamites. Ham, or Cham, derived his name from heat, and belonged to the torrid zone. In the three sons of Noah, therefore, we find nothing more than the three quarters of the Globe, Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as they lay within the sphere of this tradition.

and in the east of Asia, man's primitive and most populous seat, we still evidently find the most ancient customs and languages, of which this western race of a later people knew nothing, and could not be otherwise than ignorant. It would not be much less impertinent to inquire, whether the Chinese descended from Cain or Abel, that is from a tribe of troglodytes, husbandmen, or shepherds, than to what beam of Noah's ark the American bradypus hung: but on this subject I shall not here enlarge; and even the investigation of points so important to our history as the abridgment of the duration of man's life, and the general deluge itself, I must defer to another place. Suffice it, that the firm central point of the largest quarter of the Globe, the primitive mountains of Asia, prepared the first abode for the human race, and has maintained itself through every revolution of the Earth. Not first raised naked from the bottom of the sea by the deluge, but, as both natural history and the most ancient traditions testify, the original country of man, it was the first grand theatre of nations, the instructive inspection of which we shall now pursue.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XI.

THE most ancient kingdoms and states of the Earth have been formed, as far as we learn from history, southwards, at the feet of the great mountains of Asia: the natural history of this quarter of the Globe too presents us with reasons, why they could not so easily be formed to the north as to the south. Needy man, seeking to support his earthly frame, readily bends his course to those regions, where the sunbeams shed a more genial warmth: for these must cover the earth with vegetation for his use, and ripen it's wholesome fruits. In the north of Asia, on this side of the mountains, most parts are much higher and colder: the chains of mountains wind with more intricacy, and frequently separate lands by their snowy summits, precipices, and wastes: fewer streams water the ground, and these ultimately flow into the frozen ocean, the barren coasts of which, the abodes of the white bear and reindeer, could not early have attracted inhabitants. This high, broken, steep land, the mountains and precipices of our ancient world, must have been for a considerable period the habitation of scythians and sarmatians, mungals and tatars, half-savage hunters and nomades; and many parts of it will remain so probably for ever. Necessity and the circumstances of the country rendered men barbarous: a thoughtless way of life, once become habitual, confirmed itself in the wandering tribes, or those that separated from them; and fashioned amid rude manners that almost eternal national character, which so completely discriminates all the northern asiatic races from those of the south. As this middle chain of mountains is a permanent ark, a nursery of almost all the wild animals of our hemisphere, it's inhabitants must long remain the companions of these animals, taming them with rude hand, or guarding them with gentle care.

To the southward, where the surface of Asia gently declines, where the mountainous chains surround more temperate vales, and protect them from the cold northeasterly wind, migrating colonies, led chiefly by the rivers, gradually drew toward the sea-coasts, assembled in towns, and formed nations; while a milder climate awakened in them more refined ideas, and gave rise to less rude regu-

lations. At the same time, as Nature afforded man more leisure, and pleasurablely stimulated more of his propensities, his heart expanded in passions and irregularities, the flowery weeds of which could not burst through the ice of the north, or spring up under the pressure of necessity: hence various laws and institutions to check them were required. The mind imagined, and the heart lusted: the unruly passions of men perpetually clashed with each other, and were at length obliged, to submit to restraint. But as despotism must accomplish what reason is yet unable to perform, those structures of policy and religion, which present themselves to us as pyramids and temples of the ancient world in eternal traditions, arose in the south of Asia: valuable documents for the history of our species, teaching us, in every fragment, how much the cultivation of human reason has cost mankind.

CHAPTER I.

China.

IN the eastern corner of Asia, at the feet of the mountains, lies a country, which calls itself the oldest of nations, the central flower of the world; and it certainly is one of the most ancient, and most remarkable. This is China. Not so large as Europe, it boasts a greater number of inhabitants in proportion than this populous quarter of the Globe; for it reckons within its limits upwards of 25200000 husbandmen paying taxes, 1572 towns great and small, 1193 castles, 3158 stone bridges, 2796 temples, 2606 monasteries, 10809 ancient edifices, &c. *; all of which, with the mountains and rivers, soldiers and men of letters, manufactures and produce, are annually entered in long catalogues by the eighteen governments, into which the kingdom is divided. Various travellers agree, that, except Europe, and perhaps ancient Egypt, there is no country where so much industry has been employed on roads and rivers, bridges and canals, and even artificial mountains and rocks, as in China; all which,

* Leontiew's extracts of the geography of the empire of China in Buefching's *Histor. und geogr. Magazin*, Vol. XIV, p. 411, &c. In Hermann's *Beiträgen zur Physik*, 'Essays on Natural Philosophy,' Vol. I, Berlin, 1786, the extent of the empire is estimated at 110000 german miles square [about 122222 square miles english], and the population at 104069254, nine persons being reckoned to a family. [Sir

G. Staunton gives the population of China proper, within the great wall, from apparently authentic documents, in round numbers, 333000000. Its area, from measurement, he sets down at 1297999 square miles. See Account of an Embassy to China, Vol. II, Appendix, Table I. His account of the population of this country, however, has been disputed by the german critics. T.]

with its great wall, bear testimony to the patient labour of human hands. Ships proceed from Canton nearly up to Peking; and the whole empire, divided as it is by mountains and deserts, has been laboriously united by means of roads, canals, and rivers. Villages and towns float on the waters, and the internal commerce between the provinces is brisk and lively. Agriculture is the grand pillar of the constitution: we are told of luxuriant fields of corn and rice, of deserts watered by art, of barren mountains rendered fertile: every plant and herb is cultivated and used, of which any use can be made: it is the same with metals and minerals, gold excepted, their mines of which they do not work. The land abounds with animals; the rivers, and lakes, with fish: the silk-worm alone supports thousands of industrious persons. People of all ranks and every age, even the blind, the deaf, and the decrepit, find some species of labour, some kind of manufacture, to employ them. Gentleness and submission, courteous civility and affable behaviour, are what the Chinese study from infancy, and practise through life. Regularity, and precisely determined order, are the essence of their legislation and police. The whole system of the state, in all the relations and duties, between its different classes, is founded on the respect, which the son owes to his father, and every subject to the father of the nation, who protects and governs them as children, by means of the magistrates. Can there be a nobler principle for the government of men? There we find no hereditary nobility; merit alone ennobles in every rank: men of approved worth fill the posts of honour, and these posts alone confer superiority. The subject is forced to embrace no mode of worship on compulsion, and the followers of no religion are persecuted, unless their tenets be inimical to the state. The adherents of Confucius, of Lao-tsee and Fo, and even Jews and Jesuits, when received into the state, dwell together in peace. Their laws are unalterably founded on morals; their morals, on the sacred book of experience: their emperor is their sovereign pontif, the son of Heaven, the protector of ancient custom, the soul of the body politic pervading all its members. If these principles be carried into actual practice, and held inviolate, can we conceive a political constitution more perfect? The whole empire would form one family of virtuous, well-educated, orderly, industrious, happy children and brothers.

Every one knows the advantageous picture of the Chinese government, sent to Europe by the missionaries in particular, and there admired as a masterpiece of policy, not only by speculative philosophers, but even by statesmen; till at length, as it is usual for the tide of opinion to take opposite directions, incredulity arose, and would admit neither its high degree of civili-

zation, nor even its peculiarities. Some of these european objections have had the fortune to be answered in China itself, though pretty much in the chinese taste * : and as most of the books that form the foundation of their laws and manners, with an ample history of the empire, and some unquestionably impartial accounts, are before us † ; it would be strange if some medium between extravagant praise and immoderate blame could not be found, which would probably be the path of truth. We will not dispute about the question of the chronological antiquity of their empire ; for as the origin of every kingdom upon Earth is enveloped in obscurity, it may be deemed a matter of indifference by the inquirer into the history of mankind, whether this singular nation demanded ten or twenty centuries more or less for its formation : it is sufficient, if it formed itself, and we can perceive in its slow progress the obstacles, that prevented its farther advance.

Now these obstacles are evident to our eyes in its character, the place of its abode, and its history. That the nation is of mungal origin appears from the figure of the chinese, their gross or infantile taste, nay even their mechanical ingenuity, and the feat of their first cultivation. The earliest kings ruled in the north of China : here were laid the foundations of that semitatarian despotism, which being afterwards gilded over with splendid maxims, spread itself through various revolutions down to the coasts of the sea on the south. A tatarian feudal constitution was for ages the tie, that bound the vassals to their lords : and the many wars between these vassals ; the frequent subversion of the throne by their hands ; nay the whole economy of the emperor's court, and his ruling by mandarins ; which are ancient establishments, not first introduced by Gengis khan or the mantchous ; all show what kind of nation it is, and evince its genetic character : a character, which equally meets the eye on contemplation of the whole, and inspection of its parts, even to dress, food, customs, domestic economy, arts, and amusements. This northeastern mungal nation could no more change its natural form by artificial regulations, even though enduring for thousands of years, than a man can change his nature, that is, the

* *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire Sc.*, 'Memoirs of the History, Sciences, Arts, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Chinese', Vol. II, p. 365 and fol.

† Beside the ancient editions of some classical books of the chinese by father Noel, Couplet, and others, the edition of the Shoo-King by Deguignes, the *Histoire général de Chino* by Mailla, the Memoirs quoted in the preceding note, consisting of ten volumes quarto, in which

translations of some original works of the chinese are inserted, &c., afford materials enough, for giving just ideas of these people. Among the various missionaries, who have given accounts of them, father le Comte is particularly to be esteemed, for the soundness of his judgment : *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat présent de la Chine*, 'New Memoirs of the present State of China,' 3 vols, 8vo, Paris, 1697.

innate character of his race and complexion. It was planted on this spot of the Globe : and as the magnet has not the same variation in China as in Europe, so this race of men, in this region, could never become greeks or romans. Chinese they were, and will remain : a people endowed by nature with small eyes, a short nose, a flat forehead, little beard, large ears, and a protuberant belly : what their organization could produce, it has produced ; nothing else could be required of it *.

All accounts agree, that the mungal nations on the north-eastern heights of Asia are distinguished by an acuteness of hearing, as easily to be accounted for among them, as it would be vain to seek it in other people. The language of the chinese bears testimony to this delicacy of ear. The auditory organs of a mungal alone could be capable of forming a language out of three hundred and thirty syllables, distinguished in different words by five or more accents, to prevent the speaker from saying beast instead of lord, and falling into the most laughable confusion of words every moment ; so that an european ear, and european organs of speech, can with the utmost difficulty, if at all, accustom themselves to this forced syllabical music. What a want of invention in the great, and what miserable refinement in trifles, are displayed in contriving for this language, the vast number of eighty thousand compound characters from a few rude hieroglyphics, six or more different modes of writing which distinguish the chinese from every other nation upon Earth. Their pictures of monsters and dragons, their minute care in the drawing of figures without regularity, the pleasure afforded their eyes by the disorderly assemblages of their gardens, the naked greatness or minute nicety in their buildings, the vain pomp of their dress, equipage, and amusements, their lantern feasts and fire-works, their long nails and cramped feet, their barbarous train of attendants, bowings, ceremonies, distinctions, and courtesies, require a mungal organization. So little taste for true nature, so little feeling of internal satisfaction, beauty, and worth, prevail through all these, that a neglected mind alone could arrive at this train of political cultivation, and allow itself to be so thoroughly modelled by it. As the chinese are immoderately fond of gilt paper and varnish, the neatly painted-lines of their intricate characters, and the jingle of fine sentences ; the cast of their minds resembles this varnish and gilt paper, these characters and clink of syllables. Nature seems to have refused them, as well as many other nations in this corner of the World, great invention in science : while on the other hand she has bountifully conferred on their little eyes a spirit of application, adroit diligence and nicety, a talent of imitating

* See Book VI, chap. II, p. 138.

with art whatever their cupidity deems useful. Eternally moving, eternally occupied, they are for ever going and coming, in quest of gain, or in fulfilment of their offices, so that they might be taken for wandering mungals, notwithstanding the artificial constitution of their state: for with all their innumerable regulations, they have not yet found the art of combining occupation with rest, so that every business shall find every man in his place. Their art of physic, resembling their trade, consists in a nice, deceitful feeling of the pulse, which depicts their whole character, in it's acuteness of the organs of sense, and uninventive ignorance of mind. The character of this people is a remarkable point in history, for it shows what a mungal nation, unmixed with any other, can or cannot be rendered by political cultivation carried to the highest pitch: for the vain pride of the chinese shows, if it show nothing else, that they have kept themselves, like the jews, unmixed with other people. Let them have acquired particular branches of knowledge where they will, the whole structure of their language and constitution, their institutions and mode of thinking, are peculiarly their own. Just as they are averse to the grafting of trees, so they themselves, notwithstanding their various intercourse with other nations, remain an original mungal stock, in a corner of the earth degraded to the slavish modes of chinese cultivation.

Man is artificially formed by education alone: the mode of education pursued by the chinese conspired with their national character, to render them just what they are, and nothing more. Filial obedience, after the manner of the wandering mungals, being made the basis of all their virtues, both civil and domestic; that apparent modesty, that anticipating courtesy, which are celebrated as characteristic features of the chinese even by the tongues of their enemies, could not avoid growing up in time. But good as this principle may be for a wandering horde, what would be it's consequences in an extensive community? In such a state filial obedience finding no limits; the same duty being imposed on men arrived at years of maturity, having themselves children and manly occupations, as suits only their uneducated offspring; nay this duty being required by every magistrate, who supports the name of father, in a figurative sense alone, by force and necessity, not by the gentle affections of nature: what could, what must ensue, but that the endeavour, to form a new human heart in despite of nature, must accustom the real hearts of men to falsehood? If the full grown man be compelled, to yield the obedience of a child; he must give up all that freedom of action, which Nature has made the duty of his years; empty ceremony will step into the place of heartfelt truth; and

the son, whose conduct overflowed with childish submission to his mother during his father's life, will neglect her after his death, if the law but term her a concubine. It is the same with the filial dutiestoward the mandarins: they spring not from nature, but from authority: they are mere customs, and, when they clash with nature, they are false, enfeebling customs. Hence the disagreement between the chinese laws and morals, and the actual history of China. How often have the children of the state deposed their father from the throne! How often has the father treated his children with barbarity! Covetous mandarins have suffered thousands to starve: and when their crimes have reached the ears of the sovereign father, they have been ineffectually chastised with paltry stripes like children. Hence the want of manly force and honour, to be observed even in the portraits of their great men and heroes: honour is converted into filial submission, force has degenerated into modish punctuality toward the state: we find in the harness no noble steed, but a tame ass, frequently playing the part of the fox in prescribed customs from morning till night.

This childish restraint of the reason, powers, and feelings of men must necessarily have a debilitating influence on the whole frame of the state. When once education is confined to modes, when forms and customs not only bind but overpower all the intercourse of life, what a mass of activity is lost to the public! and that activity the noblest of the heart and mind. Who is not astonished, when he remarks in the history of the chinese the course and management of their affairs, and with what extensive apparatus a trifle is accomplished? Here a college is employed, on what, to be well done, should be performed by an individual: there inquiry is made, in what place an answer is to be found: they go and they come, they put off and they avoid, that the ceremonials of childish respect for the state may not be infringed. A nation, that sleeps on warm stoves, and drinks warm water from morning till night, must be equally destitute of a warlike spirit and profound reflection. Regularity in a beaten track; acuteness in discovering which way interest inclines, and a thousand sly arts; childish multiplicity of occupation, without the reflection of the man, who asks himself whether a thing be necessary to be done, and whether it may not be performed in a better manner; are the only virtues, to which the royal path in China is open. The emperor himself is harnessed to this yoke: he must set a good example to all, and go through his exercise like a drill corporal for a pattern to the rest. He not only sacrifices in the hall of his predecessors on festivals, but in every occupation, in every moment of his life, he sacrifices to them,

and all the praise and all the blame bestowed upon him are perhaps equally undeserved*.

Is it to be wondered, that a nation of this kind should have invented little in the sciences according to the European standard? or that it has remained for some thousands of years at the same point? Even their books of law and morality continually pace round the same circle, and carefully and precisely say the same things of childish duties, in a hundred different ways, with systematic hypocrisy. In its music and astronomy, poetry and tactics, painting and architecture, as they were centuries ago, the children of its eternal laws, and unalterably childish institutions. The empire is an embalmed mummy, wrapped in silk, and painted with hieroglyphics: its internal circulation is that of a dormouse in its winter's sleep. Hence the system of keeping foreigners separate, acting the spy over them, and throwing obstacles in their way: hence the pride of the nation, which compares itself with itself alone, and neither knows nor loves strangers. It is a nation thrust into a corner, and shut up from general concourse by Fate; being separated from the rest by mountains, deserts, and a sea, in which scarce a haven is to be found. In any other situation it could not easily have remained what it is: for that its constitution held out against the manichoes only proves, that it derived its foundation from them, and that the less civilized conquerors found such a system of childish slavery a very convenient seat for their dominion. They durst not alter it, but sat themselves down in it, and ruled: while the nation served so obsequiously in every member of this machine of state, which itself had erected, as if it had been invented for the very purpose of this slavery.

All accounts of the language of the Chinese agree, that it has contributed unspeakably to the form of this people in their artificial mode of thinking: for is not the language of every country the medium, in which the ideas of its inhabitants are formed, preserved, and imparted? particularly when a nation is so firmly attached to its language as this, and deduces all civilization from it. The language of the Chinese is a dictionary of morals, that is, of courtesy and good manners: not only provinces and towns, but even conditions and books are distinguished in it, so that the greater part of their learned industry is applied merely to an implement, with which nothing is performed. Every thing in it turns on systematic niceties: it expresses much with a few sounds, while

* Even the esteemed emperor Kien-Long was deemed a cruel tyrant in the provinces: and in such an extensive kingdom, with such a constitution, this must ever be the case, let the emperor's way of thinking be what it will.

it depicts one sound with many lines, and says one and the same thing in a multiplicity of books. What a waste of industry is employed in pencilling and printing their works! but this is their chief art and delight; for fine writing is to them more beautiful than the most enchanting picture, and the uniform jingle of their maxims and compliments is prized by them as the sum of elegance and wisdom. Nothing but such an extensive empire, and chinese laboriousness, could have produced forty books, painted in eight large volumes, on the single town of Kai-fong-fu *, and extended this tiresome accuracy to every command and eulogy of the emperor. The monument of the emigration of the torguts is a monstrous book upon stone †, and the whole of the learning of the chinese is exhausted in artificial and political hieroglyphics. The difference, with which this mode of writing alone operates upon the mind that thinks in it, must be incredible. It enervates the thoughts, and reduces the whole national way of thinking to painted or air-drawn arbitrary characters.

This exhibition of the peculiarities of the chinese has not been coloured by enmity or contempt: every line is taken from their warmest advocates, and might be supported by a hundred proofs from every class of their institutions. It is nothing more, than arises from the nature of the case; the representation of a people formed from remote antiquity with such an organization, in such a part of the World, after such principles, with such aids, and under such circumstances; and which, contrary to the usual course of things in other nations, has so long retained it's way of thinking. If the ancient egyptians were still before our eyes, we should observe, without venturing to think of a reciprocal derivation, a resemblance between them in many points; the traditions received being only modified somewhat differently by the climate. It was the same with other nations, that once stood on the same step of cultivation; but these have advanced farther, or have been destroyed and mingled with others; while ancient China stands as an old ruin on the verge of the World, in it's semi-mungalian form. It would be difficult to prove, that the fundamental lineaments of it's cultivation were brought from Greece through Bactra, or derived from Tatory through Balch: the web of it's constitution is certainly endemial, and the slight operations of foreign countries on it are easy to be distinguished and separated. I honour the Kings like a chinese for their excellent principles: and Confucius is to me a great man, though I perceive the fetters, which he too wore, and which, with the best intentions, he rivetted eternally on the superstitious populace, and the general system of state, by his

* *Mém. concernant les Chinois*, Vol. II, p. 375.

† *Ib.* Vol. I, p. 329.

political morality. By means of it this nation, like many others on the Globe, has stood still in its education, as in the age of infancy; this mechanical engine of morals for ever checking the progress of the mind, and no second Confucius arising in the despotic realm. Had either the enormous state been once divided; or had more enlightened Kien-longs taken the paternal resolution, to send forth as colonists those whom they could not feed, lightened the yoke of custom, and introduced greater freedom of will and action, though this would undoubtedly have been attended with much danger: then—but even then the chinese would ever have remained chinese, as germans are still germans, and no ancient greeks are produced in the eastern end of Asia. It is obviously the purpose of Nature, that every thing capable of prospering on Earth should prosper on it, and that even this variety in her productions should teem with the creator's praise. The work of legislation and morals possesses no where upon Earth such stability as in China, where the human understanding appears to have framed it as an infantile essay: there let it remain, and may Europe never rear a sister realm equally full of filial submission to its despots. This nation will retain to the end the fame of its industry, of the acuteness of its organs of sense, of its skilful dexterity in a thousand useful things. Silk and porcelain, powder and shot, perhaps too the mariner's compass, the art of printing, the building of bridges, navigation, and many other nice mechanical occupations and arts, were known to it, before they existed in Europe: but in almost all arts it wants the spirit of improvement. For the rest, that China should shut herself up from the nations of Europe, and lay great restraints as well on the dutch as on the russians and jesuits, is not only consistent with her general way of thinking, but cannot be blamed on the score of policy, so long as she observes the conduct of europeans in the islands and on the continent of the East-Indies, in the North of Asia, and in her own land. Swelling with tatarian pride, she despises the merchant, who leaves his own country, and barter what she deems the most solid merchandize for things of trifling value: she takes his silver, and gives him in return millions of pounds of enervating tea, to the corruption of all Europe.

CHAPTER II.

Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Corea, eastern Tatar, Japan.

IT appears incontestibly from the history of mankind, that, whatever country has been capable of raising itself to any eminent degree of cultivation, it has influenced a certain circle of its neighbours. Thus China, though an unwarlike nation, and with a constitution strongly concentrating in itself, has notwithstanding diffused its influence through many countries round. The question is not, whether these countries have been subdued by China, or remain subject to it; if they participate in its institutions, language, religion, sciences, arts, and manners, as far as regards mind they are provinces of the empire.

Cochin-China has derived most from the chinese, of whom it has been in some measure a political colony: hence the resemblance between the two people in constitution and manners, in arts and sciences, in religion, trade, and government. Its emperor is a vassal of China, and the nations are intimately united by commerce. If this busy, sensible, gentle people, be compared with their neighbours, the indolent siamese, the savage natives of Arracan, &c., the difference will be obvious. But as no rivulet rises higher than its source, it is not to be expected, that Cochin-China should exceed its original: its government is more despotic; its religion and sciences are but echoes of those of the mother country.

Tonquin, which lies still nearer to China, though separated from it by rude mountains, is in a similar predicament. The nation is less civilized: the degree of cultivation it possesses, and which supports the state; its manufactures, trade, laws, religion, knowledge, and customs; are all chinese; only far inferior, in consequence of a more southerly climate, and the national character.

The impression made by China upon Laos is still more feeble: for this country was soon torn from it, and adopted the manners of the siamese: yet the traces of that impression are still perceptible.

Among the southern islands Java is that, with which the chinese have the most particular intercourse: indeed it is probable, that colonies have been planted in it by them. Their political establishments, however, they could not introduce into this distant and much hotter land: for the laborious skill of the chinese requires an assiduous people, and a temperate climate. They made use of the island, therefore, without fashioning it.

To the north the chinese system of things has gained more footing, and the people of China may boast, that they have contributed more to soften the rude nations of this vast region, than the europeans probably in all the four quarters of the Globe. Korea has been actually subjected to the chinese by the mantchous: and let this once savage nation be compared with it's northern neighbours. The inhabitants of this partly cold country are gentle and benign: in their amusements and funeral ceremonies, in their houses and clothing, in their religion and a certain love of science, they at least imitate the chinese, by whom their government was framed, and a few manufactures established. On the mungals the influence of the chinese has had a still more extensive operation. Not only have the mantchous, who conquered China, been polished by their intercourse with it, so that tribunals resembling those of Peking have been established at Schinyang, their capital: but the numerous mungal hordes, the greater part of which are subject to China, have not remained uninfluenced by the chinese, notwithstanding their ruder manners. Nay if the friendly protection of this kingdom, in which the torguts amounted in modern times to three hundred thousand strong, be a benefit, China has treated this extensive region more justly than any conqueror. Often has it quieted the disturbances of Tibet, and in former days extended it's hand to the Caspian sea. The contents of the rich graves found in different parts of Mungalia and Tatory afford evident marks of an intercourse with China: and if more polished nations formerly inhabited these countries, they probably were not without a close connexion with the chinese.

The place, however, in which the chinese have raised up the greatest rivals of their industry, is Japan. The japanese were once barbarians; and certainly, from their bold and violent character, cruel and rigid barbarians: yet from their proximity and intercourse with a people, from whom they learned writing and sciences, arts and manufactures, they have improved themselves to a state, which in many points rivals or even exceeds that of China. Conformably to the character of the nation indeed, both their government and religion are more barbarous and severe: and there is no more prospect in Japan, than in China, of an advancement to greater perfection in the sciences, as they are cultivated in Europe: but if a knowledge and employment of the soil, if industry in agriculture and the useful arts, if trade and navigation, and even the rude pomp and despotic form of their political constitution, be unquestionable steps of cultivation, the proud japanese have borrowed them from China. The annals of this nation record the time, when the japanese visited China as barbarians: and with whatever peculiarities the rude islanders have formed them-

selves, in all the instruments of their cultivation, and in the manner in which they exercise their arts, the chinese original is evident.

Now whether these people have penetrated still farther, and contributed to the cultivation of either of the two polished kingdoms of America, both of which were situate on the western coast, opposite to China, will not be easy to determine. If a cultivated people from this side of the Globe reached America, it could scarcely be any other than the chinese, or the islanders of Japan. It is much to be regretted, that the history of China, in obedience to the constitution of the country, is written so completely in the chinese manner. All inventions it ascribes to it's kings : it forgets the world beyond it's own limits, and as a history of the empire it is far from an instructive history of man.

CHAPTER III.

Tibet.

BETWEEN the great mountains and deserts of Asia, a spiritual empire, singular in kind, erects it's head. This is the grand sovereignty of the lamas. It is true, the temporal power has been occasionally separated from the spiritual by slight revolutions ; but they have always been united again after a time, so that in this country the whole constitution rests on the imperial pontificate, in a manner elsewhere unknown. According to the doctrine of metempsychosis, the grand lama is animated by the god Siaka, or Fo, who, at the decease of one lama, transmigrates into the next, and consecrates him an image of the divinity. The descending chain of lamas is continued down from him in fixed degrees of sanctity, so that a more firmly established sacerdotal government, in doctrines, customs, and institutions, than actually reigns over this elevated country, cannot be conceived. The supreme manager of temporal affairs is no more than the viceroy of the sovereign priest, who, conformably to the principles of his religion, dwells in divine tranquillity, in a building that is both temple and palace. The lama account of the creation of the World abounds with monstrous fables : the threatened punishments and penitences for sin are severe : and the state, after which their sanctity thrives, is highly unnatural, consisting in monastic continence, superstitious absence of thought, and the perfect repose of nonentity. Yet there is scarcely any religion upon Earth so widely spread as this. Not only in Tibet and Tangut, and by the greater part of the mungals, mantchous, kalcas, eleuths, is the lama worshipped ;

and if some of them have dispensed with the adoration of his person in modern times, still a certain modification of the religion of Shaka is the only faith they profess, the only worship they follow : but this religion extends far to the south also : the names of Sommonacodom, Shakja-Tuba, Sangol-Muni, Shigemuni, Burdo, Fo, Shekia, are all the same with Shaka ; so that this sacred monastic doctrine pervades Hindostan, Ceylon, Siam, Pegu, Tonquin, and even China, Corea, and Japan ; though not every where retaining in equal degrees the cumbersome mythology of the tibetians. Even in China the doctrines of Fo constitute the popular faith ; while the principles of Confucius and Lao-tse are only species of a political religion and philosophy adopted by the higher ranks, that is, by the learned. The government is indifferent to either religion : it's care proceeds no farther, than to render the lamas and bonzes innocuous to the state, by preserving it from the sovereignty of the dalai-lama. Japan has long been a Semi-Tibet : the dairi was the spiritual sovereign, and the cubo his temporal servant ; till the latter took the reins into his own hand, and reduced the former to a mere cipher : a step that arises in the course of things, and will some time be the lot of the lama also. It is only owing to the situation of his empire, the barbarousness of the mungal tribes, and more especially the favour of the emperor of China, that the lama has remained so long what he is.

The religion of the lamas assuredly never originated on the cold mountains of Tibet : it must have been the offspring of a warmer climate, the creature of some enervate minds, that love above all things to indulge in bodily rest, and freedom from thought. It did not reach the rude heights of Tibet, or even China itself, till the first century after the christian era ; and then it received in each a different modification, according to the state of the country. In Tibet and Japan it was rigid and severe : among the mungals it became a less efficacious superstition : while Siam, Hindostan, and similar countries, cherished it under it's mildest aspect, as a natural production of their warmer climate. From this difference of form, it has had very different effects on the countries, in which it has flourished. In Siam, Hindostan, Tonquin, and some others, it lulls the minds of men, and renders them compassionate and unwarlike, patient, gentle, and indolent. The talapoins aspire not to the throne : they only require alms for the absolution of sinners. In ruder soils, where the climate does not so easily afford support for idle beadsmen, their establishment demands more art, and thus they at length unite the palace and the temple. The inconsistencies, which not only connect but support human affairs, are singular. If every tibetian obeyed the laws of the lamas, and strove to imitate their

supreme virtues, Tibet would soon be no more. A race of men, keeping themselves unconnected with each other, not cultivating their frigid soil, pursuing neither trade nor manufactures, must hasten to an end: while dreaming of Heaven they would perish with cold and hunger. But happily nature is more powerful in man, than any opinion he may embrace. The tibetian marries, though marriage is a sin: and his industrious wife, who indeed takes more than one husband, and labours more than a man, willingly foregoes the chief places in Paradise, to continue the present World. If there be a religion upon Earth, that deserves the epithets of monstrous and inconsistent, it is the religion of Tibet*: and it cannot altogether be denied, that, if christianity were propagated in it's most rigid doctrines and practices, it would nowhere appear in a worse form than on the tibetian mountains. Fortunately, however, the severe monastic religion has been as incapable of changing the spirit of the nation, as of altering it's wants and climate. The inhabitant of the lofty mountains purchases absolution for his sins, and enjoys health and cheerfulness. he feeds and kills animals, though he believes the transmigration of souls; and keeps a wedding feast for a fortnight, though his priest inculcates celibacy as the only state of perfection. Thus the opinions of mankind have always accommodated matters with their wants: they have haggled with each other, till a tolerable bargain was struck between them. How unfortunate would it be for men, if every folly, that prevails in the creeds received by nations, were to be completely followed up in practice! But now, most are believed and not practised, and this neutral sentiment of dead persuasion is every where called forth. It is not to be supposed, that the calmuc lives conformably to the pattern of perfection in Tibet, because he adores a little idol, or worships the excrement of the lama.

But this disgusting system of the lamas has not been barely innocent: it has certainly had it's use. By it a gross heathen nation, holding itself descended from apes, has been raised into a polished, and in many points a refined people: though to this the neighbourhood of China greatly contributed. A religion originating in India must have a predilection for cleanliness: thus the tibetians were prevented from living like tatarian mountaineers. Even that extravagant chastity, which their lamas preach, has served as a goal of virtue to the nation; and the modesty, temperance, and reserve, remarked in both sexes, may be considered as at least part of the race toward it: where too, indeed, half is

* See *Georgii Alphabet. Tibetan.*, Rome, 1762, a book abounding with learned lumber; yet, with the accounts in Pallas's *Nordischen Beitrægen*, Vol. IV, p. 271, &c., and the essay in Schläezer's *Briefwechsel*, 'Correspondence,' Vol. V, the chief book we have respecting Tibet.

better than the whole. The doctrine of the metempsychosis excites compassion toward animals : and perhaps the rude inhabitants of rocks and mountains could not be held by a gentler rein than this opinion, and the belief in long penitences and the pains of Hell. In short the tibetian religion is a species of the papal, such as it prevailed in Europe itself in the dark ages, and indeed without that morality and decorum, for which the mungals and tibetians are commended. The religion of Shaka has been of service to mankind likewise by introducing a sort of learning, and a written language, among these mountaineers, and even farther, among the mungals. Probably the preparatory means of a degree of cultivation, now ripening for these regions also.

The way of Providence among nations is wondrous long, yet it is the pure order of nature. Gymnosophists and talapoin, that is, contemplative solitaries, have existed in the east from the remotest times : their nature and their climate led them to this mode of life. Seeking quiet, they fled from the bustle of society, and lived contented with the little, that fertile nature gave. The oriental is as serious, and moderate in words, as temperate in meat and drink. He willingly resigns himself to the wings of imagination : and whither could these carry him, but to the contemplation of universal nature, to the origin of the World, the decay and renovation of things ? Both the cosmogony and the metempsychosis of the orientals are poetical representations of what is and will be, such as they may be conceived by a limited human understanding and a feeling heart. ‘ I live and enjoy my life a little while : why should not all around me enjoy their existence, and live uninjured by me ? ’ Hence the morality of the talapoin, which so effectively and self-denyingly inculcates the nothingness of all things, the eternal mutation of forms in the World, the internal affliction of the insatiate desires of the human heart, and the pleasures of a pure mind. Hence too the gentle humane ordinances, which they gave to mankind for sparing themselves and other beings, and the praises of which they chaunt in their hymns, and record in their maxims. These they no more derived from Greece, than they did their cosmogony : for both are the genuine offspring of the feelings and sentiments of their climate. In them every thing is strained to the highest pitch ; so that indian hermits alone can live conformably to the doctrines of the talapoin : and besides, every thing is so enveloped in endless fables, that if ever a Shaka lived, he would scarcely recognize himself in one of the features ascribed to him as subjects of gratitude or praise. Yet does not a child learn his first wisdom and morals by means of fables ? and are not most of these nations, whose minds remain in a gentle slumber, children all their lives long ? Let us not accuse Providence, therefore, for what could not be

otherwise, according to the order she chose for the human race. She knit every thing with tradition, and thus men could not impart to each other more, than they themselves had, and knew. Every thing in nature, and consequently the philosophy of Buddha, is good or bad, according to the use that is made of it. On the one hand it exhibits as fine and lofty sentiments, as on the other it is capable of exciting and fostering, as it abundantly has, indolence and deceit. In no two countries has it remained precisely the same : but wherever it exists, it has raised itself at least one step above gross heathenism, the first twilight of a purer morality, the first infantile dream of that truth, which comprehends the universe.

CHAPTER IV.

Hindoestan.

THOUGH the doctrine of the bramins is no more than a branch of that widely spread religion, which has formed sects or sovereignties from Tibet to Japan ; still it deserves particular consideration in the place of it's birth, as it has formed there the most singular and perhaps durable government in the World ; this is the division of the hindoo nation into four or more casts, over which the bramins rule as forming the first. That they obtained this sway by bodily subjugation is by no means probable : for they are not the military cast of the people, which, the king himself included, comes only next to them ; and their pretensions are founded on no such claim, even in their fables. Their dominion over the rest is derived from their origin, on the score of which they pride themselves as sprung from the head of Brama, while the soldiery proceeded from his breast, and the other casts from his different limbs. On this their laws and the constitution of the state are founded, according to which they make a particular cast, which is to the nation what the head is to the body. Similar divisions into casts have formed in other regions the simplest establishment of society : in imitation of nature, that divides trees into branches, people into tribes and families. Such was the system of Egypt ; which, like that of Hindoestan, made arts and trades hereditary : and that the cast of sages and priests assigned to itself the highest place, we observe in several nations. In such a degree of cultivation, this appears to me the natural course of things ; as wisdom is superiour to strength, and in ancient times the cast of priests appropriated to itself almost all political science. The importance of the priesthood declines only with the general diffusion of knowledge through all ranks ; and

for this reason the priests have so frequently opposed the enlightening of the people.

The history of Hindostan, of which we know much less than could be wished, affords us some clear hints respecting the origin of the bramins *. This makes Brama, a wise and learned man, who invented several arts and in particular writing, a vizir of one of their ancient kings, Crishen, whose son divided the people by law into the four well known castes. He placed the son of Brama at the head of the first caste, which included the astrologers, physicians, and priests: other nobles were appointed hereditary governors of provinces, and from these the second caste of the hindoos is descended: the third caste was confined to the cultivation of the ground; the fourth, to the pursuit of arts: and this establishment was to continue for ever. He built the town of Bahar for the philosophers; and as the seat of his empire, and the schools of the bramins, were chiefly on the banks of the Ganges, the reason why so little is said of them by the greeks and romans is obvious: for it appears, that these were unacquainted with the interior parts of India; Herodotus describing only the people on the Hindus, and the northern part of the peninsula beyond the Ganges, and Alexander having advanced no farther than the Hyphases. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that at first they obtained only general accounts of the bramins, that is, of the solitary philosophers, living in the manner of the talapains; and afterwards heard obscure tales of the samaneans and germans on the Ganges, of the division of the people into castes, of their doctrine of the transmigration of souls, &c. Even these mutilated relations however show, that the institution of the bramins is ancient, and a native of the country bordering on the Ganges; which the very old monuments at Jaggernaut †, Bombay, and other parts of the peninsula, confirm. Both the idols, and the whole economy of their temples, are suitable to the sentiments and mythology of the bramins, who have spread themselves abroad through India from their sacred Ganges, and been honoured, in proportion to the ignorance of the people, where they have arrived. The Ganges, as their birth place, has remained the chief seat of their holy rites: though as bramins they are not merely a religious, but a truly political tribe, resembling the orders of lamas, levites, egyptian priests, &c., and have pertained to the primitive constitution of the state throughout India.

For thousands of years this influence of the order on the minds of men has been singularly profound: for, in spite of the mungal yoke, which they have

* Dow's History of Hindostan, Vol. I, p. 10, 11.

† Zend-Avesta, by D'Anquetil, Vol. I, p. 81, and foll.: Niebuhr's Travels, Vol. II.

so long born, it's importance and doctrines still remain unshaken, and these exert such a powerful sway over the hindoos, as scarcely any other religion has ever displayed *. The character, way of life, and manners of the people, even to the minutest trifles, nay to their very thoughts and words, are their work : and though many parts of the religion of the bramins are extremely troublesome and oppressive, they remain as sacred as the divine laws of nature, even to the lowest casts. Such of them as embrace a foreign religion are for the most part only malefactors and outcasts, or poor deserted children. The sense of superiority, too, with which the hindoo, even under the pressure of extreme want, contemplates the european whom he serves, is a sufficient guaranty, that this people, while it exists, will never mix with any other. No doubt the character of the nation and the climate are the grounds of this unparalleled effect : for no people are endowed with more quiet patience, and gentle docility of mind. But that the hindoo does not follow the precepts and customs of every foreigner arises evidently from this, that the institution of the bramins already so occupies his whole mind, and employs his whole life, as to leave no room for any other. His frequent festivals and ceremonies, his multiplicity of deities and fables, his numerous sacred places and works of merit, employ the whole imagination of the hindoo from his infancy, and remind him of what he is almost every moment of his life. All the institutions of Europe float only on the surface of a mind thus profoundly swayed ; and this sway I believe capable of continuing as long as a hindoo shall exist.

With respect to all human institutions, the question, whether they be good or evil, is necessarily complicated. Undoubtedly the system of the bramins, when it was first established, was good : otherwise it could not have spread so wide, penetrated so deep, and endured so long. The human mind shakes off what is pernicious to it, as soon as it can : and though the hindoo may be capable of bearing more than another, he certainly would never love poison. It is incontestible too, that the bramins have formed their people to such a degree of gentleness, courtesy, temperance, and chastity, or at least have so confirmed them in these virtues, that europeans frequently appear, on comparison with them, as beastly, drunken, or mad. Their air and language are unconstrainedly elegant ; their behaviour, friendly ; their persons, clean ; their way of life simple and harmless. Their children are educated without severity ; yet they are not destitute of knowledge, and still less of quiet industry, or nicely

* See on this subject Dow, Holwell, Sonnerat, Alexander Ross, Mackintosh, the accounts of the missionaries of Halle, the *Lettre édifiantes*, and every other description of the hindoo religion and people.

imitative art: even the lowest casts learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. As the teachers of youth, the bramins cannot be denied the merit of having been benefactors to mankind for some thousands of years. Let the reader turn to the relations given by the missionaries of Halle, and mark the found reasoning and benign disposition of the bramins and malabars, in their questions, answers, and objections, as well as in their whole behaviour, and he will seldom give the palm to the preachers from Europe. The leading idea the bramins entertain of God is so grand and beautiful, their morality is so pure and sublime, and even their fables, when scanned by the eye of reason, are so refined and charming, that I cannot altogether ascribe to their inventors, even in the monstrous and romantic, that absurdity, which it is probable they gained in the course of time by passing through the mouths of the people. That, in spite of all the oppression of the mohammedans and christians, the order of bramins has preserved it's artfully constructed and beautiful language *, and with it some of the ruins of ancient astronomy and chronology, physic and jurisprudence, is not without merit in such a situation †: for the mechanical manner in which they exercise these sciences is sufficient for their sphere of life, and what is unfriendly to their improvement confirms their durability and effect. With regard to others, the hindoos persecute no one: they allow all to follow their own religion, knowledge, and way of life: why should not others allow them the same liberty, and consider them at least as well-meaning people, though misled by the errors of their hereditary traditions? Of all the sects of Fo, which occupy the eastern world of Asia, this is the flower: more learned, more humane, more useful, more noble, than all the bonzes, lamas, and talapoins.

With this it must not be concealed, that, as in all other human institutions, so in this, there is much that is oppressive. Not to mention the endless violence, which the confinement of the different ways of life to hereditary casts necessarily involves, as it nearly excludes all freedom in improving the arts, and bringing them to perfection: the contempt with which the lower cast, the pariahs, are treated, is particularly striking. They are not only condemned to the basest offices, and eternally prohibited from all connexion with any other of the casts; but they are even deprived of the claims of humanity, and the rites of religion: for no one dares touch a pariah, and his very look profanes a bramini. Though many reasons are assigned for this abasement, and among others, that the pariahs may be a subjugated nation; none of them are sufficiently confirmed by history. In person, at least, they differ not from the other hindoos. Here, as in so many other

* See Halhed's Grammar of the Bengal Language, printed at Hoogly in Bengal, 1778.

† See Le Gentil's Voyage in the Indian Ocean, Vol. I; Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws; &c.

† See Le Gentil's Voyage dans les Mers de

things of ancient institution, we must recur to the rigid primitive ordinance, according to which, probably, the very poor, or malefactors and reprobates, were condemned to a state of debasement, to which their innocent and numerous descendants have astonishingly submitted. The fault lies solely in the classification by families; according to which the lowest lot of life must fall to some, and the purity arrogated by the rest still augments the burden. Now what could be more natural, than to consider it at length as a punishment from Heaven, to be born a pariah, and, conformably to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, as a fate merited by crimes in a former state of life? This hypothesis of the transmigration of souls, grand as it was in the mind of him, by whom it was first imagined, and greatly as it may have benefitted mankind, must necessarily have occasioned much evil also, as does every opinion, that oversteps human nature. While, for instance, it excited a false compassion towards every living creature, it diminished real sympathy for the miseries of our fellows; the unhappy among whom it held as criminals suffering under the burden of former misdeeds, or as men proved by the hand of Fate, who would reward their virtues in a future state of existence. Accordingly, a want of sympathy is observed even in the gentle hindoos, which may probably be considered as an effect of their organization, though still more of their profound submission to eternal fate; a faith, which plunges man into an abyss, and blunts his active feelings. The burning of wives on the funeral piles of their husbands may be reckoned among the barbarous consequences of this doctrine: for to whatever cause it owes its first introduction, whether it entered the round of custom as a punishment or as an emulation of some great minds, the braminal doctrine of a future state has unquestionably ennobled the unnatural practice, and animated the poor victim to encounter death. No doubt this cruel practice renders the life of the husband more dear to the wife, as she thus becomes inseparable from him even in death, and cannot remain behind him without disgrace: but is this worth the sacrifice, when tacit custom alone gives it the force of law? Lastly, I pass over the manifold deception and superstition inevitable in the braminal system, from the very circumstance of astronomy and chronology, religion and physic, being propagated by oral tradition, and confined as mysteries to one cast: a still more pernicious consequence for the whole country was, that this supremacy of the bramins must render the people sooner or later ripe for subjugation. The military cast must speedily become unwarlike, as its functions clashed with its religion, and it was subordinate to another, which abhorred all shedding of blood. Happy would it have been for such a peaceful people, to have dwelt on a solitary island, remote from all conquerors: but at

the foot of mountains inhabited by those human beasts of prey, the warlike mungals; and near those coasts abounding with havens, to receive the artful and covetous adventurers of Europe; how could the poor hindoos maintain themselves, and their pacific system? Thus it was with the constitution of Hindoostan: it sank under internal and external wars, till at length the maritime power of Europe subjected it to a yoke, under which it is uttering its last groans.

Hard course of the fate of nations! yet it is nothing more than the order of nature. In the most beautiful and fertile region of the Earth, man must early attain refined ideas, an imagination widely expatiating on nature, gentle manners, and regular institutions: but in this region he must soon avoid laborious activity, and thus become the prey of every robber, who visited his happy land. From remote times the trade to the East Indies was a very lucrative branch of commerce: the industrious contented people gave of their treasures by sea and land to other nations an abundance of precious articles; and, in consequence of their remote situation, remained in tolerable peace and tranquillity: till at length europeans, from whom nothing is remote, came, and established empires of their own among them. All the information, and all the merchandize, that they have brought us thence, by no means compensate the evil they have done to a nation, by whom they were never offended. Yet in this the hand of Fate prevails, and it will either loose the chain, or extend its links.

CHAPTER V.

General Reflections on the History of these States.

HITHERTO we have been considering those political constitutions of Asia, which boast the highest antiquity, and the firmest duration: now what have they effected in the history of mankind? what is learned from them by the philosopher of human history?

History presumes a beginning: to the history of a state, and of moral cultivation, a commencement of these is necessary. But how obscure is this commencement, among all the nations we have yet contemplated! Were my voice of any weight, I would employ it in exhorting every sagacious and discreet investigator of history, to study the origin of cultivation in Asia, among its most celebrated nations and empires, laying aside all hypothesis, and throwing off the shackles of preconceived opinion. An accurate examination of the accounts and monuments we have of these nations, of their writing and languages,

of their most ancient works of art and mythology, or the principles and practices they still follow in their few sciences; compared with the place they inhabit, and the intercourse they may have had; would certainly disentangle part of the chain of their cultivation, the first link of which would probably be found neither in Scylinginskoy, nor in grecian Bactra. The diligent inquiries of a Deguignes, a Bayer, a Gatterer, and some others; the bolder hypotheses of Bailly, Paw, Delisle, &c.; and the useful endeavours, that have been made toward collecting and rendering public the languages and works of Asia; are preparatory steps to the erection of an edifice, the first foundation stone of which I should be glad to see laid. Probably we should thus discover the ruins of a temple of that *Protogea* *, which displays itself to our view in so many natural monuments.

2. The civilization of a people is a term not easy to express; but to conceive the idea, and carry it into practice, is still more difficult. That a stranger arriving in a country should enlighten a whole nation, or that a king should enjoin the civilization of a people by law, can be possible only from a coincidence of various auxiliary circumstances: for men are formed only by education, instruction, and permanent example. Hence it was, that all nations soon fell upon the method of admitting into the body politic a class of men appointed to instruct, educate, and enlighten the rest; setting them above the other classes, or assigning them a middle rank. Admit this to be the threshold of a very imperfect degree of cultivation, still it is necessary in the childhood of the human race; for wherever such teachers of the people have been wanting, these have remained eternally ignorant and slothful. Consequently some sort of bramins, mandarins, talapoins, lamas, or the like, have been necessary to every nation in its political infancy: and indeed we see, that this order of men alone has extensively diffused the seeds of artificial cultivation throughout Asia. If there be such, the emperor Yao may say to his servants Hi and Ho †: ‘go observe the stars, mark the course of the Sun, and portion out the year.’ If Hi and Ho be no astronomers, his imperial command is of no effect.

3. There is a difference between the cultivation of men of learning, and the cultivation of the people. The learned man must understand the sciences, the exercise of which is enjoined him for the benefit of the state: these he preserves; and these he confides to those of his own rank, not to the people. Such among us are the higher species of mathematics, and many other branches of know-

* Primitive World. T.

† Beginning of the Shoo-King, p. 6, in the edition of Deguignes.

ledge, which are not of common use, and therefore not for the people. These were the occult sciences, as they were called, of the ancient political institutions, which the priest or bramin preserved for his own class alone, because it was appointed for their exercise, and every other class in the state had it's own occupations. Thus algebra is even now an occult science: for few in Europe understand it, though learning it is prohibited to none. Now indeed we have uselessly and detrimentally confounded in many points the spheres of learned and popular cultivation, and extended this almost to the amplitude of that: the ancient founders of states, who thought more like men, thought on this subject also more wisely. They placed the cultivation of the people in good morals, and useful arts: for grand theories, even in philosophy and religion, they deemed the people unqualified; and such theories, therefore, they conceived useless to them. Hence the ancient mode of teaching by fables and allegories, such as the bramins now utter to the unlearned casts: hence in China the distinction in common ideas almost according to every class of the people, established and not unwisely retained by the state. If we would compare a nation of the east of Asia with ours in respect of cultivation; it is necessary first to be known, in what cultivation is deemed by it to consist, and of what class of men we speak. If a nation, or a class of men, possess good morals and arts; if it have such ideas, and such virtues, as suffice for it's labours and a happy and contented life; it is sufficiently enlightened for it's wants; even supposing it unable to account for an eclipse, otherwise than by the well known tale of the dragon. This tale was probably told it by it's teachers, that no one might grow gray in the study of the courses of the Sun and stars. I cannot possibly persuade myself, that every individual of every nation was intended to acquire a metaphysical idea of God, without which, though probably at last turning on a mere word, he must be superstitious, barbarous, and less than man. Is the japanese prudent, brave, dexterous, and useful in his station? then is he cultivated, let him think as he will of Budda and Amida. Does he relate to you fabulous stories concerning these? tell him other fables in return, and you will balance the account.

4. Even a perpetual progress in the cultivation of learning is not essential to the happiness of a state; at least not according to the notions of the ancient eastern empires. In Europe all the men of learning form a separate state, which, erected on the previous labours of many centuries, is artificially supported by common aids, and the emulation of realm against realm: for to nature in general the pinnacle of science, after which we strive, does no service. All Europe is one learned kingdom, which, partly by internal emulation, partly by the auxiliary means it has abundantly procured in modern times from every part of

the World, has attained an ideal form, which the man of learning only penetrates, and the statesman employs. Once entered on this course we cannot stand still : we pursue the magic image of perfect science and universal knowledge, which it is true we shall never overtake, but which will hold us in chase, as long as the constitutions of Europe shall endure. It is not so with the kingdoms, that have never engaged in this contest. Orbicular China, behind it's mountains, is a simple enclosed realm : all it's provinces, however different their people, settled on the principles of an ancient constitution, are not in a state of rivalry together, but of the profoundest obedience. Japan is an island, an enemy to every stranger, like ancient Britain, and stands like a world of itself, amid it's rude rocks and stormy sea. It is the same with Tibet, surrounded by mountains, and savage nations : the same with the constitution of the bramins, which has groaned for centuries beneath the yoke. How could the germes of progressive science, which burst even through the rocks of Europe, sprout forth in these realms ? How could these people receive even the fruits of the tree from the dangerous hands of europeans, who have robbed them of what was their own, political security, and their very land itself ? Thus, after a few essays, each snail has retreated within it's shell, and rejected even the most fragrant rose brought in the mouth of a serpent. The science of their pretended men of learning is adapted to the country ; and China received from the officious je-suits no more than it deemed absolutely necessary. Probably it would have accepted more, had it arrived in a time of necessity : but as most men, and still more great political bodies, are rigid, iron animals, to whom danger must approach very near, before they alter their old course ; so, without signs and wonders, every thing will remain as it is, though the nation may be by no means deficient in capacity for science. It wants nothing but prime movers ; inveterate custom resisting every new impulse. How slow was Europe herself in learning her best arts !

5. The state of a kingdom may be estimated either in itself, or in comparison with others : Europe must employ both standards ; the asiatic empires have only the former. No one of these has sought other worlds, to employ them as the pedestals of it's grandeur, or poison itself with their superfluities ; every one makes use of what it has, and is satisfied with it's own. China has even refrained from working her own mines of gold ; not venturing to use them, from a consciousness of her weakness ; and the foreign trade of China is carried on wholly without the subjugation of other countries. From this prudent wisdom all these lands have derived the unquestionable benefit of being obliged, to make the most use of what they have within themselves, as they obtain fewer supplies

from external commerce. We europeans, on the contrary, wander over the whole World as merchants or as robbers, and frequently neglect on this account our own homes : Britain itself is far from displaying such agricultural industry as is exhibited in the chinese territories, or in the island of Japan. Our bodies politic are animals insatiably devouring every thing that is foreign, good and bad, food and poison, coffee and tea, silver and gold ; and, in a state of high fever, display much supernatural energy. Theirs reckon only on their internal circulation, living slowly like the worm, which on this account has endured, and still may endure long, if external circumstances do not destroy the sleeping animal. Now it is well known, that in every thing the ancients calculated on a longer duration, as well in their political systems, as in their monuments : we act with vivacity, and so much the more speedily run through the shorter period allotted us by fate.

6. Lastly, every thing earthly and human is governed by time and place, as every particular nation is by it's character, uninfluenced by which it can do nothing. Had the east of Asia joined Europe, it would long have ceased to be what it is. Were not Japan an island, it would not be in it's present state. Were all these kingdoms together now to be formed, they would not easily become what they did three or four thousand years ago : the whole animal, which we call the Earth, on the back of which we dwell, is now some thousands of years older. Singular and wonderful are what we call the genetic spirit and character of a people. It is inexplicable, it is ineradicable : ancient as the nation, ancient as the country it inhabits. The bramini pertains to his region : no other, he is persuaded, merits it's sacred soil. Thus the chinese, and the japanese ; every where, out of their own country, they are untimely planted shrubs. What the indian solitary thinks of his god, the chinese of his emperor, we do not think : what to us appear activity and freedom of mind, manly honour and female beauty, in their eyes are far otherwise. The confinement of the indian women is to them by no means insupportable. The empty pomp of a mandarin would be to any other an insipid farce. It is the same with all the customs of diversified man, nay with all that appears on our Earth. If our species be destined to approach, in the eternal path of an asymptote, a point of perfection, which it does not know, and which, with all the labour of a Tantalus, it can never touch ; you chinese and japanese, you lamas and bramini, pursue this pilgrimage in a tolerably quiet corner of the vessel. You trouble not yourselves about the unattainable point, and remain as you were thousands of years ago.

7. It is consolatory to the investigator of man, to observe, that Nature has in no organization forgotten, with all the evils she has distributed among the hu-

man species, the balsam, that at least mitigates their wounds. The oppressive load of asiatic despotism exists only in nations, that are willing to bear it; that is, are less sensible of its crushing weight. The hindoo, when, sinking under the severest famine, he perceives his emaciated body followed by the dog, that will soon make it his prey, awaits his doom with resignation: he props himself up, that he may die erect, while the patiently expecting dog stares him in the pale, deathlike face: of such a resignation we have no idea, yet it frequently reciprocates with the most violent gusts of passion. This, however, with the climate, and the various facilities of living, is the antidote, that mitigates the many evils of a constitution, which to us appears insupportable. If we lived there, we should not submit to it, for we have understanding and courage to alter the bad system; or we should slumber too, and fear the evil patiently like the hindoo. Great parent, Nature; with what trifles hast thou connected the fate of the human species! With a change of form in the head and brain, with a little alteration in the structure of the organization and nerves, effected by climate, descent, and habit, the fate of the World, the whole sum of what mankind do and suffer throughout the Earth, is also changed.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XII.

WE now come to the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates: but how has the face of history changed throughout the whole of this region! Babylon and Nineveh, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Tyre are no more: nation follows nation, empire follows empire, and of most even their very names, and once celebrated monuments are swept from the Earth. The appellations of babylonian, assyrian, chaldean, mede, and phenician, are no longer born by any people; and no distinct traces of their ancient political establishments are now to be found. Their empires and towns are destroyed, and the people are dispersed about under different names.

Whence arises this variation from the deeply imprinted character of the eastern empires? Hindostan and China have been more than once overrun by the mungals, nay have worn their yoke for centuries; yet neither has Pekin nor Benares vanished, neither the lamas nor bramins are extinct. To me the difference of their destiny appears easily explicable, if we consider the different situations and constitutions of the two regions. In the east of Asia, beyond the great ridge of mountains, the southern nations had but one enemy, the mungals, to dread. These wandered peaceably for ages on their hills, or in their valleys; and when they overran the neighbouring provinces, their objects were dominion and plunder, not destruction. Accordingly several nations have retained their own constitutions for thousands of years under mungal sovereigns. The throng of people, that swarmed between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, down to the Mediterranean, was altogether different; and the Tigris and Euphrates were the principal guides of these hordes in their migrations. The whole of hither Asia was filled with nomades at an early period: and the more flourishing cities, the more polished empires, arose in this fine country, the more did they attract savage nations for the purpose of plunder, or they themselves knew not how to employ their increasing power except in destroying others. How often has Babylon, that delightful centre of the commerce of the east and west, been taken and despoiled! Tyre and Sidon, Jerusalem, Ecbatana, and Nineveh, experienced

no better fate: so that this whole region may be considered as the garden of desolation, where one empire subverted another, to be itself destroyed in its turn.

There is no cause to wonder, therefore, that many lost even their very names, and left scarcely a trace behind them. For in what were their traces to be left? Most of the people of this region had one language, varied only by different dialects: accordingly, on their downfall, their dialects became confounded with one another, uniting at length in the chaldee syriac arabic medley, which now prevails in that region, almost without any discriminating mark of the mingled people. Their states arose from hordes, and returned to hordes again, without any permanent political stamp. The celebrated monuments of a Belus, a Semiramis, and the rest, could still less assure them the eternity of a pyramid: for they were constructed merely of bricks, which, baked in the sun or by fire, and cemented with bitumen, were easily destroyed, if they did not perish beneath the silent foot of time. The despotic sovereignties of the founders of Nineveh and Babylon as gradually decayed; so that in this celebrated part of the World we find nothing to contemplate, but the names once born among the nations by people now no more. We wander over the graves of departed monarchies, and see the ghosts of their former importance on the Earth.

In fact this importance was so great, that, if we include Egypt within this region, no part of the World, Greece and Rome excepted, has invented and laid the rudiments of so many things for Europe, and through the medium of Europe, for all the nations upon Earth. The number of arts and trades, that appear, from the accounts of the Hebrews, to have been common among many little wandering hordes in these regions, in the earliest periods, is astonishing*. Husbandry, with various implements; gardening, fishing, hunting, and in particular the breeding of cattle; the grinding of corn; the baking of bread; the dressing of food; wine; oil; the preparation of wool and leather for garments; spinning, weaving, and sewing; painting, tapestry, and needlework; the coining of money; the engraving of seals, and cutting of gems; the fabrication of glass; coral-fishing; mining and metallurgy; various works in metal; the arts of drawing, modelling, and founding; statuary and architecture; music and dancing; writing and poetry; trade by weight and measure; on the sea coasts navigation; in the sciences, some of the elements of astronomy, chronology, and geography; physic and the art of war; arith-

* See Goguet's *Origine des Loix, &c.*, particularly Gatterer's *Kurzer Begriff der Weltgeschichte*, 'Brief Sketch of Universal History,' Vol. I, Gottingen, 1785.

metic, geometry, and mechanics; in political institutions, laws, tribunals, religion, contracts, punishments, and a number of moral customs; were all found in use so early among the people of hither Asia, that we could not avoid considering the whole cultivation of this region as the remains of an enlightened antierior world, if we were led to this by no tradition. Only the people wandering at a distance about the centre of Asia became wild and barbarous, so that sooner or later they were to be civilized a second time in various ways.

CHAPTER I.

Babylon, Assyria, Chaldea.

IN the extensive region of hither Asia, peopled by wandering hordes, the fertile and pleasant banks of the Tigris and Euphrates must soon have attracted a number of pastoral tribes: and as they resemble a Paradise, between mountains on the one hand, and deserts on the other, there these tribes must have inclined to fix their residence. At present indeed this country has lost much of its beauty; as it remains almost without cultivation, and has been exposed for centuries to the devastations of predatory hordes: yet particular districts still confirm the general testimony of the ancient writers, whose praises of it knew no bounds*. Accordingly this was the birthplace of the first monarchies of history, and an early storehouse of useful arts.

In the course of a wandering life nothing could be more natural, than for some ambitious sheik to conceive the design of appropriating to himself the delightful banks of the Euphrates, and of uniting together a few hordes to maintain the possession of them. The hebrew chronicle gives this sheik] the name of Nimrod, who founded his kingdom with the towns of Babylon, Edeffa, Nisibin, and Ctesiphon: and in the neighbourhood it places another, the kingdom of Assyria, with the cities of Resen, Nineveh, Adiabene, and Calah. From the situation of these kingdoms, with their nature and origin, arose the whole of their subsequent destiny, till it terminated in their destruction. For being founded by different races, and bordering too closely on each other, what could follow from the quarrelsome spirit common to the hordes of these regions, but that they must look upon each other as enemies, more than once fall under one sovereignty, and be dispersed various ways, by the incurfion of more northern

* See Buefching's Geography, Vol. V, part I.

mountaineers? This is the brief history of the kingdoms on the Tigris and Euphrates; which, from such remote periods, and through the mutilated accounts of several nations, cannot have been handed down to us free from confusion. In the origin, spirit, and constitutions of these kingdoms, however, both history and fable agree. They sprang from small beginnings, and wandering tribes: and they ever retained the character of predatory hordes. Even the despotism that arose in them, and the various skill in the arts, for which Babylon was particularly famed, are perfectly consistent with the spirit of the country, and the national character of its inhabitants.

For what were the first towns built by these fabled monarchs of the World? Great, fortified hordes; the fixed encampments of a tribe, that enjoyed these fertile regions, and made excursions for the purpose of plundering others. Hence the vast circumference of Babylon, so soon after it was founded on either side the river: hence its huge walls and towers. The walls were lofty thick ramparts of baked clay, erected for the protection of an extensive camp of nomades; and the towers were watchtowers. The whole town, interspersed with gardens, was, according to the expression of Aristotle, a peloponnesus. The country furnished in abundance materials for this sort of architecture natural to nomades; clay, namely, out of which they formed bricks, and bitumen, with which they learned to cement them. Thus nature facilitated their labours: and the foundations being once laid in the nomade style, it was easy to enrich and beautify them, when the horde had made excursions, and returned with booty.

And what were the famous conquests of a Ninus, a Semiramis, and the rest, other than predatory expeditions, like those of the present arabs, curdes, and turcomans? The assyrians were even by descent mountain banditti, whose names have been handed down to posterity with no other renown, than that of having robbed and plundered. From the remotest periods the arabs are particularly named in the service of these conquerors of the World: and we know the unchangeable way of life of these people, which will continue as long as the deserts of Arabia shall endure. At a later period the chaldeans appear on the stage: and these, both from their descent, and their first places of abode, were plundering curdes*. In history they have distinguished themselves by nothing but devastation: for the fame they have acquired for science is probably an honorary title, which they gained as part of their booty in the conquest of

* See Schlotzer on the chaldees, in the *Repertorium für die morgenländische Litteratur*, 'Repertory of oriental Literature,' Vol. VIII, p. 113.

Babylon. Thus we may consider the fine country bounded by these streams as the theatre of wandering tribes, or predatory hordes, both in ancient and modern times, who here collected their plunder in strong holds, till at length they sank under the voluptuous warmth of the climate, and, debilitated by luxury, became a prey to others.

The celebrated works of art of a Semiramis, or even a Nebuchadnezzar, cannot easily be supposed to say more. The earliest expeditions of the Assyrians were towards Egypt: the arts of this peaceful civilized country, therefore, furnished in all probability the prototypes for the decoration of Babylon. The famed colossal statue of Belus, and the sculptures on the brick walls of the great city, appear to have been completely in the Egyptian style: and that the fabulous queen repaired to the mountain Bagisthan, to imprint her image on it's summit, plainly indicates an imitation of Egypt. For as the southern country afforded her no granite rocks for an eternal monument, she was impelled to this.

The productions of Nebuchadnezzar, likewise, were nothing but colossal statues, palaces of brick, and hanging gardens. What was wanting in art and materials was attempted to be made up by magnitude: and at least a Babylonian character was given to the more feeble monument by pleasant gardens. I do not much regret, therefore, the decay of these huge piles of earth; for, it is probable, they were far from ranking high as works of art: what I wish is, that men would seek among their ruins for tables of Chaldee writing, which are certainly to be found there, according to the testimony of several travellers*.

Not properly Egyptian arts, but the arts of erratic hordes, and afterwards of commerce, belonged to this region, as indeed the nature of it's situation demanded. The Euphrates was subject to inundations, and consequently required canals to draw off it's waters, and enable it to impart fertility to a more extensive district. Hence the invention of waterwheels and pumps, if they were not borrowed from the Egyptians. The country at some distance from this river, which was once inhabited and fruitful, is now sterile, because it is a stranger to the active hand of industry. From the care of cattle to husbandry the step here was easy, as the settled inhabitant was invited to it by Nature herself. The fine fruits of the garden and the field, that spontaneously shot forth on the banks of the Euphrates with uncommon luxuriance, and richly rewarded the little care they required, converted the shepherd, almost without his being conscious of it, into a husbandman and gardener. A wood of beautiful palm-trees gave him food in their fruits, and timber for the erection of a dwelling more fe-

* See Della Valle on the ruins near Ardesb, Niebuhr on the heaps of ruins near Hella, &c.

cure than his tent. The clay baked with facility assisted him in it's construction; and thus the tent was imperceptibly changed for a better, though less moveable habitation. The same earth afforded him vessels, and therewith a hundred conveniencies for domestic life. He learned to bake bread, and to dress his victuals, till at length he was led by commerce to those voluptuous feasts and entertainments, for which the babylonians were famed in very remote times. From making little idols of baked clay, he soon learned to fashion and bake colossal statues; from the models of which to moulds for casting metals the progress was easy. As letters or figures imprinted on the soft clay were rendered firm by the aid of fire, he learned imperceptibly to preserve a knowledge of former times in bricks, and improved on the observations of his predecessors. Even astronomy was a fortunate invention of the wandering tribes of these regions. The shepherd, as he sat feeding his flocks on the beautiful and extensive plain, observed in quiet leisure the rising and setting of the bright stars in his vast and clear horizon. He gave them names, as he gave names to his sheep, and noted down their changes in his memory. These observations were continued on the flat roofs of the houses of Babylon, on which men amused themselves with conversation after the heat of the day: till at length a particular building was erected for the purpose of this attractive and indispensable science, which continued without interruption the records of the celestial periods. Thus has Nature incited man to the acquisition of knowledge and science; so that even these her gifts are as much local productions, as any others upon Earth. At the foot of Caucasus her fountains of naphtha put fire into the hand of man; whence we cannot doubt, that the fable of Prometheus originated there: in the pleasant palm-groves on the banks of the Euphrates she gently moulded the wandering shepherd into an industrious inhabitant of towns and cities.

Another class of babylonish arts arose from the circumstance of this country's having been from ancient times, as it ever will be, a central point of the commerce between the east and west. No celebrated city arose in the heart of Persia, as no river flowed thence to the sea: but what points of animation were the Hindus and the Ganges, the Tigris and Euphrates! The Persian gulf was near, which early enriched Babylon, by the transport of the merchandize of India, and made it the parent of commercial industry*. The splendour of the babylonians in their linen, tapestry, needlework, and other stuffs, is wellknown: wealth introduced luxury: luxury and industry brought the two sexes closer together

* Eichhorn's *Geschichte des Ostindischen Handels*, 'History of the Trade of the East Indies,' Universal History, 'Introduction to a synchroonifical Universal History,' p. 77.
p. 12: Gatterer's *Einleitung zur synchroonifischen*

than in other asiatic provinces, to which the reigns of some queens probably not a little contributed. In short, the formation of these people proceeded so entirely from their situation and mode of life, that it would have been a subject for much wonder, had nothing extraordinary been produced from such circumstances, in such a part of the World. Nature has her favourite spots on the Earth, which, particularly on the banks of rivers, and select parts of the seacoast, excite and reward the industry of man. As an Egypt arose on the Nile, a Hindostan on the Ganges; here she created a Nineveh and a Babylon, and in more recent times a Seleucia and Palmyra. Had Alexander attained the accomplishment of his wish, to rule the World from Babylon, how different an aspect would this delightful country have preserved for ages!

The assyrians and babylonians shared also in alphabetical writing, the possession of which the wandering tribes of hither Asia had reckoned among their advantages from time immemorial. I shall not here enter into the question, to what people this noble invention is properly due*: suffice it, that all the aramean tribes boasted of this present of the primitive world, and held hieroglyphics in a sort of religious abomination. I cannot persuade myself, therefore, that hieroglyphics were employed by the babylonians: their magi interpreted the stars, events, accidents, visions, and secret writing; but not hieroglyphics. Thus the writing of Fate, that appeared to the revelling Belshazzar †, consisted of letters and syllables, which, after the oriental manner, appeared to him in confused lines, but not in images. Even the paintings, that Semiramis placed on her walls, the syrian letters, that she directed to be cut on the rock of her image, confirm the use of letters, without hieroglyphics, among these people, in the remotest times. These alone rendered it possible for the babylonians so early to have written contracts, chronicles of their kingdom, and a continued series of celestial observations: by these alone they have transmitted themselves to posterity as a civilized people. It is true, neither their astronomical catalogues, nor any of their writings, have reached us, though they were extant in the time of Aristotle: yet, that they once had such gives no small fame to this people.

When we talk of the learning of the chaldeans, however, we must not measure it by our standard. At Babylon the sciences were confined exclusively to a class of men of learning, who, on the decline of the nation, became ultimately odious impostors. They were called chaldeans probably from the period when the chaldeans ruled over Babylon: for the class of literati had been a regular order of the state, established by the government, from the time of Belus: and it is

* Of this elsewhere.

† Daniel V. 5, 25.

very likely, that this class, by way of flattery to their rulers, assumed the name of their nation. They were the philosophers of the court, and accordingly stooped to all the base arts and deceptions of court philosophy. In these times, it may be presumed, they added as little to their ancient stores, as the Chinese tribunal to the improvement of learning in China.

The proximity of the mountains, from which so many uncivilized nations came thronging down, was in some respects fortunate, in others unfortunate, to this delightful country. The Assyrian and Babylonian empires were subdued by the Chaldeans and Medes, and these were conquered by the Persians, till at length the whole became a subjugated desert, and the seat of empire was transferred to a more northern region. Thus we have not much to learn from these empires, either in war or politics. Their mode of attack was rude, their conquests only plunderings, their polity the miserable mode of governing by satraps, which has almost always prevailed among the Orientals in these parts. Hence the permanent form of these monarchies: hence the frequent revolts against them, and their total overthrow by the capture of a single city, or one or two general battles. Indeed, soon after the empire was first overturned, Arbaces endeavoured to establish a sort of connected aristocracy of satraps: but he did not succeed; as all the Median and Aramean tribes in general knew no mode of government except the despotic. Their mode of life had been that of nomades: accordingly their idea of a king was that of a sheik, and father of a family, and this left no room for political liberty, or the joint sway of many. As one Sun enlightens the Heavens, so should there be but one ruler on Earth, and he soon assumed all the splendour of the Sun, all the glory of a terrestrial divinity. Every thing flowed from his favour: every thing attached to his person: in him the state lived, and with him it commonly terminated. A harem was the court of the prince: he was acquainted with nothing but silver and gold, men-servants and maid-servants, lands that he possessed as fields of pasture, and herds of men whom he drove wherever he pleased, if indeed he forbore from slaughtering them. Barbarous government of wandering hordes! yet occasionally, though but seldom, it enjoyed a good prince, the true shepherd and father of his people.

CHAPTER II.

Medes and Persians.

THE medes are known in the history of the World for warlike deeds and luxury; but have never distinguished themselves by new inventions, or improvements in the constitution of the state. They were mountaineers, brave and skilled in horsemanship, the natives of a northern country for the most part uncultivated. With these qualifications, they subverted the ancient assyrian empire, the sultans of which indolently slumbered in their harems; and soon withdrew themselves from the new empire of Assyria. But they were as quickly subjected by their sagacious Dejoces to a rigorous monarchical government, which at length exceeded the persian itself in luxury and splendour. At length they were united, under Cyrus the great, with that multitude of nations, which exalted the persian monarchs into sovereigns of the World.

If there be any prince, with whom history seems to deviate into fiction, it is Cyrus, the founder of the persian empire; whether we read the accounts of this child of the gods, the conqueror and lawgiver of nations, given by the hebrews or the persians, Herodotus or Xenophon. Unquestionably the last-mentioned pleasing historian, who caught the idea of a Cyropedia from his tutor, collected some truths concerning him, during his campaigns in Asia: but as Cyrus had long been dead, he could have heard them only after the asiatic manner, in that style of exaggerated praise, which these people always employ in their accounts of their kings and heroes. Thus Xenophon was to Cyrus, what Homer was to Ulysses and Achilles, with regard to whom the poet had some truths, on which to build. To us, however, it is of little importance, which of the two deals most in fiction: it is sufficient for our purpose, that Cyrus subdued Asia, and founded an empire, which extended from the Hindus to the Mediterranean sea. If Xenophon have truly described the manners of the ancient persians, among whom Cyrus was educated; the german may be proud, that he is probably of a race allied to theirs, and may the Cyropedia be read by every prince in Germany.

But, thou great and good Cyrus, could my voice reach thy grave in Pafargarda, it should interrogate thy dust, for what purpose thou becamest such a conqueror. In the youthful course of thy victories, didst thou ask thyself of what use the innumerable nations, the unbounded regions, subjected to

thy name, would be to thyself and thy posterity? Could thy spirit be always present to them? could it continue to live and operate on all succeeding generations? And if not, what a burden didst thou impose on thy successors, in giving them to wear the royal robe made up of such complicated patches? Its parts could not fail to break asunder, or press the wearer down. This was the history of Persia under the successors of Cyrus. His spirit of conquest set before them so vast an object, that they aimed at enlarging the empire, when it could no longer be enlarged: thus they roamed and ravaged on all sides, till the ambition of a provoked enemy brought them to a melancholy end. The persian empire subsisted scarcely two centuries; and it is wonderful, that its duration was so long; for its root was so small, and its branches so extensive, that it must of necessity fall to the ground.

Whenever the empire of humanity shall be established among mankind, the mad spirit of conquest, which necessarily destroys itself in a few generations, will immediately be renounced at her dictates. You drive men like cattle; and join them together as if they were inanimate substances, without reflecting, that they have minds, and that perhaps the last, the outermost piece of the fabric will break off, and crush the builder. A kingdom consisting of a single nation is a family, a wellregulated household: it reposes on itself, for it is founded by Nature, and stands and falls by time alone. An empire formed by forcing together a hundred nations, and a hundred and fifty provinces, is no body politic, but a monster.

Such was the persian empire from the beginning; though it became more evident after the time of Cyrus. His son, in every thing else different from his father, was desirous of extending his conquests still farther; and so madly attacked Egypt and Ethiopia, that scarcely famine itself could repel him from the deserts. What did he and his empire gain by it? or in what did he benefit the conquered lands? He ravaged Egypt, and destroyed the splendid temples and other monuments of art in Thebes. Senseless destroyer! Slaughtered generations are replaced by other generations succeeding: but such works are never to be restored. Even now they lie in ruins, unexplored, and hardly to be distinguished: every traveller regrets the madness of the sot, who robbed us of these treasures of antiquity for no cause, and to no end.

Scarcely had Cambyfes fallen a victim to his own folly, when even the wiser Darius set out from the point, where he had left off. He attacked the scythians and hindoos: he plundered Thrace and Macedonia: yet all that he gained was the dispersion of some sparks among the macedonians, that in time burst out into a flame, by which the last king of his name was consumed. The

greeks he attacked with little success; and his successor Xerxes assailed them with less. Now if we read the catalogue of ships and men employed in the military expeditions of these despots, and furnished to the mad conqueror by the whole persian empire; if we consider the seas of blood, that flowed in every revolt of unjustly subjugated countries on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Hindus, the Halys, and the Araxes, for no other reason but that what once was called persian might retain the name of persian still; who would shed feminine tears, such as Xerxes wept at the sight of his innocent flock destined for slaughter, and not rather tears of blood, tears of indignation, that such a senseless empire, and so inimical to mankind, should bear the stamp of a Cyrus on its forehead? Did any persian ravager of the World find such kingdoms, cities, and edifices, as he destroyed, or endeavoured to destroy; Babylon, Thebes, Sidon, Greece, and Athens? Was any one of them capable of founding such?

It is a rigorous yet beneficent law of fate, that all overgrown power, as well as all evil, should destroy itself. The decline of Persia commenced with the death of Cyrus: for though it maintained its external splendour for a century, particularly in consequence of the measures taken by Darius, the worm, that gnaws the vitals of every despotic empire, lurked within. Cyrus divided his dominions into viceroyalties; and these he kept in due subjection by his own superintendance, having established a speedy communication with them all, and watching over the whole himself. Darius divided the empire, or at least his court, still more nicely, and stood on his elevated station as a just and active ruler. But the great kings, born to the throne of despotism, soon became effeminate tyrants. Xerxes, even on his disgraceful flight from Greece, when far other thoughts should have occupied his mind, began a scandalous amour at Sardis. Most of his successors trod in the same steps: and thus corruptions, revolts, conspiracies, assassinations, unsuccessful enterprises, and the like, are almost the only remarkable occurrences, that the latter history of Persia affords. The minds of the nobles were depraved, and those of the commonalty participated the corruption. At length no sovereign was secure of his life; and the throne tottered even under the best princes: till Alexander burst into Asia, and in a few battles put an end to the internally unsettled empire. Unhappily this fell out under a monarch, who deserved a better fate: he innocently suffered for the sins of his forefathers, and died by the basest treachery. If any history in the World proclaim in conspicuous characters, that licentiousness destroys itself, that an unlimited and almost lawless power is the most fearful weakness, and that every effeminate government conducted by satraps is the most infallible poison, as well for the prince as for the people; it is the history of Persia.

For these reasons, there was not a single nation, on which the empire of Persia had a happy influence: it destroyed, and did not build up: it compelled the provinces to pay disgraceful tributes, one to the queen's girdle, another to her head-dress, a third to her necklace; but it did not bind them together by better laws and institutions. All the splendour, all the superhuman pomp, all the divine homage, of these monarchs, are now no more: their favourites and satraps are dust, like themselves; and the gold they extorted is perhaps equally buried in the earth. Their very history is a fable: a fable which, coming from the mouth of a greek and of an asiatic, can scarcely be reconciled. Even the ancient languages of Persia are dead: and the sole monuments of its magnificence, the ruins of Persepolis, remain, with their elegant letters and colossal figures, hitherto inexplicable. Fate has taken vengeance on these sultans: they are swept away from the face of the Earth, as if by the pestilent simoom, and where their memory survives, as among the greeks, it survives with disgrace, the basis of more famed and more to be admired greatness.

Time has favoured us with no mental production of the persians, except the books of Zoroaster, if they could be proved to be genuine*. As a whole, however, they agree so little with many other accounts of the religion of these people; they bear, too, such evident marks of a mixture with later opinions of the bramins and christians; that the groundwork alone can be admitted to be genuine, and this admits of easy explanation. The ancient persians, for example, were, like all rude nations, and particularly mountaineers, worshippers of the vital elements of the World: but as they quitted their uncivilized state, and raised themselves by their victories almost to the highest pinnacle of luxury; it was necessary, according to the mode of Asia, that they should have a more refined system or ceremonial of religion.

With this they were furnished by Zoroaster, or Zerdusht, under the auspices of Darius Hystaspes. The ceremonial of the persian government is evidently the basis of this system. As seven princes stood round the throne of the king, seven spirits stand before God, and execute his commands throughout the World. Ormuzd, the good power of light, had incessantly to contend against Alriman, the prince of darkness, while every good being aided him in the conflict: a political idea, which the personification of the enemies of Persia, who appear throughout the Zend-Avesta as the servants of Ahriman, as evil spirits, evidently elucidates. All the moral ordinances of this religion too are politic: they relate to purity

* *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre*, 'Zend-Avesta, a Work of Zoroaster,' by Anquetil du Perron, Paris, 1771.

of body and mind, domestic harmony, and reciprocity of kind actions: they recommend agriculture, and the planting of useful trees; the extermination of vermin, which appear as an army of evil spirits in bodily form; attention to decorum; early and prolific marriages; the education of children; honouring the king and his servants; love towards the state: and all these after the persian manner. In short, the basis of this system appears obviously as a political religion, such as at the time of Darius could no where have been invented and introduced, except in the persian empire. Ancient national ideas and opinions, too, must necessarily lie at the bottom of this superstition. Hence the adoration of fire, which was undoubtedly an ancient religious worship, in the neighbourhood of the springs of naphtha, near the Caspian sea. Hence so many superstitious practices for the purification of the body; and that extreme fear of demons, which, in almost every sensible object, forms the base of the prayers, vows, and sacred ceremonies of the parsees. All these show the low degree of mental cultivation attained by the people, for whose benefit this religion was invented: and this is by no means inconsistent with the idea we entertain of the ancient persians. Lastly, the small part of this system, which refers to general notions of nature, is altogether drawn from the doctrines of the magi, which it merely refines and exalts in its own manner. It subjects the two principles of creation, light and darkness, to an infinitely superiour being, which it styles boundless time; and lets the good every where overcome the evil, and ultimately so swallow it up, that every thing terminates in a holy kingdom of light. Contemplated on this side the political religion of Zoroaster is a kind of philosophical theodicy, such as he could offer to the age in which he lived, and the notions that then prevailed.

In this origin we perceive the cause, why the religion of Zoroaster could not possess the stability of the institutions of the bramins and lamas. The despotic empire was established long before it; and thus it was or became only a sort of monkish religion, adapted to the political system. Now though Darius suppressed by force the magi, who formed a distinct body of men in the persian empire; and was eager to introduce this religion, which laid spiritual fetters alone on the monarch; it could never be any thing more than a sect, though it was the ruling sect for a century. Accordingly the worship of fire extended widely: to the left, beyond Media, as far as Cappadocia, where its temples were standing even in the days of Strabo; to the right, as far as the Hindus. But as the persian empire completely sunk beneath the fortune of Alexander, this, the religion of the state, also found an end. Its seven amshaspands served no more, and the image of Ormuzd no longer sat on the persian throne. Its season

was past, and it became an empty shadow, as is the religion of the hindoos out of their own country. By the greeks it was tolerated; at length it was persecuted with unspeakable rigour by the mohammedans; and in consequence it's melancholy remnant took flight to a corner of India; where, like a ruin of antiquity, without end or purpose, it continues it's ancient faith and superstition, calculated for the persian empire alone, and has amplified it with the opinions of the nations among whom it has been thrown by fate, probably without being conscious of the change. Such an augmentation naturally arises out of the course of time and events: for every religion, when forced from it's own soil and sphere, must necessarily be influenced by the living world around it. For the rest, the generality of parsees in India are quiet, peaceable, industrious people, and, considered as a society, surpass many other religious sects. They assist their poor with great zeal, and expel every irreclaimably immoral person from their community*.

CHAPTER III.

The Hebrews.

THE descendants of Heber make a very diminutive figure, when we consider them immediately after the persians. Their country was small; and the part they acted on the stage of the World, both in and out of this country, was insignificant, as they seldom appeared in the character of conquerors. Yet through the will of Fate, and a series of events, the causes of which are easy to be traced, they have had more influence on other nations, than any people of Asia: nay in some degree, through the mediums of christianity and mohammedanism, they have been the ground work of enlightening the greater part of the World.

That the hebrews had written annals of their actions, at a time in which most of the now enlightened nations were totally ignorant of writing, annals which they ventured to carry up to the beginning of the World, distinguishes them in an eminent manner. But they are still more advantageously distinguished by this, that they neither derived their account from hieroglyphics, nor obscured it by them; for it is taken merely from family chronicles, and interwoven with historical tales or poems; and it's value as history is evidently increased by this simplicity of form. This account, too, derives singular weight from it's having been preserved for some thousands of years, with al-

* See Niebuhr's Travels.

most superstitious scrupulosity, as a divine prerogative of their race, and introduced by christianity into nations, that have examined and questioned, explained and used it, with a spirit of freedom unknown to the jews. It is indeed remarkable, that the accounts of these people given by other nations, by Manetho the egyptian in particular, should differ so widely from the history of the hebrews themselves: yet, if the latter be impartially considered, and the spirit of the narrative understood, it certainly deserves more credit, than the flanders of foreign enemies, by whom the jews were despised. I scruple not, therefore, to take the history of the hebrews, as related by themselves, for my groundwork: begging the reader, at the same time, not absolutely to reject the tales of their enemies with contempt, but merely to read them with caution.

Thus, according to the most ancient national stories of the hebrews, their progenitor passed the Euphrates as sheik of a wandering horde, and at last arrived in Palestine. Here he found room without opposition, to pursue the pastoral life of his ancestors, and worship the god of his fathers after the manner of his tribe. His posterity of the third generation were led into Egypt by the singular good fortune of one of their family, and there continued to follow the pastoral life, without mixing with the inhabitants of the country; till, it is not exactly known in what generation, they were emancipated by their future legislator from the contempt and oppression, which from their character of shepherds they must have experienced among those people, and conducted into Arabia. Here the great man, the greatest these people had ever had, completed his work; and gave them a constitution, founded on the religion and mode of life of their fathers it is true, but so intermingled with egyptian polity, as on the one hand to raise them from a wandering horde to the state of a cultivated nation, yet on the other to wean them completely from Egypt, so that they were never after desirous of treading the swarthy soil. All the laws of Moses evince wonderful reflection: they extend from the greatest to the smallest things, to sway the spirit of the nation in every circumstance of life, and to be, as Moses frequently repeats, an everlasting law.

This profound system of laws was by no means the production of a moment: the legislator added to it as circumstances required, and before his death bound the whole nation to the observance of it's future political constitution. For forty years he exacted a strict obedience to his injunctions: perhaps so long a time was consumed by the people in the deserts of Arabia, that, the first stubborn generation being dead, a people brought up to these customs might settle in the land of it's fathers properly qualified for their exercise.

But the wish of this patriotic man was not fulfilled. The aged Moses died

on the confines of the land he fought; and when his successor entered it, he enjoyed not sufficient authority and respect, to follow completely the plan of the lawgiver. The hebrews pursued not their conquests so far as they ought: they were too precipitate in dividing the land, and sitting down in peace. The more potent tribes first took to themselves the largest portions, so that their weaker brethren could scarcely find a settlement, and one of the tribes indeed was under the necessity of being divided*. Beside this, many smaller nations remained in the country: so that the israelites retained their bitterest hereditary enemies among them, and destroyed that external and internal compact rotundity, which alone could secure their prescribed limits.

From this incomplete establishment, that series of insecure times, which scarcely ever permitted the encroaching people to be at rest, could not but ensue. The leaders, that necessity raised up, were for the most part to be considered only as successful partisans: and when at length the people came to be governed by kings, these had so much to do with their land divided into tribes, that the third was the last who reigned over the whole of the disjointed realm. Five sixths of the kingdom withdrew from his successor; and how could two such feeble governments subsist in the neighbourhood of powerful enemies, to whose attacks they were incessantly exposed? The kingdom of Israel had properly no regular constitution; and it embraced the worship of foreign gods, in order to preclude any connexion with its rival, who worshipped the legitimate god of its own land. It was natural, that, according to the language of these people, there should be no king in Israel that feared the Lord: for, if there had, his people would have gone up to Jerusalem to worship, and his dominion, returning to the monarchy from which it had been torn, would have continued no longer in his hands. Thus they wallowed in the most wretched imitation of foreign manners and customs, till the king of Assyria came, and plundered the little realm, as a boy would rob a bird's-nest. The other kingdom, which at least had the support of the ancient constitution, established by two potent kings, and a fortified capital, held out some time longer; though only till a more powerful victor thought it worth his attention. The spoiler Nebuchadnezzar came, and made its feeble monarchs first tributaries, and lastly, after they revolted, slaves. The country was ravaged, the capital was rased, and Judah led to Babylon in as disgraceful captivity, as Israel had been to Media. Thus, considered as a state, scarcely any nation exhibits a more contemptible figure in history than this, the reigns of two of its kings excepted.

* The tribe of Dan got a corner above and to the left of the land. See the *Geist der Ebraischen Poesie*, 'Spirit of Hebrew Poetry,' Vol. II.

What was the cause of all this? In my opinion it is clear, from the course of the narrative itself: for it was impossible, that a nation with such a defective constitution, both internally and externally, should prosper in this part of the World. If David overran the desert as far as the banks of the Euphrates, and thereby only stirred up greater enemies against his successor, could he thus give the nation the stability it wanted, particularly as the seat of government was fixed nearly at the southern extremity of the kingdom? His son introduced foreign wives, trade, and luxury into the land: into a country, that, like the united cantons of Switzerland, was capable of supporting husbandmen and shepherds alone, and actually had such in great multitudes to support. Besides, as he carried on his trade for the most part not by means of his own nation, but of the edomites, whom he had conquered, luxury was pernicious to his kingdom. For the rest, since the time of Moses no second legislator had been found among these people, who was capable of bringing back the state, shattered from its beginning, to a fundamental constitution suitable to the times. The learned class soon declined; they who were zealous for the laws of the land had voices, but not the arm of power; the kings were for the most part either effeminate, or creatures of the priests. Thus two things diametrically opposite, the refined nomocracy, on which Moses had settled the constitution, and a sort of theocratic monarchy, such as prevailed among all the nations of this region of despotism, contended together: and thus the law of Moses became a law of bondage to a people, to whom it was intended to have been a law of political liberty.

In the course of time the case became altered, but not improved. When the Jews, set at liberty by Cyrus, returned from bondage, much diminished in number, they had learned many other things, but no genuine political constitution. How, indeed, was the knowledge of such a constitution to have been acquired in Assyria or Chaldea? Their sentiments fluctuated between monarchical and sacerdotal government: they built a temple, as if this would have revived the times of Moses and Solomon: their religion was pharisaical; their learning, a minute nibbling at syllables, and this confined to a single book; their patriotism, a slavish attachment to ancient laws misunderstood, so as to render them ridiculous or contemptible to all the neighbouring nations. Their only hope and consolation rested on some ancient prophecies, which, equally misconceived, were supposed to promise them the illusory sovereignty of the World. Thus they lived and suffered for some centuries, under the Greeks of Syria, the Idumeans, and the Romans; till at length, through an animosity, to which history scarce exhibits a parallel, both the metropolis and the rest of the country

were destroyed, in a manner that grieved the humane conqueror himself. On this they were dispersed through all the territories of the roman empire; and with the dispersion such an influence of the jews upon the human race commenced, as could hardly have been conceived from a land of such small extent; since these people had never distinguished themselves, in the whole course of their history, as skilled in war or politics, and still less as inventors in the arts and sciences.

But, shortly before the downfall of the jewish state, christianity arose in the heart of it, and in the beginning not only retained its connexion with judaism, and consequently admitted the sacred writings of the jews, but even rested principally on these the divine mission of its Messiah. Thus through christianity the books of the jews were introduced to every nation, that embraced the christian doctrines; and according to the manner in which they have been understood, and the use that has been made of them, they have benefitted or injured the whole christian World. Their effect was good, so far as in them Moses made the doctrine of one god, creator of the World, the basis of all religion and philosophy, and, in many poems and precepts throughout these writings, spoke of this god with a dignity and importance, a gratitude and resignation, of which few examples are to be found in any other human work. We need not compare these books with the Shoo-King of the chinese, or the Sadder and Zend-Avesta of the persians, to perceive the superiority of the hebrew scriptures over all the other religious writings of antiquity: a comparison of them with the much more recent Koran, even though Mohammed availed himself of the doctrines both of the jews and christians, will evince their incontestible preeminence. It was gratifying also to the curiosity of the human mind, to find in these books such popular answers to the questions respecting the age and creation of the World, the origin of evil, and the like, as every man could understand and comprehend: to say nothing of the instructive history of the nation, and the pure morality of several books in the collection. Be the jewish computation of time as it may, it afforded a received and general standard, and a thread with which to connect the events of universal history. Many other advantages of philology, exegesis, and dialectic, may be passed over; as indeed they might have been obtained from other works. In all these ways the writings of the hebrews unquestionably have had an advantageous effect in the history of mankind.

With all these advantages, however, it is equally incontestible, that the misconception and abuse of these writings have been detrimental to the human mind in various respects; and the more as they have operated upon it under

the claim of being divine. How many absurd cosmogonies have been framed from the simple and sublime history of the creation given by Moses! How many rigid doctrines, and unsatisfactory hypotheses, have been spun from his serpent and apple! For ages the forty days of the deluge have formed the peg, on which natural historians have deemed it indispensable to hang all the phenomena of the structure of our Earth: and for no less a time the historians of the human race have chained down all the nations of the Earth to the people of God, and a misunderstood prophetic vision of four monarchies. Thus many histories have been mutilated, that they might be explained by a hebrew name: the whole system of mankind, of the Earth, and of the Sun, has been narrowed for the purpose of vindicating the Sun of Joshua, and a few years in the duration of the World, the precise determination of which could never be the object of these writings. How many great men, among whom even a Newton himself is to be reckoned, have the jewish chronology and the Apocalypse robbed of time, that might have been employed in more useful inquiries! Nay even with regard to morality and political institutions, the writings of the hebrews, by being misconceived and misapplied, have imposed fetters on the minds of those nations, by which they have been acknowledged. For want of making a distinction between different periods, and different degrees of intellectual cultivation, the intolerant spirit of the jewish religion has been deemed a pattern for christians to follow: and passages of the Old Testament have been adduced to justify the inconsistent attempt of making christianity, which knows no constraint, and is merely a moral system, a judaical religion of the state. In like manner it is undeniable, that the ceremonies of the Temple, and even the language of the hebrew worship, have influenced the religious service of all christian nations, their hymns, their litanies, and the oratory of their pulpits; so that in many instances the oriental idiom pervades all their prayers. The laws of Moses were intended for that climate, and for a nation very differently constituted: their laws and political constitution, therefore, adapt themselves fundamentally to no christian people. Thus the choicest good, through various misapplication, verges upon numerous evils. Do not the sacred elements of nature effect destruction? may not the most efficacious medicines act as the most virulent poison?

The nation of the jews itself, since it's dispersion, has done service or injury by it's presence to the people of the Earth, according as they have used it. In the early ages christians were considered as jews, and despised or oppressed in common with them; they rendering themselves liable to many of the reproaches of the jews, pride, superstition, and antipathy to other nations. After-

wards, when the christians themselves became oppressors of the jews, they almost every where gave them an opportunity of engrossing the internal trade of the country, particularly that in money, by their application as individuals, and the manner in which they were spread abroad as a people; so that the less civilized nations of Europe voluntarily became the slaves of their usury. The system of exchange was not invented by them, it is true, but they soon brought it to perfection; their insecurity in mohammedan and christian countries rendering it indispensable to them. Thus this widely diffused republic of cunning usurers unquestionably restrained many nations of Europe for a long time from exercising their own industry in trade; for these thought themselves above a jewish occupation, and were as little inclined to learn this intelligent and refined species of industry from the servile treasurers of the holy roman world, as the spartans to be taught agriculture by their helotes. Should any one collect a history of the jews from all the countries, into which they have been dispersed, he would exhibit a picture of mankind, equally remarkable in a natural and political view: for no people upon Earth have been spread abroad like these; no people upon Earth have remained so distinguishable and active in all climates.

Let no one, however, from this, superstitiously infer a revolution, at some period or other to be wrought by these people on all the nations of the Earth. All that was intended to be wrought has probably been accomplished; and neither in the people themselves, nor in historical analogy, can we discover the least foundation of any other. The continuance of the jews is as naturally to be explained, as that of the bramins, parrees, or gipsies.

No one, in the mean time, will deny to a people, that has been such an active instrument in the hand of Fate, those great qualities, which are conspicuous in it's whole history. Ingenious, adroit, and laborious, the jews have always born themselves up under the severest oppression from other nations; as for more than forty years in the deserts of Arabia. They have not wanted warlike courage also; as the times of David and the Maccabees show, and still more the last and most dreadful downfall of their state. In their own country they were once a laborious, industrious people; who, like the japanese, contrived by means of artificial terraces, to cultivate their naked mountains to the summit, and raised an incredible number of inhabitants on a narrow space, which was never the first in the World for fertility. In the arts, it is true, the jews were always inexpert, though their country was situate between Egypt and Phenicia; for even Solomon was obliged to employ foreign workmen in the construction of his temple. In like manner, though they possessed for some time the ports of the Red Sea, and

dwelt so near the shores of the Mediterranean, they never became a seafaring people, in a situation so favourable for engrossing the commerce of the World, and with a population their country could scarcely support. Like the egyptians they dreaded the sea, and always chose rather to live among other nations: a feature of the national character, which Moses powerfully exerted himself to eradicate. In short, they were a people spoiled in their education, because they never arrived at a maturity of political cultivation on their own soil, and consequently not to any true sentiment of liberty and honour. In science, their most eminent men have displayed more servile punctuality and order, than productive freedom of mind; and their situation has almost ever denied them the virtues of a patriot. The people of God, whose country was once given them by Heaven itself, have been for thousands of years, nay almost from their beginning, parasitical plants on the trunks of other nations; a race of cunning brokers, almost throughout the whole World; who, in spite of all oppression, have never been inspired with an ardent passion for their own honour, for a habitation, for a country, of their own.

CHAPTER IV.

Phœnicia and Carthage.

THE phœnicians have rendered the World service in a very different manner. They invented glass, one of the noblest implements in the hands of man; and the accidental occasion of its invention at the mouth of the river Belus is recorded in history. Dwelling on the seacoast, they were addicted to navigation from time immemorial; for Semiramis procured her fleet to be built by the phœnicians. From small vessels they gradually rose to ships of considerable burden: they learned to steer their course by the stars, particularly by the Greater Bear: and at length, being attacked, they were obliged to learn the art of naval war. They sailed all over the Mediterranean, as far as the strait of Gibraltar; they visited Britain with their ships; and it is probable, that from the Red-Sea they more than once circumnavigated Africa. This they did, not in the character of conquerors, but in that of merchants, and founders of colonies. Lands, which the sea had divided, they connected together by traffic, by language, and by the productions of art; and they ingeniously devised every thing, by which this traffic could be promoted. They learned the art of arithmetic, to stamp metals, and to form them into various utensils and ornaments.

They discovered the purple dye, manufactured fine sidonian linen, procured tin and lead from Britain, silver from Spain, amber from the Baltic, and gold from Africa, for which they bartered asiatic productions. Thus the whole of the Mediterranean formed a part of their kingdom, their colonies were planted up and down it's coasts, and Tartessus in Spain was the celebrated emporium of their commerce between three quarters of the Globe. However extensive or confined the knowledge they may have imparted to europeans, the gift of letters, which the greeks acquired from them, was at least equal in value to every thing besides.

But how came this people thus meritoriously to distinguish itself in the arts? Was it perchance a fortunate race of the primeval world, advantageously endowed by Nature in mental and corporal faculties? By no means. According to all the accounts we have of the phœnicians, they were dwellers in caves, despised, and perhaps driven from their homes, the troglodytes or gipsies of this country. We first find them on the shores of the Red-Sea, the barren soil of which probably afforded them but meagre nutriment: and when they had migrated to the coast of the Mediterranean, they long retained their barbarous manners, their inhuman religion, and even their habitations among the rocks of Canaan. Every one knows the description given of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan; and that it is not exaggerated, appears as well from the relics of barbarous superstition, which for a long time remained even in Carthage itself, as from the similar picture of the arabian troglodytes in Job *. The manners of the phœnician seamen, too, were not esteemed by foreign nations: they were pilfering, piratical, sensual, and treacherous †; so that punic faith and honesty became a proverbial stigma.

Necessity, and circumstances, are for the most part the instruments, that make men every thing. In the deserts near the Red Sea, where the phœnicians lived partly it may be presumed on fish, hunger introduced them to an acquaintance with the watery element; so that, when they reached the shores of the Mediterranean, they were already prepared to launch out on a more extensive sea. What has formed the dutch, what most other seafaring nations? Necessity, situation, and accident ‡. All the nations of the race of Shem, believing they had an exclusive claim to the whole of Asia, hated and despised the phœnicians. Thus the descendants of Ham, as intruding foreigners, were confined to the sea and it's sterile shores. Now that the phœnicians should find the

* Job xxx, 3—8.

† See the account which Eumæus gives of the phœnicians, Odyss. xv, 414, &c. F.

‡ Eichhorn has shown this in the case of An-gria's people also: see *Geschichte des Ostindischen*

Handels, 'History of the East Indian Trade,' p. 15, 16. Poverty and oppression have been commonly the causes, that produced most commercial nations, as the venetians, the malays, and others, testify.

Mediterranean abounding with ports and islands, so that they gradually proceeded from land to land, from coast to coast, and at length beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and were enabled to gather such a rich harvest by their trade with the uncultivated nations of Europe, arose from the circumstances of the case, from the fortunate situation created for them by Nature herself. As in the primeval period the basin of the Mediterranean sea was scooped out between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Appennines, and Atlas, and its islands and points of land gradually rose to view, forming harbours and habitable lands, the way to the civilization of Europe was pointed out by eternal destiny. Had the three quarters of our hemisphere been united in one, Europe would now probably have been as little civilized as Tatory, or the interior of Africa: at least it would have been much more slowly civilized, and in a different way. To the Mediterranean alone our Earth is indebted for a Phenicia and a Greece, an Etruria and a Rome, a Spain and a Carthage; and through the former four of these did Europe attain the degree of civilization it now enjoys.

The situation of Phenicia on the land side was equally happy. Behind it lay the whole of the fine country of Asia, with its wares and inventions, with an inland trade long before established. Accordingly it enjoyed the advantages not only of foreign industry, but of the riches, with which Nature had endowed this quarter of the Globe, and the long labours of antiquity. The people of Europe gave the name of phenician to letters, which the phenicians brought into Europe, but of which it is probable they were not the inventors. So it is to be presumed the egyptians, babylonians, and hindooes pursued the art of weaving before the sidonians; as it is a wellknown mode of speaking, both in ancient and modern times, to name wares not from the place where they are manufactured, but from the place that trades in them. The skill of the phenicians in architecture may be known from Solomon's temple; which certainly was not to be compared with any one in Egypt, as in it two wretched columns were looked upon as wonders. Their only architectural remains are those vast caverns in Phenicia and Canaan, which evince both their troglodytic taste and descent. The people, of egyptian race, undoubtedly rejoiced, to find in this region mountains, in which they could form their habitations and graves, storehouses and temples. The caves still remain; but their contents have vanished. The archives and collections of books, also, which the phenicians possessed in the times of their splendour, are all destroyed; and the greeks, by whom their history was written, no longer exist.

Now if we compare these industrious, flourishing commercial towns, with the conquering states on the Euphrates, the Tigris, and mount Caucasus, no

one will hesitate, to which to give the preference, in respect to the history of mankind. The conquerors conquered for themselves: the commercial nations served themselves and others. They rendered the wealth, industry, and science of a certain part of the World common to all; and thus could not avoid promoting humanity, perhaps without the design. No conqueror, therefore, disturbs the course of nature so much, as he who destroys flourishing commercial towns: for the ruin of these generally occasions the decline of the industry and manufactures of whole countries and regions, unless some neighbouring place quickly succeed them. In this the coast of Phœnicia was happy: it's situation renders it indispensable to the trade of Asia. When Nebuchadnezzar depressed Sidon, Tyre sprang up: when the macedonian conqueror destroyed Tyre, Alexandria flourished: but commerce never completely deserted this region. Carthage, too, was benefitted by the destruction of the ancient wealthy Tyre, but not with consequences so important to Europe, as those of the more early phœnician commerce; for the time was gone by.

The internal constitution of the phœnicians has been generally considered as the first transition from the monarchies of Asia to a sort of republic, which commerce requires. The despotic power of the kings in their states was weakened, so that they never attempted conquests. Tyre was a long time ruled by suffetes; and this form of government obtained a more firm establishment in Carthage: thus these two states are the first precedents of great commercial republics in history, and their colonies are the first examples of a more useful and refined dominion, than those which a Nebuchadnezzar and a Cambyses established. This was a great step in the civilization of mankind. Thus commerce awakened industry: the sea repressed or set bounds to the conqueror, and gradually changed him, against his will, from a subjugating robber to a peaceful negotiator. Mutual wants, and particularly the more feeble power of a stranger on a distant shore, gave birth to the first more equitable intercourse between nations. How do the ancient phœnicians put to shame the europeans for their senseless conduct, when, in so much later ages, and with so much more skill in the arts, they discovered the two Indies! These made slaves, preached the cross, and exterminated the natives: those, in the proper sense of the term, conquered nothing: they planted colonies, they built towns, and roused the industry of the nations, which, after all the deceptions of the phœnicians, learned at length to know and profit by their own treasures. Will any part of the Globe be indebted to Europe rich in arts, so much as Greece was indebted to the less cultivated phœnicians?

The influence of Carthage on the nations of Europe was far from being so im-

portant as that of Phenicia : owing assuredly to the change of time, situation, and the state of things. As a colony from Tyre, it was not without difficulty, that it established itself on the distant shore of Africa : and being obliged to fight for the extension of it's boundary, it gradually imbibed a lust of conquest. Hence it acquired a more brilliant and artfully contrived form than the parent state ; but more advantageous in it's consequences, neither to the republic, nor to mankind. Carthage was a city, not a nation : so that it was incapable of diffusing civilization and a spirit of patriotism over any extent of country. The territory it acquired in Africa, and in which, at the commencement of the third punic war, it reckoned, according to Strabo, three hundred towns, contained subjects, over whom the conquerors ruled as lords, but no fellow-citizens of the sovereign state. This indeed the nearly uncivilized africans never strove to become : for even in their wars against Carthage they appeared either as revolted slaves, or hired soldiers. Thus the interior parts of Africa derived very little civilization from Carthage, as the object of this city, a few of the families of which had extended their sway beyond it's walls, was not to propagate humanity, but to collect treasure. The crude superstition, that prevailed among the carthaginians to the latest times ; the barbarous manner, in which they tyrannically put to death their unsuccessful generals, even when no blame could be imputed to them ; and their general conduct in foreign countries ; evince the cruelty and avarice of this aristocratic state, which sought nothing but gain, and african servility.

The situation and constitution of Carthage are sufficient to account for this barbarity. Instead of commercial settlements after the phenician manner, which the carthaginians deemed too insecure, they erected fortresses ; and at a time when the state of the World was so much improved, they attempted to secure the sovereignty of the coasts, as if every place were Africa. But being obliged to employ for this purpose mercenaries, or enslaved barbarians ; and such a proceeding involving them in quarrels with people, who for the most part refused to be treated any longer as savages ; these quarrels could produce nothing but bloodshed, and bitter enmity. The fruitful Sicily, Syracuse in particular, was often assaulted by them : and at first very unjustly, as it was merely in consequence of a treaty with Xerxes. They went against a grecian people as the barbarous auxiliaries of a barbarian, and showed themselves worthy of the part. Selinus, Himera, and Agrigentum, Saguntum in Spain, and many rich provinces in Italy, were plundered or destroyed by them. Nay more blood was shed on the beautiful plains of Sicily alone, than all the trade of Carthage could compensate. Much as Aristotle praises the constitution of

this republic in a political view, as little merit has it in the history of the human race: for in it a few families of the city, consisting of barbarous wealthy merchants, employed the arms of mercenaries to contend for the monopoly of their gain, and appropriate to themselves the sovereignty of every country, by which this gain could be promoted. Such a system has in it nothing amiable: and therefore, however unjust most of the wars of the romans against Carthage were, and much as the names of Asdrubal, Hamilcar, and Hannibal, demand our reverence, we shall hardly become carthaginians, when we contemplate the internal state of the mercantile republic, which these heroes served. From it they experienced sufficient trouble, and were frequently rewarded with the blackest ingratitude: for his country would even have delivered up Hannibal himself to the romans, to save a few pounds weight of gold, had he not withdrawn himself by flight from this puny reward for his services.

Far be it from me, to rob one noble carthaginian of the least of his merits: for even Carthage, though erected on the lowest ground of avaricious conquest, has produced great minds, and nourished a multitude of arts. Of warriors the family of Barcha in particular will be immortal; the flame of whose ambition mounted the higher, the more the jealousy of Hanno strove to quench it. But for the most part even in the heroic spirit of the carthaginians a certain harshness is observable; whence a Gelo, a Timoleon, a Scipio, appear, on comparison, as free men compared to slaves. Thus barbarous was the heroism of those brothers, who suffered themselves to be buried alive, to preserve an unjust boundary to their country: and in more urgent cases, as when Carthage itself was threatened, their valour in general assumed the appearance of savage desperation. Yet it is not to be denied, that Hannibal in particular was the tutor of its hereditary enemies, the romans, who from him learned to conquer the World, in the more refined parts of the art of war. In like manner all the arts, that were in any way subservient to commerce, naval architecture, maritime war, or the acquisition of wealth, flourished in Carthage: though the carthaginians themselves were soon conquered at sea by the romans. In the fertile soil of Africa agriculture was of all arts that, which tended most to promote their trade; and into this, as a rich source of gain, the carthaginians introduced many improvements. But unfortunately the barbarous state of the romans occasioned the destruction of all the books of the carthaginians, as well as of their town: we know nothing of the nation, but from its enemies, and a few ruins, which scarcely enable us to guess at the seat of the anciently famed mistress of the sea. It is to be lamented, that the principal figure Carthage makes in history is on occasion of her contests with Rome: this wolf, that was afterwards

to ravage the World, was first to exercise her powers against an african jackal till he fell beneath her jaws.

CHAPTER V.

The Egyptians.

WE now come to a country, which, on account of it's antiquity, it's arts, and it's political institutions, stands like an enigma of the primeval World, and has copiously exercised the conjectural skill of the inquirer. This is Egypt. The most authentic information we have respecting it is derived from it's antiquities; those vast pyramids, obelisks, and catacombs; those ruins of canals, cities, columns, and temples; which, with their hieroglyphics, are still the astonishment of travellers, as they were the wonder of the ancient World. What an immense population, what arts and government, but more especially what a singular way of thinking, must have been requisite, to excavate these rocks, or pile them upon one another; not only to delineate and carve statues of animals, but to inter them as sacred; to form a wilderness of rocks as an abode for the dead; and to eternize in stone the spirit of an egyptian priesthood in such multifarious ways! There stand, there lie, all those relics, which, like a sacred sphinx, like a grand problem, demand an explanation.

Part of these works, of obvious utility, or indispensable to the country, explain themselves. Such are the astonishing canals, dikes, and catacombs. The canals served to convey the Nile to the remotest parts of Egypt, which now, from their ruin, are become silent deserts. The dikes enabled cities to establish themselves in the fertile valley, which the Nile overflows, and which, truly the heart of Egypt, feeds the whole land: The catacombs, too, setting aside the religious notions which the egyptians connected with them, unquestionably contributed to the healthiness of the air, and prevented those diseases, which are the common pests of hot and humid climates. But to what purpose the enormity of these tombs? whence, and why, the labyrinth, the obelisks, the pyramids? whence the marvellous taste, on which the sphinxes and colossuses have so laboriously conferred immortality? Are the egyptians the primitive nation, sprung from the mud of the Nile, to branch over all the World? or, if they be not indigenous, what circumstances, what motives, have rendered them so totally different from all the people that dwell around?

In my opinion the natural history of the country is sufficient to show, that the egyptians are no primitive indigenous nation: for not only ancient tradition, but every rational geogony expressly says, that Upper Egypt was the

earlier peopled, and that the lower country was in reality gained from the mud of the Nile by the skilful industry of man. Ancient Egypt, therefore, was on the mountains of the Thebaid; where too was the residence of it's ancient kings: for had the land been peopled by the way of Suez, it is inconceivable, why the first kings of Egypt should have chosen the barren Thebaid for their abode. If, on the other hand, we follow the population of Egypt, as it lies before our eyes; in it we shall likewise find the cause, why it's inhabitants became such a singular and distinguished people, even from their cultivation. They were no amiable circassians, but, in all probability, a people of the south of Asia, who came westwards across the Red-Sea, or perhaps farther off, and gradually spread from Ethiopia over Upper Egypt. The land here being bounded as it were by the inundations and marshes of the Nile, is it to be wondered, that they began to construct their habitations as troglodytes in the rocks, and afterwards gradually gained the whole of Egypt by their industry, improving themselves as they improved the land? The account Diodorus gives of their southern descent, though intermingled with various fables of his Ethiopia, is not only probable in the highest degree, but the sole key to an explanation of this people, and it's singular agreement with some distant nations in the east of Asia.

As I could pursue this hypothesis here but very imperfectly, it must be deferred to another place, availing myself only of some of it's evident consequences, with regard to the figure made by this people in the history of mankind. The Egyptians were a quiet, industrious, wellmeaning people, as their political constitution, their arts, and their religion, collectively demonstrate. No temple, no column of Egypt, has a gay, airy, Grecian appearance: of this design of art they had no idea, it never was their aim. The mummies show, that the figure of the Egyptians was by no means beautiful; and as the human form appeared to them, such would necessarily be their imitations of it. Wrapped up in their own land, as in their own religion and constitution, they had an aversion to foreigners: and as, conformably to their character, fidelity and precision were their principal objects in the imitative arts; as their skill was altogether mechanical, and indeed in it's application to religious purposes was confined to a particular tribe, while at the same time it turned chiefly on religious conceptions; no deviations toward ideal beauty, which without a natural prototype is a mere phantom *, were in the least to be expected in this country †. In recompense they turned their attention so much the more to solidity, durability, and

* Of this in another place.

dufa; but chiefly that of the palace Rondanini at Rome. F.

† That African forms may coalesce with Ideal Beauty, is proved by every head of Me-

gigantic magnitude; or to finishing with the utmost industry of art. In that rocky land, their ideas of temples were taken from vast caverns: hence in their architecture they were fond of majestic immensity. Their mummies gave the hint of their statues: whence their legs were naturally joined, and their arms closed to the body; a posture of itself tending to durability. To support cavities, and separate tombs, pillars were formed: and as the Egyptians derived their architecture from the vaults of rocks, and understood not our mode of erecting arches, the pillar, frequently gigantic, was indispensable. The deserts, by which they were surrounded, the regions of the dead, which from religious notions floated in their minds, also moulded their statues to mummies, wherein not action, but eternal rest, was the character, on which their art fixed.

The pyramids and obelisks of the Egyptians appear to me less calculated to excite wonder. Pyramids have been erected on graves in all parts of the World, even in Otaheite; not so much as emblems of the immortality of the soul, as tokens of a lasting remembrance after death. Their origin on these graves may be traced to those rude heaps of stone, which were formed as memorials by several nations in very remote antiquity. The rude heap of stones assumed the form of a pyramid, that it might acquire greater stability. When art applied itself to this general custom, as no occasion of a memorial is so dear to the human mind as the interment of the revered dead, the heap of stones, at first perhaps designed to protect the corpse from the fangs of wild beasts, was naturally transformed into a pyramid, or column, erected with more or less skill. Now that the Egyptians should excel other nations in these structures, arose from the same cause as the durable architecture of their temples and catacombs: namely, they possessed stone sufficient for these monuments, as the greater part of Egypt is properly one rock; and they had hands enough to build them, as, in their fertile and populous country, the Nile manures the soil, and agriculture demands little labour. Besides, the ancient Egyptians lived with great temperance: thousands of men, who laboured for centuries like slaves at these memorials, were so easily maintained, that it depended merely on the will of a king, to erect inconceivable masses of this kind. The lives of individuals were estimated differently then, when their names were reckoned only in tribes and districts, than they are now. The useless labour of numbers was then more easily sacrificed to the will of a monarch, who was desirous of securing to himself immortality by such a heap of stones, and retaining the departed soul in an embalmed corpse, conformably to his religious notions; till this, like many other useless arts, became in time an object of emulation. One king imitated another, or sought to exceed him; while the easy people consumed

their days in the structure of these monuments. Thus probably arose the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt : they were built only in the remotest times ; for later ages, and nations, employed in more useful works, cease to erect pyramids. Thus, far from being tokens of the happiness and enlightened minds of the ancient egyptians, the pyramids are incontrovertible testimonies of the superstition and thoughtlessness, both of the poor by whom they were built, and of the ambitious by whom their erection was commanded. Secrets are in vain sought within the pyramids, or concealed wisdom from the obelisks : for if the hieroglyphics of the latter could be deciphered, what is it possible we should read in them, except a chronicle of forgotten events, or a symbolic apotheosis of their builders ? And then, what are these masses to a mountain of Nature's erection ?

Besides, instead of inferring profound wisdom from the hieroglyphics of the egyptians, they rather demonstrate the reverse. Hieroglyphics are the first rude-infantile essay of the human mind, when seeking characters to denote it's thoughts : the rudest savages of America had hieroglyphics sufficient to answer their occasions ; for could not the mexicans convey information of the most unheard of events, of the arrival of the spaniards for instance, in hieroglyphics ? But what poverty of ideas, what a stagnation of the mind, do the egyptians display, in so long retaining this imperfect mode of writing, and continuing to paint it for centuries with immense trouble on rocks and walls ! How confined must have been the knowledge of a nation, and of it's numerous learned order, who could content themselves for some thousands of years with these birds and strokes ! For their second Hermes, who invented letters, lived very late ; and he was no egyptian. The alphabetical writing on the mummies consists wholly of the foreign phenician letters, intermingled with hieroglyphical characters, and therefore in all probability learned from the phenician traders. The chinese themselves have advanced farther than the egyptians, and from similar hieroglyphics have invented actual notations of thought, to which these, as it appears, never attained. Is it to be wondered, then, that a nation so poor in writing, and yet not without capacity, should have been eminent in mechanic arts ? Their road to science was obstructed by hieroglyphics, and thus their attention was the more turned towards objects of sense. The fertile valley of the Nile rendered their agriculture easy : they learned to measure and calculate those periodical inundations, on which their welfare depended. A people, whose life and comforts were connected with one single natural change, which, annually recurring, formed an eternal national calendar, must ultimately become expert in the measure of the year and the seasons.

Thus all the acquaintance with nature and the heavens, for which this ancient people is famed, was the natural offspring of the country and climate. Enclosed between mountains, seas, and deserts; in a narrow fertile valley, where every thing depended on one natural phenomenon, and every thing recalled that phenomenon to the mind; where the seasons of the year, and the produce of the harvest, winds and diseases, insects and birds, were governed by one and the same revolution, the overflowing of the Nile: could the grave egyptian, and his numerous order of idle priests, fail ultimately to collect a sort of history of nature and the heavens? From all quarters of the World it is known, that confined sensual nations have the most copious practical knowledge of their country, though not learned from books. The hieroglyphics of the egyptians were rather injurious than beneficial to science. They converted the lively observation into an obscure and dead image, which assuredly could not advance, but retarded the progress of the understanding. It has been much disputed, whether the hieroglyphics concealed sacerdotal mysteries. To me it appears, that every hieroglyphic from its nature contained a secret; and a series of them, preserved exclusively by a particular body of men, must necessarily have remained a mystery to the many, even supposing they were presented to them at every turn. They could not be initiated into the study of them, for this was not their business; and of themselves they could not discover their meaning. Hence the necessary want of an extensive diffusion of knowledge in every land, in every body of men, possessed of hieroglyphic wisdom, as it is called, whether taught by priests or laymen. Every one was not capable of deciphering its symbols, and what is not easy to be learned without a tutor must, from its very nature, be kept as a mystery. Thus every hieroglyphical science of modern times is a ridiculous obstacle to a free diffusion of knowledge; while in ancient times hieroglyphics were no more than the most imperfect mode of writing. It would be absurd, to expect a man of himself to learn to understand what might be explained in a thousand different ways; and to study arbitrary symbols, as if they were necessarily permanent things, would be endless labour. Hence Egypt has always remained a child in knowledge, because it always expressed its knowledge as a child, and its infantile ideas are probably for ever lost to us.

Thus we can do little more than guess at the rank attained by the egyptians in religion and politics, while we have been able to mark that, which many other nations of high antiquity have reached, and can still in some measure observe, what the people in the east of Asia have attained. Indeed, could it be rendered probable, that much of the knowledge of the egyptians was not easy to have

been discovered in their country; but that they merely continued to exercise it after received rules and premises, and adapted it to their own land; their infant state in all these sciences would be much more obvious. Hence probably their long register of kings, and of the ages of the World: hence their ambiguous histories of Osiris, Isis, Horus, Typhon, and the rest: hence a great number of their religious fables. Their principal religious notions were common to several people of Upper Asia; only they were here clothed in hieroglyphics, adapted to the natural history of the country, and the character of the people. The leading features of their political constitution were familiar to other nations in a similar stage of cultivation; but here they were more finished, and employed in their own manner, by a people enclosed in the beautiful valley of the Nile*. Egypt would not easily have attained the high reputation it enjoys for wisdom, but for its less remote situation, the ruins of its antiquities, and above all the tales of the greeks.

This very situation likewise shows the rank it occupies among the nations. Few have sprung from it, or been civilized by it: of the former I know only the phenicians; of the latter, the jews and greeks. How far its influence has extended into the interior of Africa we are ignorant. Poor egyptians! how are they changed! Once laborious, and endued with patient industry, a thousand years of despair have reduced them to indolence and wretchedness. At the nod of a pharaoh, they spun and wove, dug in the mountains and raised stones, pursued the arts and cultivated the land. Patiently they suffered themselves to be shut up from the rest of the World, and divided into bands for the purpose of labour; they were prolific, and brought up their children with toil; shunned foreigners, and enjoyed their own secluded country. When once their land was laid open, or rather when Cambyfes showed the way to it, it was for ages a prey to nation after nation. Persians and greeks, romans, byzantines, arabs, fatimites, curdes, mamalukes, and turks, annoyed it one after the other; and its fine climate still remains a melancholy theatre of arabian depredations and turkish barbarity †.

* The conjectures on this subject must be deferred to another place.

† The mind of every reader will add a note to this period. F.

CHAPTER VI.

Farther Hints toward a Philosophy of the History of Man.

HAVING now gone over a considerable extent of human events and institutions, from the Euphrates to the Nile, from Persepolis to Carthage, let us sit down, and take a retrospective view of our journey.

What is the principal law, that we have observed in all the great occurrences of history? In my opinion it is this: *that every where on our Earth whatever could be has been, according to the situation and wants of the place, the circumstances and occasions of the times, and the native or generated character of the people.* Admit active human powers, in a determinate relation to the age, and to their place on the Earth, and all the vicissitudes in the history of man will ensue. Here kingdoms and states crystallize into shape: there they dissolve, and assume other forms. Here from a wandering horde rises a Babylon: there from the straitened inhabitants of a coast springs up a Tyre: here, in Africa, an Egypt is formed: there, in the deserts of Arabia, a Jewish state: and all these in one part of the World, all in the neighbourhood of each other. Time, place, and national character alone, in short the general cooperation of active powers in their most determinate individuality, govern all the events that happen among mankind, as well as all the occurrences in nature. Let us place this predominant law of the creation in a suitable light.

1. *Active human powers are the springs of human history:* and as man originates from and in one race, his figure, education, and mode of thinking, are thus genetic. Hence that striking national character, which, deeply imprinted on the most ancient people, is unequivocally displayed in all their operations on the Earth. As a mineral water derives its component parts, its operative powers, and its taste, from the soil through which it flows; so the ancient character of nations arose from the family features, the climate, the way of life and education, the early actions and employments, that were peculiar to them. The manners of the fathers took deep root, and became the internal prototype of the race. The mode of thinking of the Jews, which is best known to us from their writings and actions, may serve as an example: in the land of their fathers, and in the midst of other nations, they remain as they were; and even when mixed with other people they may be distinguished for some generations downward. It was, and it is the same with all the nations of antiquity, Egyptians, Chinese, Arabs,

hindoos, &c. The more secluded they lived, nay frequently the more they were oppressed, the more their character was confirmed : so that, if every one of these nations had remained in it's place, the Earth might have been considered as a garden, where in one spot one human national plant, in another, another, bloomed in it's proper figure and nature; where in this spot one species of animal, in that, another, pursued it's course, according to it's instincts and character.

But as men are not firmly rooted plants, the calamities of famine, earthquakes, war, and the like, must in time remove them from their place to some other more or less different. And though they might adhere to the manners of their forefathers with an obstinacy almost equal to the instinct of the brute, and even apply to their new mountains, rivers, towns, and establishments, the names of their primitive land; it would be impossible for them, to remain eternally the same in every respect, under any considerable alteration of soil and climate. Here the transplanted people would construct a wasp's nest, or anthill, after their own fashion. The style would be a compound arising from the ideas imbibed in their original country, and those inspired by the new: and this may commonly be called the youthful bloom of the nation. Thus did the phenicians, when they retired from the Red-Sea to the shores of the Mediterranean: thus Moses endeavoured to form the israelites: and so has it been with several asiatic nations; for almost every people upon Earth has migrated at least once, sooner or later, to a greater distance, or a less. It may readily be supposed, that in this much depended on the time when the migration took place, the circumstances by which it was occasioned, the length of the way, the previous state of civilization of the people, the reception they met with in their new country, and the like. Thus even in unmixed nations the computations of history are so perplexed, from geographical and political causes, that it requires a mind wholly free from hypothesis to trace the clew. This clew is most easily lost by one, with whom a particular race of the people is a favourite, and who despises every thing, in which this race has no concern. The historian of mankind must see with eyes as impartial as those of the creator of the human race, or the genius of the Earth, and judge altogether uninfluenced by the passions. To the naturalist, who would acquire a just knowledge and arrangement of all his classes, the rose and the thistle, the polecat, the sloth, and the elephant, are equally dear; he examines that most, from which most is to be learned. Now Nature has given the whole Earth to mankind, her children; and allowed every thing, that place, time, and power would permit, to spring up thereon. Every thing that can exist, exists; every thing that is possible to be produced, will be produced; if not to day, yet to morrow. Nature's year is long: the blossoms

of her plants are as various as the plants themselves, and the elements by which they are nourished. In Hindostan, Egypt, and China, in Canaan, Greece, Rome, and Carthage, took place, what would have occurred no where else, and at no other period. The law of necessity and convenience, composed of power, time, and place, every where produces different fruits.

2. If the complexion of a kingdom thus depend principally on *the time and place in which it arose, the parts that composed it, and the external circumstances by which it was surrounded*, we perceive the chief part of it's fate spring also from these. A monarchy frained by wandering tribes, whose political system is a continuation of their former mode of life, will scarcely be of long duration: it ravages, and subjugates, till at last itself is destroyed: the capture of the metropolis, or frequently the death of a king alone, is sufficient to drop the curtain on the predatory scene. Thus it was with Babylon and Nineveh, with Ecbatana and Persepolis, and so it is with Persia still. The empire of the great moguls in Hindostan is nearly at an end: and that of the turks will not be lasting, if they continue chaldeans, that is foreign conquerors, and do not establish their government on a more moral foundation. Though the tree lift it's head to the skies, and overshadow whole quarters of the Globe, if it be not rooted in the earth, a single blast of wind may overturn it. It may fall through the undermining of a treacherous slave, or by the axe of a daring satrap. Both the ancient and modern histories of Asia are filled with these revolutions; and thus the philosophy of states finds little to learn in them. Despots are hurled from the throne, and despots exalted to it again: the kingdom is annexed to the person of the monarch, to his tent, to his crown: he who has these in his power is the new father of the people, that is the leader of an overbearing band of robbers. A Nebuchadnezzar was terrible to the whole of Hither Asia, and under his second successor his unstable throne lay prostrate in the dust. Three victories of an Alexander completely put an end to the vast persian monarchy.

It is not so with states, which, springing up from a root, rest on themselves: they may be subdued, but the nation remains. Thus it is with China: we well know how much labour it cost it's conquerors, to introduce there a simple custom, the mungal mode of cutting the hair. Thus it is with the bramins and jews, whose ceremonial systems will eternally separate them from all the nations upon Earth. Thus Egypt long withstood any intermixture with other nations: and how difficult was it to extirpate the phenicians, merely because they were a people rooted in this spot! Had Cyrus succeeded in founding an empire like those of Yao, Crishna, and Moses, it would still survive, though mutilated, in all it's members.

Hence we may infer the reason, why ancient political constitutions laid so much stress on the formation of manners by education; as their internal strength depended wholly on this spring. Modern kingdoms are built on money, or mechanical politics; the ancient, on the general way of thinking of a nation from it's infancy: and as nothing has a more efficacious influence upon children than religion, most of the ancient states, particularly those of Asia, were more or less theocratic. I know the aversion in which this name is held, as to it all the evil, that has at any time oppressed mankind, is in great measure ascribed. It's abuses I will by no means undertake to defend: but at the same time it is true, that this form of government is not only adapted to the infancy of the human race, but necessary to it; otherwise, assuredly, it would neither have extended so far, nor have maintained itself so long. It has prevailed from Egypt to China, nay in almost every country upon Earth; so that Greece was the first, which gradually separated religion from it's legislation. And as every religion is more efficacious in a political view, the more it's objects, it's gods and heroes, and their various actions, are indigenious; we find every firmly rooted ancient nation has appropriated it's cosmogony and mythology to the country it inhabited. The israelites alone distinguish themselves from all their neighbours in this, that they ascribe neither the creation of the World, nor that of man, to their own country. Their lawgiver was an enlightened foreigner, who never reached the land they were afterwards to possess: their ancestors had inhabited another country: and their laws were framed out of their own territories. This afterwards contributed probably to render the jews more satisfied in a foreign land, than almost any other ancient nation. The bramin, the siamese, cannot live out of his own country: and as the jew of Moses is properly a creature of Palestine, out of Palestine there should be no jew.

3. Finally, from the whole region over which we have wandered, we perceive *how transitory all human structures are, nay how oppressive the best institutions become in the course of a few generations.* The plant blossoms, and fades: your fathers have died, and mouldered into dust: your temple is fallen: your tabernacle, the tables of your law, are no more: language itself, that bond of mankind, becomes antiquated: and shall a political constitution, shall a system of government or religion, that can be erected solely on these, endure for ever? If so, the wings of Time must be enchained, and the revolving Globe hang fixed, an idle ball of ice over the abyss. What should we say now, were we to see king Solomon sacrifice twenty two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep, at a single festival? or hear the queen of Sheba trying him with riddles at an entertainment? What should we think of the wisdom of the egyptians, when the bull Apis, the sacred cat, and the sacred

goat, were shown to us in the most splendid temples? It is the same with the burdensome ceremonies of the bramins, the superstitions of the parsecs, the empty pretensions of the jews, the senseless pride of the chinese, and every thing that rests on antiquated human institutions of three thousand years date. The doctrines of Zoroaster may have been a praiseworthy attempt, to account for the evil in the World, and animate his contemporaries to all the deeds of light: but what is his theodicy now, even in the eyes of a mohammedan? The metempsychosis of the bramins may have it's merit as a juvenile dream of the imagination, desirous of retaining the immortal soul within the sphere of observation, and uniting moral sentiments with the well-meant notion: yet has it not become an absurd religious law, with it's thousand additions of precepts and practices? Tradition in itself is an excellent institution of Nature, indispensable to the human race: but when it fetters the thinking faculty both in politics and education, and prevents all progress of the intellect, and all the improvement, that new times and circumstances demand, it is the true narcotic of the mind, as well to nations and sects, as to individuals. Asia, the mother of all the mental illumination of our habitable Earth, has drunk deep of this pleasant poison, and handed the cup to others. Great states and sects sleep in it, as, according to the fable, saint John sleeps in his grave: he breathes softly, though he died almost two thousand years ago, and slumbering waits till his awakener shall come.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XIII.

I TAKE leave of Asia with the regret of a traveller, obliged to quit a country, before he has acquired the knowledge of it he wished. How little do we know of it! and for the most part of how recent times, and from what doubtful authority! Of the eastern part of Asia we have but lately acquired any knowledge; and this through the means of men imbued with religious or political prejudices: while much of what we have thus acquired has been so embroiled by literary partisans in Europe, that great districts of it are still to us a fairy-land. In Hither Asia, and the neighbouring land of Egypt, every thing appears to us as a ruin, or a dream that is past: what we know from records, we have only from the mouths of the volatile greeks, who were partly too young, partly of too different a way of thinking, for the remote antiquity of these states, and noticed only what concerned themselves. The archives of Babylon, Phenicia, and Carthage, are no more: Egypt was in it's decline, almost before it's interior was visited by a greek: so that the whole is shrunk up to a few withered leaves, containing fables of fables, fragments of history, a dream of the ancient World.

With Greece the morning breaks, and we joyfully fail to meet it. The inhabitants of this country acquired the art of writing at an early period compared with others; and in most of their institutions found springs to guide their language from poetry to prose, as in this to history and philosophy. Thus the Philosophy of History looks upon Greece as her birthplace, and in it spent her youth. Even the fabling Homer describes the manners of several nations, as far as his knowledge extended. They who sung the exploits of the argonauts, the echoes of whose songs remain, entered into another memorable region. When proper history subsequently separated itself from poetry, Herodotus travelled over several countries, and collected with commendable infantile curiosity whatever he saw and heard. The later writers of history in Greece, though their own country was their only object, could not avoid saying many things of other countries, with which the greeks were connected: thus their

canvas was gradually extended, particularly by the expeditions of Alexander. With Rome, to whom the greeks served not only as guides in history, but as historians, it extended still more; so that Diodorus of Sicily, a greek, and Trogus, a roman, ventured to form their materials into a sort of universal history. Let us then rejoice, that at length we have reached a people, whose origin indeed is enveloped in obscurity, whose early ages are uncertain, and whose finest works, both in letters and the arts, have been for the most part destroyed by the rage of enemies, or the fashion of the times; yet of whom we have noble monuments: monuments that speak to us with a philosophic spirit, the humanity of which I in vain endeavour to infuse into my essay on them. I might invoke, as a poet, allseeing Apollo, and the daughter of Memory, the omniscient muse: but my inspiring muse shall be impartial truth; and my Apollo, the spirit of inquiry.

CHAPTER I.

The Situation and Peopling of Greece.

THE triple Greece, of which we speak, is a land of coasts and bays, surrounded by the sea; or rather a cluster of islands. It lies in a region, where it might receive from various parts not only inhabitants, but the seeds of cultivation, and this speedily. Thus its situation, and the character of the people, which formed itself suitably to the country by early expeditions and revolutions, soon set afloat an internal circulation of ideas, and an external activity, denied by Nature to the nations of the extensive continent. Finally, the period in which the cultivation of Greece occurred, and the degree of improvement, which not only the neighbouring people, but the human mind in general, had attained, contributed to render the greeks what they once were, what they no longer are, and what they never more will be. Let us more narrowly examine this fine historical problem; for the solution of which we have nearly sufficient data, particularly from the industry of learned germans.

A secluded nation, enclosed by mountains, far from the seacoast, and from any intercourse with other people; that derived its knowledge from a single place, and, in proportion as this was more early received, more firmly fixed it by brazen laws; may acquire great peculiarity of character, and retain it long: but this confined peculiarity will be far from giving it that useful versatility, which can be gained only by active competition with other nations.

Egypt, and all the countries of Asia, are examples of this. Had the power, which constructed our Earth, given it's mountains and seas a different form; had that great destiny, which established the boundaries of nations, caused them to originate elsewhere than from the asiatic mountains; had the east of Asia possessed an earlier commerce, and a mediterranean sea, which it's present situation has denied; the whole current of cultivation would have been altered. It flowed westwards; because eastwards it was unable to flow, or to spread.

If we contemplate the history of islands, and countries connected by straits, in whatever part of the World they lie, we find, that, the more fortunate they were in their peopling, the more easy and diversified the stream of activity, that could be set in motion among them, and the more advantageous the time or situation, in which they had to perform their part; by so much more did the inhabitants of such coasts or islands distinguish themselves above those of the main land. On the continent, in spite of all natural endowments, and acquired capacities, the shepherd remained a shepherd; the hunter, a hunter: even the husbandman and artist were confined like plants to a narrow spot. Compare England with Germany: the english are germans, and even in the latest times the germans have led the way for the english in the greatest things. But while England, as an island, early acquired a much more active universality of mind, it's situation itself accelerated the means of improvement, and gave them without interruption a consistence unattainable by the more embarrassed continent. A similar difference is perceivable on a comparison of the danish islands, the coasts of Italy, France, and Spain, the Netherlands, and the North of Germany, with the interior country of the slavians and scythians of Europe, with Russia, Poland, and Hungary. Voyagers in all the seas have found, that on islands, peninsulas, or coasts happily situate, an application and freedom of improvement had been generated, which could not have surmounted the pressure of the uniform ancient laws of the main land*. Read the descriptions of the Society and Friendly islands: in spite of their distance from the rest of the habitable World, they have raised themselves into a sort of Greece, even in luxury and ornamental dress. In many solitary islands of the wide ocean the first voyagers experienced a gentleness and courtesy, which would be sought in vain among inland nations. Thus every where we perceive the great law of human nature, that, where activity and quiet, society and distance, voluntary occupation and it's advantages, are happily united, such a course of things is promoted, as is favour-

* Compare the malays, and the inhabitants natives of the Kuriles and Fox-islands, with the of the asiatic islands, with those of the continent; mungals; observe Juan Fernandez, Socotora, put even Japan in competition with China; the Easter-island, Byron's-island, the Maldives, &c.

able both to the people themselves, and to their neighbours. Nothing is more injurious to the health of mankind, than obstructions of their juices: in the despotic states of ancient institution these were inevitable; and hence, if they were not soon extirpated, their bodies, while alive, underwent a lingering death. On the other hand, where, from the nature of the country, states continued small, and the inhabitants in healthy activity, to which a life divided between sea and land is particularly conducive, favourable circumstances alone were required, to form a highly cultivated and celebrated people. Thus, to say nothing of other countries, the islanders of Crete were the first among the grecians themselves, to produce a system of laws as a model for all the republics on the main land; and of these the most numerous and celebrated were fixed on the coasts. Thus the ancients placed their seats of bliss on islands not without reason; probably because on islands they found the most free and happy people.

When we apply this to Greece, how different must we expect to find it's inhabitants from those of the lofty mountains. A narrow strait divided Thrace from Asia Minor; and this fertile country, rich in nations, was connected along it's western shore with Greece by a sound thickly interspersed with islands. It seems as if the Hellespont had been broken through, and the Egean sea with it's islands interposed, to facilitate the passage, and produce a constant wandering and circulation throughout Greece. Thus in the remotest times we find the numerous nations of these coasts roaming the seas: cretans, lydians, pelagians, thracians, rhodians, phrygians, cyprians, milesiens, carians, lesbians, phoceans, samians, spartans, naxians, heretians, and eginetans, followed each other, even before the time of Xerxes, in the dominion of the sea*: and long before these maritime powers, pirates, colonists, and adventurers, were found upon it; so that there is scarcely a nation of Greece, that has not migrated, and many more than once. Every thing here has been in motion from the oldest times, from the coasts of Asia Minor to Italy, Sicily, and France: no people of Europe has colonized a finer, more extensive country, than these greeks. This is what we mean, when we talk of the fine climate of Greece. Did the expression signify merely the indolent seat of fertility in wellwatered vales, or meadows overflowed by rivers, how many finer climates would be found in the other three quarters of the Globe, no one of which, however, has yet produced greeks†! But a series of coasts, enjoying an air so favourable to the activity of little states in the progress of cultivation, as those of Ionia, Greece, and Grecia Magna, are no where else to be found upon Earth.

* Heyne's Commentary on the Epoch of Castor, in the *Nov. Comment. Soc. Gatt.*, 'New Memoirs of the Göttingen Society,' Vol. I, II.

† See Riedesel's *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise nach der Levante*, 'Observations on a Tour to the Levant,' p. 113.

We need not long inquire whence Greece derived it's first inhabitants. They were called pelasgians, that is strangers, and at this distance acknowledged the people beyond the sea, that is, of Asia Minor, as brethren. It would be useless labour, to enumerate all the courses they steered, through Thrace, or over the Hellespont and Archipelago, westward and southward; and how, protected by the northern mountains, they gradually spread over Greece. One tribe followed another; one tribe pressed upon another: hellenes brought new knowledge to the ancient pelasgians, as in the progress of time grecian colonies again settled on the asiatic shores. It was favourable enough for the greeks, that they were in the vicinity of such a fine peninsula of the great continent, most of the inhabitants of which were not only of one race, but more early civilized *. Hence their language acquired that originality and uniformity, which a mixture of many tongues could not have possessed; and the nation itself participated in the moral condition of the neighbouring primitive race, with whom it was soon connected by the various relations of war and peace. Thus Asia Minor was the parent of Greece, both in peopling it, and in imparting the principal features of it's earliest cultivation: while Greece in it's turn afterward sent out colonies to it's mother country, and lived to see in it a second and superiour cultivation.

It is to be regretted, however, that we have very little knowledge of the asiatic peninsula in the earliest times. Of the kingdom of the trojans we know nothing except from Homer: and however high he endeavours, as a poet, to exalt his countrymen above their antagonists, the flourishing state of Troy in the arts, and even in magnificence, is evident from his account. In like manner the phrygians were an ancient and early cultivated nation, whose religion and fables had an unquestionable influence on the earliest mythology of the greeks. So afterwards the carians, who called themselves brothers of the mysians and lydians, and were of the same race with the pelasgians and leleges, applied early to navigation, which at that time was merely piracy; while the more civilized lydians share the invention of coin, as a medium of commerce, with the phenicians. Thus none of these people were wanting in early cultivation, any more than the mysians and thracians, and were capable of becoming greeks by proper transplantation.

The primitive seat of the grecian muses was in the north-east, toward Thrace. Orpheus, who first converted the savage pelasgians to humanity, and introduced those religious practices, that prevailed so widely and so long, was a thracian. The first mountains of the muses were the mountains of Theffaly; Olympus,

* See Heyne on the Origin of the Greeks, *Commentat. Soc. Gœtting.*, 'Memoirs of the Gœttingen Society, 1764.

Helicon, Parnassus, Pindus: here, says the acutest of the investigators of grecian history*, was the most ancient seat of the religion, philosophy, music, and poetry, of Greece. Here dwelt the first grecian bards: here were formed the first civilized societies: here the lyre and the harp were invented, and the first models cast of every thing, that grecian genius afterwards produced. In Thesaly and Bœotia, which in later times were so little celebrated for the production of genius, there is not a fountain, a river, a hill, or a grove, which poetry has not immortalized. Here flowed the Peneus, here was the delightful Tempe: here Apollo wandered in the garb of a shepherd, and here the giants piled up their mountains. At the foot of Helicon Hesiod yet learned his fables from the mouths of the muses. In short, the first cultivation of the greeks was indigenous here; and hence the purer grecian language flowed through the descendants of the hellenes in it's principal dialects.

In the course of time, however, a series of other fables necessarily arose, on such various coasts and islands, and from such repeated wanderings and adventures, which the poets equally consecrated in the temple of the grecian muse. Almost every little district, every celebrated tribe, introduced into it it's ancestors or national divinities: and this variety, which would form an impenetrable wood, if we were to consider the grecian mythology as a system, infused life into the national way of thinking from the actions and manners of every tribe. Without such various roots and germes, that fine garden, which in time produced the most diversified fruits, even in legislation, could not have come to perfection. The land being divided into many portions, this tribe defended it's valley, that it's coasts and islands; and thus from the long youthful activity of scattered tribes and kingdoms arose the great and free genius of the grecian muse. It's cultivation was under the control of no universal lord: from the voice of the lyre, at religious ceremonies, games, and dances; from arts and sciences of it's own invention; and, lastly, still more from the various intercourse of the different tribes of Greece among each other and with strangers; it adopted, of it's own free will, now this, now that law, custom, or principle: thus being a free grecian people, even in the progress of cultivation. That, as phenician colonies contributed to this in Thebes, so egyptian colonies did in Attica, cannot be denied: yet, fortunately, neither the principal race of the greeks, nor their language and way of thinking, sprung from these. Thanks to their descent, mode of life, and native muses, the greeks were not destined to become a herd of egyptian canaanites.

* Heyne on the Muses: see *Gatt. Anzeigen*, 'The Göttingen Review,' for 1766, p. 275.

CHAPTER II.

The Language, Mythology, and Poetry of Greece.

WE now come to subjects, which have been for some thousands of years the delight of the more polished part of mankind, and I hope will ever continue to be so. The grecian language is the most refined of any in the World; the grecian mythology, the richest and most beautiful upon Earth; the grecian poetry, perhaps the most perfect of it's kind, when considered with respect to time and place. But who gave this once rude people such a language, such poetry, and such figurative wisdom? The genius of nature, their country, their way of life, the period in which they lived, and the character of their progenitors.

The greek language sprang from rude beginnings: but these very beginnings contained the seeds of what it was afterwards to become. They were no hieroglyphic patchwork, no series of singly ejected syllables, like the languages beyond the mungal mountains. Readier and more flexible organs produced among the caucasian nations a more easy modulation, which was susceptible of being soon reduced to form by the social propensity to music. The words were more smoothly connected, the tone modulated into rhythm: the language flowed in a fuller stream; it's images, in pleasing harmony: it raised itself to the melody of the dance. And thus the peculiar character of the greek language, not constrained by mute laws, arose as a living image of nature, from music and the dance, from history and song, and from the talkative free intercourse of many tribes and colonies. The northern nations of Europe were not thus fortunate in their formation. Foreign manners imparted to them by foreign laws, and a religion devoid of song crippled their language. The german, for example, has unquestionably lost much of it's intrinsic flexibility, of it's more precise expression in the inflection of words, and still more of that energetic tone, which it formerly possessed in a more favourable climate. Once it was a near sister of the greek; but how far from this is it now degenerated! No language beyond the Ganges possesses the flexibility and smooth flow of the greek: no aramean dialect on this side the Euphrates had them in it's ancient form. The grecian language alone appears as if derived from song: for song, and poetry, and an early enjoyment of freedom, fashioned it as the universal language of the muses. Improbable as it is, that all the springs of grecian cultivation should again combine together; that the infancy of mankind should

return, and an Orpheus, a Musæus, and a Linus, or a Homer and Hesiod, revive with every concomitant circumstance : as little is the generation of a greek language in our times possible, even in the same regions.

The mythology of the greeks flowed from the fables of various countries : and these consisted either of the popular faith ; the traditionary accounts, that the different generations preserved of their ancestors ; or the first attempts of reflecting minds, to explain the wonders of the Earth, and give a consistency to society *. However spurious and new-modified our hymns of the ancient Orpheus may be ; still they are imitations of that lively devotion and reverence of Nature, to which all nations in the first stage of civilization are prone. The rude hunter addresses his dreaded bear † ; the negro, his sacred fetish ; the parsee mobbed, his spirits of nature and the elements ; nearly after the Orphic manner : but how is the Orphic hymn to Nature refined and ennobled, merely by the grecian words and images ! And how much more pleasing and easy did the greek mythology become, as in time it rejected even from it's hymns the fetters of mere epithet, and recited instead, as in the songs or Homer, fables of the deities ! In the cosmogonies, too, the harsh primitive legends were in time amalgamated together, and human heroes and patriarchs were sung, and placed by the side of the gods. Happily the ancient relaters of theogonies introduced into the genealogies of their gods and heroes such striking, beautiful allegories, frequently with a single word of their elegant language, that when subsequent philosophers thought fit merely to unfold their signification, and connect with it their more refined ideas, a new delicate tissue was formed. Thus the epic poets in time laid aside their frequently repeated fables of the generation of the gods, the storming of Heaven, the actions of Hercules, and the like, and sang more human themes for the use of man.

Of these Homer, the father of all the grecian poets and philosophers that succeeded him, is the most celebrated. His scattered songs had the fortunate destiny to be collected at the most favourable juncture, and erected into a double edifice, shining like an indestructible palace of gods and heroes after thousands of years. As men have endeavoured to explain the wonders of nature, so they have taken pains to investigate the existence of Homer ‡, who was in fact a mere child of Nature, a happy bard of the ionian shore. Many

* See Heyne *De Fontibus & Causis Errorum, &c.*, 'On the Sources and Causes of Error in mythological History : on the physical Causes of Fables : on the Origin and Causes of the Fables of Homer : on the Theogony compiled by Hesiod : &c.'

† See Georgi's *Abbildungen der Völker des Russischen Reichs*, 'Delineations of the people of the Russian Empire,' Vol. I.

‡ Blackwell's *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, 1736 : Wood's *Essay on the original Genius of Homer*, 1769.

of his order have sunk perhaps into oblivion, who might have been in part his competitors for that fame, which he alone enjoys. Temples have been erected to him, and he has been adored as a human divinity: but his noblest adoration consists in the permanent influence he had on his own nation, and on all who are capable of feeling his merit. The subjects of his song, indeed, are trifles in our eyes: his gods and heroes, with their passions and manners, are such as the fables of his own and preceding times presented: his knowledge of physics and geography, his morals and politics, are equally confined. But the truth and wisdom, with which he has moulded all the objects of his world into a living whole; the steady outline of every feature of every person in his immortal picture; the easy, unlaboured manner, in which, free as a god, he penetrates into every character, and relates their virtues and vices, their fortunes and misfortunes; and lastly, the music, that incessantly flows from his lips throughout poems of such extent and variety, and will animate every image, every tone, as long as his verses shall live; are the circumstances, for which Homer stands unrivalled in the history of mankind, and which render him worthy of immortality, if aught on Earth can be immortal.

On the greeks Homer necessarily had a different effect from what he can have upon us, from whom he so often obtains a forced and frigid admiration, or indeed cold contempt. Not so with the greeks. To them he sung in a living language; at that time perfectly unfettered by what was subsequently termed dialects: to them he sung with patriotic feelings the exploits of their ancestors against foreigners, and recited families, tribes, actions, and countries, which were in part present to their eyes as their own, and in part lived in the memory of their national pride. Thus to them Homer was in many respects the divine herald of national fame, a source of the most diversified national wisdom. The succeeding poets followed him: from him the tragic borrowed fables; the didactic, allegories, examples, and maxims: every one, who first attempted a new kind of writing, took from the artificial structure of Homer's work the model of his own: so that Homer was soon the pattern of grecian taste, and with weaker heads the standard of all human wisdom. The roman poets, too, felt his influence; and but for him the *Eneid* would never have existed. Still more has he contributed, to reclaim the modern nations of Europe from barbarism; so many youth have been formed, while they were delighted by him; so many active as well as contemplative men have imbibed from him the principles of taste, and a knowledge of mankind. Yet it cannot be denied, that, as every great man has been the cause of abuses from an inordinate admiration of his talents, so has the good Homer; inasmuch that no one would wonder

more than himself, could he arise from the dead, and see what has been extracted from him at various times. Among the greeks fable maintained it's ground more firmly, and for a longer period, than it would have done probably without him: rhapsodists sung after him, frigid poets imitated him, and the enthusiasm for Homer became at length among the greeks such a bald, infipid, wire-drawn art as scarcely has been paralleled for any poet by any other people. The innumerable comments of the grammarians upon him are for the most part lost; otherwise we should see in them the miserable toil God imposes upon the succeeding generations of men in every preponderating genius: for are not examples enough extant of the erroneous study and misapplication of Homer in modern times? Thus much however is certain, that a mind like his, in the period in which he lived, and for the nation by which his works were collected, was such an instrument of improvement, as scarcely any other people can boast. No oriental nation possesses a Homer: no poet like him has appeared at the proper season, in the bloom of youth, to any people of Europe. Even Ossian was not the same to his scots: and the Fates alone can tell, whether a second Homer will be given to the new grecian Archipelago, the Friendly islands, who will lead them to an equal height with that, to which his elder brother led Greece.

As the cultivation of the greeks thus proceeded from mythology, poetry, and music, we need not wonder, that a taste for them remained a leading feature of their character, as their most serious writings and institutions evince. To our manners it appears incongruous, that the greeks should speak of music as the finishing point of education, that they should treat it as a grand engine of state, and ascribe the most important consequences to it's decline. Still more singular appear to us the animated and almost rapturous praises they bestow on dancing, pantomime, and the dramatic art, as the natural sisters of poetry and wisdom. Many, who read these encomiums, believed, that the music of the greeks was a miracle of systematic perfection, as we are so totally unacquainted with any thing like it's celebrated effects. But that the greeks did not principally apply to the scientific perfection of music appears from the very use which they made of it: for they did not cultivate it as a distinct art, but employed it subserviently to poetry, the dance, and the drama. Thus the grand effect of it's tones lay in this connexion, and in the general bent of grecian cultivation. The poetry of the greeks, proceeding from music, readily returned to it again: sublime tragedy itself originated from the chorus; the ancient comedy, public rejoicings, military expeditions, and the domestic hilarity of the feast, were seldom unaccompanied by music and song; and few

games were destitute of the dance. In these, indeed, as Greece consisted of many states and nations, one province differed much from another: the times, the various degrees of civilization and luxury, induced still greater variation: yet on the whole it remains perfectly true, that the greeks esteemed the joint improvement of these arts the summit of human energy, and attached to it the highest value.

It must be confessed, that neither pantomime nor the drama, neither the dance, nor poetry, nor music, is with us, what it was with the greeks. With them all these were only one work, one blossom of the human mind, the wild seeds of which we perceive in every nation of gay and pleasing character, if placed in a happy climate. Absurd as it would be, to endeavour to transport ourselves back to this period of youthful levity, which is now past, and to skip as a hobbling graybeard among boys; why should the graybeard be offended with youth for being lively, and dancing? The cultivation of the greeks fell on this period of youthful jollity, from the arts of which they elicited whatever was capable of being educed, and thus necessarily accomplished effects, the possibility of which is scarce conceivable to us, exhausted and diseased. For I doubt, whether a greater power of operation of refined senses upon the mind can be produced, than the studied supreme point of junction of these arts, particularly on minds educated and formed to them, and living in a world animated by similar impressions. If then we cannot be greeks ourselves, let us at least rejoice, that there once were greeks, and that, like every other flower of the human mind, this also found a time and place to put forth its loveliest blossoms.

From what has been said may be conjectured, that many species of grecian composition, which were designed for animated representation, with music, dancing, and pantomime, appear to us merely as shadows, and may perhaps mislead us even with the most careful explanation. The theatres of Æschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripides, were not our theatres: the proper drama of the greeks is no more to be seen in any nation, however excellent the pieces of this kind, that many have produced. Without song, without the festivals of the greeks, and without the exalted notions they entertained of their games, the odes of Pindar must appear to us the exclamations of ebriety; as even in the dialogues of Plato, abounding in melody of language, and beautiful composition of images and words, those very passages, which were clothed with the greatest art, have been exposed to the most numerous objections from critics. Youth, therefore, must learn to read the greeks; since the aged are seldom inclined to look at them, or appropriate to themselves their beauties. Grant, that their imagination often outflies the understanding;

that the refined sensuality, in which they place the essence of accomplishment, sometimes oversteps the bounds of reason and virtue; let us not refuse them due esteem, though we refrain from becoming greeks ourselves. From their dress, the fine proportion and outline of their thoughts, the natural vivacity of their sentiments, and lastly from the melodious rhythm of their language, which never yet found it's equal, we have much to learn.

CHAPTER III.

The Arts of the Greeks.

IN all the arts of life, a people endued with such sentiments must necessarily ascend from the necessary to the beautiful and pleasing; and the greeks attained almost the highest point in every thing relating to them. Their religion required statues and temples; their political institutions demanded monuments and public edifices; their climate and way of living, their activity, luxury, vanity, &c., rendered various works of art indispensable. Thus the genius of beauty put these works into their hands, and assisted them alone of all mortals to finish them; for though their greatest wonders of art have long been destroyed, we still admire and cherish their ruins and fragments.

1. That religion greatly promoted the arts of the greeks, we see from the catalogues of their works in Pausanias, Pliny, or any of the collections, which speak of their remains: and this is conformable to the universal history of men and nations. All men have been desirous of seeing the objects of their worship; and every where they have attempted, to paint or carve representations of them, where this has not been prohibited by religion or the law. Even the negro renders his god present to him in a fetish: and of the greeks we know, that the representations of their gods primarily originated from a stone or a rude billet. This poverty could not long satisfy a people so active: the block became a herm*, or a statue; and as the nation was divided into many little tribes and states, it was natural, that each should endeavour to embellish the images of it's domestic and family deities. Some successful attempts of the ancient Dedaluses, and probably the view of neighbouring works of art, excited emulation; and thus several states and tribes were soon enabled to contemplate their god, the most sacred of all the things they possessed, in a more agreeable form. The first essays of ancient art, in which it learned as it were to go, were principally images of the gods †: hence no nation, to which

* Ἑρμα, per syncopen pro ἱερῖσθμα.

† See Winckelmann's *Gesch. der Kunst*, 'History of the Arts,' Vol. I, chap. 1; and Heyne's con-

firmation of it, and additions to it, in the german papers of the Göttingen Society, Vol. 1, p. 211, &c.

representations of the gods were prohibited, ever made any great advancement in the imitative arts.

But as the gods of the greeks were introduced by poetry and song, and animated them in majestic forms, what could be more natural, than that the imitative arts should become the nurslings of the muse, who poured into their ear those splendid forms? From the poets the artist learned the history of the gods, and consequently the manner, in which he was to delineate them: hence the first artists rejected not the most terrible representations, while such the poets sung*. In time more pleasing delineations succeeded, poetry itself assuming more agreeable features: and thus Homer was the parent of the improvement of the fine arts of the greeks, as he was of their poetry. From him Phidias derived the exalted idea of his Jupiter, which was followed by the other performances of this sculptor of gods †. From the genealogies and affinities of the gods in the relations of the poets, determinate characters, or family features, entered into their representations, till at length the received poetical tradition became a law for the figures of the gods, throughout the realms of art. Thus no people of antiquity could possess the arts of the greeks, who had not also the grecian poetry and mythology, and who acquired not their cultivation in a similar manner. But such are not to be found in history; and consequently the greeks, with their homeric arts, remain alone.

Hence may be explained the ideal creation of grecian art, which arose neither from the profound philosophy of the artists, nor the natural conformation of the people, but from the causes, that have been developed. Unquestionably it was a fortunate circumstance, that the greeks, considered in the whole, were beautifully formed; though this form must not be extended to every individual greek, as a model of ideal beauty. In Greece, as every where else, copious Nature did not submit to be checked in the thousandfold variation of the human figure; and, if Hippocrates may be believed, as among others, so among the greeks, deforming accidents and maladies were to be found. But admitting all this, and taking into the account many happy opportunities, when the artist could exalt a beautiful youth into an Apollo, and a Phryne or a *Lais* into a goddess of love; this would not explain the received ideal of the deities, which was established as a rule among the artists. Perhaps it is as little probable, that a head of Jupiter should ever have been found on a human body, as that the Jupiter of Homer actually existed in this World. The great anatomical draughtsman Camper was clearly shown on what deeply meditated rules

* See Heyne *ueber den Kasten des Kypselus*,
• On the Coffer of Kypselus, &c.

† *Diis quam hominibus fingendis aptior.*
Plin. F.

the ideal form of the grecian artist was constructed* : but to these rules the representations of the poets, and the aim of producing religious veneration, alone could have led. If, therefore, you would produce a new Greece in images of the gods, give a people again this poetic mythological superstition, with every thing belonging to it, in all its natural simplicity. Travel through Greece, and contemplate its temples, grottoes, and sacred groves ; you will soon relinquish the thought, even in wish, of exalting to the height of grecian art a people totally ignorant of such a religion, that is, of such a lively superstition, which filled every town, every spot, every nook, with the presence of an innate divinity.

2. All the heroic fables of the greeks, particularly when they relate to the progenitors of their race, are in a similar predicament ; for they too passed through the minds of the poets, and in part lived in eternal song : accordingly the artist, who made them his subjects, copied their history with a sort of religious regard to the poets, to gratify the pride of his countrymen, and their attachment to their ancestors. The most ancient history of the arts, and a view of the grecian performances, confirm this. Graves, shields, altars, holy places, and temples, preserved the remembrance of their forefathers ; and on these, in many tribes, the labours of the artist were employed from the most ancient times. All warlike nations throughout the World painted and adorned their shields : the greeks went farther ; they engraved, or cast and carved upon them memorials of their ancestors. Hence the early performances of Vulcan in very ancient poets : hence in Hesiod the shield of Hercules with the achievements of Perseus. With shields came representations of this kind upon the altars of heroes, or other family memorials ; as the coffer of Kypselus shows, the figures on which were completely in the style of Hesiod's shield. Noble works of this kind are of earlier date than the age of Dedalus ; and as many temples of the gods were originally tombs †, in them the memory of their ancestors, their heroes, and their deities, came so near together, that they coalesced almost into one adoration, at least into one spring of the arts. Hence the ancient stories of their heroes represented on the drapery of their gods, and by the side of the altar and the throne : hence the pictures in honour of the deceased frequently in the market place of the city, or the herms and columns on graves. If to these we add the innumerable works of art presented to the temples of the gods by states, families, or individuals, as memorials, or votive offerings of gratitude ; and frequently adorned, according to custom, with

* Camper's *Kleinere Schriften*, 'Smaller Tracts,' p. 18 and foll.

† As, for example, the temple of Pallas at Larissa was the tomb of Acrisius ; that of Mi-

nerva Polias at Athens, the tomb of Erichonius ; the throne of Amyclus, the tomb of Hyacinthus, &c.

subjects from the history of their progenitors, or heroes; what other people can boast such an incentive to the most diversified art? Our galleries of ancestors, filled with the portraits of forgotten forefathers, are nothing in comparison with these; as all Greece was full of stories, and poems, and sacred places, of their gods, and heroic progenitors. Every thing was connected with the bold idea, that gods were related to them; that superiour men, and heroes, were but an inferior order of deities: and this idea their poets had infused.

With this regard to national and family fame, by which the arts were promoted, I reckon the grecian games. These were instituted by their heroes, and festivals to their memory: beside this, they were public acts of worship to the gods, and practices highly advantageous both to poetry and the imitative arts. Not merely that youths, partly naked, exercised themselves in various contests and feats of activity, and thus presented living models to the artists; but rather as by these exercises their bodies were rendered susceptible of a finer form, and these juvenile victories preserved in their minds an active remembrance of the fame of their relations, their progenitors, and their heroes. From Pindar, and from history, we know how highly these victories were held in estimation throughout all Greece, and with what emulation they were fought. The whole town of the conqueror was honoured by them: the family of the victor was raised to a level with the gods and heroes of old. On this turns the economy of Pindar's odes: works of art, which he raised to a value higher than that of statues. On this depended the honour of the tomb, or statue, commonly a work of fancy, which the victor could claim. By this successful emulation of his heroic ancestors he was raised to something more than man, and became a kind of god. Where now could such games be instituted, equally prized, and equal in consequences?

3. The political institutions of the greeks likewise promoted the arts: not so much because they were republics, as because these republics employed the artists on grand works. Greece was divided into many states; and in these the arts were fostered, whether they were governed by archons, or by kings. For these kings were greeks; and every demand for the arts, whether springing from religion or family tales, was their demand: frequently, too, they were the high-priests. Thus from remote periods the decoration of their palaces was distinguished by precious relics of their ancestors or heroic friends, as Homer relates. But the republican constitutions, which in time were diffused throughout all Greece, gave a wider scope to the arts. In a commonwealth, edifices for the assembly of the people, for the public treasure, for general exercise and amusement, were necessary; and thus arose, in Athens, for example, the magnificent gymnasia,

theatres, and galleries, the Odeum and Prytaneum, the Pnyx, &c. As in the grecian republics every thing was conducted in the name of the people, or of the town, nothing, that concerned their tutelary deities, or the grandeur of their name, was too costly; while individuals, and even the principal citizens, satisfied themselves with less sumptuous habitations. This public spirit of doing every thing, in appearance at least, for the community was the soul of the grecian states; as Winkelmann no doubt considered, when he esteemed the liberty of the grecian republics the golden age of the arts. In them grandeur and magnificence were not so divided as in modern times, but concentrated in whatever pertained to the state. Pericles flattered the people with these notions of fame, and did more for the arts, than ten kings of Athens would have done. Every thing he built was in the grand style, as it was for the gods, and the immortal city: and assuredly few of the grecian towns and islands would have erected such edifices, or promoted such works of art, had they not been separate republics, emulous of each other's fame. Besides, as in democratic states the leaders of the people must endeavour to please the public, what means could they more advantageously employ, than such kinds of expense, as, while they tended to propitiate the tutelary deities, were calculated to gratify the eyes of the people, and afford subsistence to many?

This expense, no doubt, had consequences, from which Humanity would willingly avert her eyes. The rigour with which the athenians oppressed those whom they conquered, and even their colonies; the robberies and wars, in which the states of Greece were perpetually involved; the severe services, which the citizens themselves had to perform for the state; and many other things; rendered the grecian states not the most desirable: but even these grievances were subservient to the public arts. The temples of the gods were for the most part held sacred even by the enemy; and such temples as the enemy destroyed arose more splendid from their ashes on a reverse of fortune. From the spoils of the persians a more magnificent Athens was built: and, in almost every successful war, part of the booty that belonged to the state was sacrificed to one or other of the arts. Even in later times, Athens maintained the glory of her name, by her edifices and statues, in spite of all the ravages of the romans: for several emperors, kings, heroes, and wealthy individuals, were emulous to preserve and adorn a city, which was the acknowledged parent of all refined taste. Hence under the macedonian empire we perceive the arts of the greeks did not perish; they only changed their seat. Even in remote countries the grecian kings were still greeks, and cherished the grecian arts. Thus Alexander, and several of his successors, built splendid cities in Asia and Africa. Rome, and other nations, too, learned

from the greeks, when their countries were ripe for the arts : for throughout the whole Earth appeared but one grecian art, and style of architecture.

4. The climate of the greeks, too, afforded food for the beautiful in the arts ; not principally from the human figure, which depends more on descent than on climate ; but from it's convenient situation for the materials of the arts, and the erection of the performances of the artist. Their country afforded them the fine parian and other marbles : ivory, brass, and whatever else the arts required, they derived from a trade, of which they lay as in the centre. These even preceded in a certain degree the birth of their arts themselves ; as they were in a situation to obtain from Asia Minor, Phenicia, and other countries, valuable materials, which they yet knew not how to employ. Thus the seeds of their future talents in the arts were early sown ; particularly as their proximity to Asia Minor, their colonies in Græcia Magna, &c., excited in them a taste for luxury, and the enjoyments of life, which could not fail to promote the arts. The gay disposition of the greeks was by no means inclined to waste it's industry on uselefs pyramids. Individual towns and states indeed could never deviate into this wilderness of the monstrous. Thus, if we except perhaps the single Coloffus of Rhodes, even in their works of greatest magnitude they adhered to that beautiful proportion, in which the pleasing and sublime are united. For this their serene climate afforded them sufficient opportunity. It allowed them those numerous uncovered statues, altars, and temples ; and in particular the beautiful column, that pattern of simplicity, correctness, and proportion, the slender gracefulness of which could there supply the place of the fullen northern wall.

When we combine all these circumstances, it is obvious, how art could operate, in Ionia, Greece, and Sicily, in that correct and airy style, which the greeks exhibited in all their works of taste. By rules alone it is not to be learned : but it displays itself in the observation of rules ; and, though originally the inspiration of a happy genius, must become mechanical by continued practice. Even the meanest grecian artist was a greek in his manner ; we may excel him ; but the whole genetic spirit of grecian art we shall never attain : the genius of those times is gone by.

CHAPTER IV.

The moral and political Wisdom of the Greeks.

THE manners of the greeks were as different, as their descent, their country, and the way in which they lived, according to their degree of civilization, and the series of successes or misfortunes, in which the fates had placed them. The arcadians and athenians, the ionians and epirots, the spartans and sybarites, were so dissimilar to each other in age, situation, and mode of life, that I want skill to sketch out a deceptive picture of them as a whole, the features of which must appear more contradictory, than those of the genius of the athenians painted by Parrhasius *. Nothing remains for us, therefore, but to mark the general course taken by the moral culture of the greeks, and the manner in which it coalesced with their political institutions.

As the most ancient moral culture of all the nations upon Earth proceeded chiefly from their religion, so did that of the greeks, and it continued long in this track. The religious ceremonies, which were propagated through the means of the various mysteries, even when politics had attained a very considerable height; the sacred rights of hospitality, and of the protection of unfortunate fugitives; the inviolability of holy places; the belief in the furies and vengeance, that pursued even unpremeditated murder, and inflicted a curse upon a whole land for blood unexpiated; the practices of atonement, and appeasing the gods; the responses of the oracles; the sanctity of an oath, of the hearth, of the temples, of graves, &c.; were opinions and institutions, the prevalence of which was to unite a rude people, and gradually form demisavages to humanity †. That they happily accomplished their object, we perceive, when we compare the greeks with other nations: for it is incontestible, that through these institutions they were led, not to the gates of philosophy and political cultivation, but deep into their sanctuary. Of what important service to Greece was the oracle at Delphi alone! Its divine voice pointed out so many tyrants and.

* Pinxit demones atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso: volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque, et omnia pariter ostendere.' Plin. Hist. Nat.

lib. xxxv. c. 10.

† See Heyne on the Institutions of the first Grecian Legislators for the Softening of Manners, in *Opusc. academic.*, 'Academical Tracts,' Part I, p. 207.

villains, in warning them of their fate; and not less frequently did it succour the unfortunate, counsel those in need of advice, strengthen beneficial institutions with the authority of the gods, make known works of art or the muse that could reach it, and give a sanction to moral principles and maxims of state. Thus the rude verses of the oracle accomplished more than the most polished lines of later poets: and it had the greatest influence, as it took under its protection the amphictyons, the supreme judges and controllers of the states of all Greece, and gave their sentences in a certain degree the weight of religious laws. What has been proposed in modern times as the sole mean of establishing perpetual peace throughout Europe, a tribunal of amphictyons*, existed formerly among the greeks; and indeed near the throne of the god of truth and wisdom, who sanctified it by his authority.

With religion may be reckoned all those practices, which preserved to posterity the remembrance of their ancestors, from whose institutions they sprung for these continued to operate in the formation of their morals. Thus, for instance, the various public games gave a peculiar turn to education in Greece; as they made bodily exercises its principal object, and the excellencies acquired by them the aim of the whole nation. No tree ever produced such beautiful fruits, as the little branches of olive, ivy, and pine, which crowned the grecian victors. These rendered youth handsome, healthy, and gay; these gave their limbs suppleness, strength, and symmetry; these struck into their minds the first sparks of love of fame, even of posthumous fame, and impressed on them the indelible character of living publicly for their country; and lastly, what is of all most valuable, they rooted in their hearts that taste for manly intercourse, and manly friendship, for which the greeks were peculiarly distinguished. In Greece woman was not the supreme object of contest, to gain which the youth bent all his powers: the most beautiful Helen could have formed nothing but a Paris, had her possession or enjoyment been the only scope of manly endowment. The female sex, notwithstanding the fine patterns of every virtue it produced in Greece, remained a subordinate object: the thoughts of nobler youth were bent on something higher: the bands of friendship, which they formed with each other, or with more experienced men, trained them for a school, which no Aspasia could easily supply. Hence, in many states, the manly love of the greeks; with that emulation, that instruction, that constancy, and that sacrifice of self, the feelings and consequences of which we read in Plato almost as a romance from a foreign planet. Manly hearts united

* See *Œuvres par St. Pierre*; 'St. Pierre's Works,' Vol. I, and almost all his writings.

in bonds of love and friendship, that held till death : the friends displayed toward each other a sort of jealousy, which hunted out the minutest spots ; and each dreaded the other's eye, as a penetrating flame discovering the most secret inclinations of his mind. Youthful friendships are the sweetest ; and no sentiment is so desirable as the love of those, with whom we have exercised ourselves in the course of perfection, during the delightful years of our budding faculties : and this course was publicly prescribed to the greeks in their gymnasia, and in their military and political occupations, of which those sacred bands of lovers were the natural consequences. I am far from defending the depravity of manners, which in time sprung from the abuse of these institutions, particularly where youth exercised naked ; but, alas ! this abuse flowed from the character of the people, whose warm imagination, and love almost to madness of every thing beautiful, in which they placed the supreme enjoyment of the gods, rendered such disorders inevitable. Had these been privately performed, they would have been still more pernicious, as the history of all nations in warm climates, or of luxurious manners, sufficiently proves. Thus public institutions, and laudable aims, gave vent to the flame, that raged within : and thus it came under the coercive inspection of the laws, which employed it as an active engine for the purposes of the state.

Lastly. As triple Greece, situate in two quarters of the Globe, was divided into many tribes and states ; the moral culture, that appeared in various places, must have been genetic to each tribe, and political in such different ways, that this circumstance alone is sufficient, to explain the happy progress of grecian manners. The states of Greece were connected only by the gentlest bands ; a common religion and language, the oracles, the games, the tribunal of amphictyons, &c. ; or by descent and colonization ; and lastly by the remembrance of ancient common enterprises, poetry, and national fame : no despot compelled any farther union ; and even their common perils for a long time passed over without destructive consequences. Hence each tribe drew from the source of culture what it esteemed proper, and watered itself from what rivulet it thought fit. And this it did according to its wants ; though principally under the guidance of some superiour men, whom forming Nature sent. Even among the kings of Greece there were worthy sons of the ancient heroes, who had advanced with the times, and rendered not less service to their people by good laws, than their fathers had done by their celebrated valour. Thus, excepting the first founders of colonies, Minos was particularly eminent among royal legislators, who formed to war his valiant cretans, the inhabitants of a mountainous island, and was a pattern in aftertimes for Lycurgus. He was the first, that checked the pirates, and gave

security to the Egean sea; the first general founder of morals by sea and land. That several monarchs resembled him in being the authors of good institutions, appears from the histories of Athens, Syracuse, and other kingdoms. But, it must be confessed, the activity of mankind in moral cultivation, as connected with the state, assumed a very different appearance, when most of the grecian monarchies were converted into republics: a revolution, certainly one of the most memorable in all the history of mankind. It was not possible in any country but Greece, where a number of individual nations had continued to cherish the remembrance of their origin and race, even under their kings. Every people considered itself as a distinct political body, which possessed the same right to form its own institutions as its wandering ancestors: none of the grecian tribes were sold at the will of an hereditary succession of kings. From this it does not follow, that the new government was better than the old: almost every where the principal and most powerful persons ruled instead of a king, so that in many cities there was less order, and an insupportable oppression of the people: yet thus the die was cast, and mankind, as emerging from a state of pupillage, learned to think for themselves concerning their political constitution. Accordingly the era of the grecian republics was the first step of the human mind toward manhood, respecting the important question, how men should govern men. All the mistakes and errors of the governments of Greece are to be considered as the essays of youth, which commonly learns to be wise only from misfortune.

Thus in many states and colonies, that had become free, men of wisdom rose up, and acted as the guardians of the people. They saw the evils under which their fellow-citizens suffered, and turned their thoughts to a constitution, erected on the laws and manners of the community. Most of these ancient grecian sages filled some public office, were governors of the people, counsellors of the king, or leaders of armies: for from such men of rank alone could proceed a political culture, exerting effective influence on the people. Even Lycurgus, Draco, Solon, were of the first families of the state, or members of administration: in their times the evils of aristocracy, and the discontents of the people, had reached the highest pitch; and hence arose the ready reception of the improved institutions they proposed. These men will inherit immortal praise, for that, possessing the confidence of the people, they declined the sovereign power, both for themselves and their posterity; and applied all their industry, all their knowledge of men and of the world, to a commonwealth, that is, to the state as a state. If their first attempts were far from the summit of perfection, far from being eternal masterpieces of human institutions; such they

were not to be: their excellence was local, and their authors were frequently compelled against their will, to adapt them to the manners of the community, and its radical evils. Lycurgus had a freer scope than Solon; but he recurred to times too remote, and founded a state on such principles, as if the World were to persevere eternally in the heroic age of uncultivated youth. He gave perpetuity to his laws without waiting for their effects; and to a mind like his it would have been the severest punishment, could he have looked through all the periods of grecian history, to perceive the consequences they occasioned to his own state, and sometimes to all Greece, partly by their abuse, and partly by too long continuance. The laws of Solon were injurious in another way. He himself outlived their spirit: the evil consequences of popular government he foresaw, and they remained evident to the wisest and best of his city, even to the last gasp of Athens*. But this is some time or other the fate of all human institutions, particularly the most difficult, those that concern countries and people. Time and nature alter every thing; and shall not men's way of life be changed? With every new generation a new way of thinking arises, however government and education may adhere to their ancient modes. New wants and dangers, new advantages of conquest, wealth, or increasing dignity, and even increase of population, augment the tide: and how can yesterday remain today? or the ancient law be an eternal law? The law is retained, but probably in appearance only; and, alas! chiefly in its abuses, the sacrifice of which appears too severe to selfish and indolent men. This was the case with the laws of Lycurgus, Solon, Romulus, and Moses, and all that outlived their day.

Hence it is very affecting to hear the words of these legislators in their later years: they are commonly the voice of complaint; for they lived long, they outlived themselves. Such are the words of Moses and of Solon, in the few fragments we have of them: nay, if we exclude mere moral maxims, almost all the reflections of the grecian sages have a plaintive tone. They perceived the mutable destiny and happiness of men, which the laws of nature confine to narrow limits, sadly perplexed by their own conduct, and lamented it. They lamented the transitoriness of human life, and blooming youth; and they contemplated old age, often poor and diseased, but always weak and despised. They lamented the success of the impudent, and the sorrows of the well-meaning; but they omitted not to recommend in an affecting tone to the members of their community the most effectual weapons against these, prudence and a sound

* See Xenophon on the Commonwealth of the Athenians; also Plato, Aristotle, &c.

understanding, moderation of the passions and quiet industry, simplicity and true friendship, steadfastness and inflexibility of mind, reverence for the gods and love of our country. Even in the remains of the later grecian comedies these plaintive tones of gentle humanity are heard*.

Thus in spite of all the evil consequences, and in part horrible, to the helots, pelasgians, colonies, foreigners, and enemies, that proceeded from many grecian states; we cannot overlook the noble sublimity of that public spirit, which flourished, in it's day, in Lacedemon, Athens, Thebes, and, in a certain degree, in every part of Greece. It is unquestionably true, that, as it flowed not from particular laws of one particular man, it flourished not equally at all times, and in every member of the state: yet it flourished among the greeks, as even their unjust and jealous wars, their severest oppressions, and the most perfidious traitors to their civic virtue, evince. The monumental inscription of the spartans that fell at Thermopylæ,

- * Traveller, tell at Sparta,
- * That here we lie, slain in obedience to her laws,'

will for ever remain the fundamental principle of supreme political virtue; which, after the lapse of two thousand years, gives us only to lament, that once indeed it was the maxim of a few spartans, with regard to some rigid patrician laws of a narrow country, but never became a principle for the pure laws of collective mankind. The principle itself is the highest, that men could invent and practice for their liberty and happiness. The same may be said of the constitution of Athens, though it struck into a very different path. For if enlightening the people with regard to those things, in which they are most concerned, ought to be the object of a political establishment, Athens was unquestionably the most enlightened city throughout the whole World. Neither Paris nor London, neither Rome nor Babylon, and still less Memphis, Jerusalem, Peking, or Benares, can enter into competition with it. Now as *patriotism*, and an *enlightened mind*, are the two poles, round which all the moral cultivation of mankind revolves, Athens and Sparta will ever be remembered as the two grand stages, on which human politics first exercised themselves in this career with youthful animation. The other grecian states for the most part only followed these two grand examples; and a few, that refused to copy the constitutions of Athens and Lacedæmon, fell a prey to conquest.

The philosophy of history, however, considers not so much what was actually done by feeble men on these two points of the Earth, during the short period

* Of this elsewhere.

of their operations, as what followed from the principles of their institutions with regard to mankind in general. In spite of all their faults, the names of Lycurgus and Solon, Miltiades and Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Agefilaus, Agis, Cleomenes, Dion, Timoleon, and others, will live with eternal fame; while Alcibiades, Conon, Pausanias, Lysander, men equally great, will be mentioned with reproach, as subverters of the public spirit of Greece, or traitors to their country. Without an Athens, even the modest virtue of Socrates could scarcely have produced such blossoms as it afterwards did in some of his scholars: for Socrates was no more than a citizen of Athens, and all his wisdom was only the wisdom of an athenian citizen, which he propagated in domestic dialogues. With regard to the wisdom of common life we are indebted to Athens alone for the most and best in all ages.

As little can be said of practical virtues, we must yet bestow a few words on institutions, of which only an athenian popular government was susceptible, the forum and the stage. Orators before a tribunal, and particularly on affairs of state, where immediate decision follows, are dangerous instruments; and their bad consequences are sufficiently obvious in the history of Athens. Yet as they presume a people, that have knowledge, or at least are capable of having knowledge of every public business, that is brought before them; the athenian people, notwithstanding all their parties, remain alone in history, being scarcely equalled even by the romans. For the business itself, to elect or try a general, to decide on peace and war, life and death, and every public affair of state, a turbulent mob was certainly unfit: yet the conduct of this business, and all the arts employed in it, opened even the ears of the unruly mob, and gave them that enlightened mind, that propensity to political conversation, with which all the asiatic nations were unacquainted. Eloquence, thus exercised before the public, rose to such a height, as it no where attained, except in Greece and Rome, and as it never can or will reach again, till perhaps popular oratory is united with the universal diffusion of true knowledge. The object is unquestionably great; though in Athens the means fell short of the end. It was the same with the athenian stage. This exhibited plays for the people, popular, sublime, and ingenious: but with Athens it's history is no more; as the narrow circle of determinate subjects, passions, and views, to work upon it's people, could scarcely revive for the mixed multitude of another race, and a different political constitution. The moral cultivation of the greeks, therefore, must never be measured, either in their public history, or in their orators and dramatic poets, by the standard of abstract morality; for in

neither of them was such a standard followed *. History shows, how the greeks, in every period, were all, that their situation permitted, both of good and of bad. The orator shows, with what eyes he viewed parties in the pursuit of his profession, and with what colours it was necessary to his purpose to portray them. The dramatic poet brought on the stage such characters as preceding times afforded, or as it suited his object to exhibit to his particular audience. Conclusions respecting the morality or immorality of the people at large drawn from these would be groundless: yet no one will dispute, that the greeks, at certain periods, and in certain cities, were the most ingenious, gay, and enlightened people of their world, according to the circle of objects then before them. The citizens of Athens afforded generals, orators, sophists, judges, statesmen, and artists, as education, propensity, choice, fate, or accident, directed; and in one greek many of the best and noblest qualities were often united.

CHAPTER V.

Scientific Acquirements of the Greeks.

IT is doing justice to no people upon Earth, to judge of them by a foreign standard of science: yet this has been done to the greeks, as well as to many asiatic nations, and they have often been unjustly loaded both with blame and praise. The greeks were unacquainted with any speculative system of doctrines respecting God and the human soul: the inquiries concerning them were private opinions, in which every philosopher was free, so long as he observed the religious rites of his country, and rendered himself obnoxious to no political party. In Greece the human mind had on this point, as it generally has, to fight it's way; and in this at length it was crowned with success.

The grecian philosophy proceeded from ancient tales of the gods and theogonies; and much indeed was spun from them by the fine invention of the greeks. The fictions of the births of the gods, of the conflicts of the elements, of the love and hatred of beings towards each other, were so improved in various directions by their different schools, that we may almost say, they had advanced as far as ourselves, when we invent cosmogonies without the aid of natural history. Nay in some respects they advanced farther; as their minds were more at liberty, and no preconceived hypothesis biassed them in their course. Even

* See the introduction to Gillies's Translation of the Orations of Lyfias and Isocrates, with other similar works, in which Greece is estimated from it's orators and poets.

the numbers of Pythagoras, and other philosophers, are bold attempts, to associate the knowledge of things with the simplest idea of the human mind, a clearly conceived magnitude : but as natural philosophy and mathematics were then in their infancy, the attempt was premature. Yet, like the systems of many other grecian philosophers, it will ever excite in us a degree of veneration ; as these in general, each in it's particular sphere, were the fruits of profound reflection and extensive comprehension : many of them are founded on truths and observations, of which, perhaps to the advantage of science, we have since lost sight. That none of the ancient philosophers conceived god, for instance, as a being distinct from the World, or a pure metaphysical monad, but all adhered to the idea of a soul of the World, was perfectly consonant to the childhood of human philosophy, and perhaps will for ever remain consonant to it. It is to be lamented, that we are acquainted with the boldest opinions of philosophers only from mutilated accounts, but not systematically from their own works : still more is it to be regretted, however, that we are disinclined to place ourselves in their times, and eager to intrude on them our way of thinking. In general ideas every nation has it's particular way of seeing, founded for the most part on the mode of expression, that is to say, on tradition : and as the philosophy of the greeks arose from poems and allegories, this gave to their abstract ideas a peculiar stamp, to themselves perfectly clear. Even the allegories of Plato are not merely ornamental : their images are like the classical sentences of old times, ingenious developements of ancient poetical traditions.

The inquiries of the greeks were principally directed to the philosophy of man and morals ; as the time in which they lived, and their political constitution, led them particularly this way. Natural history, mathematics, and natural philosophy, were yet in their rudiments ; and the implements of modern discovery were not invented. Every thing, on the other hand, attracted them toward the nature and manners of mankind. This was the predominant tone of the poetry, history, and political institutions of the greeks : every citizen felt the necessity of knowing his fellow-citizens, and was occasionally liable to be chosen to public offices, which he could not refuse to fill : the passions and active powers of men had then freer play, they suffered not even the retired philosopher to pass unnoticed : to govern men, or to perform the part of an effective member of society, was the predominant propensity of every ambitious grecian soul. It is nothing wonderful, therefore, that the philosophy of the metaphysician should be occupied on the improvement of morals or the state, as we find in Pythagoras, Plato, and even Aristotle. As citizens they

had no call to found states: Pythagoras was not as Lycurgus, Solon, and others, a sovereign, or an archon: and the greater part of his philosophy was speculative, bordering even on superstition. Yet in his school were educated men, whose influence on the states of Græcia Magna was very great; and the society of his disciples, if fate had allowed it longer duration, would probably have been the most efficacious, as it certainly was a very pure engine for the improvement of mankind*. But even this step of a man far superiour to the age in which he lived was premature: the wealthy, sybaritish cities of Græcia Magna, and their tyrants, desired no such censors of morals, and the pythagoreans were martyred.

It is an often repeated encomium, though in my opinion exaggerated, of the benevolent Socrates, that he was the first and chief, who called philosophy from Heaven down to Earth, and imparted to man the boon of morality. This encomium at most is valid only with regard to the person of Socrates, and the narrow circle of his own life. Long before him there were sages, who had actively inculcated morals upon mankind; as this was the distinguishing character of grecian lore, even from the fabulous Orpheus †. Pythagoras, too, laid much more extensive foundations for the improvement of men's morals by his disciples, than Socrates was capable of doing by means of all his friends. That Socrates was not fond of sublime abstract speculations arose from his situation, and the circle of his knowledge, though chiefly from the time and his mode of life. The systems of imagination, without farther natural experiments, were exhausted; and the grecian wisdom was become the wordy play of sophists; so that it required no great effort, to despise or throw aside, what was incapable of being carried to a higher pitch. His demon, his native integrity, and the domestic course of his life, guarded him against the dazzling spirit of the sophists; and offered to his philosophy the proper object of man, which had such beneficial effects on almost all with whom he conversed. These effects, however were promoted by the time, the place, and the circle, in which Socrates lived. Elsewhere the philosophic citizen would have been a virtuous and enlightened man, yet probably we should never have heard of his name; for no invention, no new doctrine, peculiar to himself, marks him in the book of Time: his method and manner of life, the moral cultivation, which he gave himself, and endeavoured to impart to others, and more particularly the manner of his death, point him out as a pattern to mankind.

* See the history of this society in Meiners's *Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Griechenland und Rom*, 'History of the Sciences in Greece and Rome,' Vol. I.

Homeri querunt, quem Socrates præ omnibus semper rebus sibi esse cordi dicebat;

Ὅτι τοι ἐν μάχεσσι κακὸς ἔσθ' ἀγαθὸς τε τίτληται.
Gellius, xiv. 6. F.

† *Mæx noctes—de uno maximè illo versu*

Much is requisite to form a Socrates; above all the valuable talent of being satisfied with little, and that exquisite taste for moral beauty, which in himself he seems to have refined into a sort of instinct: yet let us not exalt this modest worthy man above the sphere, in which Providence fixed him. He educated few scholars completely worthy of himself: because his wisdom belonged as it were to the household stuff of his own life; and his excellent method was easily susceptible of degenerating, in the mouths of his immediate disciples, into jest and sophistry, if the ironical questioner possessed not the same stamp of heart and mind as Socrates. Even if we impartially compare his two most celebrated disciples, Xenophon and Plato, we shall find, to use his own modest expression, that he was only the midwife of their natural genius; whence they appear so unlike each other. The most distinguished parts of their works evidently flow from their own way of thinking; and the best thanks they could pay the teacher they loved, were to exhibit his moral picture. It was much to be wished, however, that the scholars of Socrates could have infused his spirit into all the laws and political institutions of Greece: but history shows, that this was not done. He lived at the period, when Athens had attained her highest polish; but at the same time the Grecian states were most at variance with each other: this conjunction of circumstances could not fail to be succeeded by unfortunate times, and the declension of manners; and these soon effected the downfall of Grecian liberty. Against these they were not protected by Socratic wisdom, which was too pure and delicate, to sway the fate of a people. Xenophon, the statesman and general, pointed out defects in the constitution, which he possessed not the power to amend. Plato created an ideal republic, which was no where carried into practice, and least of all in the court of Dionysius. In short, the philosophy of Socrates was more beneficial to mankind, than to Greece; and this is unquestionably its noblest praise.

Far different was the spirit of Aristotle, the most acute, firm, and dry, perhaps, that ever guided the style. His philosophy, indeed, is more the philosophy of the schools, than of common life; particularly in those of his writings which we possess, and in the manner in which they are used: but abstract reason and science have gained so much the more in him, so that in this sphere he stands alone as the monarch of the times. That the schoolmen, for the most part, attended to his metaphysics only, was not the fault of Aristotle, but their own; yet these incredibly sharpened human reason. They put into the hands of barbarous nations implements, by which the obscure dreams of fancy and tradition were first converted into sophisms, and thus gradually destroyed themselves. His better works, however, his natural history and physics, ethics,

politics, poetics, and rhetoric, still want much happy application. It is to be regretted, that his historical works are lost, and that of his natural history we have only abstracts. Let those, however, who deny the greeks the spirit of pure science, read Aristotle and Euclid, writers, never excelled in their kind : then, too, it was the merit of Plato and Aristotle, to awaken the spirit of natural knowledge and mathematics, which in greatness soars beyond all moralising, and labours for all ages. Many of their scholars promoted astronomy, botany, anatomy, and other sciences ; while Aristotle himself, with his natural history alone, formed the basis of an edifice, in the completion of which ages yet to come will find employment. In Greece were laid the foundations of every thing knowable in science, as of every thing beautiful in form : alas ! that fate has allowed us so little of the works of its profoundest philosophers ! What remains is excellent : but, perhaps, the most excellent is gone.

It will not be expected of me to go through the separate sciences of mathematics, physic, natural knowledge, and all the fine arts, to give a string of names of those, who, as inventors or improvers, have served as the groundwork of every thing scientific in them to all subsequent ages. It is universally known, that Asia and Egypt have given us, properly speaking, no true form of knowledge in any art or science : for such we have to thank the acute methodical spirit of the greeks alone. Now as it is a determinate form of knowledge, that effects their augmentation or improvement in future times, we are indebted to the greeks for the basis of almost all our sciences. Let them have appropriated to themselves as many foreign ideas as they pleased, so much the better for us : it is sufficient that they methodised them, and aimed at clearer knowledge. In this the various schools of the greeks were what their several republics were in politics, emulous powers contending together for one common object : without this division so much would not have been done for science even in Greece. The ionian, italian, and athenian schools, though they had one common language, were parted by lands and seas : each therefore could separately take root, and when it was engrafted, or transplanted, bore so much the finer fruit. No one of the early philosophers was paid by the state, or even by his scholars : he thought for himself ; he invented from love of science, or from love of fame. Those whom he instructed were not children, but youths, or men ; and frequently men who bore the most important offices in the state. Men did not write then for annual fairs of literature ; but their thoughts were so much the more perseveringly and profoundly employed : at the same time, in the fine climate of Greece, the temperate philosopher could think undisturbed by care, as little was required for his support.

In the mean time, we must not here refuse monarchy the praise it deserves. No one of the grecian republics was capable of affording Aristotle that assistance in natural history, which he received from his royal scholar: still less could the sciences that require leisure and expense, as mathematics, astronomy, &c., have made the advancement they did in Alexandria, without the establishments founded by the Ptolemies. To these we are indebted for an Euclid, an Eratosthenes, Apollonius Pergæus, Ptolemy, and others, who laid the foundations of sciences, on which not only the present system of learning rests, but, in a certain degree, the government of the whole World. That the period of grecian eloquence and popular philosophy ended with the republics, was not without its advantages: these had born their fruits; but other germes of science, springing from grecian minds, were necessary to the human understanding. We readily forgive the egyptian Alexandria for the inferiority of her poets*; she made ample compensation in good astronomers and mathematicians. Poets form themselves: diligence and practice alone make accurate observers.

There are three subjects, in particular, to which the grecian philosophy opened the path, in a manner that could scarcely have been accomplished in any other part of the World: language, history, and the arts. The language of the greeks received such abundant richness and beauty from their poets, orators, and philosophers, that in later times the instrument itself, when incapable of being applied to such brilliant ends in public life, attracted no inconsiderable attention. Hence the art of the grammarians, who were in part actual philosophers. Time indeed has robbed us of the greater part of these writers; though the sense of this loss is deadened by that of many greater: their influence, however, has not been obliterated; for the study of the greek language emitted sparks, at which that of the latin, and of the philosophy of language in general, caught fire. Nay hence sprung the study of the oriental dialects of Hither Asia: for it was from the greek, that men learned to reduce the hebrew, arabic, and other languages, to rules.

In like manner a philosophy of the arts was thought of no where but in Greece; where, from a happy impulse of nature, and a sure habitual taste, poets and artists carried into practice a philosophy of the beautiful, before its rules were analyzed. Thus from the astonishing emulation in epic and dramatic poetry, and in public speaking, a criticism was necessarily formed, to which ours can scarcely be compared. A few late fragments of it only, the writings

* See Heyne on the Genius of the Age of the Ptolemies, in *Opusc. acad.*, 'Academical Tracts,' Part I, p. 76 and foll.

of Aristotle excepted, have come down to us ; but these evince the refined penetration of the grecian critics.

Lastly, the philosophy of history belongs particularly to Greece ; for the greeks alone possessed what might properly be called history. The orientals had their genealogies and fables ; the northern nations, their tales ; others, their poems : the greeks, in process of time, formed from tales, poems, fables, and genealogies, the sound body of a narrative, through all the members of which the current of vitality flows. Here, too, it's ancient poetry led the way, for it is not easy to relate a fable in a more pleasing manner, than was done in the epic poem : the division of the subject into rhapsodies introduced similar pauses in history, and the long hexameter was well adapted soon to form the melody of historical prose. Thus Herodotus succeeded Homer ; and the subsequent historians of the commonwealths introduced their colouring, the spirit of republican oratory, into their narration. Now as with Thucydides and Xenophon the grecian history proceeded from Athens, and it's writers were themselves statesmen and generals, their history naturally became a collection of facts and reasonings upon them, without their seeking to give them this philosophical form. The public orations, the intricacy of grecian affairs, the animated appearance of events and their motives, prompted such a form ; and we may confidently assert, that no philosophical history would have been known to the World, had the grecian republics never existed. In proportion as the military art and the science of politics developed themselves, the philosophical spirit of history was rendered more elaborate ; till at length it became in the hands of Polybius almost the sciences of war and politics themselves. In models of this kind subsequent speculators had ample materials for their remarks ; and the Dionysiuses had certainly ampler opportunities to acquire the rudiments of history, than a chinese, a jew, or even a roman could have possessed.

As we thus find the greeks so rich and successful in every exercise of the mind, in poetical, oratorical, philosophical, scientific, and historical works ; why, Fate of the times, hast thou deprived us of so many of them ? Where are the Amazonia of Homer, his Thebaid and Iphigene, his Iambics, and his Margites ? Where are the many lost pieces of Archilochus, Simonides, Alcæus, and Pindar ; the eighty three tragedies of Æschylus, the hundred and eighteen of Sophocles ; and the innumerable performances of tragic, comic, and lyric poets, the greatest philosophers, the most indispensable historians, the most memorable mathematicians, natural philosophers, and others, that have perished ? For one work of Democritus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Polybius, or

Euclid; for one tragedy of Æschylus, Sophocles, and so many others; for one comedy of Aristophanes, Philemon, or Menander; for one ode of Sappho or Alcæus; for the lost natural and political history of Aristotle, or for the five and thirty books of Polybius; who would not give a mountain of modern writings, his own the first in the heap, to heat the baths of Alexandria for a twelvemonth? But the iron foot of destiny takes a far different course, regardless of the immortality of individual performances in science, or in art. The grand Propylæum of Athens, all the temples of the gods, those magnificent palaces, walls, colossuses, columns, seats, aqueducts, streets, altars, which the ancients erected for eternity, have fallen beneath the fury of the conqueror; and should a few feeble leaves of human industry and reflection be spared? Rather is it a subject of wonder, that we have so many; too many, perhaps, for us to have used them all as they ought to have been used. In conclusion, let us now consider the history of Greece as a whole, after having thus gone through it's parts: it instructively carries it's philosophy with it, step by step.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Revolutions of Greece.

HOWEVER abundant the revolutions, that embroil the pages of grecian history, the threads of them lead to a few principal points, the natural laws of which are clear. For,

1. That in the three tracts of land, with their islands and peninsulas, which constituted Greece, many tribes and colonies, from the higher countries and the sea, should migrate from place to place, settle, and expel one another, is conformable to the universal history of the ancient world in similar tracts of land and sea. But here the migration was more animated, as the populous northern mountains, and the extensive country of Asia, were near; and the spirit of enterprise was kept in great activity by a series of adventures, the tales of which were current. This is the history of Greece for about seven hundred years.

2. That different degrees of cultivation, and from different quarters, must have come to these tribes, follows equally from the nature of the country, and of circumstances. They spread from the north; they passed over from different parts of the neighbouring civilized regions, and settled in different ways in different places. At length the predominating hellenes gave uniformity to the whole, and stamped the character of the grecian language and way of thinking.

Now the seeds of cultivation, thus introduced, must have germinated very differently and unequally in Asia Minor, in Græcia Magna, and in Greece properly so called: but this variety aided the grecian spirit by means of transplantation and rivalry: for it is an acknowledged fact, both in the history of plants and animals, that the same seed does not eternally flourish on the same spot, but produces more perfect and racy fruits, if transplanted at proper seasons.

3. The separate states, from originally small monarchies, in time became aristocracies, and some of them democracies: both were often in danger of falling again under the will of one ruler; the democracies most frequently. This, too, is the natural progress of political establishments in their early youth. The chief people of the tribe thought proper to withdraw themselves from obedience to the will of a monarch; and, as the people were unable to guide themselves, they became their guides. But according as the occupation, the spirit, and the institutions of the people were, they remained under these leaders, or assumed a share in the government. The former was the case in Lacedæmon; the latter, in Athens. The causes of this may be found in the circumstances and constitutions of the two cities. In Sparta the regents strictly watched each other, so that no tyrant could arise: in Athens the people were more than once decoyed into a tyranny, either avowed or concealed. Both towns, with all they effected, were as natural consequences of their situation, epoch, constitution, and circumstances, as any natural production could be.

4. Several republics, pitted as it were more or less against each other, by common occupations, boundaries, or some other interest, but still more by martial spirit and love of fame, would soon find causes of quarrel: the most powerful first; and these, when they could, would draw others to their party, till one obtained a preponderance. This was the case in the long wars between the juvenile states of Greece, particularly between Lacedæmon and Athens, and latterly Thebes. The wars were carried on with animosity, rigour, and often barbarity: as all wars will be, in which every citizen and soldier takes a common part. They mostly originated from trifles, or points of honour, as battles among youths generally arise: and what appears singular, though it is not so by any means, every vanquishing party, Lacedæmon in particular, sought to impose its laws and constitution on the vanquished, as if these would indelibly impress on it the marks of defeat. For aristocracy is a sworn enemy to tyranny, as well as to popular government.

5. The wars of the greeks, however, considered as to the manner in which they were conducted, were not the mere incursions of savages: in time they developed

the whole spirit of war and politics, which has ever turned the wheel of events *. Even the greeks knew the necessities of a state, and the sources of it's wealth and power, which they often endeavoured to create, though in a rude way. They understood the meaning too of the balance of power between the republics, and the different ranks in the state ; of secret and open confederacies ; of stratagems of war ; of preventing, abandoning, &c. Both in military and political affairs, the most expert of the romans, and of the moderns, have learned from the greeks : for however military manœuvres may change, with change of weapons, times, and the circumstances of the World ; the spirit of man, which invents, deceives, conceals it's purposes, attacks, defends, advances, retreats, discovers the weakness of an enemy, and in this way or that avails itself of advantages, or abuses them, will remain at all times the same.

6. The war with the persians makes the first grand era in grecian history. It was occasioned by the asiatic colonies, which had been unable to resist the spirit of conquest of the vast oriental monarchy, but, accustomed to be free, fought the earliest opportunity, to shake off the yoke. ¶ That the athenians sent twenty ships to their aid, arose from the pride of democracy ; for Cleomenes, the spartan, had refused them assistance : and with their twenty ships they led all Greece into the wildest war. When once it had commenced, however, it was a prodigy of valour, that a few inconsiderable states should gain important victories over two great kings of Asia. But it was no miracle : the persians were drawn altogether out of their focus ; the greeks contended for land, life, and liberty. They fought against slavish barbarians, who had shown them, in the example of the cretrians, what they had to expect ; and therefore neglected nothing, that human wisdom and valour could perform. The persians under Xerxes attacked as barbarians : in one hand they brought chains to enslave ; in the other, fire to lay desolate : but this was not fighting with prudence. Themistocles employed merely the advantage of the wind against them : and it must be confessed, that to an unwieldy fleet a contrary wind is a dangerous opponent. In short, the persians conducted the war with a great force, and much fury ; but without skill : consequently the event could not be successful. Even had the greeks been defeated, and their whole country laid waste like Athens ; the persians, from the centre of Asia, and with such an internal state of the kingdom, could never have retained them in subjection ; for they found it extremely difficult even to hold Egypt. The sea was the friend of Greece, as the Delphian oracle said in another sense.

* A comparison of several nations, in this respect, will arise from the progress of history.

7. But the defeated persians left behind them in Athens, with their spoils and disgrace, a spark, which kindled flames, that destroyed all the grecian institutions. This consisted of the wealth and glory, the splendour and jealousy, in short all the ingredients of that pride, which followed the war. In Athens the age of Pericles soon arose; the most brilliant ever experienced by a state so small: and it was quickly followed, from very natural causes, by the unfortunate peloponnesian war, and the two spartan; till at length a single victory enabled Philip of Macedon, to throw his chains over all Greece. Let no one say, that an unpropitious deity controls the fate of mankind, and enviously seeks to cast them down: men are the malignant demons of each other. As Greece was in those days, could it fail of being an easy prey to a conqueror? And whence could this conqueror come, but from the mountains of Macedon? From Persia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Rome, Carthage, it was secure: but near it was an enemy, who griped it in his strong and wily talons. The oracle was here more prudent than the greeks: it philippized; and the whole of the event confirmed the general position, 'that a race of united mountaineers, expert in war, and seated on the neck of a divided, enfeebled, enervated nation, must necessarily conquer it, if it pursue it's object with prudence and valour.' This Philip did, and seized on Greece, which had long before been vanquished by itself. Here the history of Greece would have terminated, had Philip been a barbarian like Alaric or Sylla: but he was himself a greek, and his still greater son was the same; and thus, even with the loss of their liberty, the greeks obtained a name in the annals of the World, which few have equalled.

8. The young Alexander, who was scarcely twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and fired with the unchecked ardour of ambition, proceeded to execute the plan, for which his father had made all the necessary preparations: he went over into Asia, and invaded the dominions of the persian monarch himself. This too was an event most naturally to be expected. All the expeditions of the persians against Greece by land had passed through Thrace and Macedon; and in consequence these two nations cherished an ancient grudge against the people of Persia. The weakness of the persians, too, was sufficiently known to the greeks, not only from the ancient battles of Marathon, Platæa, &c., but, from the more recent retreat of Xenophon with his ten thousand greeks. Now whither should the macedonian, the ruler of Greece and generalissimo of it's forces, direct his arms, and lead his phalanx, but against the wealthy monarchy, which had been deeply decaying internally for a century? The young hero fought three battles, and Asia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, Egypt, Lybia, Persia, and India, were his own: nay he might have advanced to the boundaries of the

ocean, if his macedonians, more prudent than himself, had not compelled him to retreat. Little as all this success deserves the name of miraculous, as little was his death at Babylon the work of envious fate. 'How grand was the conception, from Babylon to rule the World! a world, that extended from the Hindus to Lybia, and even over all Greece as far as the Icarian sea. How vast the idea, to make of all this country a Greece in language, manners, arts, trade, and colonization; and to render Bactra, Susa, Alexandria, and many other cities, each a new Athens! And behold, the conqueror was cut off in the bloom of his life; and with him died every hope of a new-created grecian world!' Should a man say thus to Fate, he would receive for answer: 'Let Babylon or Pella be the residence of Alexander; let the bactrians speak the language of Greece or of Parthia; if the son of a mortal would execute his projects, let him be temperate, and not drink himself to death.' This Alexander did, and his kingdom was at an end. It is no wonder, that he destroyed himself; it is much rather to be wondered, that he, who had long ceased to be able to support his good fortune, did not sooner finish his career.

9. The empire was now divided: the vast bubble burst. When and where was the event different under similar circumstances? The dominions of Alexander were in no respect united: they were scarcely consolidated into a whole even in the mind of the conqueror himself. The cities he had founded in different places were unable to defend themselves in their infant state without such a protector as he, much less to keep in check the nations, on which they were imposed. Now as Alexander died in a manner without an heir, how could it be otherwise, than that the birds of prey, who had assisted him in his victorious flight, should begin to plunder for themselves? They quarrelled among each other, and contended together for a long time, till each had established his nest on the spoils of victory. This has been the case with every state formed by such extensive and speedy conquest, and supported only by the mind of the conqueror: the nature of various nations and countries soon reclaims its rights; so that it can be ascribed only to the superiority of the polished Greeks over the barbarians, that so many forcibly united regions did not sooner return to their old constitutions. Parthia, Bactra, and the countries beyond the Euphrates did this first: for they lay at too great a distance from the centre of an empire, which had nothing to protect it against mountaineers of parthian descent. Had the Seleucidæ made Babylon their residence, as Alexander intended to have done, or their own Seleucia, they would probably have retained more power toward the east; but then, it may also be presumed, they would sooner have sunk into enervating luxury. It was the same with the asiatic provinces

of the thracian empire : they availed themselves of the right to which their conquerors had resorted, and, when the thrones of the companions of Alexander were filled by their feeble successors, became separate kingdoms. In all this the invariably recurring natural laws of political history are conspicuous.

10. The kingdoms that lay nearest to Greece were of longest duration : and they might have endured still longer, had not the disputes between themselves, and more particularly those between the romans and carthaginians, involved them in that ruin, which, proceeding from the queen of Italy, gradually overspread the whole shore of the Mediterranean sea. Feeble, worn out kingdoms staked their fortunes in an unequal contest, against which no great share of prudence was requisite to forewarn them. Still, however, they retained as much of the grecian arts and polish, as their rulers and the times would admit. The sciences flourished in Egypt under the guise of learning, as thus only they had been there introduced : like mummies they lay buried in the libraries and museums. In the asiatic courts the arts became licentious pomp. The kings of Pergamus and Egypt rivalled each other in collecting books : an emulation, which was both injurious and beneficial to all future literature. They collected books and falsified them : and afterwards, with the burning of what was collected a whole world of ancient learning was destroyed at once. It is obvious, that in these things fate no otherwise interfered, than it does in all worldly events, which it leaves to the wise, or foolish, yet ever natural, conduct of men. When the man of letters laments over a lost book of antiquity, how many things of more importance have we to lament, which have followed the invariable course of fate ! The history of the successors of Alexander particularly claims our notice ; not only because it involves so many causes of the fall or preservation of empires, but as a melancholy pattern of kingdoms founded on foreign acquisitions, as well of territory, as of sciences, arts, and cultivation.

11. That Greece in such a state could never more regain its pristine splendour, needs no demonstration : the period of its bloom had long been over. Many vain rulers, indeed, laboured to raise up grecian freedom : but it was an empty labour for a freedom without spirit, a body without a soul. Athens never ceased to idolize its benefactors ; and the arts, as well as declamations on philosophy and science, maintained themselves in this seat of the general cultivation of Europe, as long as it was possible ; but prosperity and devastation continued to alternate with each other. The little states were strangers to harmony, and the principles of mutual support, though they formed the ætolian confederacy, and renewed the achaian league. Neither the prudence of Philopœmen, nor the

rectitude of Aratus, restored the ancient times of Greece. As the declining Sun, surrounded by the vapours of the horizon, assumes a greater and more romantic appearance; so did the political state of Greece at this period: but the beams of the setting luminary no longer impart meridian warmth, and the politics of dying Greece remained ineffective. The romans came upon them as cajoling tyrants, the judges of all the differences in the country to their own advantage; and scarcely any barbarians could have acted worse, than Mummius in Corinth, Sylla in Athens, and Æmilius in Macedon. The romans long continued to rob Greece of every thing, that could be carried away; till at length they respected it just as much as men respect a plundered corpse. They paid flatterers there, and sent thither their sons, to study in the sacred paths of the ancient philosophers the sophisms of wordy pedants. At length succeeded the goths, the christians, and the turks, who put a complete end to the empire of the grecian divinities, which had been long sunk in decrepitude. They are fallen, the great gods, the olympian Jupiter and athenian Pallas, the Apollo of Delphi and the Juno of Argos: their temples are ruins, their statues heaps of stone, and even their fragments may now be sought in vain*. They are vanished from the face of the Earth, so that it is difficult to conceive the sway their faith once held, and the wonders it effected, among the most ingenious of all people. As these most beautiful idols of the human imagination have fallen, will the less beautiful fall like them? and for what will they make way; for other idols?

12. Græcia Magna, though in a different vortex, experienced at last a similar fate. The most flourishing, populous cities, in the finest climate of the Earth, founded under the laws of Zaleucus, Charondas, and Diocles, and taking the lead of most of the grecian provinces in civilization, science, arts, and commerce, were not, it is true, in the way of the persians, or of Philip; and in consequence maintained themselves longer than their european and asiatic sisters: but the period of their destiny arrived. Involved in various wars between Rome and Carthage, they at length fell, and ruined Rome by their manners, as Rome had ruined them by her arms. There lie their beautiful and spacious ruins, lamentably desolated by earthquakes and volcanoes, but still more by the rage of man†. The nymph Parthenope mourns; the Ceres of Sicily seeks her temple, and can scarcely find again her golden plains.

* See the travels of Spon, Stuart, Chandler, Riedesel, and others.

† See the travels of Riedesel, Howel, and others.

CHAPTER VII.

General Reflections on the History of Greece.

WE have considered the history of this celebrated region in several points of view, as it is in some measure a general basis for a philosophy of history in all countries. The Greeks not only remained free from any intermixture with foreign nations, so that their progress has been entirely their own; but they so perfectly filled up their period, and passed through every stage of civilization, from its slightest commencement to its completion, that no other nation can be compared with them. The people of the continent have either stopped at the rudiments of civilization, and unnaturally perpetuated them by laws and customs; or become a prey to conquest, before they had advanced beyond them: the blossom withered before it was blown. Greece, on the contrary, enjoyed its full time: it formed every thing it was capable of forming, and a happy combination of circumstances aided it in its progress to perfection. On the continent undoubtedly it would soon have fallen a victim to some conqueror, like its Asiatic brethren: had Darius and Xerxes accomplished their designs, the age of Pericles would never have appeared. Or had a despot ruled over the Greeks, he would soon have become himself a conqueror, according to the disposition of all despots, and, as Alexander did, have empurpled distant rivers with Grecian blood. Foreign nations would have been introduced into their country, and their victories would have dispersed them through foreign lands. From all this they were protected by the mediocrity of their power, and even their limited commerce, which never ventured beyond the pillars of Hercules and of Fortune. As the botanist cannot obtain a complete knowledge of a plant, unless he follow it from the seed, through its germination, blossoming, and decay; such is the Grecian history to us: it is only to be regretted, that, according to the usual course, it is yet far from having been studied like that of Rome. At present it is my place, to indicate, from what has been said, some points of view in this important fragment of general history, which most immediately present themselves to the eye of observation: and here I must repeat the first grand principle:

Whatever can take place among mankind, within the sphere of given circumstances of time, place, and nation, actually does take place. Of this Greece affords the amplest and most beautiful proofs.

In natural philosophy we never reckon upon miracles: we observe laws, which

we perceive every where equally effectual, undeviating, and regular. And shall man, with his powers, changes, and passions, burst these chains of nature? Had Greece been peopled with chinese, our Greece would never have existed: had our greeks been fixed where Darius led the enslaved eretrians, they would have formed no Athens, they would have produced no Sparta. Behold Greece now: the ancient greeks are no more to be seen; nay frequently their country no longer appears. If a remnant of their language were not still spoken; if marks of their way of thinking, if ruins of their cities and works of art, or at least their ancient rivers and mountains, were not still visible: it might be supposed, that Greece was not less fabulous, than the island of Calypso, or the gardens of Alcinous. But as the modern greeks have become what they are only by the course of time, through a given series of causes and effects, so did the ancient; and not less every other nation upon Earth. The whole history of mankind is a pure natural history of human powers, actions, and propensities, modified by time and place.

This principle is not more simple, than it is luminous and useful, in treating of the history of nations. Every historian agrees with me, that a barren wonder and recital deserve not the name of history: and if this be just, the examining mind must exert all its acumen on every historical event, as on a natural phenomenon. Thus in the narration of history it will seek the strictest truth; in forming its conceptions and judgment, the most complete connexion: and never attempt to explain a thing which is, or happens, by a thing which is not. With this rigorous principle, every thing ideal, all the phantoms of a magic creation, will vanish: it will endeavour to see simply what is: and as soon as this is seen, the causes why it could not be otherwise will commonly appear. As soon as the mind has acquired this habit in history, it will have found the way to that sound philosophy, which rarely occurs except in natural history and mathematics.

This philosophy will first and most eminently guard us from attributing the facts, that appear in history, to the particular hidden purposes of a scheme of things unknown to us, or the magical influence of invisible powers, which we would not venture to name in connexion with natural phenomena. Fate reveals its purposes through the events that occur, and as they occur: accordingly, the investigator of history develops these purposes merely from what is before him, and what displays itself in its whole extent. Why did the enlightened greeks appear in the World? Because greeks existed; and existed under such circumstances, that they could not be otherwise than enlightened. Why did Alexander invade India? Because he was Alexander, the son of Philip; and from the dispositions his father had made, the deeds of his nation, his age and character, his

reading of Homer, &c., knew nothing better, that he could undertake. But if we attribute his bold resolution to the secret purposes of some superiour power, and his heroic achievements to his peculiar fortune; we run the hazard, on the one hand, of exalting his most senseless and atrocious actions into designs of the deity; and, on the other, of detracting from his personal courage, and military skill; while we deprive the whole occurrence of it's natural form. He who takes with him into natural history the fairy belief, that invisible sylphs tinge the rose, or hang it's cup with pearly dew-drops, and that little spirits of light encase themselves in the body of the glow-worm, or wanton in the peacock's tail, may be an ingenious poet, but will never shine as a naturalist or historian. History is the science of what is, not of what possibly may be according to the hidden designs of fate.

Secondly. *What is true of one people, holds equally true with regard to the connexion of several together: they are joined as time and place unites them; they act upon one another, as the combination of active powers directs.*

The greeks have been acted upon by the asiatics, and the asiatics reacted upon by the greeks. They have been conquered by romans, goths, christians, and turks: and romans, goths, and christians have derived from them various means of improvement. How are these things consistent? Through place, time, and the natural operation of active powers. The phœnicians imparted to them the use of letters: but they had not invented letters for them; they imparted them by sending a colony into Greece. So it was with the hellenes and egyptians; so with the greeks that migrated to Bactra; so with all the gifts of the muse, which we have received from their hands. Homer sung; but not for us: yet as his works have reached us, and are in our possession, we could not avoid being instructed by him. Had any event in the course of time deprived us of these, as we have been deprived of many other excellent works, who would accuse some secret purpose of fate, when the natural cause of the loss was apparent? Let a man take a view of the writings that are lost, and those that remain, of the works of art that are destroyed, and those that are preserved, with the accounts that are given of their destruction and preservation, and venture to point out the rule, which fate has followed in transmitting to us these, and depriving us of those. Aristotle was preserved in a single copy underground, other writings as waste parchments in chests and cellars, the humourist Aristophanes under the pillow of St. Chrysostom, who learned from him to compose homilies; and thus the whole of the cultivation of our minds has depended precisely upon the most trivial and precarious circumstances. Now mental cultivation is unquestionably a thing of the greatest importance in the

history of the World : it has thrown almost all nations into commotion, and now with Herſchel explores the milky way. Yet on what trifling events has it hinged ; the events to which we are indebted for glaſs and a few books ! inſomuch, that, but for theſe, we ſhould ſtill perhaps be wandering about in waggons, with our wives and families, like our elder brothers, the immortal ſcythians. Had the courſe of things ſo ordered, that we had received mongal letters inſtead of greek, we ſhould now be writing in the mongal manner : yet the Earth would ſtill purſue her grand career of years and ſeaſons, nourishing every thing, that lives and acts upon her, according to the divine laws of nature.

Thirdly. *The cultivation of a people is the flower of it's exiſtence ; it's diſplay is pleaſing indeed, but tranſitory.*

As man, when he comes into the World, knows nothing, but has all his knowledge to learn ; ſo an uncultivated people acquires knowledge from it's own practice, or from intercourſe with others. But every kind of human knowledge has it's particular circle, that is it's nature, time, place, and periods of life. The cultivation of Greece, for example, grew with time, place, and circumſtances, and declined with them. Poetry and certain arts preceded philoſophy : where oratory or the fine arts flouriſhed, neither the patriotic virtues, nor martial ſpirit, could ſhine with their higheſt ſplendour : the orators of Athens diſplayed the greateſt enthuaſm, when the ſtate drew near it's end, and it's integrity was no more.

But all kinds of human knowledge have this in common, that each aims at a point of perfection, which when attained by a concatenation of fortunate circumſtances, it can neither preſerve to eternity, nor can it inſtantly return, but a decreaſing ſeries commences. Every perfect work, as far as perfection can be required from man, is the higheſt of it's kind : nothing, therefore, can poſſibly ſucceed it, but mere imitations, or unſucceſſful attempts to excel. When Homer had ſung, no ſecond Homer in the ſame path could be conceived : he plucked the flower of the epic garland, and all who followed muſt content themſelves with a few leaves. Thus the greek tragedians choſe another track : they ate, as Æſchylus ſays, at Homer's table, but prepared for their gueſts a different feaſt. They too had their day : the ſubjects of tragedy were exhausted, and their ſucceſſors could do no more, than remould the greateſt poets, that is, give them in an inferiour form ; for the beſt, the ſupremely beautiful form of the grecian drama had already been exhibited in thoſe models. In ſpite of all his morality, Euripides could not rival Sophocles, to ſay nothing of his being able to excel him in the eſſence of his art ; and therefore the pru-

dent Aristophanes pursued a different course. Thus it was with every species of grecian art, and thus it will be in all nations: the very circumstance, that the greeks in their most flourishing periods perceived this law of nature, and sought not to go beyond the highest in something still higher, rendered their taste so sure, and it's developement so various. When Phidias had created his omnipotent Jove, a superiour Jupiter was not within the reach of possibility: but the conception was capable of being applied to other gods, and to every god was given his peculiar character: thus this province of art was peopled.

Poor and mean would it be, if our attachment to any object of human culture would prescribe as a law to alldisposing providence, to confer an unnatural eternity on that moment, in which alone it could take place. Such a wish would be nothing less, than to annihilate the essence of time, and destroy the infinitude of all nature. Our youth returns not again: neither returns the action of our mental faculties as they then were. The very appearance of the flower is a sign, that it must fade: it has drawn to itself the powers of the plant from the very root; and when it dies, the death of the plant must follow. Unfortunate would it have been, could the age, that produced a Pericles and a Socrates, have been prolonged a moment beyond the time, which the chain of events prescribed for it's duration: for Athens it would have been a perilous, an insupportable period. Equally confined would be the wish, that the mythology of Homer should have held eternal possession of the human mind, the gods of the greeks have reigned to infinity, and their Demosthenes have thundered for ever. Every plant in nature must fade; but the fading plant scatters abroad it's seeds, and thus renovates the living creation. Shakspeare was no Sophocles, Milton no Homer, Bolingbroke no Pericles: yet they were in their kind, and in their situation, what those were in theirs. Let every one, therefore, strive in his place, to be what he can be in the course of things: this he will be, and to be any thing else is impossible. ✓

Fourthly. *The health and duration of a state rest not on the point of it's highest cultivation, but on a wise or fortunate equilibrium of it's active living powers. The deeper in this living exertion it's centre of gravity lies, the more firm and durable it is.*

On what did those ancient founders of states calculate? Neither on lethargic indolence, nor on extreme activity; but on order, and a just distribution of never slumbering, ever vigilant powers. The principle of these sages was genuine human wisdom, learned from nature. Whenever a state was pushed to it's utmost point, though by a man of the greatest eminence, and under the most flattering pretext, it was in danger of ruin, and recovered it's former

state only by some happy violence. Thus when Greece entered the lists with Persia, it was on a dreadful verge: thus when Athens, Lacedæmon, and Thebes, contended together at outrance, the loss of liberty to all Greece ensued. Thus, too, Alexander, with his brilliant victories, erected the edifice of his state on a bubble: he died, the bubble burst, and the edifice was dashed to pieces. How dangerous Alcibiades and Pericles were to Athens their history shows: though it is not less true that epochs of this kind, particularly if they terminate speedily and happily, display rare effects, and set incredible powers in motion. All the splendour of Greece was created by the active operation of many states and living energies: every thing sound and permanent, on the contrary, in its taste, and in its constitution, was produced by a wise and happy equilibrium of its active powers. The success of its institutions was uniformly more noble and permanent, in proportion as they were founded on humanity, that is, reason and justice. Here the constitution of Greece affords us an ample field for reflection, in what it contributed by its inventions and institutions both to the happiness of its own citizens, and to the welfare of mankind. But for this it is yet too early. We must first take a view of many periods and nations, before we can form conclusions on these subjects with security.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XIV.

WE now approach the shore, that brought destruction, often terrible, on most of the nations we have hitherto considered: for the spreading flood of devastation, that overwhelmed the states of Græcia Magna, Greece itself, and all the kingdoms that were formed from the ruins of the throne of Alexander, burst forth from Rome. Rome destroyed Carthage, Corinth, Jerusalem, and many other flourishing cities of Greece and Asia; as it brought to a melancholy end every thing civilized in the south of Europe, that lay within the reach of its sword, particularly its neighbours Etruria, and the brave Numantia. It rested not till it attained the sovereignty over a world of nations, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, from mount Atlas to the Rhine: at length, breaking over the boundary prescribed it by fate, the valiant resistance of the northern people, or inhabitants of the mountains, its internal dissensions and luxury, the barbarous pride of its rulers, the horrible sway of the soldiery, and the fury of uncivilized nations, who rushed upon it like the waves of the sea, brought it to a lamentable end. The fate of nations was never so long and so absolutely dependent on one city, as when Rome possessed the sovereignty of the World: and while on this occasion it displayed, on the one hand, all the force of human courage and resolution, and still more military and political skill; on the other, it exhibited in the mighty contest vices and barbarities, at which human nature must shudder, as long as it is capable of feeling the least sentiment of its rights. This Rome has become, in a wonderful manner, the fearful, precipitous passage to all the cultivation of Europe; for not only were the melancholy remains of the plundered treasures of all art and science preserved in its ruins, but through a singular revolution its language became the instrument, by which men learned to make use of all those treasures of antiquity. Even now the latin tongue is the medium of our learned tuition from our early youth; and we, who possess so little of the roman mind and spirit, are destined to form an acquaintance with the roman ravagers of the World, before we are introduced to the milder manners of more gentle nations, or the principles that conduce to the happiness of our own country.

The names of Marius and Sylla, of Cæsar and Octavius, become familiar to us, before we know any thing of the wisdom of Socrates, or the institutions of our forefathers. The history of Rome, likewise, as the cultivation of Europe has hinged on it's language, has received political and literary illustrations, of which scarcely any other can boast: for the greatest minds, that have reflected on history, have reflected on this, and have taken the principles and actions of the romans as the groundwork, on which to develope their own thoughts. Thus we tread the blood-drenched soil of roman glory as the sanctuary of classical learning and ancient art, where at every step some new object reminds us of the sunken treasures of an universal empire, never more to return. We consider the fasces of the conqueror, beneath which innocent nations once groaned, as shoots of a lordly cultivation, which was planted among us also through cruel events. But before we seek a knowledge of this conqueror of the World, we must bring an offering to humanity, and cast at least a look of pity on a neighbouring people, that contributed most to the early formation of Rome, but, alas! lay too close in the way of it's conquests, and thence experienced a melancholy end.

CHAPTER I.

Etruscans and Latins.

THE protruding peninsula of Italy lay exposed from it's situation to a number of different settlers and inhabitants. As it is joined at it's upper part to the great continent, which extends from Spain and Gaul over Illyria to the Euxine sea, while it's shore lies immediately opposite to the coasts of Illyria and Greece; that, in the times of ancient migration, different tribes of various nations should pass into it, was inevitable. Above were some of illyrian, others of gallic descent: below dwelt ausonians, whose origin can be traced no higher: and as with most of these pelasgians, and afterwards greeks, nay probably trojans too, intermingled at different times from diverse parts; Italy may be considered, on account of these memorable strangers, as a hothouse, in which sooner or later something worthy of notice must be produced. Many of these people came hither not altogether uncivilized: the pelasgian tribes had their letters, their religion, and their fables: so, it is probable, had many of the iberians likewise, from their intercourse with the commercial phœnicians: thus the question was, on what spot, and in what manner, the blossoms of the country would put forth.

These first appeared among the etruscans, who, from whatever part they came, were one of the most early and original people in taste and cultivation. Their minds were not bent on conquest: but on establishments, institutions, commerce, arts, and navigation, for which their coasts were well adapted. They planted colonies throughout almost all Italy, as far as Campania, introduced arts, and pursued trade, so that a number of the most celebrated towns in this country are indebted to them for their origin *. Their civil constitution, in which they served as a pattern to the romans themselves, was far superiour to the governments of barbarians; and bears so completely the stamp of an european spirit, that it certainly could not have been borrowed from any african or asiatic people.

Long before the time of it's destruction Etruria was a federated republic of twelve tribes, united on principles, which were not introduced into Greece till a much later period, and then from the pressure of extreme necessity. No separate state could engage in a war, or conclude a peace, without the common consent. War itself they had already formed into an art; by the invention, or use of the trumpet, light javelin, pilum, &c., as signals of attack, of retreat, of marching, or of fighting in close order. With the solemn rights of heralds, which they introduced, they observed a sort of law of war and of nations; as their auguries, and many religious practices, which to us appear mere superstitions, were evidently engines of their political institutions, through which they may justly claim to be considered as the first people of Italy, that attempted to form an artful alliance between religion and the state. In almost all these things, they were the tutors of Rome: and if it be undeniable, that similar institutions contributed to the stability and greatness of the roman power, the romans are indebted principally for this to the etruscans.

These people pursued navigation likewise as an art, at an early period; and maintained, by their colonies or trade, the sovereignty of the italian coasts. They were acquainted with architecture and fortification: the tuscan column, more ancient even than the doric of Greece, derives it's name from them, and was borrowed from no foreign nation. They were fond of chariot-races, theatrical performances, music, and even poetry; and had naturalized the pelægian fables, as their monuments of art evince. Those remains and fragments of their art, which the protecting realms of the dead have principally transmitted to us, show, that they rose from the rudest beginnings; and afterwards, when ac-

* See Demster's *Etrur. Regal.*, 'Regal Etruria, with the Observations of Buonaroti, and Supplement of Passerius,' Florence, 1723, 1767.

quainted with many nations, even with the greeks, were capable of remaining true to their own way of thinking. They have actually a particular style of art * ; and preserved this, as well as the use of their religious fables, even when their liberty was no more †. Thus, too, in good civil laws for both sexes, and institutions for the cultivation of corn and the vine, the internal security of commerce, the reception of foreigners, and other things, they appear to have come nearer to the rights of man, than even many of the grecian republics at a much later period : and as their alphabet was the immediate pattern of all those of Europe, we may consider Etruria as the second nursery of the cultivation of our quarter of the Globe. It is the more to be regretted, that we have so few monuments or accounts of the exertions of this polished and skilful people ; for an unfriendly accident has deprived us even of the immediate history of their downfall.

Now to what must we ascribe this flourishing state of Etruria ? and why, instead of equalling that of Greece, did it fade before it reached the point of perfection ? Little as we know of the etruscans, still we perceive in them the grand principle pursued by nature in the forming of nations, limiting them by their internal powers, and their external circumstances of time and place. They were an european people, more remote from anciently inhabited Asia, the parent of early civilization. The pelasgian tribes, too, were half-savage wanderers, when they arrived on the different shores of Italy ; while Greece, on the contrary, lay as a central point in the conflux of nations already civilized. In Italy many nations mingled together, so that the etruscan language seems to have been a compound of several ‡ ; and thus it enjoyed not the advantage of growing up from an uncontaminated seed. The single circumstance of the Appennines, covered with rude mountaineers, stretching through the middle of Italy was sufficient, to prevent that uniformity of national taste, on which alone the permanence of a general culture can be founded. Even in later times no country occasioned more trouble to the romans than Italy : and as soon as their sovereignty was at an end, it returned to it's natural state of various division. The face of the country with regard to it's mountains and coasts, and the dif-

* See Winkelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst, History of the Arts*, Vol. I. chap. 3.

† See Heyne on the Nature and Causes of the frequent Employment of the Fables and Religion of the Greeks by Etruscan Artists ; on the Remains of the Religion of the Country in the Monuments of Etruscan Art ; Etruscan

Antiquity freed from fanciful Interpretations ; and the Monuments of Etruscan Art restored to their proper Age and Rank ; in *Nov. Commentariis Soc. Gotting.* ' The new Memoirs of the Gottingen Society,' Vol. III, and following.

‡ See the Supplement of Passerius, in *Dempster's Etrur. Regal.*

ferent hereditary character of its inhabitants, made this division natural: for even now, when it is the object of politics, to reduce all under one chief, or link all in one chain, Italy has remained the most divided country in Europe.

Several nations, likewise, soon pressed upon the etruscans; and as they were more of a commercial than a warlike people, even their more skilful tactics were compelled to give way to almost every attack of ruder nations. By the gauls they were deprived of their footing in upper Italy, and confined to what may properly be called Etruria; and their colonial towns in Campania became subsequently a prey to the samnites. As a commercial people addicted to the arts, they could not long stand against barbarous nations: for arts and commerce introduce luxury, from which their colonies on the most delightful shores of Italy were by no means free. At length they were fallen upon by the romans, to whom they were unfortunately too near; and whom, in spite of their noble resistance, neither their civilization, nor their federal union, could withstand for ever. By their refinement, indeed, they were already in part enfeebled, while the romans were yet a warlike hardy people: and from their confederation they derived little advantage, as their adversaries had the art to divide their states, and engage them separately. Thus they were subdued one after another, though not without the labour of many years; while in the mean time the gauls were making continual incursions upon Etruria. Pressed upon by two powerful enemies, they fell a prey to that, which most systematically pursued their subjugation: and this was Rome. After the reception of the haughty Tarquins in Etruria, and the success of Porfenna, they looked upon this city as their most dangerous neighbour: for the humiliations, which Rome had experienced from Porfenna, were such, as it could never forgive. No wonder, that a rude warlike people should overpower a softened commercial nation; that a city firmly united should subdue a disjointed confederacy. To prevent Rome from destroying it, Rome must have been early destroyed: and as the good Porfenna refrained from this, his country at length became a prey to the enemy he spared.

Thus, that the etruscans never became wholly greeks in the style of their arts, is to be accounted for from the time and situation in which they flourished. Their poetic mythology was merely the old heavy grecian mythology, into which however they infused astonishing spirit and animation. The subjects, on which their arts were employed, appear to have been confined to a few religious or civil festivities, the key to which we have nearly lost. Besides, we know little of these people except from funerals, graves, and urns. Etruscan liberty survived not to the brightest era of grecian art, which the conquest of the persians produced; and the situation of Etruria denied it any similar native impulse, to wing

it's fame and genius to such a height. Thus it must be considered as an immature fruit, which, placed in the corner of the garden, could not attain the delicious flavour of it's fellows, enjoying the more genial warmth of the Sun. Fate allotted a later period to the banks of the Arno, in which they were capable of producing more mature and beautiful fruits.

The marshy shores of the Tiber were already destined for a sphere of action, that should include three quarters of the Globe; and the circumstances of the times prepared this, long before the foundation of Rome. In this region, according to ancient stories, landed Evander; as did Hercules also with his greeks, and Æneas with his trojans: here, in the centre of Italy, Pallantium was built, and the kingdom of the latins, with Alba Longa, was founded: here, too, was a settlement of more early civilization, inasmuch, that some, indeed, have admitted a prior Rome, and imagined they have discovered the new city to have been erected on the ruins of one more ancient. But the last opinion is without foundation: for Rome was probably a colony from Alba Longa, under the direction of two successful adventurers; as this undesirable region would scarcely have been chosen in other circumstances. Let us examine, however, what Rome had here before and around her from the beginning, so that, the moment she quitted the breast of the wolf, she betook herself to war and plunder.

She was wholly surrounded by little nations; whence she was soon impelled to contend, not for her support alone, but even for her territory. Her early contests with the cæninenses, crustumini, antemates, sabines, camerini, fidonates, veientes, and others, are well known: they rendered Rome, when scarcely risen above the ground, standing thus on the frontiers of so many different nations, from the very beginning a kind of fortified camp; and accustomed the generals, the senate, the knights, and the people, to festivals of triumph over plundered countries. These triumphal processions, which Rome borrowed from the neighbouring etruscans, were the grand lures, that animated this needy state, of confined domains, but populous and warlike, to hostile enterprises, and foreign incursions. In vain did the peaceful Numa erect the temples of Janus and Public Faith: in vain did he set up terminal gods, and celebrate a boundary feast. These peaceable institutions were obeyed only during his life: for Rome, accustomed to plunder by the thirty years victories of her first ruler, thought she could not pay more acceptable homage to her Jove, than by offering him the spoils of war. A renovated martial spirit arose after this just legislator; and Tullius Hostilius already made war on Alba Longa, the mother of his country. Necessarily nothing of this would have taken place, had Rome been built in a different situation, or speedily crushed by some powerful

neighbour. But now, as a latin city, she soon made her way to the head of the latin confederacy, and at length brought the latins under her yoke ; she interfered with the sabines, till at last she subjugated them ; she learned from the etruscans, till she became their mistress : and thus she acquired possession of her triple boundary.

To these early undertakings such kings were requisite as Rome had, particularly her first. It was no fable, that Romulus had been nourished by the milk of a wolf : he was evidently a bold, cunning, hardy adventurer, as his first laws and institutions show. His immediate successor, Numa, rendered some of these milder : a clear proof, that they are not to be ascribed to the times, but to the person by whom they were made. At the same time the rude heroism of the early romans in general appears from the several stories of Horatius Cocles, Junius Brutus, Mutius Scævola, and the behaviour of Tullia, Tarquin, &c. It was fortunate for this predatory state, that, in it's series of kings, rude valour combined with policy, and both with patriotic magnanimity : fortunate, that to a Romulus succeeded a Numa, to him a Tullius, an Ancus, after these a Tarquin, and then a Servius, whom personal merit alone could have exalted from the condition of a slave to the rank of a king. Lastly, it was fortunate, that these kings, of such different characters, reigned long, so that each had time to secure the benefits of his talents to Rome ; till at length an arrogant Tarquin came, and the firmly fixed state chose another form of government. A select and continually renovating succession of warriors and rude patriots now arose, who fought annually to renew their triumphs, and strengthen and exert their patriotism in a thousand ways.

Would any one invent a political romance, to account for the origin of a Rome, he could not easily devise more suitable circumstances, than history, or fable, here gives us *. Rhea Sylvia and the fate of her children, the rape of the sabines and the apotheosis of Quirinus, every rude adventure in war and conquest, and lastly a Tarquin and a Lucretia, a Junius Brutus, a Poplicola, a Mutius Scævola, &c., serve to indicate a series of future consequences in the early disposition of Rome itself. There is no history on which it is easier to philosophize than the roman, as the political spirit of it's writers points out the chain of causes and effects in the course of events and actions.

* Montesquieu, in his elegant work on the grandeur and decline of the romans, has almost exalted it into a political romance. Before him, Machiavel, Paruta, and many other sagacious italians, had tried their skill in political reflections upon it.

CHAPTER II.

The Dispositions of Rome for a sovereign political and military State.

ROMULUS numbered his people, and divided them into tribes, curiæ, and centuriæ: he measured the land, and parcelled it out to the people, the state, and the service of religion. The people he distinguished into patricians and plebeians: out of the patricians he formed the senate; and to the same order he confined the principal offices of the state, and the sanctity of the priesthood. He likewise selected a body of knights, which in a later period formed a kind of middle rank between the senate and people; and the two grand divisions were more closely connected by the relationship of patron and client. From the etruscans Romulus borrowed the lictors, with their fasces; a fearful emblem of authority, which every superiour magistrate afterwards assumed in the functions of his office, though with some variations. He excluded foreign gods, to secure to Rome it's own tutelary divinity: he introduced augury, and other kinds of soothsaying, establishing an intimate connexion between the popular religion, and civil and military affairs. He determined the reciprocal duties of husband and wife, father and son, regulated the city, celebrated triumphs, was at length murdered, and afterwards adored as a god.

Behold the simple point, on which the wheel of roman events afterwards incessantly revolved. For though in time the classes of the people were increased, altered, or opposed to each other; though bitter contests arose, whether the classes or tribes of the people, and which of them, should take the lead; though the increasing debts of the plebeians, and the oppressions of the rich, occasioned commotions, and many attempts were made for alleviating the burdens of the people by means of tribunes, agrarian laws, or the administration of justice by a middle rank, the knights; though disputes respecting the limits of the senate, the patricians, and the plebeians, assumed now one form, then another, till the two ranks were confounded together: in all this we perceive nothing more than the necessary consequences of a rudely composed living machine, such as the roman state within the walls of one city must have been. Thus superiour offices were augmented, as the number of citizens, victories, conquered lands, and necessities of the state increased: thus triumphs, games, expenses, marital power, and paternal authority, were limited or enlarged, according to the different stages of manners and opinions: all however were shades of that ancient constitution,

which Romulus invented not, it is true, but which he so firmly established, that it was capable of remaining the basis of the roman form of government even under the emperours, nay almost to the present day. It's device was S. P. Q. R. *, the senate and people of Rome; magic words, which subjugated and ravaged the World, and at length rendered the romans the instruments of their own ruin. Let us contemplate a few leading points in the roman constitution, from which the fate of Rome appears to have branched out, as a tree from it's roots.

1. *The roman senate, as well as the roman people, was, from the earliest times, a body of warriors: Rome, from it's highest, to it's lowest member in case of necessity, was a military state.* The senate was a deliberative council; but from it's patricians it supplied generals and ambassadors: the independent citizen was obliged to serve in the field from his seventeenth year to his forty-sixth-or fiftieth. He who had not made ten campaigns was ineligible to any of the higher offices. Hence the political spirit of the romans in the field: hence their military spirit in the council. Their deliberations were on affairs, with which they were familiar: their resolves were acts. A roman ambassador was an object of respect to kings: for he might be at the head of an army, and decide the fate of kingdoms either in the senate or in the field. The people of the higher centuriæ were by no means a rude mob: they consisted of men of property, experienced in war, and foreign and domestic affairs. The votes of the poorer centuriæ had less weight; and in the better times of Rome their members were not thought qualified for the army.

2. *The education of the romans, particularly in the nobler families, was calculated for this destination.* They learned to deliberate, speak, vote, and persuade the people: they went early to the field, and prepared the way to triumphs, honours, and offices of state. Hence the uniform character of the history and eloquence of the romans, and even of their jurisprudence and religion, philosophy and language: all breathe a political and active spirit, a manly, adventurous courage, united with address and urbanity. A wider difference can scarcely be conceived, than appears on comparison of the history and eloquence of China, or Judea, with those of Rome. From the spirit of the greeks, too, the spartans themselves not excepted, that of Rome is distinct; as it is founded on a rougher nature, more ancient habit, and principles more fixed. The roman senate never died: it's resolutions, it's maxims, and the roman character inherited from Romulus, were immortal.

* *Senatus populus que romanus.*

3. *The roman generals were frequently consuls, whose military and civil offices usually continued but a year: accordingly they hastened to return triumphant, and their successors were eager to emulate their honours. Hence the incredible progress and multiplication of roman wars: one sprung from another, and gave rise to another in its turn. Occasions for future campaigns were reserved, till the present was ended; and reserved to accumulate with usury, as a capital of spoil, success, and glory. Hence the interest the romans so greedily took in foreign nations; on which they forced themselves as allies and protectors, or as judges of differences, certainly not from motives of philanthropy. Their friendly alliances were the relation of a guardian to a ward; their advice was command; their decision, war or sovereignty. More cool haughtiness, and latterly shameless impudence, in the exercise of authority assumed by force, were never displayed, than by these romans, who thought the World was theirs, and made for them alone.*

4. *The roman soldier too shared the glory and reward of his commander. In the early ages of Rome's patriotic virtues the soldiers served without pay; and afterwards it was sparingly distributed: but out of its conquests, and the increased power of the people by means of the tribunes, grew pay, reward, and booty. The lands of the conquered were often divided among the soldiery; and it is well known, that the most ancient and numerous quarrels in the roman republic arose from the distribution of lands. Subsequently, in foreign conquests the soldier shared the booty; and participated the triumph of his general, both in glory and valuable donations. Civic, mural, and rostral crowns were conferred: and Lucius Dentatus could boast, 'that, having been in a hundred and twenty battles, eight times victorious in single combat, wounded forty five times before, and not once behind, he had disarmed his enemy five and thirty times, and been rewarded with eighteen *hasta pura*, twenty five sets of horse furniture, eighty three chains, a hundred and sixty bracelets, and twenty six crowns, namely, fourteen civic, eight golden, three mural, and one obsidional, beside money, ten prisoners, and twenty oxen.'*

As beside this, the point of honour in our standing armies, where no one ever serves in a rank inferior to what he has once born, and every one is promoted in turn, according to the date of his service, was unknown in the roman state even to the latest period; but the general chose his own tribunes, and the tribune his subordinate officers, at the commencement of a war: a more free competition for posts of honour and military employments was opened, and a more intimate connection between the general, the officers, and the soldiery, was formed. The whole army was a body selected for the campaign, and the

spirit of the general was infused into every member of it, by those who commanded under him. In proportion as the wall, that at the commencement of the republic separated the patricians and plebeians, was broken down in the course of time, valour and success in war became the road to honours, wealth, and power, for all ranks; so that in later times the first possessors of undivided power in Rome, Marius and Sylla, were plebeians*, and at length the highest dignities were obtained by the meanest persons. Unquestionably this was the ruin of Rome; as, in the beginning of the republic, patrician pride was its support; and it was only by degrees, that the haughtiness and oppression exercised by men of rank became the causes of all the internal dissensions that ensued. To establish an equilibrium between the senate and the people, the patricians and plebeians, was the perpetual bone of contention in the roman state; where the balance preponderating now to one side, then to the other, at length overturned the commonwealth.

5. *Roman virtue, so highly celebrated, is for the most part inexplicable, without the narrow, severe constitution of the roman state:* when this was gone, that was at an end. The consuls succeeded in the place of the kings, and were compelled, as it were, in imitation of ancient example, to display something more than a royal, to display a roman soul. All the magistrates, the censors especially, participated this spirit. We are astonished at the strict impartiality, the disinterested magnanimity, the busy lives, of the ancient romans, from the moment their day broke, nay before the break of day, even from the earliest peep of dawn. No state in the World probably went so far in this earnestness of application, this strict discharge of civic duties, as Rome, where all was in close contact. The nobleness of their families, which was honourably designated by patronymic names; dangers continually renewed from without, and incessant contests for an equilibrium between the patricians and plebeians within; again, the bond of union between both in the relationship of patron and client; the crowded intercourse with each other in the market places, in their houses, and in political temples; the fine yet distinct limits between what belonged to the senate, and what to the people; their simplicity in domestic life; and the education of youth in a familiarity with all these things from their infancy; contributed to form in the romans the first and proudest nation of the World. Their nobility was not, as among others, an indolent nobility, founded on landed possessions, on wealth, or on a name: it was a proud, family, civic, roman spirit, in the first races; on which their country depended as its firmest support; and in the continued activity, the permanent stream of the same eternal state, it was transmitted from father to son. I am

* Sulla was a patrician. F.

persuaded, that, in the most perilous times, no roman could conceive any idea of the destruction of Rome: all acted for their city, as if the gods had destined it to be immortal, and them to be the instruments of the gods for supporting it to eternity. But as the astonishing success of the romans converted their valour into insolence, Scipio could not help applying to his country, on the destruction of Carthage, those verses of Homer, in which the fate of Troy is predicted*.

6. *The manner in which religion was interwoven with the state in Rome unquestionably contributed to it's civil and military greatness.* As from the foundation of the city, and in the most valiant ages of the republic, the priesthood was in the hands of the most respectable families, who were at the same time statesmen and warriors, so that even the emperours themselves disdained not to execute it's functions; in all their ceremonies they guarded against the true pest of every national religion, contempt, which the senate employed it's utmost endeavours to obviate. Accordingly, that able politician Polybius ascribes part of the virtues of the romans, particularly their incorruptible faith and veracity, to religion, by him termed superstition: and even in the late ages of their decline, the romans were actually so addicted to this superstition, that some commanders, of the most ferocious disposition, professed themselves to have communication with the gods; and believed, that, by their inspiration and assistance, they had not only power over the minds of the people and the army, but even the control of chance and fortune. Religion was connected with every civil and military transaction, so as to sanctify it; and hence the noble families contended with the people for the possession of religious dignities, as for their most sacred privilege. This is commonly ascribed to their policy alone, as their auspices and haruspices put into their hands the direction of affairs by means of artful religious deceptions: but, though I will not deny, that these were occasionally practised, this certainly was not the whole of the business. The worship of their fathers, and of the gods of Rome, was, according to the general belief, the support of their good fortune, the pledge of their preeminence over other nations, and the revered sanctuary of their unparagoned state. As at the beginning they adopted no strange gods, though they respected the deities of every foreign land, so they retained the ancient worship of their divinities, in which they became romans. To alter any thing in this, was to derange the fundamental pillars of the state: hence in the regulation of religious ceremonies the senate and people maintained their sovereign rights, which precluded all the plots and subtleties of a separate priesthood. The religion of the romans was a civil and military religion; which did not guard them, indeed, from unjust wars, but, giving them at least an appear-

* They are pronounced by Hector, in his interview with Andromache. Iliad. z. 447. seq. F.

ance of justice by means of their *feciales* and *auspices*, placed them under the eyes of the gods, and claimed their assistance.

At a later period it was equally politic in the romans, abandoning their ancient principles, to allure to them foreign deities. Their state already began to totter, as, after immense conquests, was inevitable: but this politic toleration perceived it from the spirit of persecuting foreign religions, which first appeared under the emperors, by whom it was exercised only occasionally from political motives, and not from hatred or affection to speculative truth. Upon the whole, the romans troubled themselves about no religion, unless so far as it attacked the state: in this respect they were not men and philosophers, but citizens, soldiers, and conquerors.

7. What shall I say of the *roman art of war*, certainly at that time the most perfect of its kind, as it united the soldier and citizen, the statesman and general, and ever vigilant, ever pliable and new, acquired knowledge from every enemy? Its rude foundations were of equal antiquity with the city itself, the citizens that Romulus mustered forming the first legion: but they were not ashamed in time to alter the primitive arrangement of the army, to render the ancient phalanx less unwieldy, and thus, by imparting to it a greater capacity for action, to discomfit the veteran macedonians, whose order of battle was then reckoned the model of the military art. Instead of their ancient latin arms, they borrowed such as suited them from the etruscans and samnites; and they learned the regulation of marches from Hannibal, whose long residence in Italy gave them the severest lessons of war they had ever received. All their great commanders, among whom are to be reckoned the Scipios, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, studied war as an art during the whole of their lives: and as they had to carry it on against the most various nations, nations too acting valiantly from strength, courage, and despair, they necessarily made great progress in every branch of the science.

The might of the romans however consisted not wholly in their weapons, their order of battle, and their encampments; but in the imperturbable martial spirit of their generals, and in the tried strength of the soldier; who could brave hunger, thirst, and peril; who was as ready at the use of his weapons, as if they had been his own limbs; and who, standing firm against the shock of the spear, with his short roman sword in his hand, sought the heart of his enemy even in the midst of the phalanx. This short roman sword, wielded with roman valour, conquered the World. It was the roman art of war to attack rather than defend, to fight rather than besiege, and to take the shortest, straightest way to victory and fame. To the assistance of this came the inveterate principles of the

republic, to which all resistance proved vain: never to desist till the enemy was completely overthrown, and therefore to engage only with one enemy at a time; never to accept peace in misfortune, even if peace would give more than victory could obtain, but to stand firm, and act so much the more bravely against the successful victor; to begin with magnanimity, and the mask of disinterestedness, as if they fought only to succour the oppressed, and gain allies, till in time they were enabled to rule their allies, oppress the succoured, and triumph as victors over friend and foe. These and similar maxims of roman insolence, or, if you please, of cool, prudent magnanimity, reduced a world of nations to the state of provinces: and so they ever would, if similar times, and a similar people, could arise.

Let us now traverse the bloody field, through which these conquerors of the World waded, and examine what they have left behind them.

CHAPTER III.

Conquests of the Romans.

WHEN Rome began its career of heroism, Italy was covered with a number of little nations; each living according to its own laws, and hereditary character; more or less enlightened; but active, industrious, prolific. We are astonished at the number of men, that every little state, even in rude mountainous regions, was able to bring against the romans; men who had there found, and could still find subsistence. The civilization of Italy was by no means confined to Etruria; it was shared by every little people, the gauls themselves not excepted: the land was cultivated; rude arts, trade, and war, were pursued after the manner of the times; no state was without good laws, though few in number; and even the natural regulation of the balance of power between different states was not unknown. Impelled by pride or necessity, and favoured by various circumstances, the romans were engaged with them in arduous, bloody wars, for five centuries; so that all the rest of the World that they subdued cost them less trouble, than this little chain of people, which they gradually brought under the yoke.

And what were the consequences of their exertions? Ravage and destruction. I do not reckon the men slain on both sides; and with the loss of whom whole nations, as the samnites and etruscans, were swept away: the obliteration of these communities, and the destruction of their towns, were misfortunes of

greater magnitude to this country, because affecting remotest posterity. Whether these nations were transplanted to Rome, or their sad remains reckoned in the number of it's allies, or treated as subjects and bridled by colonies, their primitive energy was never restored. Once chained to Rome's brazen yoke, they were compelled, for centuries, as subjects or allies, to spill their blood in her service, and for her profit and glory, not their own. Once chained to this yoke, notwithstanding all the privileges conferred on this people, or on that, every individual was at last reduced to seek fortune, honour, wealth, and justice, in Rome alone; so that in a few centuries the great city became the grave of Italy. Soon or late the laws of Rome universally prevailed; the manners of Rome became the manners of Italy; her mad aim to acquire the sovereignty of the World enticed all these people to throng round her, and at length perish in the gulf of roman luxury. No denial, no restriction, no prohibition, was capable at last of affording any aid: for the course of nature, once turned out of it's direction, cannot be altered afterwards at will by human laws.

Thus by degrees Rome drained, enervated, and depopulated Italy; so that at length rude barbarians were requisite, to give it new people, new laws, new manners, and new courage. But what was no more, returned not again: Alba and Cameria, the wealthy Veii, and most of the etrusian, latin, samnite, and apulian cities were destroyed: the scanty colonies, planted amid their ashes, had restored to none their ancient dignity, numerous population, industry in arts, laws and manners. It was the same with all the flourishing republics of Græcia Magna: Tarentum and Croton, Sybaris and Cumæ, Locri and Thurium, Rhegium and Messana, Syracuse, Catania, Naxos, Megara, were no more; and many of them had experienced the severest fate. Thou, wise and great Archimedes, wast slain in the midst of thy geometrical labours; and it is no wonder, that thy grave remained unknown to thy more modern countrymen, since thy country was buried with thee; for the state perished, though the city was spared. The mischief done to the arts and sciences, to the cultivation of the soil and the improvement of the human mind, by the dominion of Rome in this corner of the World, is incredible. Wars and proconsuls laid waste the delightful isle of Sicily; and Lower Italy was ruined by the various ravages committed in it, though still more by it's proximity to Rome; till at length both countries were parcelled out into estates and country seats of the romans, while they were likewise the nearest objects of their extortion. The once flourishing land of Etruria was already in a similar situation, in the time of the elder Gracchus: a fertile solitude, inhabited only by slaves, and drained by the romans. And what fine country in

the World experienced a better fate, when once within the gripe of roman talons ?

When Rome had subjugated Italy, she began with Carthage ; and this in a manner, at which her most determined friends must blush. Her assisting the mamertines, in order to gain footing in Sicily ; her seizing upon Corfica and Sardinia, while Carthage was embroiled with her mercenaries ; and lastly, the deliberating of her grave senators, whether a Carthage were to be suffered to exist upon the Earth, with as little ceremony as if the debate had been on a cabbage of their own planting ; with a hundred instances of like nature ; render the roman history, with all the valour and address it displays, a history of demons. Be it Scipio himself, that presents to a Carthage, little capable of doing farther injury to Rome, praying even her aid with the offer of an ample tribute, and, trusting to her promises, delivering up her weapons, ships, arsenals, and three hundred of her principal inhabitants as hostages ; be it Scipio, or a god, that presents to her, in such a situation, the cold, haughty proposal of her destruction, as a decree of the senate ; it is still a black, devilish proposal, of which unquestionably the noble deliverer himself was ashamed. ‘ Carthage is taken,’ he writes back to Rome ; as if with this expression he would veil his infamous act : for never have the romans given, or been the means of giving to the World, such a Carthage. Even an enemy to Carthage, aware of all it’s vices and defects, beholds with anger it’s destruction ; and respects the carthaginians at least when he beholds them as disarmed, betrayed republicans, fighting on their graves, and fighting for a burying place.

Why was it denied thee, thou great, thou matchless Hannibal, to prevent thy country’s ruin, and march directly to the wolf’s den of thy hereditary foe, immediately after the battle of Cannæ ? Weak posterity, that never crossed the Alps and Pyrenees, condemns thee for this ; not reflecting on the people whom thou hadst under thy command, and on the condition in which, after the terrible winter campaign in Upper and Middle Italy, they must have been. It condemns thee, from the mouth of thy enemies, for want of military discipline : though it is almost incomprehensible, how thou couldst keep together thy mercenaries so long, and after such marches and such actions, rest not till thou hadst reached the plains of Campania. Renown will ever deck the name of this brave enemy of Rome, whom she more than once imperiously demanded, to be delivered up to her as some engine of war. Not fate, but the factious avarice of his countrymen, prevented him from completing that victory, which he, not Carthage, had obtained over Rome : and thus he was incapable of

becoming more than an instrument for instructing the romans in the art of war, as they had learned that of navigation wholly from his countrymen. In both fate has given us a fearful warning, never to stop short of the full completion of our purposes; otherwise we shall certainly promote, what we are endeavouring to prevent. Suffice it, that with Carthage fell a state, which the romans could never replace. Commerce deserted it's coasts; and pirates succeeded, as they ever will, to the shores that commerce had abandoned. Under the roman colonies Africa ceased to be that horn of plenty, which it had long been under Carthage: it was a granary for the people of Rome alone, a menagerie of wild beasts for their amusement, and a magazine of slaves. Desolate to this moment lie the shores and plains of that fine country, which the romans first robbed of it's internal culture. Even every line of the punic writings is lost to us: Æmilianus presented them to the grandchildren of Masinissa; one enemy of Carthage, to another.

Whatever way I turn my eyes from Carthage, devastation rises before them; for this ever marked the footsteps of these conquerors of the World. Had the romans really intended to be the deliverers of Greece, when they announced themselves under this proud name at the isthmian games to the greeks now sunk into childhood, how different would have been their conduct! But when Paulus Æmilius permitted seventy cities of Epirus to be despoiled, and a hundred and fifty thousand persons to be sold for slaves, merely to reward his army; when Metellus and Silanus ravaged and plundered Macedon, Munnius Corinth, and Sylla Athens and Delphos, as scarcely any cities in the World had been plundered; when this devastation was spread likewise through the grecian islands, and Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, experienced no better fate than Greece, namely that of becoming sources of tribute, and magazines of spoil to deck the triumphs of the romans; when the last king of Macedon was led in triumph with his sons, languished in the most wretched prison, whilst one son escaped death only to gain his livelihood as a skilful turner and scribe at Rome; when the last glimmering of grecian liberty, the ætolian and achaian league, was extinguished, and the whole country became a roman province, or a field of carnage, on which the plundering, ravaging armies of the triumvirs at length engaged each other: O Greece, what an end was reserved for thee by thy protectress, thy pupil, Rome, the tutorefs of the World! Nothing remains of thee but ruins, which the barbarous spoilers carried away with them in triumph, that, at a subsequent period, whatever the art of man had invented might perish amid the ashes of their own city.

From Greece let us steer our course to the shores of Asia and Africa. Into

the kingdoms of Asia Minor, Syria, Pontus, Armenia, and Egypt, the romans soon intruded; either as heirs, or as guardians, umpires, and pacificators: but hence, as a just reward for their services, they drew the poison, that proved fatal to their own constitution. The great military exploits of Scipio Asiaticus, Manlius, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, are known to every one; to the last of whom was decreed a triumph at one time over fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities, and a thousand fortresses. The gold and silver displayed in solemn pomp on the occasion were estimated at twenty thousand talents*; he augmented the revenues of the state a third part, to the amount of twelve thousand talents†; and his whole army was so enriched, that the meanest soldier received from him as a triumphant gift to the value of more than thirty pounds sterling, beside what he had already acquired as booty. What a robber! Crassus, who plundered Jerusalem alone of ten thousand talents‡, pursued the same steps; and no one penetrated farther into the east, without returning, if he did return, laden with wealth and luxury. What by way of compensation did the romans bestow on the asiatics? Neither laws, nor peace; neither institutions, nor arts, nor people. They ravaged countries, burned libraries, despoiled cities, temples, and altars. Part of the alexandrian library was given to the flames by Julius Cæsar; and Mark Antony bestowed the greater portion of that of Pergamus on Cleopatra, that both might afterwards perish together. Thus the romans, endeavouring to spread day over the World, wrapped it in desolating night: treasures of gold and silver were extorted: nations, and myriads of ancient ideas, were whelmed in the abyss: the characters of countries were obliterated, and the provinces were drained, plundered, and abused, under a succession of execrable emperors.

With almost yet more melancholy do I bend my course westwards to the ravaged countries of Spain, Gaul, and wherever the romans stretched their arms. The nations they destroyed in the east for the most part had already blossomed, and begun to fade: here, yet unripe, but full of buds, they were so injured in their first youthful growth, that the race and family of many are scarcely to be distinguished. Spain, before the romans entered it, was a well-cultivated, and in most places fertile, rich, and happy land. Its trade was considerable; and the state of civilization among some of its people by no means to be despised; of which the turdetani, on the banks of the Bætis, to whom the phenicians and carthaginians had been longest known, and even the celtiberians, in the heart of the country, are sufficient proofs. No place upon

* About 3800000 £ sterling.

‡ About 1900000 £.

† About 2280000 £.

Earth more stoutly resisted the romans than the brave Numantia. For twenty years it supported the war; defeated one roman army after another; and at last defended itself against all the military skill of a Scipio, with a valour, the melancholy fate of which excites the commiseration of every reader. And what did the despoilers seek here, in an inland country, from nations that had never given them offence, and scarcely heard of their names? Gold and silver mines. Spain was to them, what America is now forced to be to Spain, a place for plunder. Lucullus, Galba, and others, plundered in contempt of the faith they had pledged: the senate itself annulled two treaties of peace, which its defeated generals had been fain to conclude with the numantines. It inhumanly delivered up to them the generals; but was again overcome by the numantines in generosity to these unfortunate commanders. And now Scipio appeared with all his force before Numantia; completely blockaded it; cut off the right arms of four hundred young men, the only persons who would come to the assistance of this injured town; listened not to the moving intreaties, with which a people oppressed by famine endeavoured to excite his pity and justice; and completed the destruction of these unhappy beings like a true roman. Like a true roman, too, acted Tiberius Gracchus; when in the country of the celtiberians alone he ravaged three hundred towns, even if we suppose them to have been nothing more than fortresses and villages. Hence the inextinguishable hatred of the spaniards toward the romans: hence the valiant exploits of Viriatus and Sertorius, both of whom fell by unworthy means, and undoubtedly excelled many roman commanders in military skill and courage: hence the scarcely ever subdued mountaineers of the Pyrenees, who, in despite of the romans, retained their savage state as long as possible. Unfortunate land of gold, Iberia, thou, with thy culture, and thy nations, art sunk almost unknown into the realm of shades, in which Homer already depicted thee, beneath the rays of the setting Sun, as a subterranean kingdom.

Of Gaul we have little to say, as we know nothing of its conquest, but from the military journal of its conqueror. For ten years it cost Cæsar himself incredible pains, and required all the powers of his great mind. Though he excelled every other roman in generosity, still he was unable to change the fate of his roman destination, and gained the melancholy praise of having been engaged in fifty pitched battles, not reckoning the civil wars, and having slain in fight eleven hundred and ninety two thousand men. Most of these were gauls. Where are the numerous, lively, valiant people of this extensive country? where were their spirit and courage, their numbers and strength, when centuries after savage nations fell upon them, and shared them among themselves

as roman slaves? Even the name of this leading stock of people, with its peculiar religion, cultivation, and language, is obliterated throughout the whole of the country, that became a roman province. You great and noble minds, Scipio and Cæsar, what are your thoughts, what your feelings, when now, as departed spirits, you look down from your celestial spheres on Rome, that nest of robbers, and the scenes of your murders? How foul to you must appear your honour, how bloody your laurels, how base and inhuman your exterminating arts! Rome is no more: and when it did exist, the feelings of every worthy man must have whispered to him, that all these monstrous, ambitious victories would call down vengeance and destruction on his country.

CHAPTER IV.

The Decline of Rome.

THE law of retaliation is an eternal ordinance of nature. As in a balance neither scale can be depressed without the ascent of the other; so no political equilibrium can be destroyed, no sin against the rights of nations and of mankind can be committed, without avenging itself; and the more the measure is heaped, the more tremendous will be its fall. If any history proclaim to us this natural truth, it is the history of Rome: but let the reader extend his views, and not confine them to a single cause of the ruin of that state. Had the romans never beheld Greece or Asia, and proceeded after the manner in which they did against other poorer countries; undoubtedly their fall would have happened at a different period, and under different circumstances: still it would have been equally inevitable. The seeds of destruction lay in the heart of the plant; the worm gnawed its roots, and its vital juices were corrupted: the gigantic tree, therefore, must ultimately fall to the ground.

I. In the essence of the roman constitution was a leaven of dissension, which, if not removed, could not fail soon or late to effect its destruction: this was *the disposition of the state itself, the unjust or uncertain limits between the senate, the knights, and the citizens*. It was impossible for Romulus to foresee all the future circumstances of his city, when he established this division: he formed it according to its present state and wants; as these altered, he himself lost his life by the hands of those, to whom his power became burdensome. None of his successors had courage, or occasion, to do what Romulus had not done: they gave a preponderance to either party by their personal authority, and preserved an union between the different ranks in a rude state surrounded with dangers. Servius

mustered the people, and put the balance in the hands of the rich. Under the first consuls dangers were extremely pressing: at the same time men of such merit, strength, and greatness, were conspicuous among the patricians, that they could not fail to lead the people.

But circumstances soon changed; and the oppression of the nobles became insupportable. The citizens were overwhelmed with debt: they had too little share in the legislation; they reaped too little advantages from the victories, for which their blood was spilled: so the people retired to the Sacred Mount, and so disputes arose, which the appointment of tribunes was calculated rather to multiply than remove, and with which the whole subsequent history of Rome was accordingly interwoven. Hence the long and frequently renewed contests respecting the division of lands, and the participation of the plebeians in magisterial, consular, and sacerdotal offices; in which contests each party fought its own ends, and no one attempted an unbiassed and equitable adjustment of the interests of both. This contention survived even to the triumvirates: nay the triumvirates themselves were consequences of it. Now as these put an end to the whole of the roman constitution, and this contention was nearly as old as the republic itself; it appears, that it arose from no external circumstances, but from an internal cause, which from the beginning corroded the vitals of the state. It is singular, therefore, that the roman constitution should have been represented as a pattern of perfection: a constitution one of the most imperfect in the World, originating from crude temporary circumstances, and never afterwards reformed from a general comprehensive view of the whole, but partially altered from time to time. Cæsar alone was capable of giving it a radical reform: but it was too late, and the dagger, that deprived him of life, destroyed all possibility of an improved constitution.

2. There is an inconsistency in the position: Rome, the queen of nations, Rome the sovereign of the World: for *Rome was merely a city; and its constitution, the constitution of a city alone.* That Rome's resolves for war, however, were the resolves of an immortal senate, not of a mortal king; while the spirit of its world-destroying maxims was naturally more durable in a college, than in a fluctuating series of rulers; unquestionably contributed to its persevering obstinacy in war, and consequently to its victories. Besides, the patricians and plebeians were almost always at variance; so that the senate found it necessary to create wars, for the purpose of employing the unruly multitude, or some turbulent leader, abroad, that peace might be preserved at home. Thus this permanent variance contributed greatly to the continuance of foreign devastation. Lastly, as the senate itself was often closely beset with dangers, and frequently

found victories, or the fame of victories, necessary for it's support ; and as every daring patrician, who wished the people to espouse his cause, stood in need of donations, games, celebrity, and triumphs, which war alone, or for the most part, could furnish ; this divided, restless government was a cause of disturbing the peace of the World, and keeping it in commotion for centuries : for, out of regard to it's own happiness, no orderly state, tranquil in itself, would have been the actor of such a fearful tragedy.

To make conquests, however, is one thing ; to retain them, another : one thing, to gain victories ; another, to render them of advantage to the state. Rome, from it's internal constitution, was never capable of the latter : and the former it was enabled to do only by means altogether inimical to the constitution of a city. Already the first kings, that applied their arms to conquest, were compelled to admit some of the conquered towns and nations within the walls of Rome ; that the feeble tree, which was desirous of shooting forth such enormous branches, might acquire roots, and a substantial trunk : thus the inhabitants of Rome increased alarmingly. The city afterwards formed alliances, and it's allies joined it's armies in the field : so that they took part in it's victories and conquests, and were romans, though they were neither citizens nor inhabitants of Rome. Hence soon arose warm contests on the part of the allies for admission to the rights of citizenship : a demand inevitable from the nature of the case. Hence arose the first social war, which cost Italy three hundred thousand of it's youths, and brought Rome, which had been obliged to arm even it's freedmen, to the brink of destruction : for it was a war between the head and the members, which terminated only by the consolidation of the members into this misshapen head. All Italy was now become Rome, which continued to spread itself, to the great disturbance of the World. I shall pass over the disorder, which this romanizing must have introduced into the laws of all the italian states ; and only notice the evils, that thenceforward flowed from all corners, and from every region, into Rome.

If there were previously such a conflux to this city, as rendered it so impossible, to keep the tables of the census uncontaminated, that even a man, who was no roman citizen, was elected consul ; how must it have been, when the head of the World was a mixed mob from all Italy ; the most monstrous head, that Earth ever bore ? Immediately on the death of Sylla, the lords of the World amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand ; the admission of the allies infinitely increased the number ; and in Cæsar's time there were three hundred and twenty thousand, who shared in the public donations of corn. Think of this turbulent mob of mostly idle persons assembling to vote, in com-

pany with it's patrons, and those who aspired to posts of honour; and it will not be difficult to conceive how donations, spectacles, parade, and flattery, and still more military force, could excite those tumults, spill those seas of blood, and establish those triumvirates, which at length reduced this haughty sovereign of the World into a state of slavery to herself. Where now was the authority of the senate? or what were five or six hundred persons against the innumerable multitude, that claimed the rights of sovereignty, and, marshalled in powerful armies, were at the beck now of this man, now of that? What a poor figure did the divine senate, as the flattering greeks styled it, make before Marius or Sylla, Pompey or Cæsar, Antony or Octavius! The father of his country, Cicero, appears shorn of his glories, when attacked only by a Clodius; and his best councils were of little avail, not only against what Pompey, Cæsar, Antony, and others, actually did, but what even a Catiline had nearly accomplished. Not from the spices of the east, not from the effeminacy of Lucullus, sprung this disorderly state of things; but from the essence of the constitution of Rome, which, merely as a city, aimed at being the head of the World*.

3. *In Rome, however, there were not a senate and people alone, but slaves also; and of these the number increased, in proportion as the romans extended their sway.* By the hands of slaves they cultivated their extensive, fertile lands in Italy, Sicily, Greece, &c. A number of slaves constituted their domestic wealth; and the traffic in them, nay the tuition of them, was an extensive occupation at Rome, of which even Cato was not ashamed. The days when master and servant lived almost like brothers together, and Romulus could promulgate a law, that a father might sell his son for a slave three times, had long been past: the slaves of the conquerors of the World were collected from every quarter of the Globe, and were treated by good masters mildly, by the pitiless frequently as brutes. It would have been wonderful had no detriment accrued to the romans from this vast multitude of oppressed beings: for, like every other bad institution, this could not fail to avenge itself. The vengeance taken by the bloody war of the slaves, which Spartacus waged against the romans for three years, with the valour and skill of a consummate general; his followers increasing from seventy four persons to an army of seventy thousand, with which he defeated different commanders, among whom were two consuls; during which war many cruelties were perpetrated; was only a prelude. The grand mischief arose from the

* For all the good that can be said of the simplicity of the ancient romans, and the improvement of the roman people, read the first volume of Meierotto's well supported work on the manners and way of life of the romans; and for the progress of luxury, both among the plebeians and patricians, see the second volume of the same book.

favourites of their masters, the freedmen, who at length reduced Rome to the state of a slave of slaves, in the strictest sense of the words. This evil commenced as early as Sylla's time; and under the emperors it increased so dreadfully, that I am incapable of describing the disorders and barbarities, which originated with freedmen and favourite slaves. The histories and satires of roman authors abound with them: no savage nation upon Earth is acquainted with any thing, that will bear a comparison. Thus Rome was punished by Rome: the oppressor of the World became the abject servant of the most infamous slaves.

4. To this *luxury* likewise greatly contributed: towards which unfortunately Rome was not less forcibly impelled by circumstances, than to the conquest of the World by situation. As from a central point she ruled the Mediterranean Sea, and with it the rich shores of three quarters of the Globe: while by the aid of considerable fleets she acquired through the medium of Alexandria the precious commodities of Ethiopia, and the remotest parts of the east. My words are too feeble to describe the gross dissipation and luxury in feasts and public spectacles, in dainties for the table and garments for the body, in houses and in furniture, which prevailed, not only in Rome, but in every place connected with it, after the conquest of Asia*. A man can scarcely believe his own eyes, when he reads the descriptions of these things, the high price of foreign commodities, and the profusion of them, with the immense debts of the great men of Rome, who were latterly freedmen and slaves. This extravagance necessarily induced extreme poverty: nay it was in itself a pressing want. Those rivers of gold, which for centuries flowed into Rome from all the provinces, at last dried up: and as all the commerce of the romans was in the highest degree prejudicial to them, since they exchanged ready money for mere superfluities, it is not to be wondered, that India alone drained them annually of immense sums.

In the mean time, the land was neglected: agriculture was no longer pursued, as it had formerly been, by the romans and their contemporaries in Italy: the arts of Rome were employed not on the useful, but on the superfluous; on extravagant splendour and expense in triumphal arches, baths, funeral monuments, theatres, amphitheatres, and the like; wonderful structures, such as it must be confessed these plunderers of the World alone could erect. To no

* See, beside Petronius, Pliny, Juvenal, and abundance of passages in the ancients; and among modern compilations the second volume of Meierotto's work on the manners and way

of life of the romans, Meiners's *Geschichte des Verfalls der Roemer*, 'History of the Decline of the Romans,' &c.

roman are we indebted for any useful art, for any thing contributing to the support of man; which might have benefitted other nations, and from which permanent and deserved advantage might have been derived. Hence the empire soon became poor: the standard of the coin was lowered; and in the third century of our era, if we take the baseness of the coin into consideration, a general received scarcely the pay, that was deemed insufficient for a common soldier in the time of Augustus. Obvious natural consequences of the course of things; which, considered merely in a manufacturing and commercial view, could not turn out otherwise.

From these destructive circumstances the human species, too, degenerated; not only in number, but in stature, growth, and vital energy. Rome and Italy, which had rendered the most populous and flourishing countries in the World, Sicily, Greece, Spain, Asia, Africa, and Egypt, nearly deserts, naturally drew upon themselves, by their laws and wars, and still more by their depraved, indolent manner of living, their inordinate vices, the practice of divorce, severity towards their slaves, and latterly tyranny toward the worthiest men, the most unnatural death. Expiring Rome lay for centuries on her deathbed in the most frightful convulsions: a deathbed extending over a whole World, from which she had sucked her delicious poison, and which could then render her no assistance, but that of accelerating her death. Barbarians came to perform this office: northern giants, to whom the enervated romans appeared dwarfs: they ravaged Rome, and infused new life into expiring Italy. A tremendous yet wholesome proof, that all irregularities in Nature avenge and consume themselves. We have to thank the luxury of the east for having freed the World earlier from a carcase, which victories in other regions indeed would have destroyed, but it is probable neither so speedily, nor so terribly.

5. I have now to consolidate the whole into one view, and unfold the grand ordinance of nature, that, even without luxury, without plebeians, without a senate, and without slaves, *the military spirit of Rome alone must have ultimately destroyed it; and that sword, which it so often drew against innocent cities and nations, have returned into its own bowels.* But here all history speaks for me. When the legions, unsatiated with spoil, found nothing more to plunder, and on the frontiers of Parthia and Germany saw an end to their fame, what could they do, but turn back, and devour the parent state? The fearful tragedy began with the times of Marius and Sylla: attached to their commanders, or paid by them, the returning armies revenged their generals on their antagonists, even in the midst of their country, and Rome was deluged with blood. This tragedy continued. When Pompey and Cæsar led against each other dearly paid armies, in the country where once the Muses sung, and Apollo pastured

his flocks as a shepherd; romans, fighting against romans, decided the fate of their country at this distance. So it proceeded in the barbarous compact of the triumvirs at Modena, which in a single list condemned to death or banishment three hundred senators, and two thousand knights, and extorted two hundred thousand talents * chiefly from Rome, and even from the women: as it did after the battle of Philippi, where Brutus fell; before the war against the younger Pompey, the nobler son of a great father; after the battle of Actium; and on other occasions.

It was in vain that the weak, unfeeling Augustus acted the part of clemency and the love of peace: the empire had been won by the sword; the sword must maintain it, or by the sword it must fall. If the romans began to slumber; the nations that had been injured, or put into commotion, would not slumber too: they demanded vengeance, and retaliated when opportunity arrived. In the roman empire the cæsars ever remained nothing more than commanders in chief of the armies: and many of them, who forgot their stations, were dreadfully reminded of them by their soldiers. These set up, and put down emperors: till at length the commander of the pretorian guards made himself grand vizir, and the senators contemptible puppets. In a short time, too, the senate was composed wholly of soldiers; of soldiers whom time had so enfeebled, that they were fit neither for war nor counsel. The empire fell to pieces: rival emperors persecuted and assailed each other: foreign nations pressed into the empire, and enemies were admitted into the army, who allured other enemies. Thus the provinces were torn and ravaged; and proud, eternal Rome fell, deserted and betrayed by its own commanders. A fearful monument of the end, that every where awaits the thirst of conquest, whether in great or little states; and more particularly the spirit of military despotism, according to the just laws of nature. Never was a martial state more firm and extensive than that of Rome: and never was a corpse conveyed more horribly to the grave; so that after Pompey and Cæsar another conqueror could never have been expected, or another regiment of soldiers, to arise in a civilized nation.

Powerful Destiny! has the history of the romans been preserved, has half the World been a victim to the sword, to teach us this lesson? And yet we learn from it nothing but words; or, misunderstood, it has formed new romans, incapable however of equalling their prototype. Those ancient romans have appeared but once upon the stage, and acted, chiefly as private persons, a tremendously grand tragedy, the repetition of which, for humanity's sake, we can never desire. Let us examine, however, what greatness and splendour this tragedy has exhibited in its progress.

CHAPTER V.

Character, Sciences, and Arts of the Romans.

AFTER what has been said, justice demands, that we should name with due praise those noble-minded individuals, who, in the unfavourable situation, in which destiny had placed them, bravely sacrificed themselves for what they called the good of their country, and in the short course of their lives performed deeds reaching almost the summit of human powers. Following the course of history, I shall mention as deserving fame in different degrees a Junius Brutus and Poplicola, Mutius Scævola and Coriolanus, Valeria and Veturia, the three hundred Fabii and Cincinnatus, Camillus and Decius, Fabricius and Regulus, Marcellus and Fabius, the Scipios and Catos, Cornelia and her unfortunate sons; to whom, if military glory alone were to be considered, we shall add Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Cæsar; and, if good intentions and endeavours deserve praise, Marcus Brutus, Cicero, Agrippa, Drusus, and Germanicus. Neither must we forget among the emperors Titus, the delight of mankind, the just and good Nerva, the fortunate Trajan, the indefatigable Adrian, the good Antoninus, the vigilant Severus, the manly Aurelian, and other powerful props of a sinking edifice. But as these men are better known to every one, than even the Greeks themselves, I may be excused if I speak generally of the character of the Romans in their best ages, and consider this character as a consequence of the circumstances of the times.

If a name were to be given to impartiality and firm resolve, to indefatigable activity in words and deeds, and a determinate ardent pursuit of victory or honour; if to that cool courage, which peril cannot daunt, misfortune cannot bend, and success cannot intoxicate; it must be that of Roman fortitude. Many persons even of the lowest order in this state have displayed this virtue in so conspicuous a manner, that we, particularly in our youth, when we view the Romans chiefly on the most brilliant side, honour such personages of the old World as great departed spirits. Their generals stride like giants from one quarter of the Globe to another, and bear the fate of nations in their prompt and powerful hands. Thrones are overturned by their foot as they pass, and they determine the life or death of myriads with a word. Perilous height, on which they stand! Ruinous game, where crowns are the stake, and where the wealth of nations, and the lives of millions, are played away!

On this height they walk as simple romans, disdain the pomp of barbarian kings; the helmet their crown, the coat of mail their only decoration.

And when on this summit of wealth and power I hear their manly eloquence, and see the unwearied activity of their domestic or patriotic virtues; when in the throng of battle, or in the tumult of the Forum, the countenance of Cæsar retains its constant serenity, and his heart beats with magnanimous clemency even toward his enemies; great man, even with all the vices, into which levity led thee, if thou didst not deserve to be monarch of Rome, no man ever did! But Cæsar was more than this; he was Cæsar. The highest throne on Earth decorated itself with his name: O that it could have adorned itself with his spirit also! that for ages it could have been animated with the benevolent, vigilant, comprehensive mind of Cæsar!

But there stands his friend Brutus with drawn dagger. Worthy Brutus! thy evil genius appeared to thee not for the first time at Sardis or Philippi: long before hadst thou seen it in the shape of thy country, to which, though of softer soul than thy rude forefathers, thou madest a sacrifice of the sacred rights of friendship and humanity. Wanting the mind of a Cæsar and the vulgar ferociousness of a Sylla, thou couldst not profit by the deed imposed upon thee; and wast compelled to abandon Rome, now Rome no longer, to the wild designs of an Antony and an Octavius: Antony, who laid all the glory of Rome at the feet of an egyptian strumpet; Octavius, who from the chamber of a Livia ruled with a semblance of divine tranquillity the wearied World. Nothing was left for thee, but thy own sword: a melancholy yet necessary resource for an unfortunate roman.

Whence arose this great character of the romans? From their education; often from family pride, and the glory of a name; from their occupations; from the condensation of the senate, the people, and all nations, in the central point of the sovereignty of the World; and lastly from the fortunate, unfortunate necessity, in which the romans found themselves. Hence every part of roman greatness was common to the people, as well as the nobler families; to the women, as well as the men. The daughters of Scipio and Cato, the wife of a Brutus, the mother and sister of the Gracchi, could not act unbecomingly their families: nay, noble roman ladies frequently excelled the men in prudence and worth. Thus Terentia possessed more heroic courage than Cicero; Veturia, more noblemindedness than Coriolanus; Paulina, more fortitude than Seneca. No natural advantages could produce in an eastern harem, or a gynæceum of Greece, those female virtues, which blossomed in the

public and domestic life of the romans : but it must be confessed, that, in the times of roman depravity, female vices appeared, at which humanity shudders. Even so early as the subjugation of the latins, a hundred and seventy roman wives agreed to poison their husbands ; and, when they were discovered, quaffed off the fatal portion like heroes. The deeds, which the women of Rome were capable of perpetrating under the emperors, want a name. The deepest shade borders on the strongest light : a stepmother Livia, and the faithful Antonia-Drusus, a Plancina and Agrippina-Germanicus, a Messalina and Octavia, appear side by side.

If we would estimate the merits of the romans in regard to science, we must take their peculiar character into consideration, and require from them no grecian arts. Their language was the æolian dialect, intermingled with almost all the tongues of Italy. From this rude form it was slowly improved ; and yet, with all its improvement, it could never completely attain that ease, beauty, and perspicuity, which distinguish the greek. It is concise, grave, and worthy to be the language of the legislators' and sovereigns of the World : in every respect a type of the roman mind. As the romans did not become acquainted with the greeks, till their character and political state had long been formed by the latins, the etruscans, and their own efforts ; it was late, before their native eloquence began, to receive any polish from Greece. We will pass over, therefore, their first dramatic and poetical attempts, which unquestionably contributed much to the formation of their language, and speak of what with them took deeper root ; *legislation, oratory, and history* ; flowers of the intellect, which their occupations produced, and in which the roman genius is more particularly displayed.

Here, too, we have to regret, that fate has favoured us with so little : for they, whose thirst of conquest deprived us of so many works of other nations, were obliged, in like manner, to submit the productions of their own genius to destructive time. Not to mention the ancient annals of their priests, the heroic histories of Ennius and Nævius, or the attempt of a Fabius Pictor ; where are the histories of a Cincius, Cato, Libo, Posthumius, Piso, Cassius Hemina, Servilian, Fannius, Sempronius, Cælius Antipater, Afellio, Gellius, Lucinius, and others ? Where are the lives of Æmilius Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Lutatius Catulus, Sylla, Augustus, Agrippa, and Tiberius, of an Agrippina-Germanicus, and even of a Claudius, Trajan, &c., written by themselves ? Where, too, are the numerous historical works of the most important persons of the state in the most important periods of Rome ? of Hortensius, Atticus, Sifenna, Lutatius, Tubero, Lucceius, Balbus, Brutus, and Tiro ; of Valerius

Meffala, Cremutius Cordus, Domitius, Corbulo, and Cluvius Rufus? where, the many lost works of Cornelius Nepos, Sallust, Livy, Trogius, Pliny, and others? I insert these names here, to abash those moderns, who set themselves far above the romans: for where is the modern nation, that can reckon among its princes, generals, and chief officers of state, so many and so great historians, as these pretendedly barbarous romans, in so short a time, and during events of so much importance, in which they were actively employed? From the few fragments, yet remaining as specimens of a Cornelius, Cæsar, Livy, &c., roman history, it must be confessed, has not the charms and pleasing beauty of the greek; but it possesses roman dignity, and much philosophical and political wisdom in a Sallust, Tacitus, and others. Where great actions are achieved, men think and write with dignity: slavery palsies the tongue, as appears from the later roman history itself: and, alas! the majority of the roman historians, during the times of roman liberty, or while that liberty was but half destroyed, are wholly lost. An irreparable loss: for such men can live but once; but once can write their own history.

Roman History walks by the side of Eloquence, her sister, and the Art of War and of Politics, their common mother. Thus several of the greatest of the romans were not only skilled in these sciences, but writers also. The greek and roman historians are unjustly censured for the political and military speeches, which they have frequently introduced into their narrative: for as public speeches formed the chain, to which every affair of the commonwealth was linked, the historian could not find a more natural instrument to connect events, present them in different points of view, and enter into a philosophical elucidation of them. These speeches afford the writer a far more elegant mode of philosophising, than that subsequently adopted by Tacitus and his brethren, who, compelled by necessity, uniformly intermix their own reflections. Tacitus, however, has been unjustly criticised also, for his philosophising spirit; for both in his delineations, and in the severity of their style, he is in heart and mind a roman. It was impossible for him to relate events, without unfolding their causes, and painting in black colours what was detestable. His history fights for liberty; and its obscure concise tone displays deeper regret for its loss, than words could have expressed. History and eloquence enjoy only times of freedom, that is of public activity in politics and war: they perish with these; and, as the state grows indolent, their thoughts and expression are benumbed.

With regard to orators, though not inferior in fame to the historians, we have less to deplore. Cicero alone is sufficient, to indemnify us for the loss

of many. In his writings on oratory he gives us the characters at least of his great predecessors and contemporaries; and to us his orations may supply the place of those of Cato, Antonius, Hortensius, Cæsar, and others. The fate of this man is illustrious: more illustrious after his death, than during his life. He has preserved to us not only the eloquence of Rome, in his precepts and examples, but the greater part of the grecian philosophy; for of many of it's schools we should have known little more than the names, and not their doctrines, but for the enviable garb, in which he has preserved them. His eloquence excels the thunder of Demosthenes, not only in philosophical clearness and perspicuity, but in urbanity and true patriotism. Almost to him alone is Europe indebted for the restoration of the pure latin language; an instrument, that has unquestionably done much for the human mind, notwithstanding it's many abuses. Light lie the turf upon thee, therefore, much occupied and much persecuted man, the *pater patriæ* of all the latin schools in Europe! For thy frailties thou didst sufficient penance in thy lifetime: now thou art dead, may men enjoy the fruits of thy learned, elegant, just, and noble spirit, and learn from thy letters and works, if not to adore, at least to love thee with gratitude and high esteem*.

The poetry of the romans was but a foreign flower, which blossomed beautifully in Latium, it is true, and here and there assumed a more delicate tint, but it was incapable of producing any new fruits of it's own. The etruscans, indeed, had already prepared the ruder warrior for poetry by their salian and funeral songs, and their fescennine, atellanian, and scenic games. With the capture of Tarentum and other cities of Græcia Magna, grecian poets also were captured, who endeavoured to render the rude dialect of the conquerors of Greece more pleasing to them, by the help of the more refined muses of their mother country. The merits of these most ancient latin poets are known to us only from a few verses and fragments; but we are astonished at the number of their tragedies and comedies, that we find quoted, not only in ancient times, but in part even in the best ages. Time has destroyed them; but I do not think the loss great, compared with that of the grecks; for many of them were founded on grecian stories, and probably imitations of grecian manners. The roman people delighted too much in farces and pantomimes, in the circensian games and combats of gladiators, to possess a grecian ear, or grecian taste for the theatre. The dramatic muse was introduced to the romans

* For the character of this man, which has often been misunderstood, read Middleton's life of Cicero, an excellent work, not only as far as respects the writings of this roman, but the general history of his time.

as a slave; and a slave with them she ever remained: still I much regret the loss of the hundred and thirty pieces of Plautus, and the shipwreck of a hundred and eight plays of Terence; as well as the poems of Ennius, a man of strong mind, particularly his Scipio and his didactic poems: for in Terence alone, to use Cæsar's expression, we had at least half Menander. Cicero, too, we have to thank for having preserved to us a Lucretius, a poet of a roman soul; and to Augustus we are indebted for a Semi-Homer in the Æneid. Let us thank Cornutus, likewise, for not having deprived us of some of the exercises of his noble pupil Perseus: and you, also, ye monks, for having saved, as means of learning latin, Horace, and Boethius, with something of Terence, but above all your Virgil, as an orthodox poet. The sole unspotted laurel in the crown of Augustus is, that he cherished the muses, and allowed science a free wing.

From the roman poets to the philosophers I turn with pleasure: many were both at the same time, and indeed philosophers in their hearts as well as heads. In Rome no systems were invented; but philosophy was practised, and introduced into law, politics, and private life. Never did a didactic poet write with more force and fire than Lucretius; for he believed what he taught: never since the time of Plato has the Academy been renovated with greater charms, than in the elegant dialogues of Cicero. The stoic philosophy, likewise, not only obtained great sway in roman jurisprudence, and formed a strict rule for the conduct of men, but acquired a practical solidity and beauty in the writings of Seneca, the excellent meditations of Marcus Aurelius, the maxims of Epictetus, &c., to which the doctrines of various schools have evidently contributed. Exercise and necessity in many severe situations of the roman state steeled the breasts of the romans and fortified their courage: they examined into what was proper to be followed, and availed themselves of what the greeks had conceived, not as idle ornament, but as the weapons and armour of the mind. The stoic philosophy had great effect on the heads and hearts of the romans: not indeed in exciting them to the conquest of the World, but in promoting justice, rectitude, and the internal consolation of men unjustly oppressed. For the romans were men; and as innocent posterity suffered for the sins of their progenitors, they sought to strengthen themselves as they could: they firmly appropriated to themselves what was not of their own invention.

The history of roman literature is to us a ruin of ruins; for, with the collections of it, we have lost, for the most part, the sources whence those collections were drawn. What labour should we have been spared, what light would have been thrown upon antiquity, if the writings of Varro, or the two thousand books from which Pliny compiled, had come down to us! From what was known of

the World to the romans, Aristotle undoubtedly would have made a collection different from Pliny's: yet is the book of Pliny a treasure, which shows the industry and roman spirit of the writer, notwithstanding his ignorance in particular points. Thus, too, the history of roman jurisprudence is the history of great diligence and acuteness, which could have been exercised, and so long pursued, in the roman state alone: what in the course of time has been made out of it, or foisted into it, must not be charged on the lawyers of ancient Rome. In short, defective as roman literature appears in almost every branch compared with the greek, this must not be ascribed to the circumstances of the times alone, but to the very nature of the romans also, for ages proudly aspiring to be the lawgivers of the World. The sequel of the work will show this, when we see a new Rome arising from the ashes of the old, in a very different form, but yet big with the spirit of conquest.

Lastly I have to speak of the arts of the romans, in which they displayed themselves to the present World, and to posterity, as the sovereigns of the Earth, at whose nod, were the materials of every country, and the hands of every conquered nation. From the beginning they were inspired with the desire of proclaiming the splendour of their victories by monuments of fame, and the majesty of their city by magnificent and durable structures; so that they very early thought of nothing less than the eternity of their proud existence. The temples that Romulus and Numa erected, and the places they assigned for public assemblies, already had victory in view, and a mighty popular government; till, soon after, Ancus and Tarquin laid the firm foundations of that architecture, which ultimately rose almost to immensity. The etruscan king built the walls of Rome of hewn stone. To supply his subjects with water, and keep the city clean, he erected those vast reservoirs, the ruins of which even now are among the wonders of the world; for modern Rome is unable even to clean them, and keep them in repair. In the same style were it's galleries, it's temples, it's courts of justice, and that immense circus, which, erected for the amusement of the people merely, excites our veneration even now in it's ruins. This path was pursued by the kings, the haughty Tarquin in particular; afterwards by the consuls and ediles; then by the conquerors of the World, and the dictators; but chiefly by Julius Cæsar; and the emperors followed. Thus by degrees arose those gates and towers, theatres and amphitheatres, circuses and stadia, triumphal arches and honorary columns, splendid monuments and mausolea, roads and aqueducts, palaces and baths, which display the eternal footsteps of these lords of the World, in the provinces as well as in Rome and Italy. To contemplate

many of these, even in their ruins, almost fatigues the eye; and the mind sinks under the conception of the vast idea, from which the artist generated these grand designs of solidity and magnificence. Still more little do we feel ourselves, when we reflect on the purposes of these structures, the way of life that was pursued in and among them, the people to whose use they were dedicated, and the persons, not unfrequently private individuals, by whom they were erected. Then the mind feels, that the World never contained but one Rome; and that one genius prevailed, from the wooden amphitheatre of Curio, to the Coliseum of Vespasian; from the temple of Jupiter Stator, to the Pantheon of Agrippa, or the temple of Peace; from the first triumphal gate of a returning victor, to the triumphal arches, and honorary columns of Augustus, Titus, Trajan, Severus, and throughout every monument of public or private life. This genius was not the spirit of general liberty and comprehensive benevolence: for, when we reflect on the enormous toil of the labourers, who, as the slaves of war, were often obliged to procure these mountains of stone and marble from distant lands; when we consider the sums expended on these monsters of art, sums wrung from the blood and sweat of plundered and oppressed provinces; when we think of the barbarously proud and savage taste, which most of these edifices cherished, by their bloody combats of gladiators, their inhuman battles with wild beasts, their barbarous triumphal processions, &c.; not to mention the luxury of their baths and palaces; we are compelled to think, that Rome was founded by some demon inimical to mankind, to exhibit to all human beings traces of his supernatural, demoniacal sovereignty. On this subject let the reader turn to the complaints of the elder Pliny, and every noble roman; let him trace the wars and oppressions, that brought to Rome the arts of Etruria, Greece, and Egypt: he will probably admire the mountains of roman magnificence, as the summit of human greatness and power; but at the same time he will learn to detest them, as the murderous and tyrannical graves of mankind. The rules of art, however, remain what they were: and though the romans, properly speaking, invented nothing in the arts, nay latterly combined together what had elsewhere been invented, in a manner sufficiently barbarous; yet, in this accumulating, piling taste, they show themselves the great lords of the Earth.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra :
 Credo equidem ; vivos ducent de marmore vultus :
 Orabunt causas melius : cœlique meatus
 Describent radio, et furgentia sidera dicent :

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;
 Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
 Parcere subjectis & debellare superbos.

Æneid. Lib. VI, l. 867-73.

Let others better mould the running mass
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass ;
 And soften into flesh a marble face :
 Plead better at the bar : describe the skies,
 And when the stars descend, and when they rise.
 But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway,
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;
 Disposing peace, and war, thy own majestic way.

Dryden.

We would willingly excuse the romans for the want of all the grecian arts they despised, and which notwithstanding they employ'd for use or ornament ; nay for the neglect of improving the noblest sciences, astronomy, chronology, &c. ; and undertake a pilgrimage to the places, where these flowers of the intellect bloomed in their native soil ; had they but left them there, and exercised with more philanthropy that art of government, which they deemed their supreme excellence. But this was not in their power ; as their wisdom was subservient only to their overweening authority, and the pretended pride of nations bent to a still greater pride.

CHAPTER VI.

General Reflections on the History and Fate of Rome.

IT has been of old an exercise of political philosophy, to determine, whether Rome were more indebted for her greatness to fortune, or to valour. Already Plutarch, and many other writers, both greek and roman, have given their opinions on this point ; and in modern times the question has been handled by almost every reflecting adventurer in the paths of history. Plutarch, after all that he is obliged to allow to roman valour, gives fortune the preponderance : in this inquiry, however, as in his other writings, he shows himself the flowery, pleasing greek, not the possessor of a comprehensive mind fully equal to his subject. Most of the romans, on the contrary, ascribe all to their valour ; and the

philosophers of later times have discovered a system of policy, on which the roman power was erected, from the first foundation stone to it's greatest amplitude. History clearly shows, that neither of these hypotheses is exclusively true; but that all must be taken in conjunction for a solution of the problem. Valour, fortune, and policy must have combined, to effect what was actually accomplished; and we find these three deities leagued in favour of Rome from the days of Romulus. Whether, after the manner of the ancients, we term the whole assemblage of living causes and effects nature, or fortune, the valour of the romans, not excluding even their barbarous severity, together with their policy and cunning, must be taken as part of this all-ruling fortune. Our view must ever remain incomplete, if we attach ourselves exclusively to either of these qualities, and, while we contemplate the excellencies of the romans, forget their failings and vices; while we consider their intimate character, omit concomitant circumstances; and, while we admire their firmness and skill in military affairs, overlook those accidents, by which they were often so happily assisted. The geese, that saved the Capitol, were not less the tutelary deities of Rome, than the courage of Camillus, the temporizing of Fabius, or Jupiter Stator. In the physical world all things that act together, and upon each other, whether generating, supporting, or destroying, must be considered as one whole: the same in the natural world of history.

It is a pleasing exercise of the mind, to inquire, on this occasion or that, what Rome would have been under different circumstances: as, if it had been founded on a different spot; if at an early period it had been transported to Veii; if the Capitol had been taken by Brennus: if Italy had been attacked by Alexander; if the city had been conquered by Hannibal; or if his counsel had been followed by Antiochus. In like manner we may inquire, how Cæsar would have reigned in the place of Augustus; how Germanicus, in the place of Tiberius: what would have been the state of the World, without the powerful spread of christianity: &c. These inquiries would lead us to such an accurate concatenation of circumstances, that at length we should learn to consider Rome, after the manner of the oriental sage, as a living creature, capable under such circumstances alone of rising from the banks of the Tiber, as from the sea; gradually acquiring strength to contend with all nations, by sea and land, subdue, and crush them; and lastly finding within itself the limits of it's glory, and the origin of it's corruption, as it actually did find them. Thus contemplated, every thing arbitrary and irrational vanishes from history. In it, as in every production of nature, all, or nothing, is fortuitous; all, or nothing, is arbitrary. Every phenomenon in history is a natural production, and for man perhaps of all

most worthy contemplation; as in it so much depends on men, and he may find the most useful kernel, though included perhaps in a bitter shell, even in what lies without the sphere of his own powers, in the overbearing weight of times and circumstances; in the oppression of a Greece, a Carthage, or Numantia; in the murder of a Sertorius, a Spartacus, or a Viriatus; in the ruin of the younger Pompey, Drusus, Germanicus, or Britannicus. This is the only philosophical method of contemplating history, and it has been even unconsciously practised by all thinking minds.

Nothing has tended more to obstruct this impartial view, than the attempt to consider even the bloody history of Rome as subservient to some secret limited design of providence: as, for instance, that Rome was raised to such a height principally for the production of orators and poets, for extending the roman law and latin language to the limits of it's empire, and smoothing the way for the introduction of christianity. No one is ignorant of the prodigious evils, under which Rome, and the World around her, groaned, before such orators and poets could arise; how dear, for instance, Sicily bought Cicero's speech against Verres; and how much his orations against Catiline, and his philippics against Antony, cost his country and himself. Thus a ship must be lost, to save one pearl; and thousands must lose their lives, merely that one flower might spring from their ashes, soon to be dissipated by the winds. To purchase the *Æneid* of a Virgil, and the tranquil muse and urbane epistles of a Horace, rivers of roman blood must previously flow, nations and kingdoms innumerable must be destroyed. Were these fine fruits of a forced golden age worth the expense they cost? The case is the same with the roman law: for who knows not what vexations were suffered through it, and how many more humane institutions in very different countries it destroyed? Foreign nations were judged conformably to manners, with which they were unacquainted; crimes and punishments were introduced among them, of which they had never heard: nay, has not the general progress of this jurisprudence, adapted to the constitution of Rome alone, after a thousand oppressions, so extinguished or vitiated the characters of all it's conquered nations, that, instead of their peculiar stamp, the roman eagle at last every where appears, covering with feeble wings the exenterated, eyeless carcases of murdered provinces? The latin language, too, neither gained any thing from conquered nations, nor conferred any thing upon them. It was corrupted, and at length became a mixed jargon, not only in the provinces, but even in Rome itself. Through it's means, also, the chaste beauty of the more elegant greek was contaminated; and the languages of many nations, which would have been far more useful, both to them and to us, than a

corrupt latin, have vanished without leaving behind them the smallest remains. Lastly, with regard to the christian religion; highly as I venerate the benefits it has conferred on mankind, so far am I from believing, that a single milestone was erected in Rome by human hands on it's account. For it Romulus founded not his city, Pompey and Craffus entered not into Judea: still less were all the roman establishments in Europe and Asia made, to prepare it's way over the World. Rome embraced christianity, no otherwise than it embraced the worship of Isis, and all the contemptible superstitions of the east: it would be derogatory to divine Providence, to suppose, that, for her noblest work, the propagation of truth and virtue, she could employ no other instrument, than the tyrannical and bloody hands of the romans. The christian religion raised itself by it's own energy, as the roman empire grew by it's own powers; and if they at length united, it was to the advantage of neither: a romish christian bastard sprung from the union, of which there are many who wish, that it had never been born.

Natural history has reaped no advantage from the philosophy of final causes, the sectaries of which have been inclined, to satisfy themselves with probable conjecture, instead of patient inquiry: how much less the history of mankind, with it's endlessly complicated machinery of causes mutually acting upon each other!

We must also disapprove the opinion, that, the romans came on the stage in the succession of ages, to form a more perfect link in the chain of cultivation than the greeks, as in a picture designed by man. In whatever the greeks excelled, there the romans never went beyond them: on the other hand, in what was properly their own, they learned nothing from the greeks. They endeavoured to profit by all nations, of which they had any knowledge, even to the indians and troglodytes: but this they did as romans; and it may be questioned, whether to their advantage or to their detriment. Now as little as all other nations existed for the sake of the romans, or framed for them their political institutions ages before, not more did the greeks. Athens and the italian colonies made laws for themselves, not for the romans: and if Athens had never existed, Rome might have sent to Scythia for her twelve tables. In many respects, too, the grecian laws were more perfect than the roman; and the defects of the latter diffused themselves over a far more extensive region. If perchance they were in any points more humane, they were so after the roman mode; but it would have been altogether unnatural, if the conquerors of so many civilized people had not learned at least a semblance of humanity, by which nations were often deceived.

Nothing remains, therefore, but to consider the roman nation, and the latin language, as bridges placed by Providence, for the conveyance of some of the treasures of antiquity to us. Yet for this purpose the bridges were the worst that could have been contrived, for of most of these treasures we were robbed by their very erection. The romans were destroyers, and in their turn destroyed : but destroyers are no preservers of the World. They irritated all nations, till at length they became their prey ; and Providence performed no miracle in their behalf. Let us, therefore, contemplate this, like any other natural phenomenon, the causes and effects of which we would investigate freely, without any preconceived hypothesis. The romans were precisely what they were capable of becoming : every thing perishable belonging to them perished, and what was susceptible of permanence remained. Ages roll on ; and with them the offspring of ages, multi-form man. Every thing, that could blossom upon Earth, has blossomed ; each in it's due season, and it's proper sphere : it has withered away, and will blossom again, when it's time arrives. The work of Providence pursues it's eternal course, according to grand universal laws : and to the consideration of this we proceed with unprejudging steps.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XV.

THUS every thing in history is transient : the inscription on her temple is, evanescence and decay. We tread on the ashes of our forefathers, and stalk over the entombed ruins of human institutions and kingdoms. Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, flit before us like shadows : like ghosts they rise from their graves, and appear to us in the field of history.

‘ When any political body has outlived its maturity, who would not wish it a quiet dissolution ? Who does not shudder, when, in the circle of living active powers, he stumbles over the graves of ancient institutions, which rob the living of light, and narrow their habitations ? And when the present race has cleared away these catacombs, how soon will its institutions have a similar appearance to another, and be in like manner levelled with the earth !

‘ The cause of this transitoriness of all terrestrial things lies in their essence, in the place they inhabit, and in the general laws, to which our nature is subject. Man’s body is a fragile, ever-renovating shell, which at length can renew itself no longer : but his mind operates upon Earth only in and with the body. We fancy ourselves independent ; yet we depend on all nature : implicated in a chain of incessantly fluctuating things, we must follow the laws of its permutation, which are nothing more than to be born, exist, and die. A slender thread connects the human race, which is every moment breaking, to be tied anew. The sage, whom time has made wise, sinks into the grave ; that his successor may likewise begin his course as a child, perhaps madly destroy the work of his father, and leave to his son the same vain toil, in which he too consumes his days. Thus year runs into year : thus generations and empires are linked together. The Sun sets, that night may succeed, and mankind rejoice at the beams of a new morn.

‘ Now were any advancement observable in all this, it would be something : but where is it to be found in history ? In it we every where perceive destruction, without being able to discern, that what rises anew is better, than what was destroyed. Nations flourish and decay : but in a faded nation no new flower, not

to say a more beautiful one, ever blooms. Cultivation proceeds; yet becomes not more perfect by progress: in new places new capacities are developed; the ancient of the ancient places irrevocably pass away. Were the romans more wise, or more happy, than the greeks? are we more so than either?

‘ The nature of man remains ever the same: in the ten thousandth year of the World he will be born with passions, as he was born with passions in the two thousandth, and ran through his course of follies to a late, imperfect, useless wisdom. We wander in a labyrinth, in which our lives occupy but a span; so that it is to us nearly a matter of indifference, whether there be any entrance or outlet to the intricate path.

‘ Melancholy fate of the human race! with all their exertions chained to an *Ixion's* wheel, to *Sisyphus's* stone, and condemned to the prospect of a *Tantalus*. We must will; and we must die, without having seen the fruit of our labours ripen, or learned a single result of human endeavours from the whole course of history. If a people stand alone, it's characters wear away under the hand of Time: if it come into collision with others, it is thrown into the crucible, where it's impression is equally effaced. Thus we hew out blocks of ice; thus we write on the waves of the sea: the wave glides by, the ice melts; our palaces, and our thoughts, are both no more.

‘ To what purpose then the unblest labour, to which God has condemned man as a daily task during his short life? To what purpose the burden, under which every one toils on his way to the grave; while no one is asked, whether he will take it up or not, whether he will be born on this spot, at this period, and in this circle, or no? Nay, as most of the evils among mankind arise from themselves, from their defective constitutions and governments, from the arrogance of oppressors, and from the almost inevitable weakness both of the governors and the governed; what fate was it, that subjected man to the yoke of his fellows, to the mad or foolish will of his brother? Let a man sum up the periods of the happiness and unhappiness of nations, their good and bad rulers, nay the wisdom and folly, the predominance of reason and of passion, in the best: how vast will be the negative number! Look at the despots of Asia, of Africa, nay of almost the whole Earth: behold those monsters on the throne of Rome, under whom a World groaned for centuries: note the troubles and wars, the oppressions and tumults, that took place, and mark the event. A *Brutus* falls, and an *Anthony* triumphs: a *Germanicus* dies, and a *Tiberius*, a *Caligula*, a *Nero*, reign: *Aristides* is banished: *Confucius* is a wanderer upon the Earth: *Socrates*, *Phocion*, *Seneca*, are put to death. Every where, it must be confessed, is discoverable the proposition: “ what is, is; what can be, will be; what is

susceptible of dissolution, dissolves :” a melancholy confession, however, which universally proclaims, that rude Violence, and his sister, malignant Cunning, are every where victorious upon Earth.’

Thus man doubts, and redoubts, after much apparent historical experience : nay, this melancholy complaint has in a certain degree the superficialities of all earthly occurrences in it’s favour : hence I have known many, who on the wide ocean of human history imagined they had lost that god, whom on the firm ground of natural knowledge they beheld with their mental eye in every stalk of grass, in every grain of dust, and adored with overflowing heart. In the temple of the earthly creation, every thing appeared to them full of omnipotence, and benevolent goodness : in the theatre of human actions, on the contrary, for which the periods of our life are calculated, they beheld nothing but a stage of conflicting sensual passions, brutal powers, destructive arts, or evanescent good purposes. To them history is a spider’s web, in a corner of the mundane mansion, the intricate threads of which display abundant traces of destructive rapine, while it’s melancholy centre, the spider by which it was spun, no where appears.

Yet, if there be a god in nature, there is in history too : for man is also a part of the creation, and in his wildest extravagances and passions must obey laws, not less beautiful and excellent than those, by which all the celestial bodies move. Now as I am persuaded, that man is capable of knowing, and destined to attain the knowledge of every thing, that he ought to know ; I step freely and confidently from the tumultuous scenes, through which we have been wandering, to inspect the beautiful and sublime laws of nature, by which they have been governed.

CHAPTER I.

Humanity is the End of human Nature ; and, with this End, God has put their own Fate into the Hands of Mankind.

THE end of whatever is not merely a dead instrument must be implicated in itself. Were we created, to strive with eternally vain endeavours after a point of perfection external to ourselves, and which we could never reach, as the magnet turns to the north ; we might not only pity ourselves as blind machines, but the being likewise, that had condemned us to such a state of tantalism, in

forming us for the purpose of such a malignant and diabolical spectacle. Should we say in his exculpation, that some good at least was promoted, and our nature preserved in perpetual activity, by these empty endeavours, incapable of ever attaining their object; it must be an imperfect, ferocious being, that could deserve such an exculpation: for in activity that never attains its end can lie no good; and he has weakly or maliciously deceived us, by placing before our eyes such a dream, from a purpose unworthy of him. But happily we are taught no such doctrine by the nature of things: if we consider mankind as we know them, and according to the laws that are intrinsic to them, we perceive nothing in man superiour to humanity; for even if we think of angels, or of gods, we conceive them as ideal, superiour men.

We have seen*, that our nature is evidently organized to this end: for it our finer senses and instincts, our reason and liberty, our delicate yet durable health, our language, art, and religion, were bestowed. In all states, in all societies, man has had nothing in view, and could aim at nothing else, but humanity, whatever may have been the idea he formed of it. For it, the arrangements of sex, and the different periods of life, were made by nature; that our childhood might be of long continuance, and we might learn a kind of humanity by means of education. For it, all the different modes of life, throughout the wide World, have been established, all the forms of society introduced. Hunter, or fisherman, shepherd, husbandman, or citizen, in every state man has learned to discriminate food, and construct habitations for himself and his family; to clothe and adorn either sex, and regulate his domestic economy. He invented various laws, and forms of government, the object of all which was, that every one might exercise his faculties, and acquire a more pleasing and free enjoyment of life, undisturbed by others. For this purpose, property was secured, and labour, arts, trade, and an extensive intercourse between persons, facilitated: punishments were invented for culprits, rewards for the deserving; and numberless moral practices for people of different classes, in public and private life, and even in religion, were established. For this, wars were carried on, treaties were made; by degrees a sort of law of nations and of war, and various compacts of hospitality and commerce were framed, so that man might meet compassion and respect beyond the confines of his own country. Thus whatever good appears in history to have been accomplished, humanity was the gainer; whatever foolish, vicious, or execrable, was perpetrated, ran counter to humanity: so that in all his earthly institutions man can conceive no other end, than what lies in himself, that is, in the weak or strong, base or noble

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nature, that God gave him. Now if throughout the whole creation we know nothing, except by what it is, and what it effects, man's end upon Earth is shown us by his nature and history, as by the clearest demonstration.

Let us take a retrospect of the regions, over which we have been wandering: in all the civil establishments from China to Rome, in all the varieties of their political constitutions, in every one of their inventions, whether of peace or war, and even in all the faults and barbarities that nations have committed, we discern the grand law of nature: let man be man; let him mould his condition according as to himself shall seem best. For this nations took possession of their land, and established themselves in it as they could. Of women and of the state, of slaves, clothing, and habitations, of recreation and food, of science and of art, every thing has been made, in the different parts of the Earth, that man thought was capable of being made for his own or for the general good. Thus we every where find mankind possessing and exercising the right of forming themselves to a kind of humanity, as soon as they have discerned it. If they have erred, or stopped at the half way of an hereditary tradition; they have suffered the consequences of their error, and done penance for the fault they committed. The deity has in nowise bound their hands, farther than by what they were, by time, place, and their intrinsic powers. When they were guilty of faults, he extricated them not by miracles, but suffered these faults to produce their effects, that man might the better learn to know them.

This law of nature is not more simple, than it is worthy of God, consistent, and fertile in it's consequences to mankind. Were man intended to be what he is, and to become what he was capable of becoming, he must preserve a spontaneity of nature, and be encompassed by a sphere of free actions, disturbed by no preternatural miracle. All inanimate substances, every species of living creature that instinct guides, have remained what they were from the time of the creation: God made man a deity upon Earth; he implanted in him the principle of self-activity, and set this principle in motion from the beginning, by means of the internal and external wants of his nature. Man could not live and support himself, without learning to make use of his reason: no sooner, indeed, did he begin to make use of this, than the door was opened to a thousand errors and mistaken attempts; but at the same time, and even through these very mistakes and errors, the way was cleared to a better use of his reason. The more speedily he discerned his faults, the greater the promptitude and energy with which he applied to correct them: the farther he advanced, the more his humanity was formed; and this must be formed, or he must groan for ages beneath the burden of his mistakes.

Handwritten notes in the left margin, including the word "HUMANITY" and other illegible scribbles.

We see, too, that Nature has chosen as wide a field for the establishment of this law, as the abode of mankind would allow: she organized man as variously as the human species could be organized on this Earth. She placed the negro close to the ape; and she offered for solution the grand problem of humanity, to all people, of all times, from the intellect of the æthiop to the most refined understanding. Scarcely a nation upon Earth is without the necessaries of life, to which want and instinct guide: for the greater refinement of man's condition more genial climates produce a race of finer mould. But as all beauty and perfection of order lie in the midst of two extremes; the most beautiful form of reason and humanity must find its place in the temperate middle region. And this it has abundantly found, according to the natural law of this general fitness. For though scarcely any of the asiatic nations can be absolved from that indolence, which rested satisfied too early with good institutions, and regarded hereditary forms as sacred and unalterable; yet they must be excused, when the vast extent of their continent is considered, together with the circumstances to which they were exposed, particularly beyond the mountains. Upon the whole, their first attempts at the promotion of humanity, early as they were, considered each in its place and time, deserve praise; and still less can we refrain from acknowledging the progress made by the more active nations on the coasts of the Mediterranean sea. These shook off the despotic yoke of ancient forms of government and traditions, and gave thereby an example of the great and good law of human destiny: that, whatever a nation, or a whole race of men, wills for its own good with firm conviction, and pursues with energy, Nature, who has set up for man's aim neither despots nor traditions, but the best form of humanity, will assuredly grant.

The fundamental principle of this divine law of nature reconciles us wonderfully not only with the appearance of our species all over the Globe, but likewise with its variations through the different periods of time. Every where man is what he was capable of rendering himself, what he had the will and the power to become. Were he contented with his condition, or were the means of his improvement not yet ripened in the ample field of time; he remained for ages what he was, and became nothing more. But if he employed the instruments God had given him for his use, his understanding, power, and all the opportunities that a favourable current conveyed to him; he raised himself higher with art, and improved himself with courage. If he did not this, his very indolence showed, that he was little sensible of his misfortune: for every lively feeling of injustice, accompanied by intelligence and strength, must become an emancipating power. The long submission to despotism, for in-

stance, arose by no means from the overbearing might of the despots: the easy, confiding weakness of their subjects, and latterly their patient indolence, were it's great and only supports. For, it must be confessed, it is easier to bear with patience, than to redress ourselves with vigour; and hence so many nations have forborn to assert the right, that God has conferred on them in the divine gift of reason.

Still there is no doubt, generally speaking, that what has not yet appeared upon Earth will at some future period appear: for no prescription is a bar to the rights of man, and the powers, that God has implanted in him, are ineradicable. We are astonished, to see how far the greeks and romans advanced in a few centuries, in their sphere of objects: for, though the aim of their exertions was not always the most pure, they proved, that they were capable of reaching it. Their image shines in history, and animates every one, who resembles them, to similar and better exertions, under the same and greater assistance of fate. In this view the whole history of nations is to us a school, for instructing us in the course, by which we are to reach the lovely goal of humanity and worth. So many celebrated nations of old attained an inferiour aim: why should not we succeed in the pursuit of a purer and more noble object? They were men like us: their call to the best form of humanity was ours, according to the circumstances of the times, to our knowledge, and to our duties. What they could perform without a miracle, we can and ought to perform: the deity assists us only by means of our own industry, our own understanding, our own powers. When he had created the Earth, and all it's irrational inhabitants, he formed man, and said to him: 'be my image; a god upon Earth; rule and dispose. Whatever of noble and excellent thy nature will permit thee to produce, bring forth: I will assist thee by no miracle; for I have placed thy own fate in thy own hand: but all my sacred, eternal laws of nature will be thy aids.'

Let us consider some of these natural laws, which, according to the testimony of history, have promoted the progress of humanity in our species; and, as truly as they are the natural laws of God, will continue, to promote it.

CHAPTER II.

All the destructive Powers in Nature must not only yield in the Course of Time to the maintaining Powers, but must ultimately be subservient to the Consummation of the Whole.

EXAMPLE the first. As the substance of future worlds lay floating in infinite space, the creator of these worlds was pleased, to leave matter to form itself by means of the internal energies imparted to it. Toward the centre of the whole, the Sun, whatever could find no course of it's own, or was attracted by the superiour power of this orb, bent it's way. Whatever found another centre of attraction revolved in like manner around it, and either tended to it's great focus in an elliptical orbit, or flew off in a parabola or hyperbola, and returned no more. Thus the ether purified itself: thus from a confused fluctuating chaos arose an harmonious system of worlds, according to which earths and comets have revolved for ages in regular orbits round their sun: an eternal proof, that *order arose out of confusion by means of divine implanted powers.* As long as this grand and simple law of all powers numbered and balanced against each other endures, the structure of the universe stands firm; for it is founded on a divine rule and quality.

Second example. In like manner as our Earth formed itself from a shapeless mass into a planet, it's elements struggled and contended upon it, till each found it's place; so that, after much wild confusion, all are now become subservient to the harmoniously regulated orb. Land and water, air and fire, seasons and climates, winds and currents, and all it's atmospherical phenomena, obey one great law of it's form and density, it's motion and distance from the Sun, and are regulated in harmony with these. Those innumerable volcanoes, that once flamed on the surface of our Earth, flame on it no longer: the ocean no longer boils with those vitriolic effusions, and other matters, that once covered the surface of our land. Millions of creatures have perished, that were fated to perish: whatever could preserve itself abides, and still, after the lapse of thousands of years, remains in great harmonious order. Wild animals and tame, carnivorous and graminivorous insects, birds, fishes, and man, are adapted to each other; and among all these, male and female, birth and death, the term and stages of life, wants and enjoyments, necessities and gratifications. Not, however, at the will of a daily changing, inexplicable order; but according to

evident laws of nature, inherent in the structure of the creatures themselves, that is, *in the relation of all the organic powers, which have animated and maintained themselves on our planet.* As long as the natural law of this structure and relation endures, it's consequences will likewise endure; namely harmonious order between the animate and inanimate parts of our creation, which, as the interior of our Earth evinces, was producible only by the destruction of millions.

What? and shall not this law, conformable to the internal powers of nature, educing order out of chaos, and converting into regularity the confusion of human affairs, prevail in the life of man? Undoubtedly it does: we bear it's principle within us, and it must and will act suitably to it's nature. All the errors of man are mists of truth: all the passions of his breast are wild impulses of a power, which yet knows not itself, but, according to it's nature, acts only for the best. Even the tempests of the ocean, those frequent engines of ravage and destruction, are the offspring of an harmonious order of things, to which they are not less subservient than the gentle zephyr. It is hoped a few observations may be placed in such a light, as to confirm this pleasing truth.

1. As the storms of the sea occur less frequently than moderate gales, so in the human species nature has benevolently ordered, *that fewer destroyers than preservers should be born.*

It is a divine law in the animal kingdom, that not so many lions and tigers are capable of existence, and actually exist, as sheep and doves: in history we find the same beneficent disposition of things; so that we have a much smaller number of Nebuchadnezzars, Cambyfes, Alexanders, Syllas, Attilas, and Genghis-Khans, than of less ferocious generals, or quiet peaceful monarchs. To the production of the former either very inordinate passions, and faulty natural dispositions, are requisite, whence they appear to the Earth as fiery meteors instead of associate planets; or singular circumstances of education, rare occurrences of early habit, or the imperious demands of hostile, political necessity, stir up these scourges of divine wrath, as they are called, against mankind, and keep up their relentless swing. If it be true, therefore, that Nature deviates not from her course on our account, when, among the innumerable varieties of form and temperament she produces, she occasionally exhibits to the World men of unruly passions, spirits of destruction, not of preservation; still it remains in men's own power, not to entrust their flocks to these wolves and tigers, and even to tame them by the laws of humanity. The wild ox no longer appears in Europe, which formerly enjoyed it's forest domains in every part of it; and Rome

at length found it difficult, to procure the number of african monsters, she required for her amphitheatres. In proportion as lands are cultivated, deserts are diminished, and their wild inhabitants become more rare. In the human species the increasing civilization of man has had a similar effect; his disposition to unruly passions giving way with his decrease of strength, a more delicate creature was formed. With all this, irregularities are possible; and these frequently rage more perniciously, from being founded on infantile weakness, as the examples of many roman and eastern despots show: however, as a spoiled child is always more easy to restrain than a bloodthirsty tiger, Nature, with her corrective regulations, has taught us the way to rule the lawless, and tame the insatiable savage, by increasing diligence. If there be no longer regions of dragons, to employ the arms of the giants of antiquity, we require no herculean destructive powers against men themselves. Heroes of this stamp may pursue their bloody game on Caucasus, or in Africa, and there seek new minotaurs to encounter: the society in which they live possesses the undoubted right itself to destroy all the flame-breathing oxen of a Geryon. It suffers by its own fault, if it tamely yield itself up to them as a prey; as it was the fault of the nations themselves, that they did not unite against desolating Rome with all the force of a common league, to maintain the freedom of the World.

2. *The progress of history shows, that, as true humanity has increased, the destructive demons of the human race have diminished in number; and this from the inherent natural laws of a self-enlightening reason and policy.*

In proportion as reason increases among mankind, men must learn from their infancy to perceive, that there is a nobler greatness, than the inhuman greatness of tyrants; and that it is more laudable, as well as more difficult, to form, than to ravage a nation, to establish cities, than to destroy them. The industrious egyptians, the ingenious greeks, the mercantile phenicians, not only make a more pleasing figure in history, but enjoyed, during the period of their existence, a more useful and agreeable life, than the destroying persians, the conquering romans, the avaricious cartlaginians. The remembrance of the former still lives with fame, and their influence upon Earth will continue eternally with increasing power; while the ravagers, with their demoniacal might, reaped no farther benefit, than that of becoming a wretched, luxurious people, amid the ruins of their plunder, and at last quaffing off the poisoned draught of severe retaliation. Such was the fate of the assyrians, babylonians, persians, romans: even the greeks received more injury from their internal dissensions, and from their luxury in many cities and provinces, than from the sword of the enemy. Now as these are fundamental principles of a natural order, which not

only shows itself in particular cases of history, or in fortuitous instances; but is founded on its own intrinsic properties, that is, on the nature of oppression and an overstretched power, or on the consequences of victory, luxury and arrogance, as on the laws of a disturbed equiponderance, and holds on coeternally with the course of things: why must we be compelled to doubt, that this law of Nature is not as generally acknowledged as any other, and does not operate, from the forcibleness with which it is perceived, with the infallible efficacy of a natural truth? What may be brought to mathematical certainty, and political demonstration, must be acknowledged as truth, soon or late; for no one has yet questioned the accuracy of the multiplication table or the propositions of Euclid.

Even our brief history already demonstrates beyond all doubt, that the increased diffusion of true knowledge among people has happily diminished their inhuman, mad destroyers. Since the downfall of Rome there has arisen no other cultivated nation in Europe, which has founded the whole of its constitution on war and conquest; for the military nations of the middle ages were rude and savage. In proportion as they advanced in civilization, and learned to have a regard for their property, the more amiable and peaceful spirit of industry, of agriculture, of trade, and of science, forced itself upon them unnoticed, or indeed often against their wills. Men learned to use without destroying, as what was destroyed was no longer capable of being used; and thus in time, from the nature of the case itself, a peaceful balance between nations took place; for, after centuries of wild warring, all began to perceive, that the object of every one's wish was not to be attained, unless they contributed to promote it in common. Even that, which of all things appeared most to require exclusive possession, commerce, could take no other way; as it is a law of nature, against which passions and prejudice are ultimately of no avail. Every commercial nation of Europe now laments, and will hereafter lament still more, what envy or superstition once prompted it foolishly to destroy. As reason increases, the object of navigation will proportionably turn from conquest to trade; which is founded on reciprocal justice and courtesy, on a progressive emulation to excel in arts and industry, in short, on humanity and its eternal laws.

Our minds feel inward satisfaction, when they not only perceive the balm, which flows from the laws of human nature, but see it spread, and make its way among mankind, even against their wills, from its natural force. God himself could not divest man of the capability of error; but he implanted this in the nature of human mistakes, that soon or late they should show themselves to

be such, and become evident to the calculating creature. No prudent sovereign of Europe now governs his provinces, as did the kings of Persia, or even the romans themselves; if not from philanthropic motives, yet from a clearer insight into the business, as with the course of time political calculation has become more certain, easy, and perspicuous. A madman only would build egyptian pyramids in our days; and any one, that should attempt such useles enterprizes, would be deemed insane by all the rational part of the World, if not from his want of love for the people, yet from considerations of economy. The bloody combats of gladiators, and barbarous fights with animals, are no longer suffered among us: the human species has run through these wild tricks of youth, and learned at length to see, that it's mad frolics cost more than they are worth. In like manner, we no longer require the poor oppressed slaves of the romans, or helots of Sparta; because in our constitutions we know how to obtain more easily from free beings, what they accomplished with more danger, and even expense, by means of human animals: nay the time must come, when we shall look back with as much compassion on our inhuman traffic in negroes, as on the ancient roman slaves, or spartan helots; if not from humanity, yet from calculation. In short, we have to thank God, for having given us, with our weak fallible nature, reason, that immortal beam from his sun, the effence of which it is to dispel night, and show things in their real forms.

3. *The progress of arts and inventions puts into the hands of man increasing means of restraining or rendering innocuous, what Nature herself cannot eradicate.*

The surface of the sea must be ruffled by storms, and the mother of all things could not dispense with them for man's advantage. But what did she bestow on him, to compensate these? The art of navigation. These very storms excited man, to invent the elaborate structure of his complicated ship, which enables him not merely to escape the storm, but to profit by it's rage, and sail on it's wings.

The wandering mariner, tossed on the ocean, could not call the sons of Tyn-darus to appear and direct him on his course; accordingly he himself invented his guide the compass, and sought in the skies his Dioscuri, the Sun, the Moon, and the stars. Thus equipped with art he launched out on the boundless ocean, and braved it from the equator to the arctic circle.

Nature could not take from man the destructive element of fire, without depriving him of manhood itself: but then, what did she bestow on him by means of fire? Multifarious art: art not only to set bounds to the devouring poison, and render it innocent, but even to employ it for a thousand beneficial

It is the same with the raging passions of man, as with these storms on the ocean, with this raging element of fire. By and in these the human species has sharpened its reason, and invented a thousand means, regulations, and arts, not only to restrain them, but even to turn them to advantage, as all history shows. A race of men without passions would never have cultivated their understanding; they would have still lain as troglodytes in some cave.

Man-devouring war, for example, was during ages the trade of robbery rudely exercised. It was long the practice of men swayed by turbulent passions; for while personal strength, cunning, and address, were its requisites, it could cherish only the dangerous virtues of robbers and murderers, even in those who possessed the most laudable qualities; as the wars of ancient times, of the middle ages, and even some of modern date, abundantly testify. But in the midst of this depraving trade the art of war was invented, perhaps involuntarily; for the inventors of this art perceived not, that it would sap the foundations of war itself. In proportion as the art of fighting became a profound study, and various mechanical inventions were introduced into it, the passions and brute strength of individuals became useless. Soldiers were converted into mere machines, moved by the mind of a single general, and at the order of a few commanders; till at length sovereigns alone were permitted to play this dangerous and costly game, while in ancient times almost all warlike nations were continually in arms. We have seen proofs of this in several asiatic nations, and not less in the greeks and romans. The latter were for centuries almost constantly in the field: the volscian war continued 106 years; the samnite, 71: the city of Veii was besieged ten years, like a second Troy: and the destructive peloponnesian war of 28 years among the greeks is sufficiently known. But as in all wars, to fall in battle is the least of evils, while the diseases and devastation, that attend the motions of an army, or the siege of a town, with the lawless spirit of plunder, that then pervades all ranks and conditions, are much greater evils, which passion-stirring war calls forth in a thousand frightful forms; we may thank the greeks and romans, and still more the inventors of gunpowder and firearms, for having reduced the most savage trade to an art, and latterly indeed the most honourable art of crowned heads. Since kings have personally engaged in this game of honour, with armies as devoid of passion as numerous, we are secured from sieges of ten years duration, or wars of seventy, carried on merely for the honour of the commander; for the very magnitude of an army is sufficient to prevent the continuance of war. Thus, conformably to an unalterable law of nature, the evil itself has produced some good; the art of war having suppressed in a certain degree the practice of

warfare. This art has likewise diminished plunder and devastation, if not from philanthropy, yet for the honour of the general. The laws of war, and the treatment of prisoners, are become incomparably milder, than they were even among the greeks; not to mention the public security, which first existed merely in warlike states. The whole roman empire, for instance, enjoyed security in it's highways, as they were covered by the wings of it's eagles; while travelling was dangerous to a foreigner in Asia and Africa, and even in Greece, because in these countries a general spirit of security was wanting. Thus the poison was converted into a medicine, as soon as it came into the hands of art: generations indeed were swept away, but the immortal whole outlived the sufferings of the parts that disappeared, and learned good even from evil.

If this be true of the art of war, it must still more of the science of politics; the study of which, however, is more intricate, as in it centres the welfare of a whole nation. Even the savages of America have their politics; yet in how confined a state! being of advantage indeed to a few particular families, but by no means securing the whole people from ruin. Several little nations have exterminated one another; others are so thinned, that a similar fate probably awaits many of them, from their unequal contest with the small-pox, spirituous liquors, and the avarice of europeans. The more the political system of a state became an art, both in Asia and Europe, the more stable it was in itself, and the more closely it was connected with others, so that one could not fall without the rest. Thus stands China, thus Japan; ancient edifices, the foundations of which lie deep beneath their walls. The constitution of Greece, the principal republics of which contended centuries for the balance of power, was still more elaborate. Common dangers united them: and had the union been perfect, these active people would have withstood Philip and the romans with no less glory, than they once gained against Xerxes and Darius. The defective politics of the neighbouring nations alone gave Rome her advantage: separately they were attacked; separately they were conquered. Rome experienced a similar fate, when she declined in the arts of war and politics: so did Judea; and so did Egypt. No people, whose state is well regulated, can perish, even supposing them to be conquered, as China shows even with all it's faults.

The utility of an art profoundly understood is more evident, when we speak of the internal economy of a country, it's trade, it's administration of justice, it's sciences, and it's manufactures. In all these it is obvious, the greater the art, the more the advantage. A true merchant employs no deception, because deceit never

leads to wealth: as the man of real learning never makes a parade of false science; as the judge, who deserves the name, is never knowingly unjust; for this would be to confess themselves tyroes, not masters of their arts. As certainly must the time come, when the irrational politician will be ashamed of his ignorance; and when it will be as absurd and ridiculous, to be a tyrannical despot, as it has ever been detestable. It will then be clear as day, that every irrational politician reckons with an erroneous multiplication table, and that, however great the sums he calculates, no real advantage is obtained from them. For this history is written; and in the course of it the proofs of this proposition will become evident. All the faults of government must precede, and exhaust themselves as it were; that, after all their disorders, man may at length perceive the happiness of his species to depend not on any thing arbitrary, but on an essential law of nature, on reason and equity. To the development of this law we now proceed; and may the internal force of truth stamp light and conviction on the proposition.

CHAPTER III.

The human Race is destined to proceed through various Degrees of Civilization, in various Mutations; but the Permanency of it's Welfare is founded solely and essentially on Reason and Justice.

FIRST natural law. It is demonstrated in physical mathematics, that to the permanent condition of a thing a sort of perfection is requisite, a maximum or minimum, arising out of the mode of action of the powers of that thing. Thus, for example, our Earth could not possess durability, if it's centre of gravity did not lie deep within it, and all it's powers act to and from this, in equiponderating harmony. Every stable being, therefore, bears in itself, according to this beautiful law of nature, it's physical truth, goodness, and necessity, as the grounds of it's stability.

Second natural law. It is in like manner demonstrated, that all perfection and beauty of compound, limited things, or systems of them, rest on such a maximum. Thus similitude and difference, simplicity in means and diversity in effects, the slightest application of power to attain the most certain or profitable end, form a kind of symmetry and harmonious proportion, universally observed by Nature, in her laws of motion, in the form of her creatures, in the greatest things and in the least; and imitated by the art of man, as far as his powers extend. In this, many rules limit each other, so that what would be greater according to

one is diminished by another, till the compound whole attains the most beautiful form, with the greatest economy, and at the same time internal consistency, goodness, and truth. An excellent law, which banishes from Nature every thing arbitrary, and all disorder; and displays to us, even in every variable and limited part of the creation, a rule of the highest beauty.

Third natural law. It is equally proved, that, *if a being, or system of beings, be forced out of this permanent condition of its truth, goodness, and beauty, it will again approach it by its internal powers, either in vibrations, or in an asymptote; as out of this state it finds no stability.* The more active and multifarious the powers, the less is the imperceptible straight course of the asymptote possible, and the more violent the vibrations and oscillations, till the disturbed subject attain an equilibrium of its powers, or harmony in their movements, and therefore with the permanent condition essential to it.

Now as mankind, both taken as a whole, and in its particular individuals, societies, and nations, is a permanent natural system of the most multifarious living powers; let us examine, wherein its stability consists; in what point its highest beauty, truth, and goodness, unite; and what course it takes, in order to reapproach its permanent condition, on every aberration from it, of which many are exhibited to us by history and experience.

1. The human species is such a copious scheme of energies and capacities, that, as every thing in nature rests on the most determinate individuality, its great and numerous capacities could not appear on our planet otherwise than *divided among millions*. Every thing has been born, that could be born upon it; and every thing has maintained itself, that could acquire a state of permanence according to the laws of Nature. Thus every individual bears within himself that symmetry, for which he is made, and to which he must mould himself, both in his bodily figure, and mental capacities. Human existence appears in every shape and kind, from the most sickly deformity, that can scarcely support life, to the superhuman form of a grecian demigod; from the passionate ardour of the negro brain, to the capacity for consummate wisdom. Through faults and errors, through education, necessity, and exercise, every mortal seeks the symmetry of his powers; as in this alone the most complete enjoyment of his existence lies: yet few are sufficiently fortunate, to attain it in the purest, happiest manner.

2. As an individual man can subsist of himself but very imperfectly, a *superior maximum of cooperating powers* is formed with every society. These powers contend together in wild confusion, till, agreeably to the unfailing laws of nature, opposing regulations limit each other, and a kind of equilibrium and harmony

of movement takes place. Thus nations modify themselves, according to time, place, and their internal character: each bears in itself the standard of its perfection, totally independent of all comparison with that of others. Now the more pure and fine the maximum on which a people hit, the more useful the objects to which it applied the exertions of its nobler powers, and, lastly, the more firm and exact the bond of union, which most intimately connected all the members of the state, and guided them to this good end; the more stable was the nation itself, and the more brilliant the figure it made in history. The course that we have hitherto taken through certain nations shows how different, according to place, time, and circumstances, was the object for which they strove. With the chinese it was refined political morality; with the hindoos, a kind of retired purity, quiet assiduity in labour, and endurance; with the phenicians, the spirit of navigation, and commercial industry. The culture of the greeks, particularly at Athens, proceeded on the maximum of sensible beauty, both in arts and manners, in science and in political institutions. In Sparta, and in Rome, men emulated the virtues of the patriot and hero; in each, however, in a very different mode. Now as in all these most depended on time and place, the ancients will scarcely admit of being compared with each other in the most distinguished features of national fame.

3. In all, however, we see the operation of *one principle*, namely *human reason*, which endeavours to produce unity out of multiplicity, order out of disorder, and out of variety of powers and designs one symmetrical and durably beautiful whole. From the shapeless artificial rocks, with which the chinese ornaments his garden, to the egyptian pyramid, or the ideal beauty of Greece, the plan and design of a reflecting understanding is every where observable, though in very different degrees. The more refined the reflections of this understanding were, and the nearer it came to the point, which is the highest in its kind, and admits no deviation to the right or to the left; the more were its performances to be considered as models, for they contain eternal rules for the human understanding in all ages. Thus nothing of the kind can be conceived superior to an egyptian pyramid, or to several greek and roman works of art. They are simple solutions of certain problems of the understanding, which admit no arbitrary supposition, that the problems are perhaps not yet solved, or might be solved in a better way; for in them the simple idea of what they ought to be is displayed in the easiest, fullest, and most beautiful manner. Every deviation from them would be a fault; and were they to be repeated and diversified in a thousand modes, we must still return to that single point, which is the highest of its kind.

4. Thus through all the polished nations, that we have hitherto considered, or shall hereafter consider, a *chain of cultivation* may be drawn, flying off in extremely divergent curves. In each it designates increasing and decreasing greatness, and has maximums of every kind. Many of these exclude or limit one another, till at length a certain symmetry takes place in the whole; so that were we to reason from one perfection of any nation concerning another, we should form very treacherous conclusions. Thus, because Athens had exquisite orators, it does not follow, that it's form of government must likewise have been the best possible; or that, because the chinese moralize so excellently, their state must be a pattern for all others. Forms of government refer to a very different maximum, from that of beautiful morals, or a pathetic oration; notwithstanding, at bottom, all things in any nation have a certain connexion, if it be only that of exclusion and limitation. No other maximum, but that of the most perfect bond of union, produces the most happy states; even supposing the people are in consequence obliged, to dispense with many shining qualities.

5. But in one and the same nation every maximum of it's commendable endeavours ought not and cannot endure for ever; since it is but one point in the progress of time. This incessantly moves on; and the more numerous the circumstances, on which the beautiful effect depends, the sooner is it liable to pass away. Happy if it's master pieces remain as rules for future ages; since those that immediately succeed approach them too near, and will probably obliterate by attempting to excel them. Even the most active people frequently sink most speedily from the boiling to the freezing point.

The history of particular sciences and nations has to calculate these maxima, and I wish we had such a history only of the most celebrated nations during the periods best known. At present we speak only of human history in general, and of it's state of permanence in every form and climate. This is nothing else than *humanity*, that is, *reason and equity in all conditions, and in all occupations of men*. And this indeed it is, not through the will of a sovereign, or the persuasive power of tradition, but through natural laws, on which the essence of man repose. Even his most corrupt institutions cry aloud: 'had not a glimmering of equity and reason been retained in us, we should long have ceased to be, nay we never should have existed.' As the whole tissue of human history proceeds from this point, to it we must carefully bend our view.

First. What is it we esteem, and after which we inquire, in all human works? *Reason, plan, and purpose*. If these be wanting, nothing human is accomplished, a blind power is displayed. Wherever our understanding roams

throughout the wide field of history, it seeks only itself, it finds only itself. The nearer it approaches pure truth, and the good of mankind, in all its undertakings; the more durable, useful, and beautiful are its works, and the more their rules meet the hearts and minds of all people, in all ages. Socrates and Confucius, Plato, Cicero, and Zoroaster, agree unanimously in what constitutes clear understanding, and just morals: in spite of their various differences, they have all laboured to one point, on which our whole species rests. As the wanderer enjoys no greater delight, than when he every where discovers, even unexpectedly, the traces of a thinking, feeling mind, like his own; so are we delighted when in the history of our species the echo of all ages and nations reverberates nothing from the noblest minds, but truth and benevolence towards man. As my reason seeks the connexion of things, and my heart rejoices when it perceives it; so has every honest man sought it: though, probably, from the point of view which his situation afforded, he saw it differently, and differently described it. Where he erred, he erred both for himself and me, as he warned me against similar errors. Where he guides me truly, instructs, solaces, animates me, he is my brother; a sharer in the same soul of the World, the one human reason, the one human truth.

Secondly. As there is not a more pleasing sight in all history, than that of a man of goodness and understanding, who, in spite of all the changes of fortune, remains the same in every period of his life, and in every thing he does; so our pity is excited in a thousand ways, when we perceive even in great and good men errors of the understanding, which, according to the laws of nature, cannot fail to bring upon them necessary pains. We too frequently meet with these fallen angels in history, and have to lament the weakness of the moulds, that human reason employs for her instruments. How little can a mortal bear, without bending underneath the load! how little that is extraordinary can come in his way, without turning him from it! A slight honour, a glimpse of good fortune, or an unexpected occurrence in life, is a sufficient ignis fatuus, to mislead one into quagmires, or over precipices: another is ignorant of his own powers, attempts what is above his strength, and faints under the enterprise. We are seized with sentiments of compassion, when we perceive such, unfortunately fortunate, on the point of deviating from the path of reason, justice, and happiness, which they feel the want of strength any longer to pursue. Behind them stands the grasping fury, and impels them against their will to overstep the line of moderation: they are now in her hand, and probably will suffer during the remainder of their lives the consequences of a slight folly, and dereliction of reason. Or if Fortune have raised them too high, and they feel

themselves on her highest pinnacle, what presents itself to their foreboding minds, but the inconstancy of this fickle goddess, and misfortune bursting from the very seeds of their success? In vain, compassionate Cæsar, didst thou turn aside thy face, when the head of thy defeated enemy Pompey was brought to thee, and build a temple to Nemesis. Already thou hadst passed the confines of Fortune, as well as the banks of the Rubicon; the goddess was now behind thee, and thy bloody corse was doomed, to fall at the feet of the statue of that very Pompey. The constitutions of countries experience a similar fate, as they depend on the reason or folly of a few, who are their rulers, or by whom their rulers are swayed. The most beautiful institutions, which promised mankind the most profitable fruits for ages, have often been torn to pieces by the folly of an individual, who has felled the tree, instead of lopping a few of its branches. Success is most difficult to be born by whole realms, as well as by individuals; whether they be governed by monarchs and despots, or by senates and the people. The people and the despot are the least capable of perceiving the warning nod of the goddess of fate: dazzled by the splendour of vainglory, or made giddy by the sound of a name, they rush beyond the bounds of prudence and humanity, and perceive the consequences of their folly too late. This was the fate of Rome, of Athens, and of many nations; as well as of Alexander, and most of the conquerors, that have disturbed the peace of the World: for Injustice is the ruin of every country, as Folly of every human undertaking. These are the furies of Fate: Misfortune is no more than their younger sister, the third member of the fearful confederacy.

Great father of mankind, what an easy yet difficult lesson hast thou given thy family upon Earth for the whole of their task! They have nothing to learn, but reason and justice alone: if they practise these, light gradually enters their minds, goodness their hearts, perfection their states, happiness their lives. Endowed with these gifts, and making proper application of them, the negro may form his society as well as the greek, the troglodyte as well as the chinese. Experience will lead each farther; and Reason, united with Equity, will give consistence, beauty, and symmetry, to his undertakings. But if he desert these, the essential guides of his life, what can give stability to his good-fortune, and save him from the furies of Inhumanity?

Thirdly. It follows likewise, that, whenever the equilibrium of reason and humanity is disturbed among men, a return to it seldom occurs, except by violent oscillations from one extreme to the other. One passion kicks up the scale of reason, another drives it down, and thus history goes on for years

and ages, before the period of tranquillity returns. Thus Alexander destroyed the equilibrium of an extensive region of the World; and it was long after his death before the storm subsided. Thus Rome disturbed the peace of the Globe for more than a thousand years; and half a World of savage nations was requisite for the slow restoration of it's quiet. The peaceable progress of an asymptote could by no means be expected, in these convulsions of countries and nations. The channel of cultivation on our Earth, with it's abrupt corners, it's salient and reentering angles, scarcely ever exhibits a gentle stream, but rather the rushing of a torrent from the mountains. Such are the effects of human passions. It is evident, too, that the general composition of our species is calculated and established on such alternating vibrations. As our walk is a continual falling to the right and to the left, and yet we advance at every step; so is the progress of cultivation in races of men, and in whole nations. Individually we often try both extremes, before we hit the point of rest, as the pendulum oscillates from side to side. Generations are renewed in continual change; and in spite of all the direct precepts of tradition, the son advances in his own way. Aristotle was assiduous to distinguish himself from Plato, Epicurus from Zeno, till more tranquil posterity could at last impartially profit by both extremes. Thus, as in the machine of our body, the work of time proceeds to the good of the human race by necessary opposition, and acquires from it permanent health. But through whatever turnings and angles the stream of human reason may wind and break, it arose from the eternal fountain of truth, and by virtue of it's nature can never be lost in it's course. Whoever draws from it, draws life and duration.

For the rest, both reason and justice hinge *on one and the same law of nature*, from which the stability of our being likewise flows. Reason weighs and compares the relations of things, that she may dispose them in durable symmetry. Justice is nothing else than a moral symmetry of reason, the formula of the equilibrium of contending powers, on the harmony of which the whole creation repose. Thus one and the same law reaches from the Sun, and from all the suns in the universe, to the most insignificant human action: one law upholds all beings, and their systems; *the relation of their powers to periodical rest and order.*

CHAPTER IV.

From the Laws of their internal Nature, Reason and Justice must gain more Footing among Men in the Course of Time, and promote a more durable Humanity.

ALL the doubts and complaints of men, respecting the uncertainty and little observable progress of good in history, arise from this, that the melancholy wanderer sees too little on his way. If he extended his view, and impartially compared with each other the times, that we most accurately know from history; farther, if he dived into the nature of man, and weighed what truth and reason are; he would doubt as little of their progress, as of the most indisputable physical truth. For thousands of years our sun and all the fixed stars were supposed to be immovable: a fortunate telescope now permits us no longer to doubt of their movement. So in some future age, a more accurate comparison of the periods exhibited in the history of our species will not merely give us a superficial view of this exhilarating truth, but, in spite of all apparent disorder, will enable us to calculate the laws, according to which this progress is effected by the power of human nature. Standing on the verge of ancient history, as on a central point, I shall do no more than cursorily note a few general principles, which will serve as leading stars, to guide us on our future way.

First. Times connect themselves together, in virtue of their nature; and with them the child of Time, the race of mankind, with all its operations and productions.

No sophistical argument can lead us to deny, that our Earth has grown older in the course of some thousands of years; and that this wanderer round the Sun is greatly altered since its origin. In its bowels we perceive how it once was constituted; and we need but look around us, to see its present constitution. The ocean foams no longer; it is subsided peaceably into its bed: the wandering streams have found their shores; and plants and animals have run through a progressive series of years in their different races. As not a sun-beam has been lost upon our Earth since its creation; so no falling leaf, no wafted seed, no carcase of a decaying animal, and still less an action of any living being, has been without effect. Vegetation, for example, has increased, and extended itself as far as it could: every living race has spread within the limits nature assigned it, through the means of others: and even the senseless devastations of man, as well as his industry, have been active implements in the hand of Time. Fresh harvests have waved over the ruins of the cities he has

destroyed : the elements have strewed the dust of oblivion upon them ; and soon new generations have arisen, who have erected new buildings upon the old, and even with their ancient remains. Omnipotence itself cannot ordain, that effects shall not be effects : it cannot restore the Earth to what it was thousands of years ago, so that these thousands of years, with all their consequences, shall not have been.

Already therefore a certain progress of the human species is inseparable from the progress of Time, as far as man is included in the family of Time and Earth. Were the progenitor of mankind now to appear, and view his descendants, how would he be astonished ! His body was formed for a youthful Earth ; his frame, his ideas, and his way of life, must have been adapted to that constitution of the elements, which then prevailed ; and considerable alteration in this must have taken place, in the course of six thousand years or upwards. In many parts America is no longer what it was when discovered : two thousand years hence, its ancient history will have the air of romance. Thus we read the history of the siege of Troy, and seek in vain the spot where it stood ; in vain the grave of Achilles, or the godlike hero himself. / Were a collection of all the accounts, that have been given of the size and figure of the ancients, of the kind and quantity of their food, of their daily occupations and amusements, and of their notions of love and marriage, the virtues and the passions, the purpose of life and a future existence, made with discriminating accuracy, and with regard to time and place, it would be of no small advantage toward a history of man. / Even in this short period, an advancement of the species would be sufficiently conspicuous to evince both the consistency of ever-youthful Nature, and the progressive changes of our old mother Earth. Earth nurses not man alone : she presses all her children to one bosom, embraces all in the same maternal arms : and, when one changes, all must undergo change.

It is undeniable, too, that this progress of time has influenced the mode of thinking of the human species. Bid a man now invent, now sing an Iliad ; bid him write like Æschylus, like Sophocles, like Plato : it is impossible. The childish simplicity, the unprejudiced mode of seeing things, in short the youthful period of the greeks, is gone by. It is the same with the hebrews, and the romans ; while on the other hand we are acquainted with a number of things, of which both the romans and the hebrews were ignorant. One day teaches another, one century instructs another century : tradition is enriched : the muse of Time, History, herself sings with a hundred voices, speaks with a hundred tongues. Be there as much filth, as much confusion, as there will, in the vast snowball rolled up by Time ; yet this very confusion is the offspring of ages,

which could have arisen only from the unwearied rolling on of one and the same thing. Thus every return to the ancient times, even the celebrated year of Plato, is a fiction, is, from the ideas of the World and of Time, an impossibility. We float onward : but the stream that has once flowed, returns no more to its source.

Secondly. *The habitations of mankind render the progress of the human species still more evident.*

Where are the times when people dwelled as troglodytes, dispersed about in caves, behind their walls, and every stranger was an enemy ? Merely from the course of time no cave, no wall, afforded security : men must learn to know one another ; for collectively they are but one family, on one planet of no great extent. It is a melancholy reflection, that every where they first learned to know one another as enemies, and beheld each other with astonishment as so many wolves : but such was the order of nature. The weak feared the strong ; the deceived, the deceiver ; he who had been expelled, him who could again expel him ; the unexperienced child, every stranger. This infantile fear, however, and all its abuses, could not alter the course of nature : the bond of union between nations was knit, though, from the rude state of man, in a rough manner. Growing reason may burst the knots, but cannot untwist the band, and still less undo the discoveries, that have once been made. What are the geologies of Moses and Orpheus, Homer and Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny, compared with ours ? What was the commerce of the phenicians, greeks, and romans, to the trade of Europe ? Thus with what has hitherto been effected the clew to the labyrinth of what is to be done is given us. Man, while he continues man, will not cease from wandering over his planet, till it is completely known to him : from this neither storms nor shipwreck, nor those vast mountains of ice, nor all the perils of either pole, will deter him ; no more than they have deterred him from the first most difficult attempts, even when navigation was very defective. The incentive to all these enterprizes lies in his own breast, lies in man's nature. Curiosity, and the insatiable desire of wealth, fame, discovery, and increase of strength, and even new wants and discontents, inseparable from the present course of things, will impel him ; and they by whom dangers have been surmounted in former times, his celebrated and successful predecessors, will animate him. Thus the will of providence will be promoted both by good and bad incentives, till man knows and acts upon the whole of his species. To him the Earth is given ; and he will not desist, till it is wholly his own, at least as far as regards knowledge and use. Are we

not already ashamed, that one hemisphere of our planet remained for so long a time as unknown to us, as if it had been the other side of the Moon?

Thirdly. *In consequence of the internal nature of the human mind, it's activity has hitherto been employed solely on means of grounding more deeply the humanity and cultivation of our species, and extending them farther.*

How vast the progress from the first raft that floated on the water to an european ship! Neither the inventor of the former, nor the many inventors of the various arts and sciences that contribute to navigation, ever formed the least conception of what would arise from the combination of their discoveries: each obeyed his particular impulse of want or curiosity: but it is inherent in the nature of the human intellect, and of the general connexion of all things, that no attempt, no discovery, can be made in vain. Those islanders, who had never seen an european vessel, beheld the monster with astonishment, as some prodigy of another World; and were still more astonished when they found, that men like themselves could guide it at pleasure over the trackless ocean. Could their astonishment have been converted into rational reflection on every great purpose, and every little mean, of this floating world of art, how much higher would their admiration of the human mind have arisen? Whither do not the hands of europeans at present reach, by means of this single implement? Whither may they not reach hereafter?

Beside this art, others innumerable have been invented within the space of a few years by mankind, that extend their sway over air and water, over Earth and Heaven. And when we reflect, that but few nations were engaged in this contest of mental activity, while the greater part of the rest slumbered in the lap of ancient custom; when we reflect, that almost all our inventions were made at very early periods, and scarcely any trace, scarcely any ruin, of an ancient structure, or an ancient institution, exists, that is not connected with our early history; what a prospect does this historically demonstrated activity of the human mind give us for the infinity of future ages! In the few centuries during which Greece flourished, in the few centuries of modern improvement, how much has been conceived, invented, done, reduced to order, and preserved for future ages, in Europe, the least quarter of the Globe, and almost in it's smallest parts! How prolific the seeds, that art and science have copiously shed, while one nourishes, one animates and excites the other! As when a string is touched, not only every thing that has music resounds to it, but all it's harmonious tones reecho the sound, till it becomes imperceptible; so the human mind has invented and created, when an harmonious point of it's interior has been hit. When a

new concord was struck, in a creation where every thing is connected, innumerable new concatenations followed of course.

But, it may be asked, how have all these arts and inventions been applied? Have practical reason and justice, and consequently the true improvement and happiness of the human species, been promoted by them? In reply I refer to what has recently been urged respecting the progress of disorder throughout the whole creation: that, according to an intrinsic law of nature, nothing can attain durability, which is the essential aim of all things, without order. A keen knife in the hand of a child may wound it: yet the art that invented and sharpened the knife is one of the most indispensable of arts. All that use such a knife are not children; and even the child will be taught by pain, to use it better. Artificial power in the hand of a despot, foreign luxury in a nation without controlling laws, are such pernicious implements: but the very mischief they do will render men wiser; and, soon or late, the art, that created luxury as well as despotism, will first confine both within due bounds, and then convert them into real benefits. The heavy ploughshare wears itself out by long use: the slight teeth of new watchwork gain merely by their revolution the more suitable and artful form of the epicycloid. Thus in human powers abuses carried to excess wear themselves down to good practices: extreme oscillations from side to side necessarily settle in the desirable mean of lasting fitness in a regular movement. Whatever is to take place among mankind will be effected by men: we suffer under our faults, till we learn of ourselves the better use of our faculties, without the assistance of miracles from Heaven.

We have not the least reason, therefore, to doubt, that every good employment of the human understanding necessarily must and will, at some time or other, promote humanity. Since agriculture has prevailed, men and acorns have ceased to be food. Man found, that he could live better, more decently, and more humanely, on the pleasing gifts of Ceres, than on the flesh of his fellows, or the fruits of the oak; and was compelled so to live by the laws of men wiser than himself. After men had learned to build houses and towns, they ceased to dwell in caves: under the laws of a commonweal, the poor stranger was no longer liable to death. Thus trade brought nations together: and the more it's advantages were generally understood; the less murders, oppressions, and deceptions, which are always signs of ignorance in commerce, would necessarily be practised. Every addition to the useful arts secures men's property, diminishes their labour, extends their sphere of activity, and necessarily lays therewith the foundations of farther cultivation and humanity. What labour was saved, for example, by the single invention of printing! What an extensive circulation of

men's ideas, arts, and sciences, did it promote? Were an european Kang-Ti now to attempt, to eradicate the literature of this quarter of the Globe, i.e. would find it impossible. Had the phenicians and carthaginians, the greeks and romans, possessed this art; the destruction of their literature would not have been so easy to their spoilers, if it could by any means have been accomplished. Let savage nations burst in upon Europe, they could not withstand our tactics; and no Attila will again extend his march from the shores of the Black sea and the Caspian to the plains of Catalonia. Let monks, fybarites, fanatics, and tyrants, arise, as they will; it is no longer in their power, to bring back the night of the middle ages. Now as no greater benefit can be conceived to arise from any art, divine or human, than not merely to bestow on us light and order, but from it's very nature to extend and secure them; let us thank the Creator, that he conferred *understanding* on mankind, and made *art* essential to it. In them we possess the secret and the means of securing order in the World.

Neither need we any way repine, that many excellently conceived theories, morals not excepted, have remained so long without being carried into practice among mankind. The child learns much, which the man alone can apply; but he has not therefore learned in vain. The youth heedlessly forgets, what at some future period he must take pains to recollect, or learn a second time. So no truth that is treasured up, nay no truth that is discovered, among a race continually renovating, is wholly in vain: future circumstances will render necessary what is now despised; and in the infinity of things every case must occur, that can in any way exercise the human species. As in the creation we first conceive the *power*, that formed Chaos, and then disposing *wisdom*, and harmonious *goodness*; so the natural order of mankind first developes rude powers: disorder itself must guide them into the path of understanding; and the farther the understanding pursues it's work, the more it perceives, that goodness alone can bestow on it durability, perfection, and beauty.

CHAPTER V.

A wise Goodness disposes the Fate of Mankind; therefore there is no nobler Merit, no purer and more durable Happiness, than to cooperate in it's Designs.

THE sensual contemplator of history, who in it has lost sight of God, and begun to doubt of Providence, has fallen into this misfortune, from having taken too superficial a view of his subject, or from having had no just conception of Providence. If he have considered Providence as an apparition, that was to

meet him at every turn, and continually interrupt the course of human actions, to accomplish this or that particular object of his will and fancy; I confess history is the grave of such a Providence, but certainly to the advantage of truth. For what kind of a Providence must it be, that every one could employ as a hobgoblin in the order of things, as the agent of his narrow designs, as the ally of his pitiful follies; so that the whole would ultimately remain without a master! The God, whom I seek in history, must be the same as in nature: for man is but a small part of the whole; and his history, like that of the grub, is intimately interwoven with that of the web he inhabits. In it, therefore, natural laws must prevail, that are inherent in the essence of things; and with which the deity is so far from being able to dispense, that he reveals himself in his supreme power, with invariable wisdom, goodness, and beauty, even in those which himself has founded. Every thing, that can take place upon Earth, must take place upon it, provided it happens according to rules, that carry their perfection within themselves. Let us repeat these rules, which we have already developed, as far as they regard the history of mankind: they all bear in themselves the stamp of wise goodness, of exalted beauty, and even of intrinsic necessity.

1. Every thing, that can live on our Earth, lives upon it: for every organization carries in it's essence an union of various powers, which limit each other, and thus limited are capable of attaining in themselves a maximum of durability. Could they not attain this, the powers would separate, and form unions of a different kind.

2. Among these organized bodies man arose, the crown of the terrestrial creation. Innumerable powers united in him, and attained a maximum, the understanding; as their material parts, the human body, did also, in the centre of gravity, according to laws of the most beautiful symmetry and order. Thus in the character of man were given the basis of his duration and happiness, the stamp of his destination, and the whole course of his earthly fate.

3. This character of man is termed intelligence: for it understands the language of God in the creation, that is, it seeks the rule of order, according to which things are founded connectedly on their essences. Thus it's intrinsic law is the perception of existence and truth; the connexion of creatures according to their relations and qualities. It is an image of the deity: for it investigates the laws of nature, the ideas in conformity to which the Creator connected them, and which he made essential to them. Reason, therefore, can no more act arbitrarily, than God himself has thought at random.

4. Man began to perceive and to examine the powers of nature from his im-

mediate wants. His aim extended no farther than to his well being, that is, to the due employment of his own powers in exercise and rest. He became connected with other beings; and still his own state of existence was the measure of his connexions. The rule of equity pressed itself upon him; for this is nothing more than practical reason, the measure of the actions and reactions of similar beings for the general security.

5. Human nature is constructed on this principle; so that no individual can suppose himself to exist for the sake of another, or of posterity. If the lowest in the rank of men follow the law of reason and justice, that is within him; he possesses consistency; that is, he enjoys durability and well being; he is rational, just, and happy. These he is not by the will of another creature, or of the creator, but by the laws of a general order of nature, founded on that order itself. If he deviate from the rule of equity, his avenging faults themselves must show him the disorder, and induce him to return to reason and justice, as the laws of his existence and his happiness.

6. As his nature is composed of very different elements, this he seldom does in the shortest way; he vibrates between two extremes, till he accommodates himself to his state of existence, and reaches the temperate mean in which he imagines his well being to consist. If he err in this, he must be secretly conscious of it, and suffer the consequences of his fault. These, however, he suffers but to a certain degree; for either fate corrects them by means of his own endeavours, or his being no longer finds an internal capacity of subsistence. Supreme wisdom could not impart more beneficial uses to physical pain and moral evil, for nothing superiour can be conceived.

7. Had one single man alone trodden the Earth, the object of human existence would have been accomplished in him; as we must consider it to be accomplished, in so many individuals and nations, whom circumstances of time and place separated from the general chain of the species. But as every thing, that can live upon the Earth, endures as long as it can remain in its state of permanency; so the human species, like every other kind of living beings, possesses such intrinsic transmissive powers, as could find, and have found, proportion and order suitable to the whole. Thus reason, the essence of man, and its organ, tradition, have been inherited through a series of successive generations. The Earth was gradually filled, and man became every thing, that, in such a period and no other, he could become upon Earth.

8. Thus the propagation of families and traditions, connected human reason: not as if it were in each individual no more than a fragment of the whole, a whole existing nowhere in one subject, and therefore by no means the end of the Creator; but because the disposition and concatenation of the

whole species led to this. As men are propagated, so are animals; yet no general animal reason arises from their generations: but as reason alone gives permanency to mankind, it must be propagated, as the characteristic of the species; for without it the species would cease to be.

9. In the species, as a whole, reason has experienced the same fate, as in it's individual members; for of individual members the whole consists. It has often been disturbed by the wild passions of men, acting with still more violence from conjunction, turned out of it's way for centuries, and lain as if dormant beneath it's ashes. To all these disorders Providence has applied no other remedy, than what she administers to individuals; namely, that each fault should be followed by it's correspondent evil, and every act of indolence, folly, malice, rashness, and injustice, be it's own punishment. But as the species appears in collective bodies in such circumstances, children must suffer for the faults of their parents, the people for the folly of their rulers, and posterity for the indolence of their ancestors; and if they will not, or cannot, correct the evil, they may suffer under it for ages.

10. Thus the weal of the whole is the greatest good of each individual: for it is the inherent right and duty of every one, who suffers under it's evils, to ward off these evils from himself, and diminish them for his fellows. Nature has not calculated for sovereigns and states, but for the welfare of men. The former suffer not so speedily for their vices and follies as individuals, because they always reckon only with the whole, in which the miseries of the poor are long suppressed; but the state ultimately suffers, and with so much more violent a concussion. In all these things the laws of retaliation display themselves, as do the laws of motion on the shock of the slightest physical substance; and the greatest sovereign of Europe is not less subject to the natural laws of the human species, than the least of his people. This condition merely binds him, to be an economist of these natural laws; and, by that power, which he enjoys only through the means of other men, to be for other men a wise and good terrestrial divinity.

11. In general history, too, as in the lives of careless individuals, all the follies and vices of mankind are exhausted; till at length they are compelled by necessity, to learn reason and justice. Whatever can happen, happens; and produces, what from it's nature it can produce. This law of nature hinders not even the most eccentric power in it's operation; but it confines all by the rule, that one opposing effect destroys another, and what is useful alone ultimately remains. The evil, that destroys another, must submit to order, or destroy itself. The rational and virtuous are uniformly happy in the king-

dom of God; for virtue requires external reward, no more than reason covets it. If their works are not accompanied by external success, not to them, but to their age will be the loss: yet neither the discord nor folly of man can for ever counteract them; they will succeed, when their time arrives.

12. Still human Reason pursues her course in the species in general: she invents, before she can apply; she discovers, though evil hands may long abuse her discoveries. Abuse will correct itself; and, through the unwearied zeal of ever-growing Reason, disorder will in time become order. By contending against passions, she strengthens and enlightens herself: from being oppressed in this place, she will fly to that, and extend the sphere of her sway over the Earth. There is nothing enthusiastical in the hope, that, wherever men dwell, at some future period will dwell men rational, just, and happy: happy, not through the means of their own reason alone, but of the common reason of their whole fraternal race.

I bend before this lofty sketch of the general wisdom of Nature with regard to the whole of my fellow creatures the more willingly, as I perceive, that it is Nature's universal plan. The law that sustained the mundane system, and formed each crystal, each worm, each flake of snow, formed and sustained also the human species: it made it's own nature the basis of it's continuance, and progressive action, as long as men shall exist. All the works of God have their stability in themselves, and in their beautiful consistency: for they all repose, within their determinate limits, on the equilibrium of contending powers, by their intrinsic energy, which reduces these to order. Guided by this clew, I wander through the labyrinth of history, and every where perceive divine harmonious order: for what can any where occur, does occur; what can operate, operates. But reason and justice alone endure: madness and folly destroy the Earth and themselves.

Thus when I hear a Brutus at Philippi, with the dagger in his hand, looking up to the starry sky, say, according to the fabled story, 'O Virtue, I believed thee something; but now I perceive, that thou art a dream!' I cannot discover the calm philosopher in the latter part of the complaint. Had he possessed true virtue, this, as well as his reason, would ever have found it's own reward, and must have rewarded him even at that moment. But if his virtue were mere roman patriotism, is it to be wondered, that the weaker yielded to the more strong, that the indolent sunk before the more alert? Thus the victory of Antony, with all it's consequences, belonged to the order of things, and to the natural fate of Rome.

In like manner when among us the virtuous man so often complains, that

his labours miscarry ; that brutal force and oppression prevail upon Earth ; and that mankind seem to be given merely as a prey to the passions, and to folly : let the genius of his understanding appear to him, and interrogate him friendly, whether his virtue be of the right kind, and connected with that intelligence, that activity, which alone deserve the name of virtue. Every labour, it must be confessed, does not succeed on all occasions ; but do thy best, that it may succeed, and promote it's time, it's place, and that internal stability, in which real good alone subsists. Rude powers can be regulated only by reason : but they require an actual counterpoise, that is prudence, zeal, and the whole force of goodness, to reduce them to order, and maintain them in it with salutary control.

It is a beautiful dream of future life, that we shall there enjoy friendly intercourse with all the wise and good, who have ever acted for the benefit of mankind, and gone to the regions above with the sweet reward of accomplished labours : but history in a certain degree unlocks to us this arbour of pleasing conversation and intimacy with the intelligent and just of all ages. Here Plato stands before me : there I listen to the friendly interrogations of Socrates, and participate in his last fate. When Marcus Antoninus confers in secret with his own heart, he confers also with mine ; and the poor Epictetus issues commands more powerful than those of a king. The afflicted Tully, the unfortunate Boethius, confidentially disclose to me the circumstances of their lives, their sorrows, and their consolations. How ample, yet how narrow, is the human heart ! How individual, yet how recurrent, are all it's passions and desires, it's faults and foibles, it's hope and it's enjoyment ! The problem of humanity has been solved a thousand ways around me, yet every where the result of man's endeavours is the same : ' the essence, the object, and the fate of our species, rest on understanding and justice.' There is no nobler use of history than this : it unfolds to us as it were the counsels of Fate, and teaches us, insignificant as we are, to act according to God's eternal laws. By teaching us the faults and consequences of every species of irrationality, it assigns us our short and tranquil scene on that great theatre, where Reason and Goodness, contending indeed with wild powers, still, from their nature, create order, and hold on in the path of victory.

Hitherto we have been wandering through the obscure field of ancient nations : we now joyfully advance to approaching day, and view the harvest, that the seed of antiquity has produced for succeeding ages. Rome destroyed the balance of nations ; and under her a World bled to death : what new state will arise from this balance destroyed ? what new creature will spring from the ashes of so many nations ?

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XVI.

AS we now come to the ancient nations of the northern part of the World, some of whom were our ancestors, from whom we have derived our manners and political constitutions, I deem it unnecessary, to apologize for saying the truth. For what would it avail, to write of the africans and asiatics with boldness, if we were obliged to suppress our opinions concerning times and people, that concern us much more nearly, than all that has long been consigned to the dust beyond the Alps and the Taurus? History demands truth; and to a philosophy of history the impartial love of truth at least is requisite.

Nature herself has separated this region by a mound of rocks, known by the names of Mustag, Altai, Kitzigtag, Ural, Caucasus, Taurus, Hæmus, and farther on the Carpathian mountains, the gigantic Alps, and the Pyrenees. To the north of these, in so different a soil and climate, the inhabitants must necessarily assume a form and mode of life altogether foreign to those of more southern nations: for there is nothing on the whole Earth, by means of which Nature has created such lasting differences, as mountains. Here she sits on her eternal throne, sends forth her streams and meteors, and frequently distributes to nations opposite propensities and fortunes, as to climates opposite qualities. If, therefore, we be told, that people beyond the mountains, who had dwelt for hundreds or thousands of years in the vast saline and sandy plains of Tatory, or in the woods and deserts of northern Europe, had introduced into the finest territories of the roman and grecian empires a vandal, gothic, scythian, tatarian way of life, various marks of which are still perceptible in Europe; we shall neither be surpris'd at this, nor deceitfully ascribe to ourselves a false appearance of cultivation; but, like Rinaldo, look into the mirror of truth, observe in it our form, and, if we still bear about us here and there the jingling decorations of the barbarism of our fathers, nobly exchange them for genuine cultivation and humanity, the only real ornaments of our species.

But before we enter the edifice, celebrated under the appellation of *the commonwealth of Europe*, that has become an object of astonishment or of dread by it's effect upon the whole Earth; let us endeavour to acquire some knowledge

of the people, who have actively or passively contributed to the erection of this gigantic temple. The volume of our northern history, it must be avowed, is small: with the most celebrated nations it reaches no farther than to the romans; and as little as a man knows of the annals of his birth and infancy, as little is known by these barbarous and unsettled nations. The remains of the most ancient are scarcely to be met with, except among mountains, or in nooks of land, in rude or impenetrable regions, where their ancient language, and the retention of a few old customs, barely indicate their origin: their conquerors, in the mean time, have every where seized on the more extensive and fertile country; and if not expelled by others, possess them still by the right of war, derived from their fathers, and govern them with greater equity, more or less in the tatarian manner, or from gradual improvement in justice and policy. Farewel, you milder regions beyond the mountains, India and Asia, Greece and the shores of Italy! if we visit most of you again, it will be in a different character, it will be as northern conquerors.

C H A P T E R I.

Basques, Gael, and Cimbri.

OF all the numerous tribes, that once inhabited the peninsula of Spain, there are none, who have the least claim to antiquity remaining, the basques excepted. These, still dwelling about the Pyrenees in Spain and France, have retained their ancient language, which is one of the oldest in the World. It is probable, they once extended over the greatest part of Spain; if we may judge from the names of many rivers and towns, which, notwithstanding the changes they have undergone, are obviously of basque origin*. From them is said to be derived the word *silver*, the name of a metal, which, together with iron, has effected most of the revolutions, that have taken place in Europe, and in all the rest of the World: for Spain is reported, to have been the first country in Europe, where mines were worked, being very conveniently situated for the phenicians and carthaginians, the earliest mercantile nations in this part of the Globe, to whom it was anciently a Peru.

* See *Investigaciones historicas de las Antiquidades de Navarra*, 'Historical Investigation of the Antiquities of Navarre,' by Moret, Pampeleune, 1665, book I. *Oihenarti Notitia utriusque Vasconia*, 'Oihenart's Account of the two

Gasconies,' Par. 1638, book I: and particularly Larramendi's *Diccionario trilingue, de las Perfecciones de el Basconce*, 'Trilingual Dictionary, of the Perfections of the Basque Language,' Part II.

The people themselves, who are well known under the appellation of *vascones* and *cantabri*, have shown themselves in ancient history alert, active, valiant, and lovers of freedom. They accompanied Hannibal into Italy, and their name appears terrible in the roman poets. To them and the spanish celts it was owing, that the romans found the subjugation of Spain so difficult: Augustus was the first who triumphed over them, and this probably in appearance only, for such as would not serve the romans retired to the mountains. As the vandals, alans, fuevi, goths, and other teutonic nations, pursued their roving course through the Pyrenees, and some of them founded kingdoms in their neighbourhood, they were still the brave, restless people, that had not lost their courage under the yoke of the romans: and when Charlemagne returned through their country from his victory over the saracens in Spain, they were still the same, their artful attack occasioned the defeat at Roncevallos, so famous in ancient romance, where the great Roland was slain. They afterwards gave much trouble to the franks in Spain and Aquitain, as they had before to the suevi and goths; they were by no means idle in the recovery of the country out of the hands of the saracens; and even in the most barbarous ages of the deepest monachal oppression they retained their character. When, after a long night, the dawn of science beamed on Europe, the lively poetry of the neighbouring provencals diffused it in some degree over their land, which in later times has given many a gay and enlightened genius to France. It is to be wished, that we knew more of the language, manners, and history, of these lively and impetuous people, and that, as Macpherson has done among the caledonians, a second Larramendi would search after the remains of their ancient national gascou spirit.* It is probable, that the story of the celebrated battle of Roland, which, from the monkish epos of archbishop Turpin, gave birth to so many romances and heroic poems in the middle ages, has been still preserved among them: and if not, their country was at least the Scæan gate, which for a long time filled the imaginations of the people of Europe with adventures, related there to have taken place.

The gael, who, under the name of gauls and celts, were much better known and more celebrated than the basques, experienced in the end a similar fate. In Spain they possessed an extensive and fine country, in which they withstood the arms of the romans with no small fame. In Gaul, which derived its name from

* Larramendi, in the prolix essay on the perfection of the basque language quoted in the preceding note, could not think of such a thing, § 18—20. That in his *Arte del Basconce*, 'Varieties of the Basque,' he mentioned,

nothing of it, may be seen from Dieze's *Geschichte der Spanischen Dichtkunst*, 'History of Spanish Poetry,' p. 117, and following; and perhaps all remembrance of it is lost.

them, they employed Cæsar ten years; and in Britain they maintained themselves still longer against his successors, all whose labours ultimately proved vain, as they were forced at last to abandon the island. Beside these, Helvetia, the upper part of Italy, and the lower part of Germany along the Danube as far as Illyricum and Pannonia, were occupied by their different tribes and colonies, if not every where fully peopled by them; and in ancient times they were of all enemies the most dreaded by the romans. Their leader Brennus laid Rome in ashes, and had nearly put an end to the future sovereign of the World. One body of them penetrated into Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor, where they were more than once formidable under the name of galatians.

Their race was most durably fixed, however, in Gaul and the british islands, where they certainly did not remain wholly uncivilized. Here they had their memorable druidical religion, and in Britain their chief druids: here they had established that remarkable constitution, of which monuments still exist, in those heaps of stones, part of them of vast magnitude, that are to be seen in Britain, Ireland, and the neighbouring islands; monuments, that, like the pyramids of Egypt, will yet remain probably for thousands of years, and be for ever perhaps inexplicable enigmas. They had a kind of political and military constitution of their own, which was at length overturned by the romans, in consequence of the discords, that arose between their chiefs: they were by no means destitute of physical knowledge, and such arts as appear suitable to their condition; and still less were they in want of poetry and song, the soul of barbarous nations. These, in the mouths of their bards, were particularly dedicated to the chaunting of deeds of valour, and celebrating the achievements of their fathers*. Opposed to Cæsar and his army, arrayed with all the military art of the romans, it must be confessed they appear as half savages: but compared with other northern nations, and with several german tribes, they wear a different aspect, evidently excelling them in quickness and address, and in arts, civilization, and political institutions: for as the character of the germans still resembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus, so, in spite of all the changes induced by time, the ancient gaul is still discernible in his mo-

* Beside what has been collected or imagined concerning the celts by older writers, as Pelletier, Pezron, Martin, Picard, &c; and what has been said of the origin and institutions of the ancient inhabitants of Britain by english, scots, and irish, as Barrington, Cordiner, Henry, Jones, Macpherfon, Maitland, Lhwyd, Ows, Shaw, Vallancey, Whitaker, and others; we may venture to cite a german work, which may

be termed critical beyond them all, Sprengel's History of Great Britain (Continuation of the Universal History, Vol. XLVII), the beginning of which tacitly corrects a number of old errors respecting the gael and cimbri. The author gives, too, in his usual manner, an account of the remaining monuments of the britons, conveying in few words information, to which the reader may trust with safety.

der descendants. But the numerous and widely spread nations of this race necessarily differed much, according to place, time, circumstances, and their various degrees of civilization, so that the gael on the coasts of Ireland, or in the highlands of Scotland, could have little in common with a gallic or celtiberian people, who had long enjoyed the neighbourhood of more cultivated nations or towns.

The fate of the gael in their extensive region terminated lamentably. According to the earliest accounts we have of them, they had on either side the Channel the belgæ or cimbrî on their borders, who appear to have pressed upon them on all hands. On either side this strait, too, they were conquered, first by the romans, and afterwards by several teutonic nations; by whom we see them frequently oppressed with great violence, enfeebled, or extirpated and expelled; so that the gaelic language is now to be found only in the extreme parts of their possessions, in Ireland, in the Hebrides, and on the bare highlands of Scotland. Goths, franks, burgundians, alemans, saxons, normans, and other german nations, variously intermixed, have taken possession of their lands, eradicated their language, and extirpated their name.

Oppression, however, succeeded not wholly to efface from the Earth every living monument of the intrinsic character of this people: soft as the tone of the harp broke from the grave a tender, mournful voice, the voice of Ossian, the son of Fingal, and some of his contemporaries. It not only places before our eyes, as in a magic glass, representations of ancient deeds and manners; but the general sentiments and mode of thinking of a people at such a point of cultivation, in such a country, and with such manners, vibrate through our hearts and minds. Ossian and his contemporaries convey to us more information respecting the interior state of the ancient gael, than a historian could give, and are at the same time affecting preachers of humanity, as it exists even in the most simple forms of society. Their tender strings are stretched from heart to heart, and every chord emits a plaintive note. What Homer was to the greeks, a gaelic Ossian might have been to his countrymen, had the gael been greeks, and had Ossian been a Homer. But as Ossian's song resounded only the dying words of an oppressed people, amid the misty mountains of a desert, illumining as with a hallowed flame the graves of his fathers; while Homer, born in Ionia, in the bosom of a rising nation, consisting of many flourishing states and islands, in the radiance of the morning-beam, depicted under a far different sky, and in a very different language, what he beheld before him clear, open, and distinct, and what other men of genius afterwards applied in such various ways: he, who seeks a grecian Homer in the mountains of Caledonia,

unquestionably seeks one in a wrong place. Sound still, however, thou mist-enveloped harp of Ossian; happy in all ages he, who listens to thy gentle notes*.

The name of the *cimbri* denotes them, to be inhabitants of the mountains; and if they were the same with the belgians, we find them along the western bank of the Rhine from the Alps to it's mouth, nay once perhaps to the Cimbrian chersonese, which, it is probable, was originally a much more extensive land. By german tribes, settling close upon them, they were driven in bodies across the sea; so that they straitened the gael in Britain, and soon acquired possession of it's east and southern coasts: and as the tribes on both sides the water preserved their connexion, and were more expert in many arts than the gael, there was nothing, which, from their situation, they could pursue with greater success than piracy. They appear to have been more savage than the gael, and improved little in manners under the romans; and when these left their island, they sunk into such barbarism and depravity, that they were obliged to call in to their assistance at one time the romans, at another, to their own cost, the saxons. From these german auxiliaries they suffered much. They came over in hordes, and soon ravaged the country with fire and sword: neither men, nor institutions, were spared by them: the land was made a desert; and at length we find such of the poor cimbri, as were not extirpated, pent up in the western corner of Britain, in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, or forced to take refuge in Brittany.

Nothing can equal the hatred, which the cimbri conceived for their treacherous assistants, the saxons, and which they cherished with great warmth for centuries, after they were confined to their naked mountains. Here they long maintained their independance, language, form of government, and manners, of which we have still a remarkable description in the regulations of the courts of their kings and their officers †; but at length their end arrived. Wales was conquered, and united with England: the language of the cimbri alone

* It seems singular, that, while two nations, the scots and irish, contend for the honour of having given birth to Ossian and to Fingal, neither has yet justified it's claim, by publishing the beautiful songs of Ossian, *with their original melodies*, which are said to be still in use. These could not easily be forged; and the *structures of the poems in the original language*, with a glossary, and suitable notes, would not serve merely as a justification, but would give us more information respecting the language, music, and

poetry, of the gael, than their Aristotle, Blair. Such a gaelic anthology would not only be a classic work for the native admirers of these poems, by means of which what the language has to boast of as most beautiful would be long preserved; but even foreigners would find in it much, that would be highly acceptable, and such a book would ever remain of great importance to the *history of man*.

† Sprengel's *Geschichte von Großbritannien*, 'History of Great Britain,' p. 379-92.

was preserved, as it is to this day, both in Wales and in Brittany. It is still preserved, but in remains that possess little security: and it would be well, if it's characteristics were confined to books*; for, like the languages of all nations thus expelled by others, it will infallibly be annihilated, and this first of all probably in Brittany. The characters of nations are gradually extinguished in the natural course of things: their lineaments wear out, and they are cast into the crucible of Time, where they subside into a dead mass, or are rendered pure for the reception of a fresh impression.

The most memorable, of what has been handed down to us of the cimbri, is the account of their king Arthur, and his knights of the round table, which has had wonderful effect on the imaginations of men. It was naturally late, before the tales of these appeared in books, and they did not receive their romantic garb, till after the time of the croisades; but they belonged originally to the cimbri, for Arthur reigned in Cornwall, where, and in Wales, a hundred places still retain his name in popular story. Animated by the romantic invention of the normans, it is probable, the tale received it's first embellishments in Brittany, which was peopled by a colony of the cimbri; whence it spread with numerous additions over England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and was afterwards adopted by the poets of more refined ages. Fables from the east were engrafted into it; legends were called in, to give it their sanction; and thus arose the beautiful series of knights, giants, fairies, dragons, and adventures, with the enchanter Merlin, likewise a welchman, for centuries the delight of knights and ladies. It would be vain to inquire precisely when king Arthur lived: but to trace the foundation, the history, and the effects, of these tales and fictions, through all the nations and ages in which they flourished, and place them in their proper light as historical phenomena, would be an adventure of no small fame, equally pleasing and instructive, and to which the way has already been cleared †.

* In Borlase, Bullet, Lloyd, Roftrenen, le Brigant, the translation of the Bible, &c. The poetic tales of king Arthur and his knights, however, have been little examined in their original form.

† T. Warton's essay on the origin of romantic fiction in Europe, prefixed to his History of English Poetry, and translated in Eschenburg's *Brittisch. Museum*, Vol. III, V, has some useful materials; but as he evidently adopts a mistaken

system, the whole must assume a different form. In Perce's and the more modern *Bibliothèque des Romans*, 'Bibliotheca of Romances,' in the remarks of different englishmen on Chancer, Spenser, Shakspeare, &c., in their archæologiz, in the remarks of Du Fresne and others on several ancient historians, sufficient data and materials might be found. A short history by Sprengel would reduce this chaos to order, and unquestionably exhibit it in an instructive light.

CHAPTER II.

Fins, Lettonians, and Prussians.

THE race of fins, to whom, however, this name is as little known as that of laps to a branch of them, for they call themselves *suomi*, extends, even in the present day, along the northern extremity of Europe, the shores of the Baltic, and into Asia. In early times, it certainly spread still farther, and more to the south. In Europe, beside the fins and laps, the ingrians, esthonians, and livonians, belong to this race; and farther on the syrans, permians, woguls, wotiacs, cheremisses, morduans, condian ostiacs, and others, are related to it; and the hungarians, or magyars, appear to be from the same stem, on comparing their language with that of the fins*.

It is not clear how far down in Norway and Sweden the laps and fins once dwelt; but this is certain, that the scandinavian germans were continually pressing them farther towards the northern frontier, which they still inhabit. They appear to have possessed most activity on the coasts of the White Sea and the Baltic, where they followed piracy, and carried on a little trade. In Permian, or Biarmaland, their idol Jumala had a barbarously splendid temple. Hither, likewise, the northern german adventurers principally came, to barter, to plunder, and to demand tribute. These people, however, nowhere attained any mature or substantial civilization, for which their unfavourable situation, not their capacity, must be blamed. They were not warriors, like the germans; for, after so many ages of oppression, all the popular tales and songs of the laps, fins, and esthonians, prove them to be a gentle people. Besides, as their tribes lived for the most part without connexion, and many of them without any political constitution, what actually happened, when they were pressed upon by other nations, was naturally to have been expected; namely, that the laps should be driven toward the north pole; the fins, ingrians, esthonians, &c., reduced under the yoke of slavery; and the livonians, nearly extirpated. The

* See Buettner's *Vergleichungs-tabellen der Schriftarten*, 'Comparative Tables of Modes of Writing;' Gatterer's *Einkleitung zur Universalhistorie*, 'Introduction to Universal History;' Schlötzer's *allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, 'General History of the North;' &c. The book last quoted, being the 31st vol. of the Continua-

tion of the Universal History, contains a valuable collection of inquiries, by the author and others, concerning the descent and ancient history of the northern nations, which excites a wish for more such compilations of the labours of an Ihre, Suhm, Lagerbring, &c.

fate of the nations on the Baltic fills a melancholy page in the history of mankind.

The only people of this race, that forced themselves into the rank of conquerors, are the hungarians or magyars. It is probable they first seated themselves in the land of the bashkirians, between the Wolga and the Yaik: they then founded a hungarian kingdom between the Wolga and the Black Sea, which split into pieces. They next came under the chazars, and were separated by the petshenegrins, founding on the one hand the magyar kingdom on the frontiers of Persia, on the other entering into Europe in seven hordes, and carrying on furious wars with the bulgarians. Being impelled farther onwards by these, the emperor Arnulph called in their assistance against the moravians. From Pannonia they now invaded Moravia, Bavaria, and Upper Italy, which they cruelly ravaged: they carried fire and sword into Thuringia, Saxony, Franconia, Hesse, Swabia, Alsatia, and even France, and afterwards Italy; and imposed a disgraceful tribute on the german emperors: till at length they were so reduced, partly by the plague, partly by terrible defeats of their armies in Saxony, Swabia, and Westphalia, that the german empire was rendered secure from their attacks, and indeed Hungary itself annexed to the apostolical dominions. At present, intermingled with slavonians, germans, wallachians, and others, they constitute the smaller number of the inhabitants, and in a few centuries perhaps their language will be nearly extinct.

The lithuanians, courlanders, and lettonians, on the Baltic, are of uncertain origin: according to all probability, however, they were impelled onward, till the sea stopped their progress. Notwithstanding the mixture of their language with others, it still retains a peculiar character, and is probably the daughter of an ancient parent, originally of some distant region. Surrounded by german, slavonian, and finnish nations, the peaceable lettonian race could nowhere extend, still less improve, and at length, like its neighbours the prussians, was most remarkable for the violences, which all the inhabitants of these coasts experienced, partly from the new-converted poles, partly from the teutonic knights, and those whom they called in to their assistance*. Humanity shud-

* A short history of the prussians, from the useful collections and preparatory labours of Hartknoch, Prætorius, Lillenthal, and others, is desirable, and perhaps has already appeared unknown to me. This little corner of the Earth has done much, without any encouragement, for the history of its own and the neighbouring nations: the name of Bayer alone is equivalent

to a multitude. The ancient prussian constitution on the banks of the Vistula, which names Widewut as its founder, and a chief druid, Kriwe, with the whole race of the people, particularly deserves investigation. In the history of Livonia, Arndt, Hupel, and others, deserve our praise.

ders at the blood, that was here spilled in long and savage wars, till the ancient prussians were nearly extirpated, and the courlanders and lettonians reduced to a state of slavery, under the yoke of which they still languish. Centuries perhaps will pass, before it is removed, and these peaceful people are recompensed for the barbarities, with which they were deprived of land and liberty, by being humanely formed anew to the use and enjoyment of an improved freedom.

Our eyes have now been long enough fixed on oppressed, extirpated, or subjugated people; let us turn them on those, by whom they were oppressed and subdued.

CHAPTER III.

German Nations.

WE now come to the people, who, by their size and strength of body; their enterprising, bold, and persevering spirit in war; their heroic propensity to military service, to follow in a body their leaders, wherever they chose to conduct them, and to divide the lands they subdued as their booty; with their extensive conquests, and the general diffusion of the german political constitution around; contributed more than any other race to the weal and woe of this quarter of the Globe. From the shores of the Black Sea the arms of the germans were terrible throughout Europe: one gothic empire extended formerly from the Wolga to the Baltic: in Thrace, Mæsia, Pannonia, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and even Africa, different german nations, at different periods, settled, and founded kingdoms: by them the romans, saracens, gael, cimbri, laps, fins, esthoniens, sclavonians, courlanders, prussians, and even one another, were driven from their possessions; by them all the modern kingdoms of Europe were founded, their distinctions of rank were introduced, and the elements of their jurisprudence were inculcated. More than once they attacked, took, and plundered Rome: several times they besieged Constantinople, and even made themselves masters of it: at Jerusalem they founded a christian monarchy: and in the present day, partly by the princes whom they have seated on every throne in Europe, and partly by the kingdoms themselves they have founded, they exercise more or less dominion, either as possessors, or by their manufactures and trade, over all the four quarters of the Globe. But since no effect is without a cause, there must have been some cause for this vast series of effects.

1. *This*

1. *This cause lies not in the character of the nation alone : it's physical and political situation, and a number of circumstances, which combined in no other northern nation, co-operated in the course of their achievements.* Their large, strong, and well proportioned bodies, with their stern blue eyes, were animated by a spirit of fidelity and temperance, which rendered them obedient to their superiours, bold in attack, unappalled by peril, and to other nations, the degenerate romans included, pleasing as friends, terrible as foes. Germans served in the roman armies at an early period, and they were particularly preferred as bodyguards by the emperors : nay, when the threatened empire was unable to protect itself, german armies fought for pay against it's enemies, even against their own brethren. In this service, which continued for some centuries, several of their nations acquired a degree of military discipline and science, to which other barbarians necessarily remained strangers ; at the same time the example of the romans, and an acquaintance with their feebleness, gradually inspired them with a desire of national expeditions, and of conquering for themselves. If this degenerate Rome had once subdued nations, and raised itself to the sovereignty of the World, why should the same be done by them, without whose arms the romans were incapable of exerting any force ? Accordingly, if we pass over the more ancient incursions of the teutones and cimbri, and begin with the enterprising chiefs Ariovistus, Marbutus, and Hermann, the first shocks were given to the territories of the romans by borderers, or by leaders who were acquainted with their art of war, and had been often employed in their armies, so as to be sufficiently acquainted with the weakness of Rome, and subsequently of Constantinople. Some of them were even auxiliaries of the romans, at the time when they thought fit, to appropriate to themselves the countries they had recovered. As the propinquity of a rich and feeble state to one that is strong and needy, the aid of which is indispensable to it, necessarily leads to the superiority and rule of the latter ; the romans themselves here put the sword into the hands of the germans, who were established directly opposite to them in the centre of Europe, and whom they soon admitted from necessity into their state or their armies.

2. *The long resistance, which several nations of our Germany had to make against the romans, necessarily strengthened their powers, and their hatred to an hereditary enemy, who boasted more of triumphing over them, than over any other people.* The romans were terrible to the germans both on the Rhine and on the Danube ; willingly as these had assisted the arms of Rome against the gauls and others, they were by no means inclined to serve under them as their own conquerors.

Hence the long wars from the time of Augustus, which, the feebler the roman empire grew, degenerated the more into plundering incursions, and could not end but with it's ruin. The marcoman and suabian league, which several nations concluded against the romans; the *hoerbann*, established in all the german tribes, even the most distant, by which every man was obliged to arm in defence of his country, to be a soldier; with other institutions; gave the whole nation both the name and constitution of *germans*, or *alemanns*, that is, united warriors: rude prototype of a system, which centuries after was to extend to all the nations of Europe*.

3. *With such a permanent military constitution, the germans must necessarily be deficient in many other virtues, which they not unwillingly sacrificed to their leading inclination, or principal necessity, war.* Agriculture they pursued with no great diligence; and in many tribes a yearly division of their lands precluded that pleasure, which individuals take in possessions of their own, and in improving the cultivation of their own fields. Some tribes, particularly the eastern, long remained tatarian hunters and herdsmen. The rude idea of common pastures, and a general possession of property, was the favourite notion of these nomades, which they carried with them even into the countries and kingdoms they conquered. In consequence Germany long remained a forest, interspersed with pastures, marshes, and morasses, where the urus and the elk, the now extirpated animals of the heroic ages of Germany, dwelled with the ancient german heroes. Of science they were ignorant; and the few arts, with which they could not dispense, were carried on by the women, and slaves for the most part stolen. To such people it must have been a pleasure, to quit their desert forests, in quest of finer countries, or to serve as mercenaries, whenever prompted by revenge, want, the wearisomeness of inaction, society, or any other call. Hence many tribes were in a state of perpetual turmoil, with and against one another, either as enemies, or as allies. No people have so often shifted their quarters as these, if we except among them a few tribes of more peaceable settlers: and when one tribe moved, it commonly attracted more on it's way, so that the troop grew to an army. Many german nations, vandals, suevi, and others,

* It would be useless here to give a full delineation of all the political constitutions of the germans, varying at different times, among different people, and in different countries: such as propagated themselves in the history of nations will appear in due time. After the numerous illustrations of Tacitus, Mœser has given

a description of them, connected with his subject, which, as a beautiful whole, appears almost an ideal system, and yet seems to have great truth in particular parts. See Mœser's *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, 'History of Osnabrug,' Vol. I, and his *Patriotische Phantasien*, 'Patriotic Reveries,' in various places.

derive their names from roaming about, wandering* : thus it was by land, thus by sea : a life sufficiently in the tatarian mode.

In the most ancient history of the germans, therefore, it is necessary to guard ourselves against any partial attachment to a favourite spot for our modern constitution : with this the ancient germans had no concern ; they followed the course of a different stream of nations. Westward they pressed on the belgians and gael, till they had seated themselves in the midst of other tribes : they passed eastward as far as the Baltic ; and when this put a stop to their progress and their plunder, as it's sandy coasts were unable to support them, they naturally turned southward, the first opportunity, into countries that had been evacuated. Hence many of the nations, that invaded the roman empire, had previously dwelt on the shores of the Baltic : but these were only the more barbarous, whose residence there was by no means the occasion of the shock, that was given to the power of Rome. This we must seek at a greater distance, in the *asiatic country of Mungalia* : for there the western huns were pressed upon by the igurians and other nations ; in consequence they crossed the Wolga, fell upon the alans on the Don, and the great kingdom of the goths on the Black Sea, and thus many southern german nations, the ostrogoths and visigoths, vandals, alans, and suevi, were set in motion, and the huns followed them. With the saxons, franks, and burgundians, the case was different ; as it was with the heruli, who long served in the roman armies, as heroes that sold their blood for pay.

We must likewise take care, not to ascribe similar manners, or a like degree of civilization, to all these people, as appears from the difference of their conduct towards the nations they conquered. The savage saxons in Britain, the roaming alans and suevi in Spain, conducted themselves not as the ostrogoths in Italy, or the burgundians in Gaul. The tribes that had long dwelt on the roman frontiers, near their colonies and places of trade, in the west or south, were more mild and polished, than those who came from the barren seacoasts, or from the forests of the north : hence it would be arrogant, if every horde of germans were to ascribe to itself, for instance, the mythology of the scandinavian goths. How far did not these goths advance ? and in how many ways was not this mythology afterwards refined ? The brave primitive german, perhaps, can claim nothing but his *Theut* or *Tuisto*, *Mann*, *Hertha*, and *Wodan*, that is, a father, a hero, the earth, and a general.

Yet we may at least fraternally enjoy that remote treasure of german mytho-

* *Umberfchweifen, wandeln.*

logy, which was preserved, or collected, at the end of the habitable World, in Iceland, and obviously enriched by the legends of the normans and learned christians; I mean, the northern Edda. As a collection of records of the language and sentiments of a german tribe, it highly deserves our attention. A comparison of this northern mythology with that of the greeks may be useless, or instructive, according to the manner in which the examination is conducted: but it would be vain, to expect a Homer or an Ossian among these scalds*. Does the Earth produce every where the same fruits? and are not the noblest productions of this kind the consequences of an extraordinary condition of the people, and of the times, which had long been ripening? In these poems and tales, therefore, let us prize what we find, a peculiar spirit of rude, bold poetry, strong, pure, and just feelings, with too artificial an employment of the rudiments of our language; and thank each preserving, each communicating hand, that has contributed to the general or better use of this national treasure. Among those, who in ancient or modern times have meritoriously contributed to this †, I must mention, in our own days, with respect and gratitude the name of Suhm, to whom the history of mankind is much indebted. He has caused this beautiful northern light, to shine over us from Iceland with new splendour: he and others have endeavoured, to introduce it into the sphere of our knowledge, and point out it's true use. It is to be regretted, that we germans have little of the ancient treasures of our language to display ‡: the poems of our bards are lost; the venerable oak of our heroic language exhibits few blossoms, that are not of very modern date.

When the german nations had embraced christianity, they fought for it, as for their kings and nobility; and this genuine loyalty of the sword was amply experienced by the alemanns, thuringians, bavarians, and faxons, by the poor flavians, prussians, courlanders, livonians, and esthonians, as well as by their own tribes. To their fame likewise it must be said, that they stood as a living wall against the irruptions of later barbarians, and repelled the mad rage of huns, hungarians, mungals, and turks. By them, too, the greater part of Europe was not only conquered, planted, and modelled, but covered and protected; otherwise it could never have produced what has appeared in it. Their rank among

* The east teems, and scatters myriads of images; the north concentrates and expands a scanty brood. Ossian and the Edda are nearer to each other than either is to Homer: but the skald, who conceived the 'Descent of Odin and Thor's conflict with the serpent of Midgard' deserves a colossal niche in the temple of poetry. F.

† Sæmund, Snorro, Resenius, Worm, Torfæus, Stephanus, Bartholin, Keiser, Ihre, Gerganson, Thorkelin, Erichsen, the Magneses, Ancherfen, Eggers, &c.

‡ All our riches, except a very little scattered up and down in different places, are collected in Schilter's *Tesaurus*, and they are far from considerable.

other nations, their military league, and their native character, have been the foundation of the civilization, freedom, and security of Europe : whether their political situation were not a joint cause of the slow progress of this civilization, history, an impartial evidence, will prove.

CHAPTER IV.

Slavian Nations.

THE figure made by the slavian nations in history is far from proportionate to the extent of country they occupied; one reason of which, among others, is, that they dwelt so remote from the romans. We first discern them on the Don, among the goths; afterwards, on the Danube, amid the huns and bulgarians; with whom they frequently disturbed the roman empire, though chiefly as associates, auxiliaries, or vassals. Notwithstanding their occasional achievements, they were never enterprizing warriors or adventurers, like the germans: these they for the most part followed quietly, occupying the places they evacuated, till at length they were in possession of the vast territory extending from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic. On this side the Carpathian mountains their settlements extended from Lunenburg over Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia: beyond them, where at an early period they had settled in Wallachia and Moldavia, they were continually spreading farther and farther, assisted by various circumstances, till the emperor Heraclius admitted them into Dalmatia, and the kingdoms of Sclavonia, Bosnia, Servia, and Dalmatia, were founded by them. In Pannonia they were equally numerous; they possessed all the southeastern angle of Germany from Friuli, so that their domains terminated with Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola: an immense region, the european part of which is even now inhabited chiefly by one nation.

Every where they settled on lands, that others had relinquished, cultivating or enjoying them as colonists, husbandmen, or shepherds: so that their noiseless industry was of infinite advantage to countries, from which other nations had migrated, or which they had passed over and plundered. They were fond of agriculture, stores of corn and cattle, and various domestic arts; and every where opened a beneficial trade with the produce of their land and their industry. Along the Baltic, from Lubec, they built seaport towns, among which Vineta, in the island of Rugen, was the Amsterdam of the slavians: thus they maintained an intercourse with the prussians, courlanders, and lettonians, as the language of these people shows. On the Dnieper they built Kiow; on the Wolcuff, Novogorod; which soon became flourishing commercial towns, uniting the Black Sea with the Baltic, and conveying the productions of Asia

to the north and west of Europe. In Germany they followed the working of mines, understood the smelting and casting of metals, manufactured salt, fabricated linen, brewed mead, planted fruit trees, and led, after their fashion, a gay and musical life. They were liberal, hospitable to excess, lovers of pastoral freedom, but submissive and obedient, enemies to spoil and rapine. All this preserved them not from oppression: nay it contributed to their being oppressed. For, as they were never ambitious of sovereignty, had among them no hereditary princes addicted to war, and thought little of paying tribute, so they could but enjoy their lands in peace; many nations, chiefly of german origin, injuriously oppressed them.

Already under Charlemagne were carried on those oppressive wars, the object of which was evidently commercial advantages, though the christian religion was their pretext: as it was unquestionably very commodious for the heroic franks, to treat an industrious nation, addicted to trade and agriculture, as vassals, instead of learning and pursuing these arts themselves. What the franks began, the saxons completed: in whole provinces the slavians were extirpated, or made bondsmen, and their lands divided among bishops and nobles. Northern germans ruined their commerce on the Baltic; the danes brought their Vineta to a melancholy end; and their remains in Germany were reduced to that state, to which the peruvians were subjected by the spaniards. Is it to be wondered, that, after this nation had born the yoke for centuries, and cherished the bitterest animosity against their christian lords and robbers, it's gentle character should have sunk into the artful, cruel indolence of a slave? Yet still, particularly in lands where they enjoy any degree of freedom, their ancient stamp is universally perceptible. It was unfortunate for these people, that their love of quiet and domestic industry was incompatible with any permanent military establishment, though they were not defective in valour in the heat of resistance: unfortunate, that their situation brought them so near to the germans on the one side, and on the other left them exposed to the attacks of the tatars from the east, from whom, particularly from the mungals, they had much to suffer, and much they patiently bore.

The wheel of changing Time, however, revolves without ceasing; and as these nations inhabit for the most part the finest country of Europe, if it were completely cultivated, and it's trade opened; while it cannot be supposed, but that legislation and politics, instead of a military spirit, must and will more and more promote quiet industry, and peaceful commerce between different states; these now deeply sunk, but once industrious and happy people, will at length awake from their long and heavy slumber, shake off the chains of slavery, enjoy the pos-

cession of their delightful lands from the Adriatic sea to the Carpathian mountains, from the Don to the Muldaw, and celebrate on them their ancient festivals of peaceful trade and industry.

As we have elegant and useful materials for the history of these people, from different regions *, it is to be wished, that their deficiencies were supplied from others; the continually decaying remains of their customs, songs, and traditions, collected; and such a general history of this race ultimately completed, as the picture of mankind requires.

CHAPTER V.

Foreign Nations in Europe.

AL L the nations, that we have hitherto noticed, the hungarians alone excepted, may be considered as ancient aborigines of Europe, who have resided in it from time immemorial. For though they may have dwelt in Asia, as the affinity of several languages leads us to conjecture, to inquire into this, and the way they took from Noah's ark, would carry us beyond the limits of our history.

But beside these we find several foreign nations, that have formerly appeared on the stage of Europe, to it's advantage or detriment, or still appear on it.

Such were the huns, who, under Attila, traversed, conquered, and ravaged a great extent of country; a people, according to all probability, and the description given by Ammian, of mungal origin. Had the great Attila, instead of suffering himself to be prevailed on by entreaty, to withdraw from Rome, made the metropolis of the World the seat of his empire; what a fearful change would it have occasioned in the whole history of Europe! But happily his defeated people retired to their mountains, and left behind them no *calmus holy roman empire*.

After the huns, the bulgarians once acted a tremendous part in the east of Europe, till, like the hungarians, they were subdued to the reception of christianity, and at length swallowed up in the language of the slavians. The new kingdom, likewise, which they founded with the wallachians from mount Hæmus, fell to pieces: they were melted down in the great mixed mass of nations of the dacillyrico-thracian region; and now only a single province of the turkish empire bears their name, without any distinguishing marks of national character.

We shall pass over many others, chazars, avars, petshenegrins, &c., who gave much trouble to the eastern roman empire, as well as in part to the western, the

* See Frisch, Popowitch, Mueller, Jordan, Taube, Fortis, Sulzer, Rossignoli, Dobrowski, Stritter, Gerken, Mæhsen, Anton, Dobner, Voigt, Pelzel, &c.

goths, the flavians, and other nations; but at length, without any lasting establishment of their name, either returned to Asia, or were lost by mixing in the general mass.

Still less need we concern ourselves with those remains of the ancient illyrians, thracians, and macedonians, the albanians, wallachians, and arnauts. These were not strangers, but of an ancient european race: once they were leading nations, now they are a confused jumble of the remains of various people and languages.

Those second huns, too, that ravaged Europe under Gengis-khan and his successors, are altogether foreign to our purpose. The first conqueror pressed forwards as far as the Dnieper without stopping; then suddenly changed his intentions, and returned. His successor advanced even into Germany with fire and sword, but was driven back. The grandson of Gengis-khan subjugated Russia, which remained tributary to the mungals for a century and half: but at length it threw off the yoke, and mastered these people in its turn. More than once these ravenous wolves of the asiatic heights, the mungals, have ravaged the World; but they never accomplished the transformation of Europe into their deserts. This indeed they never sought: plunder was their only object.

We have therefore to speak only of those people, who have resided in our quarter of the Globe a more or less considerable space of time, possessing territories in it, and dwelling among the other nations. These are

1. *The arabs.* As the eastern empire received its first grand shock in three quarters of the Globe from these people; and as they possessed Spain in part for seven hundred and seventy years, beside ruling wholly, or partly, in Sicily, Sardinia, Corfica, and Naples, most of which were taken from them piecemeal; they every where left traces behind them, in language and sentiments, dispositions and institutions, which are in part not yet obliterated, in part have considerably influenced the genius of their former neighbours, and those among whom they dwelt. In many places they lighted the torch of science for Europe, then barbarous, which reaped no small advantage likewise from its acquaintance with their oriental brethren by means of the croisades. And besides, as many of them embraced christianity in the countries where they were settled, they thus became denizens of Europe, in Spain, Sicily, and other parts.

2. *The turks,* a people from Turkistan, notwithstanding they have resided in Europe for more than three centuries, are still strangers in it. They put an end to the eastern empire, which had been a burden to itself and to the World for above a thousand years; and thus unintentionally and unconsciously drove the arts westward into Europe. By their attacks on the european powers they have

kept their valour alert for some centuries, and thus preserved them from falling under any foreign dominion: a slight compensation for the incomparably greater evil of having reduced the finest lands of Europe to a desert, and the once most ingenious greeks to faithless slaves, to dissolute barbarians. How many works of art have these ignorant people destroyed! how much have they dissipated, that can never be restored! Their empire is one vast prison for all the europeans that dwell in it; but it will fall, when it's time arrives: for what have foreigners to do in Europe, who, after the lapse of a thousand years, are still resolute to remain asiatic barbarians?

3. The *jews* we shall consider here only as parasitical plants, having fixed themselves on almost all the nations of Europe, and sucked more or less of their juices. After the downfall of ancient Rome, there were yet comparatively few of them in Europe; but from the persecution of the arabs they fled thither in great multitudes, and divided themselves nationally. That the leprosy was brought into Europe by them is improbable: but it was a still worse scab, that in all barbarous ages they were the base implements of usury, as bankers, brokers, and servants of the empire, and thus hardened the proud barbarian ignorance of the europeans in trade against their own profit. They were often treated with great cruelty; and what they had acquired by avarice and deceit, or by industry, prudence, and order, was tyrannically extorted from them: but being accustomed to such treatment, and forced to reckon upon it, they carried their artifice and extortion to greater lengths. Still to many countries they were indispensable at that time, and are even now: it cannot be denied, likewise, that by them hebrew literature was preserved; by them the sciences acquired from the arabs, physic and philosophy, were propagated in the dark ages; and much other good was performed, for which no one but a jew was adapted. A time will come, when no person in Europe will inquire whether a man be a jew or a christian; as the jews will equally live according to european laws, and contribute to the welfare of the state. Nothing but a barbarous constitution could have been such an obstacle as to have prevented this, or rendered their abilities injurious.

4. I pass over the *armenians*, whom I consider only as travellers in our quarter of the Globe: but then I perceive a numerous, foreign, heathen, subterranean people, the *gipsies*, in almost all the countries of Europe. Whence came they? How did the seven or eight hundred thousand persons, at which they are estimated by their latest historiographers *, come hither? A reprobated indian cast, removed by birth from every thing they esteem divine, honourable, and be-

* Grellman's *Histor. Versuch ueber die Zigeuner* Ger's *Zuwachs zur Sprachenkunde*, 'Addition to Historical Essay on the Gipsies,' 87. Ruedi-Philology,' 82.

coming a citizen, and still remaining true to this degrading destination after the lapse of ages, for what in Europe are they fit, except for military discipline, the most speedy changer of manners?

CHAPTER VI.

General Reflections and Deductions.

S U C K appears the picture of the people of Europe; a particoloured composition, that would appear still more confused, were we only to continue through the times, with which we are acquainted. It was not so in Japan, China, or Hindostan: it is so in no country shut up from others by its situation or constitution. And yet has Europe no great sea beyond the Alps, so that it might be supposed nations could here stand side by side as walls? A slight view of the situation and nature of this quarter of the Globe, with the character and circumstances of its nations, will lead us to other conclusions.

1. Eastwards, on the right hand, observe that *vast elevated region, asiatic Tataria*; and in reading of the troubles that threw Europe into confusion in the middle ages, exclaim with Tristram Shandy, 'this was the source of all our misfortunes.' I will not venture to inquire, whether all the northern europeans dwelt there, and for how long a time: for once the whole north of Europe was no better than Siberia and Mungalia, the cradle of erratic hordes: in each, indolent migration, and the khan mode of government under tatarian lords, was hereditary, and indigenous to the wandering people. As, beside this, Europe beyond the Alps is evidently an *inclined plane*, extending from these populous tatarian heights westward to the sea, on which, when one barbarian horde was pressed upon by another, it must descend toward the west, and drive others before it, Europe was long kept in a tatarian state geographically. Such for more than a thousand years is the unpleasing aspect presented by the history of Europe, in which kingdoms and nations were never at quiet, either from having acquired the habit of wandering, or from being pressed upon by others. As it is undeniable, that, in the ancient World, the great mountains of Asia, with their continuation in Europe, produced a wonderful difference of climate and character between the northern and southern parts of the Globe, let us, who are on the north of the Alps, console ourselves with the reflection, that both in manners and institutions we belong not to the original asiatic Tataria, but to its european continuation.

2. Europe, particularly in comparison with the north of Asia, is a temperate country, abounding with rivers, coasts, promontories, and bays: and this alone was sufficient to render the destiny of its nations advantageously distinguished from that of their asiatic neighbours. On the Sea of Afoph and the Euxine they were near the grecian colonies, and the most flourishing commerce of those days: all the nations, that founded kingdoms or tarried here, became acquainted with many others, and indeed acquired a certain degree of familiarity with the arts and sciences. But the Baltic was still more particularly to the north of Europe, what the Mediterranean was to the south. The coasts of Prussia were already known to the greeks and romans by the trade in amber: none of the nations that settled on them, whatever their descent, remained wholly strangers to commerce; a commerce, which soon united itself with that of the Euxine, and even extended to the White Sea; in consequence a sort of common intercourse took place between the south of Asia and the east of Europe, and between the northern parts of Europe and of Asia, in which even nations that were far from civilized had a share *. The coasts of Scandinavia and the North Sea soon swarmed with merchants, pirates, voyagers, and adventurers, who launched out on every sea, attempted the coasts and countries of all Europe, and performed astonishing exploits. The belgæ united Gaul and Britain; and the Mediterranean was not safe from the expeditions of northern barbarians: they made pilgrimages to Rome; they traded to Constantinople, and served in its armies.

From all these circumstances, with the long continued migrations by land, at length arose in this small portion of the Globe a disposition to a grand *union of nations*, which the romans had already undesignedly prepared by their conquests, and which in any other place could not easily have been brought to bear. In no one quarter of the Globe have nations been so intermingled as in Europe; in no one have they so often and so completely changed their abodes, and with them their way of life and manners. In many countries it would now be difficult for the inhabitants in general, leaving individuals out of the question, to say of what race, of what nation they are; whether they be descended from goths, moors, jews, carthaginians, or romans; whether from gael, cimbrî, burgundians, franks, normans, saxons, flavians, fins, or illyrians; and what intermixture of blood took place among their ancestors. In the course of ages the ancient family stamp of many european nations has been softened down and al-

* Some very useful information on this subject is collected in Fischer's *Geschichte des Deutschen Handels*, 'History of the Commerce of Germany,' Vol. I.

tered by a hundred causes, and without this the *general spirit* of Europe could not easily have been excited.

3. *That we now find the most ancient inhabitants of this quarter of the Globe only on the mountains, or driven into it's extreme coasts and corners, is a natural occurrence, of which instances may be found in every part of the World, even in the asiatic islands. In many of these the mountains are inhabited by a peculiar race, commonly less civilized, who were probably the ancient inhabitants of the land, obliged to retire before younger and bolder strangers. How could it be otherwise in Europe, where nations pressed upon and drove out one another more than in any place? The series of them, however, may be traced up to a few principal names; and, what is singular, we find in very different regions the same people, who appear to have followed one another, for the most part near together. Thus the cimbrî followed the gael; the germans, both; the slavians, the germans; and occupied their lands. As the strata of our Earth follow in regular succession, so do the nations in our quarter of the Globe; often, indeed, turned upside down, yet still distinguishable in their primitive situation. The inquirers into their languages and manners must make the best use of their time, while they are still to be distinguished; for every thing in Europe tends to a gradual extinction of national character. The historian of mankind, however, must take care, that he chooses no tribe exclusively as his favourite, and exalt it at the expense of others, whose situation and circumstances denied them fame and fortune. The germans have derived information even from the slavians: the cimbrî and lettonians might probably have become greeks, had they been differently seated with respect to surrounding nations. We may rejoice, that people of such a strong, handsome, and noble form, chaste manners, generosity, and probity, as the germans, possessed the roman world, instead perhaps of huns or bulgarians: but on this account to esteem them God's chosen people in Europe, to whom the World belongs in right of their innate nobility, and to whom other nations were destined to be subservient in consequence of this preeminence, would be to display the base pride of a barbarian. The barbarian lords it over those whom he has vanquished: the polished conqueror civilizes those whom he subdues.*

4. *No nation of Europe has raised itself to a polished state: each has endeavoured rather to retain it's ancient barbarous manners, as long as it possibly could; to which it's raw, unprolific climate, and the necessity of a rude military constitution, greatly contributed. No nation of Europe, for example, has letters of it's own, or invented them for itself: from the spanish to the runic of the north, all are derived from the alphabets of other nations: all the cultivation of the east,*

west, and north of Europe, is a plant sprung from roman, greek, and arabic seed. It was long ere this plant could thrive on the rugged soil, and produce fruit of it's own, at first sufficiently four: and for this a singular instrument was necessary, *a foreign religion*; that *a spiritual conquest* might complete, what the romans were unable to accomplish by their arms. Thus above all things we have to consider this new instrument of civilization, which had no inferior aim to that of moulding all nations into one happy people, both in this World, and in the next, and which operated no where so powerfully as in Europe.

Behold the glorious standard raised on high,
 To which for hope and comfort mortals fly;
 Myriads of souls to it allegiance vow,
 Myriads of suppliant knees before it bow:
 Secure of future life it's votary braves
 The fear of death; in victory's plume it waves:
 Awestruck the savage warrior trembling stands;
 He sees the *cross*, and drops his weaponed hands.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XVII.

SEVENTY years before the dissolution of the Jewish state, a man was born in it, by whom an unexpected revolution was brought about in the sentiments of men, as well as in their manners and institutions. This man, who was named *Jesus*, born in poverty, though descended from the ancient royal lineage, dwelling in the rudest part of the country, and educated remote from the learning and wisdom of his nation, now deeply declined, lived unnoticed the greater part of his short life, till, consecrated by a celestial appearance at the Jordan, he took to himself twelve men of his own condition as disciples, travelled with them through a part of Judea, and soon after sent them round to announce the approach of a new kingdom. The kingdom, that he announced, he styled the kingdom of God, a heavenly kingdom, in which only chosen men could participate, and for the obtaining of which he proposed not external duties and ceremonies, but pure mental and spiritual virtues. The *most genuine humanity* is contained in the few discourses of his, that are preserved: humanity he displayed in his life, and confirmed by his death: and the favourite name, by which he chose to distinguish himself, was that of *the son of man*. That he should have many followers among his countrymen, particularly of the poor and oppressed; and that he should soon be removed out of the way by those, who under the cloak of sanctity oppressed the people, so that we scarcely know with precision the time of his appearance; were the natural consequences of his situation.

But what was this *kingdom of Heaven*, the approach of which Jesus announced, urged others to desire, and strove himself to establish? That it was no worldly sovereignty, is proved by every thing he said and did, to the last unequivocal confession he made before his judges. As a spiritual deliverer of his race, he sought to form *children of God*, who, under whatever laws they lived, should promote the welfare of others from the purest principles; and, patient under sufferings, reign in spite of them as kings in the realm of truth and goodness. It is selfevident, that such a purpose alone could be consistent with the intention of Providence in regard to mankind; a purpose, in the promotion of which all the wise

and good upon Earth must cooperate, in proportion to the purity of their thoughts and endeavours; for what can man propose as the standard of his earthly perfection and happiness, but this universally operating, pure humanity?

With reverence I bend before thy noble form, thou head and founder of a kingdom, so great in its object, so durable in its extent, so simple and animated in its principles, so efficacious in its motives, that the sphere of this terrestrial life appears too narrow for it. No where in history find I a revolution so quietly effected in so short a time, planted in such a singular manner by feeble instruments, propagated over all the Earth with yet indeterminable effect, and cultivated so as to produce good or bad fruit, as that, which has spread among nations under the name, not properly of *thy religion*, that is to say, of thy vital scheme for the welfare of mankind, but mostly of *thy worship*, that is, an unreflecting adoration of thy cross and person. Thy penetrating mind foresaw this; and it is dishonouring thy name, to affix it to every turbid stream from thy pure fountain. We will avoid it as much as possible: thy placid form shall stand alone before the whole history, that takes its rise from thee.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Christianity, with the fundamental Principles it included.

SINGULAR as it appears, that a revolution affecting more than one quarter of the Globe should originate from a country so despised as Judea, historical grounds for it may be discovered on a closer inspection. The revolution, of which we speak, was intellectual; and however contemptible the jews may have been deemed by the greeks and romans, they had this to boast, that, before any other nation of Asia or of Europe, they possessed writings of ancient date, on which their constitution was founded, and which, in consequence of this constitution, must promote the cultivation of a particular kind of science and literature. Neither greeks nor romans could lay claim to such a code of religious and political institutions, which, interwoven with ancient scriptural family records, was confided to the care of a particular and numerous tribe, and preserved by it with superstitious reverence.

In course of time a kind of refined sense naturally grew out of this antiquated letter, which was promoted by the repeated dispersion of the jews among other nations. In the canon of their sacred writings were intermixed poems, moral

maxims, and sublime orations; that, written at various times, and on very different occasions, grew into a collection, which was soon considered as one continued system, and out of which one leading sense was drawn. The prophets of this nation, who, as the appointed guardians of the law of the land, had exhibited to the people a picture of what they ought to be, and were not, each according to his peculiar way of thinking, at one time teaching and exhorting, at another warning or consoling, but always with patriotic hope, had left posterity, in these fruits of their heads and hearts, many seeds of new ideas, which every man might cultivate after his own manner. From all these was gradually formed a systematic expectation of a king, who should deliver his fallen, obedient people; bring them golden days, such as they had never known under the greatest of their ancient sovereigns; and begin a new order of things. Conformably to the language of the prophets, these views were theocratic: with the collected characters of a messiah they were moulded into a lively image, and considered as the certain prerogative of the nation. In Palestine the increasing misery of the people made them hold fast this idea: in other countries, in Egypt for example, where many jews had resided since the dissolution of the monarchy of Alexander, these notions acquired more of a grecian form; apocryphal books, which exhibited these prophecies in a new shape, were circulated; and the time was now arrived, when these dreams, having attained their acme, must come to a conclusion. From the people a man arose, whose mind, exalted above all earthly chimeras, united all the hopes, wishes, and predictions of the prophets in the design of an ideal kingdom, which should be nothing less than an israelitish kingdom of Heaven. In this lofty plan he foresaw the approaching downfall of his nation; and denounced a speedy and lamentable end to their splendid temple, and to their worship, now completely converted into superstition. The kingdom of God was to be extended to all nations; and the people, who deemed it exclusively their own, were considered by him as a lifeless corpse.

What comprehensive force of mind must have been requisite, to discern and announce any thing of the kind at that time in Judea, is evident from the unfriendly reception given to this doctrine by the chief persons and learned men among the jews: it was looked upon as a rebellion against Moses, and against God; as treason to the nation, whose common hopes it unpatriotically destroyed. Even to the apostles the exjudaism of christianity was a doctrine above all others difficult to swallow: and the most learned of them, Paul, found all the subtleties of jewish logic necessary, to render it comprehensible to the

christian jews, even out of Judea. It was well, that Providence itself gave the first stroke, and that with the destruction of Jerusalem the ancient walls were thrown down, which with unyielding stubbornness separated God's chosen people, as they called themselves, from all others upon Earth. The time of a peculiar national worship, teeming with pride and superstition, was now over: for necessary as such institutions might have been in former days, when every nation, educated in a narrow family circle, ripened as a bunch of grapes on its own stalk, all human exertions in this part of the World had now tended for some centuries, to unite nations, by means of war, commerce, arts, science, and familiar intercourse, and press from the fruit of all one common liquor. The prejudices of national religion stood chiefly in the way of this union: and as, while the romans exercised a general spirit of toleration throughout their extensive empire, and the eclectic philosophy, that singular compound of all schools and sects, was universally diffused, a *popular* faith now arose, which made of all nations one people, and proceeded immediately from the most obstinate, which had hitherto esteemed itself preeminently distinguished from all others; this was at any rate a great and perilous step in the history of mankind, in whatever manner it was undertaken. It made all people brethren, in leading them to the knowledge of one God and saviour: but it was capable of rendering them slaves, if this religion were imposed upon them as a yoke. The keys of the kingdom of Heaven, both in this world and the next, might introduce phariseism as dangerous, when in the hands of other nations, as ever they did in the hands of the jews.

The speedy and firm establishment of christianity was principally promoted by a belief, which originated from its founder himself: this was the opinion of *his early return, and the revelation of his kingdom upon Earth*. This belief Jesus avowed before his judge, and frequently repeated in the last days of his life: his followers adhered to it, and expected the appearance of his kingdom. The spiritually minded christian conceived therein the idea of a spiritual kingdom; the carnally minded, of a temporal sovereignty: and as the overstretched imaginations of those times and countries were not over-rational in their reveries, jewish christian apocalypses arose, teeming with various prophecies, signs, and dreams. Antichrist was first to be destroyed; and on the delay of Christ's return, this man of sin was first to be revealed, then to increase, and grow up to the utmost height in his abominations, till the saviour should come again, and resuscitate his people.

It cannot be denied, but that such expectations must have occasioned many

persecutions of the early christians ; for Rome, the mistress of the World, could not be indifferent to the propagation of such opinions, announcing it's approaching overthrow, and representing it as an antichristian object of horror or contempt. Thus such prophets were soon considered as unpatriotic despisers of their country and the World, nay, as men notoriously guilty of a general hatred to mankind ; and many a one, impatient of his favour's return, ran to meet martyrdom. It is certain, however, that this hope of a kingdom of Christ nigh at hand, in Heaven, or on Earth, powerfully united the minds of men, and detached them from the World. This they despised as sunk in misery ; while they beheld every where around them, what they believed so near. Hence they acquired courage, to rise above the spirit of the times, the power of persecutors, the mockery of the incredulous ; which otherwise no one could have surmounted : they sojourned here as passengers, whose residence was where their leader was gone before them, and whence he was soon to be revealed.

Beside the leading points of history, that have been mentioned, it appears not unnecessary, to mark some of inferiour magnitude, that contributed greatly to the structure of christianity.

1. The *benevolent sentiments of Christ* had made fraternal concord and placability, active assistance to the poor and needy, in short every duty of man, the common tie of his followers, so that, conformably to this, christianity could not be other than a *genuine bond of friendship and brotherly love*. There can be no doubt, that this instrument of humanity contributed much at all times, and particularly in the beginning, to it's reception and extension. The poor and needy, the oppressed, the bondsmen and the slave, the publican and the sinner, embraced it ; and in consequence the first christian communities were termed assemblies of beggars by the heathen. Now as the new religion was neither capable nor desirous of removing the distinction of ranks, that then existed in the World, nothing was left for it but minds possessed of christian meekness, with all the weeds that would spring up at the same time on this good ground. Rich widows soon attracted a number of beggars by their gifts, who occasionally disturbed the peace of whole communities. Alms could not fail to be esteemed on one side as the true treasures of the kingdom of Heaven, and to be sought on the other : in both cases, not only that noble pride, the offspring of independent merit and useful industry, but often impartiality and truth, yielded to base flattery. The almshouses of communities became the common property of martyrs : gifts to the community were exalted to the title of the spirit of christianity, while it's morals were corrupted by the exaggerated praise bestowed on

such acts. Though the necessity of the times may excuse much of this, it is nevertheless certain, that, if human society be considered as one large hospital, and christianity it's common almsbox, a depraved state of morals and politics must necessarily ensue.

2. *Christianity was to be a community governed by elders and teachers without any worldly authority.* These were to guide the flock as shepherds, decide their differences, correct their faults with zeal and affection, and lead them to Heaven by their counsel, their influence, their precepts, and their example. A noble office, when worthily executed, and not prevented by circumstances from being fulfilled: for it blunts the fangs of the law, extracts the thorns from claims and contests, and unites the divine, the father, and the judge. But how was it, when, in course of time, the shepherds treated their human flocks as actual sheep, or led them as beasts of burden to browse on thistles? how, when wolves, legally called, came among the flocks instead of shepherds? Childish obedience then soon became a christian virtue: it became a christian virtue, for a man to renounce the use of his reason, and to follow the authority of another's opinion instead of his own conviction, while the bishop, instead of an apostle, was messenger, witness, teacher, expounder, judge, and arbiter. Nothing now was prized so highly as faith, as quietly following the leader: the man, who ventured to have an opinion of his own, was an obstinate heretic, and excluded from the kingdom of God and the church. Bishops and their subalterns, in defiance of the doctrines of Christ, interfered in family disputes and civil affairs; and soon they quarrelled among each other, which should rule the rest. Hence the contests for the chief episcopal sees, and the gradual extension of their rights: hence the endless dispute, between the sceptre and the crozier, between the right arm and the left, between the crown and the mitre. Certain as it is, that, in times of tyranny, just and pious judges were indispensable aids to men, who had the misfortune to live without political institutions; scarcely any thing more scandalous can be conceived, than the long dispute between the spiritual arm and the temporal, which kept Europe in perpetual confusion for more than a thousand years. In this place the fault was insipid, in that it was too pungent.

3. *Christianity had a certain formulary, of which those who were initiated into it by baptism made profession:* and simple as this formulary was, more disturbances, persecutions, and bitterness, arose in course of time from the harmless expressions, *Father, Son, and Spirit*, than from any other three words in human language. The farther men departed from the principles of christianity, considered as an

active institution, founded for the good of mankind; the more men speculated beyond the limits of human reason. Mysteries were discovered; and at length the whole of the christian doctrine was converted into mystery. After the books of the New Testament were introduced into the church as a canon, things were demonstrated from them, and indeed from books of the jewish constitution, books which few could read in the original, and of which the primitive signification had long been lost, that from them are not to be proved. Hence systems and heresies multiplied, to stifle which the worst of all means were chosen, *ecclesiastical assemblies and synods*. How many of these are the disgrace of christianity, and of common sense! Pride and Intolerance called them together; Discord, Party Spirit, Grossness, and Knavery, swayed them: and at length Force, Arbitrary Power, Insolence, Pimping, Deceit, or Accident, decided, under the name of the Holy Spirit, for the whole church, nay for time and eternity. In a short time, none were found so competent to determine articles of faith as the christianized emperors, to whom Constantine had bequeathed the innate hereditary right, to enjoin creeds and canons concerning Father, Son, and Spirit, concerning *εμοιστιος* and *ομοιουσιος*, the single or double nature of Christ, Mary the mother of God, and the created or uncreated glory, that appeared at Christ's baptism. These pretensions, with the consequences that ensued from them, will remain an eternal disgrace to the byzantine throne, and to every throne, by which it was imitated; for with their ignorant power they supported and perpetuated persecutions, schisms, and disturbances, which improved neither the spirit nor the morality of men, but tended to undermine the church, the state, and the thrones themselves. The history of the first christian empire, that of Constantinople, is such a melancholy exhibition of base treachery, and horrible cruelty, that, to the moment of its deplorable end, it stands a warning monument to all polemic christian governments.

4. *Christianity had its sacred writings, which sprung in part from occasional epistles, and in part, with few exceptions, from oral communications*; these in time were made the standard of faith, soon became the banner of every contending party, and were abused in every way, that want of sense could dictate. Each party either proved from them what it wished to prove; or men hesitated not to mutilate them, and to forge with unblushing effrontery false gospels, epistles, and revelations, in the name of the apostles. *Pious fraud*, in such things more detestable than perjury, as it lies to a whole series of ages and generations without end, was soon reckoned no sin, but a meritorious act for the honour of God, and the salvation of souls. Hence the many spurious writings of the apostles and fathers of the church: hence the numerous fictions of miracles, martyrs, dona-

tions, constitutions, and decretals, the uncertainty of which steals through all the early and middle ages of ecclesiastical history, almost down to the reformation, like a thief in the night. When once the corrupt principle was admitted, that a man might deal treacherously, invent lies, and write fictions, for the good of the church, historical faith was wounded: the tongue, the pen, the memory and imagination of men, had lost their rule and compass; so that *christian veracity* had a more just claim to become proverbial, than grecian honesty, or punic faith. This is the more to be regretted, as the epoch of christianity follows the period of the most excellent historians of Greece and Rome; after whom true history almost disappears at once with the christian era for many centuries. It quickly sinks into a chronicle of bishops, churches, and monks; as the pen was employed, not for what is most worthy of man, not for the World and the state, but for the church, or for orders, cloisters, and sects; and as men were accustomed to homilies, and the people were to believe the bishop in all things, writers considered the whole World as a race of believers, as a christian flock.

5. *Christianity had only two sacred rites, very simple, and well adapted to their purposes*; for nothing was farther from the intention of it's founder, than that it should be a ceremonial religion. But deuterocrisitianity soon became intermixed with jewish and heathen practices, according to the difference of places and times, so that the baptism of infants was converted into an exorcism of Satan, and a feast in commemoration of a departed friend became the creation of a God, a bloodless sacrifice, a miracle for the remission of sin, a viaticum to the other World. Unfortunately the period of christianity coincided with that of ignorance, barbarism, and depraved taste; whence little truly great and noble could enter into it's ceremonies, the structure of it's churches, the institution of it's festivals, statutes, and pageantry, it's hymns, prayers, and rituals. These ceremonies rolled on from land to land, from one quarter of the Globe to another: what originally derived some local meaning from ancient custom lost it in foreign countries, and remote times: thus the spirit of christian liturgies became a singular jumble of jewish, egyptian, greek, roman, barbarian, practices, in which what was serious frequently became tiresome, or absurd. A history of christian taste, in festivals, temples, rituals, consecrations, and literary composition, contemplated with a philosophic eye, would exhibit the most chequered picture the World ever beheld, of a subject that was intended to be free of ceremony. And as this christian taste in time insinuated itself into juridical and political customs, domestic establishments, plays, romances, dances, songs, tournaments, coats of arms, battles, triumphs, and other festivities; it must be confessed, that the human mind received from it an incredi-

ble twist; and that the cross erected over nations stamped a singular impression on their foreheads. The *pisciculi christiani* swam for ages in a turbid element.

6. *Christ lived unmarried, and his mother was a virgin: serene and cheerful as he was, he loved occasional solitude, and prayed in private.* The spirit of the orientals, the egyptians in particular, who were previously inclined to contemplation, seclusion, and religious indolence, carried the notion of the holiness of celibacy, especially in the priesthood, and of the pleasingness to God of virginity, solitude, and a contemplative life, to such an extravagant pitch, that, as essenes, therapeutæ, and other solitaries, already abounded, above all in Egypt, the spirit of seclusion, vows, fasting, penitence, prayer, and a monastic life, was set in full fermentation by christianity. In different countries, indeed, it assumed different forms; and according as it was modified, proved either a benefit, or an injury: upon the whole, however, it is incontrovertible, that the injuriousness of this way of life, the moment it becomes an irrevocable law, a slavish yoke, or a political net, is predominant, for society in general, as well as for its individual members. From China and Thibet, to Ireland, Mexico, and Peru, cloisters of bonzes, lamas, and talapoins, and of all christian monks and nuns, in their several kinds and classes, are the dungeons of religion and the state, seminaries of barbarity, vice, and oppression, or sewers of the most abominable lusts and knaveries. And though we would deprive no spiritual order of its merits with respect to the culture of the earth, the improvement of man, or the promotion of science; we ought never to shut our ears against the secret sighs and lamentations, that echo through these hollow vaults, secluded from humankind; or will we turn our heads, to view the empty visions of supramundane contemplation, or the continued cabals of furious monkish zeal, in a form certainly adapted to no enlightened age. To christianity they are unquestionably foreign; for Christ was no monk; Mary, no nun; the most ancient of the apostles was accompanied by his wife; and neither Christ, nor any of the twelve, knew aught of supramundane contemplation.

7. Finally, *christianity, in seeking to found a heavenly kingdom upon Earth, and to convince men of the transitoriness of all earthly things, at all times formed those pure and tranquil minds, which sought not the eyes of the World, and performed their good deeds before God; but, alas! it also cherished, by its gross abuse, that false enthusiasm, which, almost from its commencement, gave birth to frantic martyrs and prophets in abundance. They endeavoured to erect a kingdom of Heaven upon the Earth, without knowing where or how it was to stand. They opposed the government, and loosed the bands of order, without giving the World a better; while vulgar pride, base arrogance, scanda-*

lous lust, and mad stupidity, concealed themselves under the overflow of christian zeal. As the deceived jews followed their Pseudo-Messiahs, the christians in one place flocked to the banners of bold impostors, in another fawned on the most despicable and dissolute tyrants, as if they had established the kingdom of God upon Earth, when they built for them churches, or conferred on them donations. Thus the weak Constantine was flattered; and this mystic language of prophetic fanaticism extended itself, according to times and circumstances, both to men and women. The Paraclete has often appeared; and the Spirit has often spoken to a deeply enamoured enthusiast from female lips. History shows what discord and calamity have been introduced into the christian World by chiliasts and anabaptists, donatists, montanists, priscillianists, circumcisions, and others: how some of heated imaginations have despised and destroyed works of science, demolished and extirpated monuments of art, institutions, and men: how a palpable imposture, or ridiculous accident, occasionally set whole countries in commotion: how, for example, the fancied approach of the World's end drove all Europe into Asia. Let us not, however, refuse it's due praise to pure christian enthusiasm: this, when it took a right course, performed more in a short time for many ages, than all the coolness and indifference of philosophy could ever accomplish. The leaves of deceit fall off; but the fruit ripens. The flames of time consume the straw and stubble; but real gold they can only refine.

Whatever melancholy has crossed my mind, while my pen has traced many of these shameful abuses of the best of things, I proceed with cheerfulness to the propagation of christianity in different countries and regions: for as medicine may be converted into poison, poison may be rendered salutiferous; and what is pure and good in it's origin must ultimately prove triumphant.

CHAPTER II.

Propagation of Christianity in the East.

IN Judea christianity grew under oppression, and retained the stamp of oppression in it's form, as long as the jewish state endured. The nazarenes and ebionites, in all probability the remains of the first body of christians, were poor and low persons, and have long been extinct; their names alone remaining in the list of heretics, on account of their opinion, that Jesus was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary. It is to be regretted, that their Gospel is lost; as in it probably we should have the earliest collection, though not altogether pure,

of the nearest local traditions of the life of Christ. Thus, too, the ancient books in possession of the sabæans, or Saint John's christians, were probably not unworthy notice: for though a pure illustration of the primitive times could by no means be expected from this fabling sect, a compound of jews and christians, even fables often throw light on things of this kind*.

The influence of the church at Jerusalem on other communities arose chiefly from *the respect paid to the apostles*: for as James, the brother of Jesus, a sensible and worthy man, presided over it for a number of years, there can be no doubt, but it's form would be a model to others. A jewish model, therefore: and as almost every country, and every city, of primitive christendom, would be converted by an apostle, every where imitations of the church at Jerusalem, apostolical communities, arose. The bishop, who received the unction of the Spirit from an apostle, occupied the apostle's place, and with it enjoyed his authority. The power of the Spirit, which he had received, he again imparted, and soon became a kind of high-priest, a mediator between God and man. As the first council at Jerusalem spoke in the name of the Holy Spirit, other councils did the same in imitation of it; and we are startled at the spiritual power very early acquired by the bishops, in the asiatic provinces. Thus the authority of the apostles, which visibly descended to the bishops, rendered the most ancient constitution of the church aristocratic; and in this constitution lay the germe of a future hierarchy, and a popedom. What is said of the pure virginity of the church during the first three centuries is either fiction, or exaggeration.

It is well known, that *an oriental philosophy*, as it is called, had spread very considerably in the first ages of christianity. This, however, more closely investigated, appears to have been nothing but a shoot from the eclectic, or modern platonic philosophy, such as the country and time were adapted to produce. It wound itself round judaism and christianity; but neither sprang from them, nor produced them any fruits. The gnostics were branded with the name of heretics, from the commencement of christianity, because the christians would not admit among them any subtilizing philosophasters; and many of them would have remained unknown to us, had they not been entered in the rolls of schism. We could wish, that their writings also had been preserved, as they would not be unwelcome to us, with regard to the canon of the New Testament: at present we perceive from a few particular opinions of this numerous sect, yet remaining, nothing more than a crude attempt,

* The newest and most authentic account of this sect is in Norberg's *Comment de Relig. & Lingua Sabæorum*, 'Essay on the Religion and Language of the Sabæans,' 1780. This should be printed with the *Essays of Walch* and others, after the manner of older collections.

to intermix the fictions of the oriental platonists, respecting the nature of God, and the creation of the World, with judaism and christianity, and thence form a metaphysical theology, principally of allegorical names, with a theodicy and moral philosophy. As the name of heretic is unknown to the history of mankind, every one of these unsuccessful attempts is valuable to it, and worthy it's notice; though at the same time it is well for the history of christianity, that such reveries should never become the prevailing system of the church. After the pains that have been bestowed on this sect ecclesiastically, a pure philosophical inquiry, whence their notions were derived, what was their intention, and what effect they produced, would not be unprofitable to the history of the human understanding*.

The doctrines of Manes, whose object was nothing less, than to be the founder of a complete christianity, made farther progress. He perished; and his numerous followers were so persecuted in all places, and at all times, that the name of manichean, especially after Austin had taken up the pen against them, became one of the most terrible stigmas of a heretic. We now shudder at this ecclesiastical spirit of persecution, and perceive, that many of these heresiarchs were men of reflecting and enterprising minds, who boldly attempted, not only to combine religion, metaphysics, morals, and natural philosophy, but to unite them for the purpose of an actual society, a philosophico-political religious order. Some of them were lovers of science, and are to be pitied for being denied more ample knowledge by their situation: the catholic party, however, would have become a stagnant pool, had not these wild winds set it in motion, and compelled them at least to defend their written tradition. The time of pure reason, and a political improvement of morals by it, was not yet arrived; and for the religious community of Manes there was no place, either in Persia, or Armenia, any more than afterwards among the bulgarians, or albigenses.

Christian sects penetrated into India, Thibet, and China, though by ways that remain obscure to us †: the shock, however, that was given to the remotest regions of Asia in the first centuries of the christian era, is observable in their own histories. The doctrine of Buddha, or Fo, which is said to have come from Bactra, acquired fresh animation at this period. It spread to Ceylon, Thibet, and China: hindoo books on the subject were translated into the chinese

* After Beaufobre, Mosheim, Brucker, Walch, Jablonki, Semler, and others, we may now take a more clear and free view of the subject.

† It is to be wished, that the essays by De Guignes, in the writings of the french Academy of Inscriptions, were collected and translated

as those of Caylus, St. Palaye, and others, have been. This appears to me the easiest mode of drawing things worthy notice out of the wilderness of a society, and of rendering the discoveries of individuals useful, as well as of uniting them together.

language, and the great sect of the bonzes was brought to perfection. Without ascribing to christianity all the abominations of the bonzes, or the whole of the monastic system of the lamas and talapoins, it seems to have been the leaven, which set all the ancient reveries of the people from Egypt to China in fermentation anew, and modified them more or less. Many fables of Buddha, Christnoo, and the rest, appear to include christian ideas enveloped in an indian garb; and the great lama on the mountains, who probably arose first in the fifteenth century, is, with his personal sanctity and rigid doctrines, his bells and religious orders, in all appearance a distant cousin of the lama on the Tiber: the difference is, there manicheism and nestorianism were grafted on asiatic ideas and manners; here orthodox christianity was inserted into a roman stock. The two cousins, however, would not readily recognize each other, so little intercourse has been kept up between them.

We have a clearer knowledge of the more learned nestorians, who spread themselves far into Asia, particularly after the fifth century, and did much good*. Almost from the commencement of the christian era the school of Edeffa flourished as the seat of syrian learning. King Abgarus, who has been held forth as an epistolary correspondent of Christ himself, when he removed his residence from Nisibis, transported to Edeffa the collections of books, which were in the temples. At this period, every one, who was desirous of becoming learned, travelled to Edeffa, from all parts of the World; for beside christian theology, the fine arts were taught there in the greek and syrian languages, so that Edeffa was probably the first christian university ever established. It flourished for four centuries, till the professors were expelled on account of the doctrines of Nestorius, to which they adhered, and their school was demolished. But in consequence of this the syrian literature spread not only into Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, and Phenicia, but even into Persia; where it experienced an honourable reception, and where at last a nestorian pope arose, who ruled over all the christians in this kingdom, and afterwards over those of Arabia, India, Mungalia, and China.

Whether he were the celebrated prester-john (*pres-tadshani*, the priest of the World), of whom many fabulous reports were spread in the middle ages; and whether, from a singular mixture of doctrines, the great lama at last arose from him; we shall leave undecided †. Suffice it, that in Persia the favoured nesto-

* Pfeifer's *Auszug aus Assmanni Orientalischer Bibliothek*, 'Abstract of Assmanni's Oriental Bibliotheca,' Erlang, 1776, is an useful work for this almost unknown region of history: a particular, connected history of eastern christendom, and of nestorianism especially, is still a desideratum.

† Fischer, in the introduction to his *Sibirischen Geschichte*, 'History of Siberia,' § 38 and following, has rendered this opinion very probable. Others are for the *ung-khan*, the khan of the keraites. See Koch's *Table des Revolutions*, 'Table of Revolutions,' Vol. 1, p. 265.

rians were employed by it's monarchs as physicians to the body, ambassadors, and ministers; the christian writings were translated into the persian; and the syriac became the learned language of the country. When the empire of Mohammed gained the sway, particularly under his successors the Omniades, nestorians filled the highest posts of honour, and were made viceroys of the conquered provinces; and when the khalifs resided at Bagdad, as well as after they had removed their residence to Samarraja, the patriarch of the nestorians shared their authority. Under Al-Mamon, who encouraged learning among his people, and appointed physicians and astronomers, philosophers, naturalists, mathematicians, geographers, and annalists, to teach in the academy of Bagdad, the syriacs were associates and instructors of the arabs. They rivalled each other in translating into arabic the works of the greeks, many of which had already been translated into that language: and if the light of science afterwards dawned on benighted Europe from the arabic, the syriac christians originally contributed to this. Their language, the first of the oriental dialects in this region into which vowels were admitted, and which can boast the most ancient and elegant translation of the New Testament, was the bridge of grecian science for Asia, and through the arabs for Europe. Under such favourable circumstances, nestorian missions then extended themselves far and wide; though other christian sects found means to suppress them, or chase them away. Under the family of Gengis-khan, too, they were of considerable importance: their patriarch frequently accompanied the khan on his expeditions, and thus their doctrines were spread among the mungals, igurians, and other tatar nations. Samarcand was the seat of a metropolitan; Cashgar, and other cities, of bishops: and if the celebrated christian monument in China be genuine, there is to be found on it a complete chronicle of the immigration of the priests from Tatfin. If with this be considered, that the whole of the mohammedan religion, such as it is, would never have arisen, had it not been preceded by christianity, we find in this, beyond all dispute, a leaven, which, more or less, sooner or later, set in commotion the way of thinking of all the south and part of the north of Asia.

From this commotion, however, no new and peculiar blossom of the human intellect, as perhaps with the greeks and romans, was to be expected. The nestorians, by whom so much was effected, were not a nation, were not a race growing up of itself in a maternal soil: they were christians, they were monks. Their language, indeed, they were capable of teaching: but what could they write in it? Liturgies, expositions of Scripture, monastic books of devotion, sermons, polemical works, chronicles, and insipid verses. Hence in the syriac-

christian literature there is not a spark of that poetic genius, which bursts from the soul, and warms the heart: a miserable knack at versifying catalogues of names, homilies, and chronicles, constituted the whole of their art of poetry. In none of the sciences they cultivated did they display the least spirit of invention, in none did they pursue any method of their own. A melancholy proof how little was done by the ascetico-polemic monachal spirit, with all its politic cunning. In this barren form it displayed itself in every quarter of the Globe, and still lords it on the mountains of Thibet; where not the least trace of free inventive genius is to be discovered, throughout the legally established monkish constitution. Whatever proceeds from the cloister is, for the most part, adapted only to the convent.

History, then, need not expatiate long on the particular provinces of christian Asia. Christianity reached Armenia at an early period, and bestowed on its ancient memorable language an alphabet, with a double and triple version of the Scriptures, and an armenian history. But neither Misrob with his alphabet, nor his scholar, Moses of Chorene *, with his history, could confer on their people literature, or a national constitution. Armenia always lay in the way of other nations: as it had been formerly under persians, greeks, and romans, it now fell under arabs, turks, tatars, and curdes. Its inhabitants still pursue their ancient occupation, trade: a scientific or political edifice could never have been established in this place, with or without christianity.

The state of christian Georgia is still more wretched. There are churches and convents, patriarchs, bishops, and monks: the women are beautiful; the men, brave: yet the parent will sell his child; the husband, his wife; the prince, his subjects; the devotee, his priest. A singular sort of christianity, among this gay and faithless nation of robbers.

The Gospel was early translated into Arabic, also; and many christian sects have taken great pains about the fine country of Arabia. In it jews and christians often persecuted each other; but neither party, though each occasionally produced even kings, effected any thing of importance. Every thing fell before Mohammed; and now, indeed, there is not a christian community in Arabia, though there are whole tribes of jews. Three religions, descendants of one another, guard with mutual hatred the sanctuary of their birth place, the deserts of Arabia †.

* Whiston's preface to *Mosis Chorenensis Hist. Armen.* 1736: Schræder's *Tesaur. Ling. Armen. Diff.* p. 62.

† Bruce's *Travels into Abyssinia* give a re-

markable history of the christianity of these regions: whether, on the whole, any new conclusions may be derived from it, time will show.

If we would now take a view of the general result of the effects, produced by christianity in it's asiatic provinces ; we must first agree on the point of view, in which the advantages, that this, or any religion, could confer on one quarter of the Globe, ought to be placed.

1. Christianity may have secretly operated to the furthering of a *heavenly kingdom upon Earth*, that is, a more perfect order of things, for the good of nations : but the flower of this operation, a perfect state, it has never produced, either in Asia, or in Europe. Arabs and Syrians, Persians and Armenians, Hindoos and Druses, have remained what they were ; and no political constitution in that country can boast of it's being the offspring of christianity ; even if anchoritism and monastic devotion, or a hierarchy of any kind, with their restless endeavours, be taken as the standard of a christian state. Patriarchs and bishops send missionaries round to extend their sects, their dioceses, their power : they seek the favour of princes, to obtain influence in affairs, or convents and communities : one party strives against another, and endeavours to obtain the superiority. Thus Jews and Christians, Nestorians and Monophysites, hunt each other round ; and no party thinks of acting simply and freely for the good of any place or country. The clergy of the east, who were never without a spice of monkery, would serve God, and not mankind.

2. There are three methods of acting upon men ; by *teaching, authority, and religious ceremonies*. Teaching is the simplest, and most effectual, if it be of the right kind. Instruction of the young and of the old, when it relates to the essential concerns and duties of man, cannot fail to introduce, or keep in circulation, much useful knowledge : the fame and preeminence of having rendered such more clear even to the lower people pertain exclusively to christianity in many countries. Catechisms, sermons, hymns, creeds, and prayers, have diffused a knowledge of God, and of morals, among the people : translations and expositions of the holy Scriptures have imparted to them writing and literature : and where nations were still in such infancy, that they were incapable of comprehending any thing but fables, there at least a sacred fable revived. Herein, it is obvious, every thing depended upon this, whether the man, who was to teach, were capable of teaching, and what he taught. In both these points, however, the answer must vary so much, according to the person, the people, the time, and the country, that at last we must confine ourselves to what was to be taught, to what the prevailing church maintained. Fearing the incapacity and boldness of many of it's teachers, it preferred brevity, and confined itself within a narrow circle. It thus, we must allow, incurred the danger of having the substance of it's doctrines very soon exhausted, and reduced to repetition ;

so that in a few generations the hereditary religion would lose all the lustre of novelty, and the dull teacher would slumber over his antiquated creed. Thus, for the most part, the first shock of christian missions alone was truly vivid; soon one dull wave drove on a duller, till at last all gently subsided in the still surface of an accustomed ancient christian ceremony. By ceremonies compensation was endeavoured to be made for the decay of the soul of ceremony, doctrine; and thus the ceremonial system was invented, which at length became an inanimate puppet, standing immovable and unmoved in ancient pomp. The puppet was invented for the convenience both of teacher and hearer; for it afforded them both food for reflection, if they chose to reflect; and if not, still, it was said, the vehicle of religion would not be lost. And as from the beginning the church was very tenacious of unanimity, formularies by which the herd would be least distracted were absolutely the best for preserving dull uniformity. The churches of Asia afford the completest demonstration of all this: they still are, what they were almost two thousand years ago, slumbering bodies, destitute of mind: even heresy is extinct in them, for they possess not sufficient energy for heresies.

Possibly, however, the authority of the priests may supply, what is lost by the torpor of the doctrine, or the cessation of impulse? In some measure it may, but not altogether. A sacred person full of years is surrounded with the mild beams of paternal experience, mature judgement, and tranquillity undisturbed by the passions: hence it is so many travellers speak of the reverence, with which they were inspired in the presence of the aged patriarchs, priests, and bishops of the east. A noble simplicity in their carriage, dress, conduct, and way of life, contributes much to this: and many a worthy anchorite, if he keep not his instructions, warnings, and consolations from the World, may have done more good, than a hundred idle preachers amid the bustle of highways and markets. Instruction, however, is the noblest source of authority, united with example founded on knowledge and experience; if shortsightedness and prejudice step into the seat of truth, the authority of the most respectable person is dangerous and detrimental.

3. As the life of man is altogether calculated for the active purposes of general society; it is evident, that, in christianity also, every thing must soon or late die away, that counteracts these. Every lifeless member is dead; and as soon as the living body is sensible of it's own life, and the useless burden of the dead member, this member is removed. As long as the missions in Asia retained their activity, they imparted and received animation: but when the temporal power of the arabs, turks, and tatars, destroyed this, they spread no farther.

Their convents and episcopal sees stand as ruins of ancient times, melancholy and confined : many are tolerated only for the sake of their presents, tributes, and abject services.

4. As christianity operates chiefly by means of it's doctrines, much depends on the *language*, in which they are inculcated, and on the degree of mental cultivation already contained in them, to which it orthodoxly adheres. With a cultivated or universal language it not only propagates itself, but it acquires by means of it improvement and respect : but if, as a sacred dialect of divine origin, it remain behind other living languages, or be restricted to the limits of an obsolete, rude paternal dialect, as to a decayed palace ; it must in time be reduced to drag on a wearisome life in it, as a wretched tyrant, or an ignorant prisoner. As in Asia the greek language, and afterwards the syriac, were overpowered by the victorious arabic, the knowledge they contained was thrown out of circulation : they could only propagate themselves as liturgies, as creeds, as a monkish theology. We are mistaken, therefore, when we attribute to the substance of a religion, what properly pertains only to the instruments, with which it operates. Look at the St. Thomas's christians in India, the georgians, the armenians, the abyssinians, the copts : what are they ? what has christianity made of them ? The copts and abyssinians possess libraries of ancient books, unintelligible to themselves, but which might probably be of use in the hands of europeans : they use them not ; they cannot use them. Their christianity has sunk into the most wretched superstition.

5. Here, then, it is incumbent upon me, to bestow on the *greek language* that praise, which it so eminently merits in the history of mankind ; for by it's aid all the light has been kindled, that has illumined or beamed upon Europe. Had not this language been so widely extended, and so long preserved, by the conquests of Alexander, the kingdoms of his successors, and the roman possessions, christianity would scarcely have contributed in the least to enlighten Asia : for both the orthodox and the heretic kindled their true or false lights, mediately or immediately, at the grecian language. From it, too, the armenian, syriac, and arabic languages derived their illumining spark : and had the first christian writings been composed not in greek, but in the hebrew dialect of that time ; could not the Gospel have been preached and propagated in greek ; the stream, that now waters nations, would probably have been choked near it's fountain. The christians would have been, what the ebionites were, and perhaps the St. John's and St. Thomas's christians are, a poor despised multitude, destitute of all effect on the spirit of nations. Let us, therefore, quit it's oriental birthplace, for that stage on which it acted a greater part.

CHAPTER III.

Progress of Christianity in the Grecian Countries.

WE observed, that *hellenism*, or a freer manner of thinking of the jews intermixed with the ideas of others, prepared the way for the rise of christianity: accordingly christianity, when it began its course, proceeded far on this way; and in a short time extensive regions, where any hellenistic jews resided, were filled with the new mission. The appellation of christians was first given in a grecian city: the first writings of christianity were most extensively circulated in the grecian language; for this language was more or less diffused from India to the Atlantic, from Lybia to Thule. It may be considered both as fortunate and unfortunate, that Judea was particularly near to a province, which contributed much to the first form of christianity, the province of Egypt. If Jerusalem were its cradle, Alexandria was its school.

Since the time of the Ptolemies a number of jews had resided for the sake of trade in Egypt, where they endeavoured to create a Judea of their own, built a temple, translated their sacred writings one after another into greek, and augmented their number. There had been very flourishing establishments for the promotion of science also at Alexandria, since the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; such as were to be found nowhere else, even Athens not excepted. Fourteen thousand scholars had been lodged and maintained there for a considerable time at the public expense: here were the celebrated museum, the immense library, the works that conferred renown on ancient poets and learned men of every kind: thus the great school of nations was here, in the centre of the commerce of the World. From this conflux of nations, and the gradual amalgamation of the sentiments of all in the greek and roman empire, arose the *modern platonian philosophy*, as it was called, and particularly that singular *syncretism*, which sought to unite the principles of all parties, and in a short time assimilated the ideas of indians, persians, jews, ethiopians, egyptians, greeks, romans, and barbarians. This spirit prevailed wonderfully in the roman empire, as every where philosophers sprung up, who added the notions of their own native places to the general mass: but Alexandria was the spot where it most eminently flourished. Into this ocean the drop of christianity was cast, and attracted to itself whatever it supposed itself capable of assimilating. Platonian notions had already been introduced into christianity in the writings of Paul and John: the most ancient fathers of the church, when they entered upon philosophy, were obliged to

employ the generally received modes of expression, and some of them found their *Logos*, for example, long before the existence of christianity, in the soul of every philosopher. Probably it would not have been to be regretted, had the system of christianity remained, what, according to the representations of a Justin martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and others, it was intended to be, a liberal philosophy, reprobating virtue and the love of truth at no time, and among no people, and yet unacquainted with exclusive verbal formularies, which afterwards obtained the force of laws. It is certain, the earlier fathers of the church, who were formed in Alexandria, were not the worst: Origen alone did more than ten thousand bishops and patriarchs; since, but for the learned critical industry, which he employed on the records of christianity, this would have almost sunk, with regard to its origin, among unclassical fables. His spirit was transmitted to some of his scholars also; and many fathers of the alexandrian school thought and argued at least with more address and refinement, than many other ignorant and fanatic heads.

It must be confessed, however, that Egypt, with the philosophy then in fashion, was also a school of corruption for christianity: for every thing, that, during a period of near two thousand years, has excited disputes, quarrels, tumults, persecutions, and the disturbance of whole nations, arose from these foreign platonic notions, on which men refined with grecian subtilty, and which gave christianity in general that *sophistical* form, so discrepant from its nature. From the single word *logos* arose heresies and acts of violence, at which the *logos* within us, found reason, yet shudders. Many of these disputes were capable of being carried on in the grecian language alone; to which they should have been for ever confined, and never have been introduced as doctrinal formularies into others. They include no truth, no information, that has afforded an addition to human knowledge, new power to the understanding, or a noble motive to the will: the whole body of christian polemics, carried on against arians, photinians, macedonians, nestorians, eutychians, monophysites, tritheites, monothelites, and the rest, might have been instantly crushed, without the least detriment to christianity, or human reason. Men were obliged to overlook and forget them altogether, with their consequences, those gross decrees of so many councils of courtiers and robbers, before they could again contemplate the original records of christianity in their primitive purity, and arrive at an open, simple exposition of them: nay, they still obstruct and afflict many timorous minds, or such as are persecuted on account of them. The speculative spirit of these sects resembles the lernean hydra, or the polypus, which cut in pieces forms a new animal from every limb. This useless

tissue, injurious to mankind, runs through many ages of history: rivers of blood have been shed upon it; and innumerable multitudes, often of the worthiest men, have been deprived of property and honour, of friends, of home, and of rest, of health and life, by the most ignorant villains. Even honest barbarians, burgundians, goths, lombards, franks, and saxons, in pious orthodoxy have taken part in these massacres, with ardent sectarian zeal, for or against arians, bogomilians, catharians, albigenſes, waldenſes, &c.; and, a true church militant, have drawn their swords as warriors, not idly, for the genuine baptiſmal form. There is not, perhaps, a more barren field within the domains of literature, than the history of this christian exerciſe of the word and the ſword: which ſo deprived the human mind of it's proper faculty of thinking, the records of christianity of their evident purpoſe, and civil ſociety of it's fundamental principles and rules; that at laſt we are reduced, to thank other barbarians and ſaracens, for having deſtroyed by their wild irruptions the diſgrace of the human intellect. Thanks to all thoſe men*, who have exhibited to us in their true forms the movers of ſuch diſputes, an Athanaſius, a Cyril, a Theophilus, a Conſtantine, and an Irenæus: for as long as the names of the fathers of the church and their councils are quoted with ſlaviſh reſpect, we are maſters neither of Scripture, nor of our own underſtanding.

Chriſtian morality, likewise, found not a more favourable ſoil in Egypt, or other parts of the greek empire: there wretched abuſe created that vaſt army of cenobites and monks, who, not ſatiſfied with mental extaſies in the deſerts of the Thebaid, frequently traversed countries as mercenary ſoldiers, interferred in elections of biſhops, diſturbed councils, and compelled their holy ſpirit to pronounce, whatever the unholy ſpirit of theſe miſcreants thought proper. I honour Solitude, the meditating ſiſter of Society, and often her legiſlator, who converts the experience of active life into principles, and it's paſſions into nutritious juices. Compaſſion is due likewise to that conſoling ſolitude, which, weary of the yoke of other men, and tired of their perſecutions, finds a balm in the heaven within. Many of the firſt chriſtians unqueſtionably were ſolitaries of the latter kind, whom the tyranny of a great military empire, or the abominations of towns, drove into the deſert, where, having few wants, a temperate climate gave them a friendly reception. The more, however, let us

* After the labours of the reformers, with thoſe of a Calixtus, Dallæus, Du Pin, Le Clerc, Moſheim, and others, the name of Semler will ever remain highly reſpected for a liberal view of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. He has been followed

by Spittler, with penetrating eye, and luminous ſtyle: others will ſucceed; and every period of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory will be exhibited in it's true light.

despise that proud, selfish retirement, which, contemning active life, places merit in contemplation and penance, nourishes itself with phantoms, and, instead of annihilating the passions, cherishes within the wildest of all, selfish, immoderate pride.

Unfortunately, for this christianity became a dazzling pretext, when such of it's precepts, as were intended for a particular few, were converted into general laws, or indeed conditions for obtaining the kingdom of Heaven, and Christ was sought in the desert. There Heaven was to be found by men, who disdained being citizens of the Earth, and relinquished the most estimable gifts of human-kind, reason, morality, talents, friendship, and parental, nuptial, and filial affection. Accursed be the praise, that men, from misconception of Scripture, have often so abundantly and imprudently bestowed on an idle, contemplative life of celibacy: accursed the false impressions, that have been stamped on youth with enthusiastic eloquence, thus crippling and distorting the human intellect for ages. Whence is it, that we find in the writings of the fathers so little pure morality: and often good and bad, gold and dross, jumbled together*? Whence is it, that we cannot mention a single book of those times, even of the most excellent men, who had still so many greek authors at their command, which, putting style and composition entirely out of the question, but merely in respect to morality and it's general spirit, deserves to be placed by the side of a single work of the socratic school? Whence is it, that even the select maxims of the fathers have so much of extravagance and monkery in them, when compared with the morals of the greeks? Men's minds were deranged by the new philosophy, which taught them to wander in the aerial regions, instead of living upon Earth: and as there can be no disease of greater magnitude than this, it is a misfortune much to be deplored, that it was propagated by doctrines, authority, and institutions, and rendered the fountains of pure morality turbid for ages.

When at length christianity was exalted, and the imperial standard gave it that name, with which, as the paramount religion of the roman empire, it still flies above all other names upon Earth; the impurity at once became evident, which so singularly mixed the affairs of the church and the state, that scarcely any thing could be viewed in it's proper shape. While preaching toleration, they, who had long suffered, became themselves intolerant: and as duties toward the state were confounded with the pure relations of man to God, while a semi-jewish

* Barbeyrac, Le Clerc, Thomafius, Semler, and others, have shown this; Rœfler's *Bibliothek der Kirchenwæter*, ' Bibliotheca of the Fa-

thers of the Church,' exhibits it in a very popular manner.

monkish religion was unconsciously made the base of a christian byzantine empire; how could it be otherwise, than that the true affinity between crimes and punishments, rights and duties, and indeed between the members of the constitution itself, must have been basely destroyed? The sacerdotal order was introduced into the state; not, as among the romans, to cooperate immediately with it's other members; but as a monastic and mendicant order, for the benefit of which a hundred ordinances were made, burdensome to the rest, inconsistent with themselves, and obliged to be repeatedly altered, in order that the form of a state might remain. To the great yet weak Constantine we are indebted, without his knowing it, for that two headed monster, which, under the name of the spiritual and temporal power, cajoled or tyrannised over itself and others, and after twice ten centuries has scarcely come to a peaceable agreement on the purposes, which religion and government have to fulfil among mankind. To him we are indebted for that pious imperial arbitrariness in the laws, and with it that christian-princelike unkingly pliability, from which the most fearful despotism could not fail in a short time to arise*. Hence the vices and barbarities in the horrible byzantine history: hence the venal incense offered to the vilest christian emperors: hence the miserable perplexity, in which spiritual and temporal affairs, heretics and orthodox believers, romans and barbarians, eunuchs and generals, women and priests, emperors and patriarchs, are embroiled. The empire was thrown from it's centre: the foundering, dismasted ship lost it's steerfman; whoever could feize the helm managed it, till another drove him away. Ye ancient romans, Sextus, Cato, Cicero, Brutus, Titus, Antonine, what would ye have said of this new Rome, the imperial court at Constantinople, from it's commencement to it's downfall?

The eloquence, too, which this imperial christian Rome was capable of producing, could nowise be compared with that of the ancient greeks and romans. Divine men, indeed, here exercised their elocution; patriarchs, bishops, and priests: but to whom did they address themselves? on what did they discourse? and what fruits could their highest eloquence produce? They had to explain to a stupid, depraved, ungovernable multitude, the kingdom of God, the refined maxims of a moralist, who stood alone in his day, and who certainly had nothing congenial with this mob. Far more attractive for it was it to hear the spiritual orator declaim on the depravity of the court, or the gross luxury of the

* *The History of Changes in the Government, Laws, and Minds of Men, during the period from the conversion of Constantine to the downfall of the western empire, by an anonymous french*

writer, is executed with great industry and acuteness. A german translation appeared at Leipfic in 1794.

theatres, public games, amusements, and female dress, or take part in the cabals of heretics, bishops, priests, and monks. Goldentongued Chrysoftom, how do I lament, that thy exuberant eloquence fell not on better times! That solitude, the companion of thy better days, was left for a splendid metropolis, which embittered thy life. Thy pastoral zeal had wandered out of it's limits: the storms of courtly and priestly cabals overwhelmed thee: expelled, and again restored, thou wast reduced at last, to end thy days in poverty. Such was the fate of many worthy men in this voluptuous court: and, what was worse, their zeal itself was not without faults. As he, who, surrounded by infectious diseases, inhales the contaminated air, if he escape the pestilence, will at least display it's effects in his pallid countenance and languid limbs: so here too many dangers and seductions arose on every side, for common prudence to avoid. The greater fame, however, is due to the small number of those, who, in the character of generals and emperors, or bishops, patriarchs, and courtiers, shine like scattered stars in this obscure sulphureous sky: but even their forms are hidden from us by the clouds.

Lastly, if we contemplate the taste in arts, science, and manners, that spread from this first and greatest christian empire, we can call it nothing else than wretched, and barbarously pompous. After that Jupiter and Christ contended in the senate, in the time of Theodosius, before the face of the goddesses of Victory, for the possession of the roman empire, and Jupiter lost the day; the great monuments of ancient taste, the temples and images of the gods, were ruined gradually or forcibly throughout the World: and the more christian a country was, the more zealous was it in destroying all remains of the worship of the ancient demons. The origin and object of christian churches forbid the erection of such edifices as the former temples of idols: accordingly courts of justice, and places for holding assemblies, basilicæ, were their models; and though a noble simplicity may be observed in the most ancient of them, of the time of Constantine, as they were in part composed of heathen fragments, and partly constructed amid the greatest monuments of art, yet even this simplicity is christian. The stolen columns were jumbled together without taste; and the wonder of christian art in Constantinople, the magnificent church of St. Sophia, was loaded with barbarian ornament. Abundant as were the treasures of antiquity heaped together in this Babel, it was impossible for grecian art, or grecian poetry, to flourish in it. We are astonished at the train, which, even in the tenth century, was obliged to attend the emperor, in war

and peace, at home and at public worship, as described by a purpleborn slave of it himself *; and wonder, that such a kingdom stood so long.

This cannot be charged to the abuse of christianity; for Byzantium was formed from the beginning for a splendid, dissolute, beggarly state. From it could spring no Rome, which, rising amid oppressions, contests, and dangers, rendered itself the metropolis of the World: the new city was erected at the expense of Rome and the provinces, and immediately burdened with a mob, who lived in idleness and hypocrisy, by right of title or of flattery, on the beneficence and favour of the emperor; in other words, on the marrow of the empire. The new city lay in the lap of pleasure, in a delightful climate, in the centre of three quarters of the Globe. From Asia, Persia, India, and Egypt, she drew all the commodities of that dissolute pomp, which she cherished in herself, and diffused over the northwestern world. Her harbour was filled with ships of all nations; and even in later times, when the arabs had deprived the grecian empire of Egypt and Asia, the commerce of the World took the road of the Caspian and Euxine seas, to supply the wants of ancient voluptuaries. Alexandria, Smyrna, Antioch; the shores of Greece abounding in harbours, with its establishments, cities, and arts; the Mediterranean with its numerous islands; and still more the volatile character of the greek nation; all contributed, to render the seat of the christian emperor a receptacle of vices and follies: and what formerly promoted the welfare of Greece, now operated to its detriment.

We will not on this account, however, detract from the smallest benefit, which this empire, so situate, and so constituted, has conferred on the World. It was long a mound, though a weak one, against the barbarians; many of whom lost their rudeness from its neighbourhood, its trade, or in its service, and acquired a taste for the arts, and refinement of manners. The best king of the goths, Theodoric, was educated in Constantinople: and we may thank the eastern empire, for all the good he did to Italy. From Constantinople more than one barbarian people received the seeds of civilization, letters, and christianity: thus bishop Ulphilas modified the greek alphabet for his goths on the Black sea, and translated the New Testament into their language: the russians, bulgarians, and other slavish nations, acquired letters, christianity, and morals, from Constantinople, in a far milder way, than their western brethren obtained them from the franks and saxons. The collection of roman laws, made by order of Justinian, defective and mangled as it is, remains an immortal record of the genuine ancient roman spirit, a logic of the active intellect, and a test for

* Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Book II, *de Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, 'Of the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court,' Leipzig, 1751.

every better code. It was a benefit to the whole civilized World, that the grecian language and literature were preserved in this empire, however defective the use that was made of them, till western Europe was capable of receiving them from the hands of byzantine refugees. That the pilgrims and croifaders of the middle ages found on their road to the holy fepulchre a Constantinople, whence they returned to their caves, their caftles, and their cloifters, with many new ideas of splendour, civilization, and manners, in compenfation for much treacherous conduct, at leaft remotely prepared other times for the weft of Europe. The venetians and genoefe learned their extenfive commerce in Alexandria and Constantinople, as they acquired their wealth chiefly from the ruins of this empire, and thence imported much that was ufeful into Europe. The filk manufacture came to us from Perfia through Constantinople: and for how much is the holy fee, for how much Europe, as a counterpoife to that fee, indebted to the eaftern empire!

At length this proud, this wealthy, this magnificent Babylon fell: with all it's treasures, and all it's splendour, it fell by ftorm into the hands of it's favage conquerors. It had long been unable to protect it's provinces: all Greece had been a prey to Alaric fo early as the fifth century. Eaft, weft, north, and fouth, the barbarians preffed on it, from time to time, clofer and clofer; and bands of ftill greater barbarians often raged in the city. Temples were ftormed; ftatues and libraries were given to the flames: the empire was every where fold and betrayed, as it had no better rewards for it's moft faithful fervants, than to put out their eyes, cut off their nofes and ears, or indeed bury them alive: for barbarity and voluptuoufnefs, flattery and the moft insolent arrogance, revolt and perfidy, reigned on this throne, all decorated with chriitian orthodoxy. It's hiftory, filled with lingering death, is a terrible monitory example for every government of eunuchs, priefts, and women, in fpite of all it's imperial pride and wealth, in fpite of all it's pomp in arts and fcience. There lie it's ruins: the moft ingenious people upon Earth, the greeks, are become the moft defpicable, perfidious, ignorant, fuperftitious, wretched flaves of priefts and monks, fcarcely again fufceptible of the ancient grecian fpirit. Thus ended the firft and moft magnificent *ftate-chriitianity*: may never fuch appear again *!

* With heartfelt pleasure we can here cite the third claffical british hiftorian, the rival of Hume, and of Robertson, whom fometimes perhaps he excels, Gibbon; whofe *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is a finished mafterpiece; though it feems to want, probably from the fault of the fubject, that powerful charm of intereft, with which Hume's hiftorical works

hurry us along. The cry that has been raifed in England, however, againft this learned and truly philofophical work, as if the author were an enemy to the chriitian religion, feems to me unjuft: for Gibbon has fpoken of chriitianity, as of other mafters in his hiftory, with great mildnefs.

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of Christianity in the Latin Provinces.

ROME was the metropolis of the World: from Rome issued the command, to tolerate, or to suppress the christians: of necessity, therefore, it must very early have been one of the principal endeavours of the general body of christians, to influence this centre of grandeur and of power.

The tolerance of the romans towards all the religions of the people they conquered is beyond dispute: but for this, and the general state of the roman government at that period, christianity would not have spread so quickly, and so widely. It arose in a remote quarter, among a people despised, and become proverbial for superstition: wicked, foolish, and weak emperors sat on the roman throne, so that the control of one allseeing eye was wanting to the state. The christians were long comprehended under the name of jews, of whom there was a great number at Rome, as well as in all the roman provinces. Probably, therefore, it was the hatred of the jews themselves, that first made the rejected christians known to the romans; who, considering them as seceders from the religion of their forefathers, were led to think them either atheists, or, from their secret assemblies, egyptians, debasing themselves, like other mystagogues, by superstition and barbarity. They were looked upon as a reprobate mob, on whom Nero first laid the blame of his incendiary madness: the compassion, that was felt for them on account of this extreme injustice, seems to have been nothing more than the pity bestowed on a slave tortured without cause. No farther notice was taken of their doctrines; and they were permitted to propagate them, as all others might be propagated in the roman empire.

As the principles of their faith and worship came more to light, it was particularly displeasing to the romans, who were accustomed only to a political religion, that these wretches should insult the gods of the state as demons of Hell, and dare to call the worship paid to the protectors of the empire a school of the Devil. They were displeased, too, that the christians refused to the images of the emperor that veneration, which they should have thought an honour to themselves to pay, and at the same time refrained from all the duties and worship of the country. In consequence they were deemed it's enemies, and deserving of the hatred and abhorrence of other men. According to the dispositions of the emperors, and as they were softened or irritated by fresh reports, injunctions were issued for or against the christians: and these injunc-

tions were executed more or less strictly in each province, suitably to the sentiments of the governor, or their own conduct. Such persecutions, however, as were carried on in later times, for instance, against the saxons, albigenses, vaudois, huguenots, prussians, and livonians, they never experienced: religious wars of such a kind were not consistent with the roman way of thinking. Thus the first three centuries of christianity, during the persecutions enumerated in them, were the triumphal times of the martyrs of the christian faith.

Nothing can be more noble, than for a man, remaining true to the sentiments he has embraced from conviction, to hold them fast with innocence of manners and integrity of conduct to his last breath. Accordingly the christians, where as intelligent and good men they displayed such innocence and firmness, gained thereby more followers, than by tales of miraculous gifts and miraculous events. Many of their persecutors were astonished at their courage, even when they could not comprehend, why they should expose themselves to the danger of persecution. Besides, a man attains only what he heartily wills: and what a number of men stedfastly maintain in life and death, cannot easily be suppressed. Their zeal inflames: their example warms, even if it do not enlighten. Thus the church is unquestionably indebted to the stedfastness of it's adherents, for that deep foundation of an edifice, capable of enduring with vast enlargement for thousands of years: feeble manners and yielding principles would have suffered the whole soon to evaporate, as an uncovered liquid is dissipated in the air.

In particular cases, however, much depends on that, for which a man struggles and dies. If it be for an internal conviction, for a pledge of faith and truth, the reward of which extends beyond the grave; if it be for a testimony of an event of indispensable importance, which a man himself has seen, and the belief of which, confided to him, would otherwise perish; the martyr dies like a hero, his conscience strengthens him in pain and torment, and Heaven opens before his eyes. Thus every eyewitness of the first events of christianity could die, when he found it necessary for him, to seal their truth with his blood. To deny them, would have been to contradict facts, which he himself had seen; and every man of probity would rather sacrifice his life, in a case of necessity, than do this. But such witnesses, and such martyrs, the commencement only of christianity could have had; of these there could not be many; and of their exit out of the World, as well as of their lives, we know little or nothing.

The case was different with the witnesses, who bore testimony centuries later, or hundreds of miles distant, to whom the history of christianity came only as a report, as tradition, or as a written account. These could not be admitted as

authentic witnesses, since it was the testimony of others, or rather their faith in it, which they sealed with their blood. Now as this was the case with all the christian converts out of Judea; we cannot avoid wondering, that so very much was built, even in the remotest, the latin provinces, on the testimony of the blood of these witnesses, consequently on a tradition, which they received from far, and could not easily prove. Even after the writings composed in the east had reached these remote regions at the end of the first century, many did not understand them in the original, and were of course obliged to be satisfied with the testimony of their teacher, and the citing of a translation. And how seldom did the western teachers in general refer to the Scripture, while the orientals, even in their councils, determined more from the collective opinions of preceding fathers of the church, than from the Scriptures themselves! Thus tradition and faith, for which men died, were soon the most eminent and victorious argument of christianity: the more ignorant, poor, and distant, the community was, the more must such a tradition, as delivered by their teacher and bishop, and the testimony of martyrs, as witnesses of the church, be received as it were on their word.

And yet, if we consider the origin of christianity, it could not easily be propagated otherwise; for, being founded on a fact, like all other facts it demanded narration, tradition, faith. The fact goes from mouth to mouth, till recorded by writing it becomes a confirmed, fixed tradition, subject to general examination, and comparison with other traditions. The ocular witnesses are dead, happy therefore if the tradition tell us, that they sealed their testimony with their blood; human faith demands no more.

And thus the first christian altars were confidently erected upon graves. In cemeteries the christians assembled: in the catacombs themselves were placed the altars, on which they celebrated the lord's supper, rehearsed their creed, and vowed to be as faithful to it, as those who were gone before them. The first churches were either built over sepulchres, or the bodies of martyrs were brought and placed under their altars, till at length a single bone was forced to suffice for it's consecration. By degrees, what once arose from the circumstances of the case, what had been the origin and seal of a society of christian converts, degenerated into mere form and ceremony. Baptism also, on occasion of which a confession of faith was made, was celebrated over the graves of believers; till at length baptisteries were erected over them, or believers, as a sign that they died in the faith, into which they had been baptised, were interred under baptisteries. One arose from the other, and almost the whole form of ecclesiastical

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ceremonies in the west sprung from this *profession of faith and sepulchral worship* *.

At any rate there was something very affecting in this covenant of truth and obedience entered into at the grave. When, as Pliny says, the christians assembled before day, to sing hymns to their Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves with the sacrament, as with an oath, to purity of manners, and the exercise of moral duties; the still graves of their brethren must have been to them an impressive symbol of constancy unto death, and a confirmation of their belief in that resurrection, which their lord and teacher, a martyr also, had first attained. To them this terrestrial life must have appeared transitory; death, as an imitation of his, honourable and pleasant; a future life, almost more certain than the present: and such persuasions form the spirit of the most ancient christian writings. Still such institutions must inevitably have excited an intemperate love of martyrdom; and men, weary of this transient earthly life, contended for the baptism of blood and fire, as the christian crown of glory, with useless zeal. It was equally inevitable, that in time almost divine honours should be paid to the bones of the dead, and that they should be superstitiously abused to produce ecstasies, heal the sick, and work other miracles. Least of all was it to be avoided, that this army of christian heroes should in a short time take possession of the whole Heaven of the church; and as their bodies were brought into the nave of the church with adoration, their souls should dispossess all the other benefactors of mankind of their seats: so that a *new christian mythology* commenced: the mythology, that we behold over altars; the mythology, of which we read in legends.

2. As in christianity every thing rested on profession, this profession on a creed, and this creed on tradition; either miraculous gifts, or a strict *ecclesiastical discipline*, were necessary to maintain order and government. With this institution arose the authority of the bishops; and to preserve unity of faith, in other words, a connexion between many communities, councils and synods were requisite. If these were not unanimous, or found opposition in other countries, appeals were made to the most respected bishops, as *arbitrators*; whence it could not ultimately fail, that one *chief aristocrat* should gradually arise out of this apostolical aristocracy. Who must become this chief? The bishop of Jerusalem was too remote, and too poor: his diocese was too much

* See the works of Ciampini, Aringhii, Bingham, and others, on this subject. A history of these things, taken from a view of the most ancient churches and monuments themselves, and connected throughout with ecclesiastical history, would exhibit the whole in the clearest light.

straitened by other apostolical bishops : he sat on his Golgotha, in a manner out of the circle of the sovereignty of the World. The bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and lastly of Constantinople also, stepped forward ; and owing to the posture of affairs, the bishop of Rome carried it from them all, even from his most eager rival at Constantinople. The byzantine patriarch was too near the throne of the emperor, who could exalt or depress him at will, so that he could become nothing more than the state prelate of the court. On the other hand, after the emperor had left Rome, and seated himself on the frontier of Europe, a thousand circumstances combined, to give the primacy of the church to this ancient metropolis of the World. Nations had been accustomed for ages, to venerate the name of Rome ; and in Rome it was imagined, that the spirit of universal dominion hovered over it's seven hills. Here, according to the chronicles of the church, many martyrs had born their testimony, and the greatest of the apostles, Peter and Paul, received their crowns. At an early period, too, was propagated the tale of Peter's episcopal rule over this ancient apostolical church ; and the uninterrupted attestation of his successors was quickly demonstrated. Now as the keys of the kingdom of Heaven were delivered expressly to this apostle, and the indestructible edifice of the church was founded on the rock of his profession ; how natural was it, that Rome should take the place of Antioch or Jerusalem, and prepare to be considered as the mother church of sovereign christendom ! The bishop of Rome early enjoyed honour and precedence, even in councils, before others more learned and powerful : in disputes he was employed as a friendly arbitrator ; and what had long been a post of free choice in a council became in time a claim of right ; his instructive voice was considered as decisive. The situation of Rome in the centre of the roman World conferred on it's bishops a wide field, west, south, and northwards, for counsels and regulations ; particularly as the imperial greek throne was too remote, and soon became too feeble, to control them with much effect. The fine provinces of the roman empire, Italy with it's islands, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and part of Germany, into which christianity had been early introduced, lay round it as a garden requiring aid and advice : farther to the north were barbarians, whose rude countries were soon to be converted into fertile lands of christendom. Here being no powerful competition, much more was to be done, and to be gained, than in the eastern provinces, thickly set with bishops, which were soon ravaged and exhausted by speculations, oppositions, and contests, by the dissolute tyranny of the emperors, and by the irruption of the mohammedan arabs, and other nations still more savage. The barbarian frankness of the europeans was much more favourable to it, than

the insincerity of the polished greeks, or the fanaticism of the asiatics. Christianity, there in a state of ebullition, and occasionally appearing as a febrile delirium of the understanding, was cooled by its regulations and prescriptions in the more temperate climate of the west ; without which it would probably have sunk into that state of debility, which we observe in the east succeeding the mad stretch of its powers.

The bishop of Rome unquestionably did much for christendom : mindful of the roman name, he not only conquered a World by conversion, but established in it, by means of laws, manners, and customs, a more durable, powerful, and intimate sway, than that of ancient Rome. The romish see never contended for the palm of learning : this it relinquished to others, to the alexandrian, the milanese, the hipponian even, or any other that coveted it : but to subject the most learned sees, and to rule the World, not by philosophy, but by policy, tradition, ecclesiastical law, and ceremonies, were its aims : and could not fail to be so, as itself rested solely on ceremonies and tradition. Thus from Rome proceeded the numerous rites of the western church, relating to the celebration of festivals, the classing of priests, the institution of sacraments, prayers, and oblations for the dead ; altars, chalices, tapers, fasts, praying to the mother of God, the celibacy of priests and monks, the invocation of saints, the worshipping of images ; processions, masses for the soul, bells, canonization, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, &c. ; rites, that arose partly from ancient circumstances, in which the enthusiastic conceptions of the orientals had often great share, partly from accommodation to local usages of the west, and chiefly of Rome, incorporated by degrees in the great ecclesiastical ritual*. Such weapons now conquered the World : they were the master-keys of Heaven and Earth. Before them bowed nations, that would not have shrunk from the sword : roman ceremonies had more weight with them, than the speculations of the East. These ecclesiastical laws, it must be confessed, exhibit a fearful contrast to the ancient roman policy : still they ultimately served, to convert the massy sceptre into a less weighty pastoral staff, and the barbarous custom of heathen nations by degrees into a milder christian law. The chief shepherd at Rome, after having laboriously attained the supremacy, must have interfered more in the affairs of the west, even against his will, than any of his colleagues in the east or west could do ; and if the propagation of christianity

* I doubt whether a true history of these rites and institutions, carrying conviction on the face of it, can be written without an accurate knowledge of Rome, with its local circumstances,

and the character of the people. What in Rome is evident to the view, is often looked for under the Earth.

be in itself a merit, this is his in an eminent degree. England and the greater part of Germany, the northern kingdoms, Poland, and Hungary, became christian through the means of his measures, and his nuncios: nay, that Europe probably was not for ever to be disturbed by huns, saracens, tatars, turks, and mungals, is partly also his work. If all the christian races of emperors, kings, princes, counts, and knights, should vaunt the merits, by which they formerly acquired sovereignty over nations, the triple-crowned great lama at Rome, born on the shoulders of unarmed priests, may bless them all with his sacred crozier, and say, 'but for me you would never have become what you are.' The preservation of antiquity, likewise, is his work; and Rome deserves to be the peaceful temple of its preserved treasures.

3. *Thus the church formed itself with as much locality in the west, as in the east.* Here, also, was a latin Egypt, the christian part of Africa, where, as in the other, many african doctrines arose. The strong expressions used by Tertullian respecting satisfaction, by Cyprian respecting the penance of sinners, by Austin respecting grace and freewill, insinuated themselves into the system of the church: and though the bishop of Rome commonly pursued the middle track, he sometimes wanted learning, at others authority, to steer the vessel of the church on the wide ocean of doctrines. The learned and pious Pelagius, for instance, was much too severely treated by Austin and Jerome: Austin contended against the manicheans only with a more refined species of manicheism; and what in this extraordinary man frequently proceeded alone from the fire of his imagination, and the heat of dispute, passed into the system of the church in too violent a flame. Yet peace be to thine ashes, thou great contender for what thou calledst the unity of the faith. Thy laborious task is ended; and probably its effect extended too far, and too powerfully, through the succeeding ages of christianity.

Still I must not pass over the first order introduced into the west, that of the benedictines. Every attempt to naturalize in the west the monastic life of the east, happily for Europe, was opposed by the climate, till this moderate order established itself, under the favour of Rome, on mount Cassino. It adopted better clothing and diet, than the hot and abstemious east required: its rule, originally formed by a layman for the laity, also enjoined labour; and thus it was of particular utility in various wild and barren districts of Europe. How many fine lands in all countries have been possessed by benedictines, who had partly reduced them into a state of cultivation! In every department of literature, too, they did all, that monastic industry could accomplish:

individuals have written whole libraries ; and congregations have made it their business, to cultivate and enlighten the deserts of the literary World, by editing and illustrating numberless works, particularly of the middle ages. But for the order of St. Benedict, probably the greater part of the writings of antiquity would have been lost to us ; and when we come to sainted abbots, bishops, cardinals, and popes, the number of them taken from this order, and their labours, are sufficient of themselves to compose a library. Gregory the great, alone, a benedictine, did more than ten spiritual or temporal sovereigns : and to this order we are indebted also for the preservation of the ancient church-music, which has had so much effect on men's minds.

Farther we shall not proceed. Before we speak of the effect produced on the barbarians by christianity, we must take a view of the barbarians themselves, how they entered in great bodies, one after another, into the roman empire, founded kingdoms, mostly confirmed by Rome itself, and whatever may be farther deduced from this for the history of man.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XVIII.

AS when mountain torrents, swelled to a flood in some lofty valley, at length burst down its feeble dam and inundate the plains below, wave breaks on wave, stream follows stream, till all becomes one wide sea, which, slowly subsiding, leaves every where traces of devastation, obliterated in time by flourishing pastures animated with fertility; so followed the celebrated irruptions of the northern nations into the provinces of the roman empire, and such were their effects. Long were these nations resisted, checked, occasionally admitted as allies or subsidiaries, frequently betrayed and abused; till at length they did themselves justice, demanded or conquered lands, and in some degree crowded upon one another. Our object must be, therefore, not so much to examine into the justice of the pretensions made by each of these nations to the country yielded to it, or conquered by it*, as to observe the use made of the country, and the new form thus given to Europe. Every where new nations were grafted on the old stock; what buds, what fruits did they produce for mankind?

CHAPTER I.

Kingdoms of the Visigoths, Sueves, Alans, and Vandals.

THE visigoths were called in by two treacherous ministers of the eastern and western empires, Ruffinus and Stilicho; in the former of which they 395.
ravaged Thrace and Greece; in the latter, Italy. Alaric besieged Rome; 400.
and as Honorius did not keep his word with him, he twice took the city, and

* Gatterer's *Abriss der Universalhistorie, Deutschen*, 'History of the Germans,' Leipzig, 1727, 1737, Krause's *Geschichte der wichtigsten Begebenheiten des heutigen Europa*, 'History of the most important Events of modern Europe,' and others, have entered into them more at large. Mascon's *Geschichte der*

at last gave it up to plunder. Laden with booty, the king of the visigoths advanced to the strait of Sicily, and was contemplating the conquest of Africa, the granary of Italy, when death stopped the progress of his victories. The valiant robber was interred in a river with many things of great value.

412. His successor Adolphus, or Ataulf, the emperor contrived to send into Spain and Gaul, against the vandals, alans, and sueves, who had broken into those provinces, and thus freed Italy from his presence. Here, after having been again imposed upon, and at length married to Placidia, the daughter of 414. the emperor Theodosius, he founded the first visigothic kingdom. The fine towns of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux, belonged to him, and some of his successors extended their possessions in Gaul still farther. But as here the franks were too near them, and the catholic bishops of the country were treacherous and illdisposed to the arian goths, they turned their arms with more success toward the Pyrenees; and after long wars with the alans, sueves, and vandals, and the complete expulsion of the romans from this 585. country, they at length gained possession of the fine peninsula of Spain and Portugal, with part of southern Gaul and of the african coast.

407 Of the kingdom of the sueves in Spain, during the 178 years it con-
to tinued, we have nothing to say: after a series of losses and misfor-
585. tunes, it lost even it's name, and was absorbed in the spanish gothic king-
dom.

The visigoths rendered themselves more memorable, when they entered this country. Already in Gaul, while Toulouse was the seat of their kings, Eric caused a book of laws to be written*; and his successor Alaric composed a 506. code from the laws and writings of roman jurists, which preceded that of Justinian †. It was of force among several german nations, burgundians, angles, franks, and lombards, as an abstract of the roman law; and also preserved to us a part of the theodosian code, though the goths themselves were more inclined to adhere to their own laws and customs. On the other side of the Pyrenees they entered a country, which had been under the romans a flourishing province, full of towns, civil institutions, and trade. When Rome was sinking in luxury, Spain had given to the metropolis of the World a series of celebrated men, whose writings even at that time displayed some marks of the spanish character ‡. Christianity, too, reached Spain at an early

* Pithou's *Codex Legum Wisigothorum*, 'Visigothic Code of Laws,' Paris, 1579.

† Schulting's *Jurisprud. Ante-justinian.*, 'Jurisprudence prior to Justinian,' p. 683: Gotho-

fred's *Proleg. Cod. Theod.*, 'Preface to the Theodosian Code,' c. 6, 7.

‡ Lucan, Mela, Columella, the two Senecas, Quintilian, Martial, Florus, and others, were spaniards.

period; and as the spirit of the people, from a singular mixture of various nations in a secluded region, was prone to the romantic and extraordinary, miraculous stories and penances, abstinence and retirement from the World, orthodoxy, martyrdom, and ecclesiastical magnificence displayed over the graves of saints were so much to their taste, that Spain, partly from its situation likewise, soon became a true christian palace. From Spain it was easy to apply for council, or to give advice, to the bishop of Rome, of Hippo, of Alexandria, or of Jerusalem; as it was to persecute heretics, in or out of the country, and even pursue them as far as Palestine. Accordingly the spaniards were declared enemies to heretics from the beginning; and the priscillianists, manicheans, arians, jews, pelagians, nestorians, and others, experienced to their cost the warmth of their orthodoxy. The early hierarchy of the bishops of this apostolical peninsula, with their frequent and rigid councils, afforded a pattern to the romish see itself; and if France afterwards aided this chief shepherd with the temporal arm, Spain had previously assisted him with the spiritual.

Into such a kingdom, of ancient civilization and a firmly established ecclesiastical constitution, came the frank arian goths, who found it by no means easy to withstand the yoke of the catholic bishops. Long, indeed, they carried their heads erect; they had recourse both to mildness, and to persecution; and endeavoured to unite the two churches. But in vain: the prevailing roman catholic church never gave way, and at length the arians were condemned in several councils at Toledo with as much rigour, as if never one of this sect had been king of Spain. After king Leovigild, the last of gothic spirit, was dead, and Reccard, his son, had reconciled himself to the catholic church, the laws of the kingdom, also, framed in an assembly of bishops, received the 586. impression of the episcopal and monastic character. Corporal punishment, which the germans held in abhorrence, began to prevail in them; and the spirit of a tribunal for heretics became perceptible in them, long before the name of an inquisition was known*.

Thus the establishment of the goths was imperfect and fettered in this fine country, where, surrounded by seas and mountains, they might have formed a noble and lasting kingdom, had they possessed sufficient spirit and understanding, and bowed neither before the church nor the climate. But the force

spaniards. See the History of Spanish Poetry by Velasquez, a german translation of which was published at Gottingen in 1769.

* The resolutions of the ecclesiastical councils may be found in Ferrara's history of Spain,

as well as in the great collection entitled *Espana Sagrada*, &c. The visigothic laws are to be seen in Pithou, in Lindenbrog's *Cod. Leg. Ant.* 'Codes of ancient Law,' and other works.

of that torrent, which under Alaric once foamed through Greece and Italy, had long abated: the spirit of Adolphus, who had sworn to demolish Rome, and erect a new gothic city, to be the head of the World, on it's ruins, was curbed from the moment he suffered himself to be led into a corner of the empire, and ascend the nuptial bed with a Placidia. The conquest proceeded slowly, as germans were to purchase the provinces from germans with their blood: and when, after a tedious contest against the church, the bishops, and the nobles of the realm, two such discordant extremes at length coalesced, the time for establishing a firm gothic empire in Spain was gone by. Hitherto the kings of these people had been chosen by the nation; but now the bishops rendered their office hereditary, and their persons sacred. The diets were converted into ecclesiastical assemblies, and the episcopal order was made the first in the kingdom. The loyalty of the nobles of the court was dissipated in pomp and luxury; the courage of the once valiant warriors, among whom the land was divided, became nerveless in their fertile domains; and the morals and virtue of the monarchs were absorbed by a prerogative established on the base of religion. Thus the kingdom lay exposed to the enemy on every side: and when the assailants arrived from the african shores, such terror stalked before them, that one successful battle was sufficient to give the swarming arabs the larger and finer part of Spain within the course of two years. Many
712. of the bishops proved traitors: the dissolute nobles submitted, fled, or fell. The kingdom, which, destitute of an internal constitution, should have reposed on the personal valour and martial spirit of it's goths, was defenceless, when this valour and this spirit were no more. Much may be learned with regard to ecclesiastical discipline and rites from the Spanish councils: Toledo was, and long remained, the grave of the civil government of Spain*.

As the valiant remains of these betrayed and defeated goths again issued from their mountains, and in seven or eight hundred years scarcely recovered by three thousand seven hundred battles, what two years and one victory had taken from them; could the singular compound of christian and gothic spirit appear otherwise than as a shadow from the grave? Ancient christians reconquered their land long defecrated by the infidel saracens: every church they were able to consecrate anew was to them a valuable prize of victory. Thus bishoprics and convents without number were revived, founded, and extolled as the triumphal honours of the cross and the sword; and for this the slow progress of the conquest afforded

* I have never seen the original inquiry of a swede concerning the Causes of the speedy Decline of this kingdom. *Merhielm de Regno Westro-Gothorum in Hispania*, 'On the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain,' Upsal, 1705, contains only academical declamations.

ample time. It happened too, principally, in the most flourishing periods of chivalry and the popedom. Some kingdoms, that had been taken from the moors, the king offered to the pope as fiefs, that he might reign in them as a genuine son of the ancient church. Every where the bishops were his partners in authority; and the christian knights, who with him had conquered the kingdoms, were *grandes e ricos hombres*, a superiour order of nobility, who divided the new christian realm with the king.

As jews and arians had been expelled by the orthodox of former times, fo now were jews and mohammedans by those of modern days: thus a fine country, once flourishing under various people, was gradually converted into a pleasant desert. The pillars of this ancient and modern gothic christian constitution of the state are still standing over all Spain; and Time has placed many between them, without being able to change the outline or foundation of the building. It is true, the throne of the catholic king no longer stands by the side of that of the bishop in Toledo; and the holy inquisition, since it's establishment, has become rather the tool of despotism, than of blind devotion: yet in this secluded romantic land of fanaticism so many strong fortresses of knights have been erected, that the bones of St. James appear to rest even more securely in Compostella, than those of St. Peter in Rome. More than fifty bishops and archbishops, and upwards of three thousand convents, most of them wealthy, enjoy the sacrifice of a kingdom, which has propagated it's orthodoxy with fire and sword, with treachery and with bloodhounds, in two other quarters of the Globe: in spanish America alone almost as many of the episcopal order are enthroned in all the pomp of the church. In the department of letters, the spaniards closely followed the romans in sacred poetry, polemics, and canon law; and these were succeeded by expositions of Scripture and legends in such number, that even their comedies and farces, their dances and bull-fights, could not dispense with a mixture of religion. The episcopal gothic jurisprudence intimately involved itself with the romish canon law, and on this all the acuteness of the nation was so whetted into subtilties, that here too we have a desert producing thorns instead of fruit*. Lastly, though in some degree the shadow only remains of those superiour posts about the court and crown, which were at first personal offices merely among the goths, as among other germans, but afterwards as dignities of the realm sucked the marrow of the land for half a chiliad; the kingly power having had the address

* The spanish commentators, both on the roman law, and on the *fiette partidas*, the *leges de toro*, the *auvos y acuerdos del concejo real*, form a numerous body, in which all the acumen of the nation is exhausted.

on the one hand to ally itself with the pope, on the other to abate the pride of the nobles, and curtail their authority: still, as incongruous principles of this kind enter into the groundwork of the state, and are interwoven with the character of the nation itself, this fine country will long remain in all probability a more temperate european Africa, a gothico-moorish christian state.

The vandals, pressed upon by the visigoths and spaniards, passed into Africa with the remains of the alans, and there formed the first nest of christian pirates, more wealthy and powerful than any of their mohammedan successors afterwards became. Genferic, their king, one of the most valiant barbarians the Earth
 429 ever beheld, in a few years made himself master of the whole of the fer-
 to tile coast of Africa, from the lybian deserts to the strait of Gibraltar, with
 439 an army by no means numerous; and created a naval force, with which
 this numidian lion plundered all the coasts of the Mediterranean, from
 Greece and Illyria to the pillars of Hercules, and beyond them as far as Gal-
 licia; seized on the balearic islands, Sardinia, and part of Sicily; and
 455 sacked Rome, the metropolis of the World. Ten days he spent
 in deliberately and completely stripping this city, and then retired with the
 golden covering of the capitol, the ancient spoils of the temple of Jeru-
 salem, immense treasures in works of art and precious things, and a mul-
 titude of captives, of whom he scarcely knew how to dispose, and among whom
 were an empress and her two daughters. All this booty he successfully
 conveyed to his new Carthage, except a part of the treasure, which was swal-
 lowed up by the sea. The elder of the emperor's daughters, Eudoxia, he mar-
 ried to his son; the younger he sent back, with her mother: and in the whole
 of his conduct he proved himself such a brave and able monster, as to be
 worthy of the friendship and alliance of the great Attila, who affrighted, con-
 quered, and rendered tributary the World, from the borders of the Lena in
 Asia to the banks of the Rhine. Just toward his subjects, strict in his manners,
 continent, temperate, cruel only when moved by anger or suspicion, and always
 active, always vigilant, Genferic spent a long and prosperous life, and left
 477 to his two sons a flourishing kingdom, in which the treasures of the west
 had been collected.

His last will determined the fate of his realm. Conformably to this, the oldest member of his whole family was always to succeed to the throne, as he must have enjoyed the most time for experience; and this very circumstance threw the apple of discord among his descendants. Thenceforward the oldest of the family was never secure of his life, as every younger member was eager to be the oldest: thus brothers and cousins murdered one another; each feared,

or envied, the rest; and as the spirit of the founder was inherited by none of his successors, his vandals sunk into all the indolence and licentiousness of the african climes. Their permanent encampment, which should have fostered their ancient courage, became the seat of play and luxury; and after a period of time scarcely equal to that during which Genferic himself had reigned, the whole kingdom was overturned in a single campaign. The eighth king, Gelimer, was carried to Constantinople, with his plundered treasures, in all the pomp of barbarian triumph, and died as a peasant: his captives were transported to fortresses on the confines of Persia, and the remains of the nation were lost. Thus vanished, as an enchanted palace with all its treasury, this wonderful kingdom, coins of which are still casually found in the soil of Afric. The vessels of Solomon's temple, which Genferic had taken from Rome, were carried a third time in triumph at Constantinople; thence they revisited Jerusalem, as presents to a christian church; and since they have probably been dispersed over all the World as coins, impressed with some arabic sentence.

Thus wander sacred things; thus vanish kingdoms; thus nations and times revolve. It would have been a matter of no small importance, had this vandal kingdom been capable of maintaining its ground in Africa: a great part of european, asiatic, and african history, nay the whole course of european civilization, would have been changed by it. At present the memory of this people is scarcely to be traced in the name of a single spanish province*.

CHAPTER II.

Kingdoms of the Ostrogoths and Lombards.

BEFORE we enter upon the consideration of the lombards and ostrogoths, we must cast our eyes for a moment on that meteor in the horizon of Europe, that scourge in the hand of God, the terrour of the World, *Attila, king of the huns*. We have already observed, that the eruption of the huns from Tatory was the real occasion of that last great movement of all the german nations, which put an end to the roman empire. The power of the huns in Europe arose to its most tremendous height under Attila: to him the emperors of the east were tributary: he despised them as the slaves.

* Mannert's *Geschichte der Vandalen*, 'History of the Vandals,' Leipzig, 1785, is a juvenile essay, not unworthy of the man, who has erected a lasting memorial to his fame in his *Geographie der Griechen und Romer*, 'Geography of the Greeks and Romans.'

of their own servants, received from them annually 2100 pounds
 447. weight of gold, himself clad in plain linen. Goths, gepides, alans, herules, acazires, thuringians, and slavians, were his servants: he dwelt in a wooden house, in a village, in the midst of a desert, in the northern part of Pannonia*. While his guests and companions were served in vessels of gold, he drank out of a wooden cup, and wore not so much as a single golden ornament, or precious stone, even on his sword, or on the bridle of his horse. Just and equitable, extremely kind to his subjects, but mistrustful of his enemies, and haughty toward the haughty romans; he suddenly burst forth, excited probably by Genferic, king of the vandals, with an army of five
 450. or six hundred thousand men of all nations, directed his course westward, traversed Germany, passed the Rhine, and extended his ravages into the midst of Gaul. Every thing trembled before him, till at length an army of all the western nations collected, and advanced against him. With the prudence of a consummate general, Attila retreated through the plain of Chalons, where his passage was free: romans, goths, latins, armoricans, breons, burgundians, faxons, alans, and franks, drew together to oppose him: he himself gave orders for battle: the fight was bloody, numbers fell on the field, and some trifling
 452. circumstances decided the fate of the day. Attila repassed the Rhine unpursued; and the following year returned, crossed the Alps, traversed Italy, destroyed Aquileia, plundered Milan, burned Pavia, and fell upon Rome, that he might at once make a complete end of the roman empire. Leo, the bishop of Rome, came to meet him, and with tears intreated him to spare the city: he likewise visited him in his camp at Mantua, and prevailed upon him to leave Italy.

The king of the huns returned over the Alps, and was meditating revenge
 454. for the battle he had lost in Gaul, when death stopped his career. His huns interred him with loud lamentations; and with him sunk their fearful power. His son Ellak died soon after him; his empire fell to pieces; and the remains of his people returned to Asia, or were destroyed. This Attila is the king *Etzel* celebrated in german song; the hero, before whose table the poets of many countries sang the deeds of their forefathers: he

* The personal traits of Attila are taken chiefly from the embassy of Priscus to him, from which we cannot with confidence draw a picture of him through the whole of his life. Many illustrations on this head, and of the manners of the people, are collected from F. C. J. Fischer; who published an old poem, discovered by him,

'On the first Expedition of Attila,' *De prima Expeditione Attilæ*, Leipzig, 1780, with remarks; and a work 'On the Manners and Customs of the Europeans, in the fifth and sixth Centuries,' *Sitten und Gebräuche der Europæer im 5 und 6 Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, 1784.

too is the monster represented on coins and in pictures with horns, nay whose whole nation has been made a brood of elves and goblins. Happily Leo accomplished, what no army could have performed, and preserved Europe from a state of calmuc servitude; for that the soldiers of Attila were mungals, their government, manners, and way of life, evince.

The kingdom of the *herules*, likewise, must not be passed over unnoticed, for by it the whole western empire was brought to an end. These, with other german nations, had long served as mercenaries in the armies of the romans; and when, from the increasing necessities of the empire, their pay was discontinued, they took care to remunerate themselves. A third part of the lands of Italy was given them to cultivate; and a fortunate adventurer, Odoacer, the leader of the *scirri*, *rugi*, and *herules*, became the first king of that country. Romulus, the last of the emperors, fell into his hands; and as the youth 476. and beauty of this prince excited his compassion, he allowed him an annual income, with one of the villas of Lucullus in Campania. Seventeen years Odoacer governed Italy, as low down as Sicily, with great merit, though the country was distressed by the greatest public calamities, till the plunder of such noble possessions tempted Theodoric, king of the ostrogoths. This young hero obtained the gift of the kingdom of Italy from the byzantine court, and overcame Odoacer, who, refusing to keep an ignominious treaty, was murdered.

Thus began the sovereignty of the ostrogoths. The founder of this kingdom, Theodoric, known in popular story by the name of Dietrich 493. of Bern, was polished and humane. He had been educated as a hostage at Constantinople, and performed considerable services to the eastern empire. There the dignities of a patriarch and consul had already been conferred upon him; and he had been honoured with a statue before the imperial palace. But Italy was the field of his juster fame; an equitable and peaceful reign. Since the time of Marcus Antoninus this part of the roman world had not been ruled with more wisdom and goodness, than he governed Italy and Illyricum, part of Germany and Gaul, and Spain also as regent. For a long time, likewise, he held the scales between the visigoths and franks. Notwithstanding his triumph at Rome, he arrogated not to himself the imperial title, and was contented with the name of *Flavius*: but he exercised all the authority of an emperor, fed the roman people, restored to the city it's ancient games, and, being an arian, sent the bishop of Rome as his ambassador to Constantinople even in behalf of arianism. As long as he held the sceptre, peace reigned among the barbarians; for the visigothic, frank, vandal, and thuringian kingdoms, were allied to him by treaty, or by blood. Under him Italy revived; as he en-

couraged agriculture and the arts, and left to every people its laws and customs. He upheld and honoured the monuments of antiquity; erected splendid edifices, though not altogether in the roman taste, from which probably the appellation of gothic architecture is derived; and his court was respected by all the barbarians. Some feeble glimmering of science even appeared under him: the names of his principal officers of state, a Cassiodorus, a Boethius, and a Symmachus, are still highly esteemed. Both Symmachus and Boethius, it must be confessed, met an untimely fate, in consequence of a suspicion, that they aimed to restore the liberty of Rome: yet perhaps the old king may be forgiven for this suspicion, as he could look only to an infant grandson for a successor, and was well aware, how much was wanting to the permanent stability of his kingdom. Much is it to be wished, that this kingdom of the goths had stood; and that a Theodoric had determined the spiritual and temporal constitution of Europe, instead of a Charlemagne.

This great king died, however, after a wife and active reign of thirty-
 526. four years; and immediately the evils, that lay in the political constitution of all the german nations, broke out. Amalafinda, the worthy guardian of the young Adelrich, was thwarted in his education by the nobles of the realm; and as on his decease she took the detestable Deodatus for an assistant in the task of government, who rewarded her with death, the standard of revolt was raised among the goths. Many of the nobles aspired after the sovereignty: the avaricious Justinian interfered in their disputes, and his general
 536. Belisarius crossed the sea, under the pretence of delivering Italy. The disunited goths were hemmed in, and betrayed; Ravenna, the residence of their sovereigns, was taken by fraud; and Belisarius returned with the
 540. treasures of Theodoric, and a captive king. Soon, however, the war was renewed. Totilas, the valiant king of the goths, twice took Rome, but spared
 546. the city, only throwing down its walls, and leaving it open. This Totilas was a second Theodoric, and found sufficient employment for the treacherous
 549. greeks during the eleven years of his reign. After he had been slain in
 552. battle, and his hat and bloody garments were laid at the feet of the frivolous
 554. Justinian, the kingdom of the goths came to an end; though they held out bravely, till reduced to the last 7000 men.

The mind revolts at the contemplation of this war, in which justice and valour contended, on the one side, against grecian treachery, avarice, and italian baseness, on the other; till at length Narfes, an eunuch, succeeded in extirpating that monarchy, which Theodoric had founded for the happiness of Italy; and introduced, to the lasting affliction of the country, the weak and

subtle exarchate, from which so many evils and disorders sprung. Here, too, as in Spain, the religion and constitution of the gothic state were unfortunately the grounds of its decay. The romish see could not bear the arian goths so near it, nay as its masters: accordingly it left no means unattempted for their destruction, not even the interference of Constantinople, though thus itself was endangered. Besides, the character of the goths had not assimilated with that of the italians: they were looked upon as strangers and conquerors, and the treacherous greeks were preferred to them; though from these the italians suffered unspeakably, even in the war they carried on for their deliverance; and they would have suffered still more, had not the lombards come to their assistance against their will. The goths were dispersed, and their last remains crossed the Alps.

The lombards deserve, that the upper part of Italy should bear their name, as it was denied that of the more estimable goths. Against the goths Justinian called them forth from Pannonia; and they at length settled themselves in possession of their booty. Alboin, a prince whose name is celebrated by many german nations, crossed the Alps with an army composed of various tribes, attended by their wives, children, cattle, and domestic utensils, to inhabit, not to ravage, the land taken from the goths. He acquired the country afterwards called Lombardy, and in Milan, elevated on a shield, was proclaimed king of Italy by his lombards: but his death soon followed. His murder was planned by his wife Rosamund; who espoused his assassin, but was forced to flee from the country. The king elected by the lombards was haughty and cruel: the nobles, therefore, unanimously resolved to choose no other, and to divide the kingdom among them.

Hence arose six and thirty dukes, and the first lombard-german constitution in Italy was established. For when the nation, compelled by necessity, again elected a king, every powerful feudatory for the most part acted as he pleased. Often the king was even deprived of the choice of these; and at last his power of ruling and employing his vassals depended solely on his precarious personal authority. Thus arose the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento; who were soon followed by others: for the country abounded with cities, in which here a duke, there a count, could establish himself. Thus, however, the kingdom of Lombardy was enfeebled, and could have been much more easily extirpated than that of the goths, had Constantinople possessed a Justinian, a Belisarius, and a Narses. Yet even in this feeble state it was capable of destroying the remains of the exarchate; though its own fall was prepared by it. The bishop of Rome, who wished only for a weak and divided government in Italy, beheld

the lombards too powerful, and too near. Having no longer any assistance to expect from Constantinople, Stephen crossed the mountains; flattered Pepin, the usurper of the crown of the Franks, with the honour of being a protector of the church; anointed him legitimate king of France; and accepted as a reward the five cities, even previous to the commencement of the campaign, in which they were to be conquered, and the exarchate, yet to be taken from the lombards.

Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, completed his father's work; and subdued, with his over-whelming power, the lombard kingdom. In recompense, 774. he was created by the holy father patrician of Rome, and protector of 800. the church, and proclaimed and crowned emperor of the romans, as if by the inspiration of the spirit. The effect of this proclamation on Europe in general will hereafter appear: to Italy the consequence of this masterly cast of the fisherman's net was the irreparable loss of the lombard kingdom. During the two centuries of its continuance, it had promoted the population of the ravaged and exhausted country; it had diffused security and happiness through the land, by means of germanic order and equity; while every state was permitted either to adopt the lombard laws, or to retain its own. The jurisprudence of the lombards was concise, methodical, and effective: their laws remained in force long after their kingdom was destroyed. Even Charlemagne, by whom it was overturned, still allowed them to be valid, only with additions of his own. In several parts of Italy they continued to be the common law, in conjunction with the roman; and found admirers and expositors, even when the justinian code became paramount at the command of the emperor.

Notwithstanding all this, however, it cannot be denied, that the feudal constitution of the lombards, which was imitated by several nations of Europe, entailed disastrous consequences on this quarter of the Globe. It could not be otherwise than pleasing to the bishops of Rome, that the power of the state should be divided among vassals, absolute in their own territories, and connected with their supreme lord by feeble bands; for, according to the old maxim, 'divide, and govern,' they were thus enabled to profit by every disorder. Dukes, counts, and barons, might be instigated to revolt against their feudal chief; and the church could easily reap considerable gains from rude feudatories and soldiers, in reward of its absolutions. The feudal constitution was the ancient pillar of the nobility; and at the same time it was the ladder, by which men in office ascended to hereditary possessions, and even to the sovereignty itself. This might be less injurious to Italy: for, in this long civilized country, enjoy-

ing a near intercourse with the greeks, africans, and asiatics, cities, arts, manufactures, and trade, could never be wholly annihilated, or the yet unobliterated roman character completely effaced though even in Italy the feudal division of lands contained the germes of innumerable disturbances, and was one of the principal causes, why this fine country could never attain a state of permanent consistence after the time of the romans. In other countries we shall find the application of the feudal law of Lombardy, the seeds of which were contained in the constitution of every other germanic nation, far more injurious. Since the time of Charlemagne, who added Lombardy to his possessions, and transmitted it as an hereditary portion to his children; since the roman imperial title, too, unfortunately came into Germany, and this poor land, throughout which uniformity of sentiment could never prevail, had to draw with Italy in the dangerous harness of numerous and various feudal bands; and before an emperor had recommended the written law of Lombardy, and added it to the justinian code; the constitution, that formed it's base, was certainly not calculated for the advantage of many districts, bare of towns, and poor in arts. Owing to the ignorance and prejudices of the times, the law of the lombards at length passed for the general feudal law of the empire: and thus these people still survive in their customs, which, properly speaking, were raked out of their ashes to be condensed into laws*.

The state of the church, likewise, was much affected by this constitution. At first the lombards, as well as the goths, were arians: but when Gregory the great succeeded in bringing over queen Theodolinda, the muse of her nation, to the orthodox faith, the zeal of the new converts soon displayed itself in good works. Kings, dukes, counts, and barons, emulated each other, in building convents, and endowing the church with ample additions to it's patrimony. The church of Rome enjoyed possessions of this kind from Sicily to Mount Cenis. For as the fiefs of temporal lords were hereditary, why should not those of the spiritual be the same, who had to provide for an eternity of successors? Every church acquired with it's patrimony some saint for a protector; and men had continually to gain the favour of this patron, as an intercessor with God. His image and his relics, his festival and his prayers, worked miracles; these miracles produced fresh presents; so that what with the continual gratitude of the saint, on the one hand, and that of the feudatories, their

* Exclusive of those who have treated of the history of laws in general, or in particular, the laws of the nations that have ruled in Italy. Giannone's History of Naples, a work excel-

wives, and children, on the other, there was no such thing as striking a balance of the account. The feudal constitution itself passed in some measure into the church. For as the duke took precedence of the count, the bishop who sat by the duke's side would maintain precedence of a count's bishop: thus the temporal dukedom became the diocese of an archbishop; the bishops of subordinate cities were converted into suffragans of a spiritual duke. The wealthy abbots, as spiritual barons, endeavoured to withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of their bishops, and render themselves independent. The bishop of Rome, who thus became a spiritual emperor, or king, willingly allowed this independence, and prepared the principles, which the false Isidorus afterwards publicly established for the whole catholic church. The numerous festivals, acts of devotion, masses, and offices, demanded a multitude of clerical functionaries: the treasures of the church, and sacerdotal garments, which were suited to the barbarian taste, required their sacristan; the patrimonial possessions, their rectors; all ultimately terminating in a spiritual and temporal patron, a pope and emperor; so that church and state rivalled each other in one feudal constitution. The fall of the lombard kingdom was the birth of a pope, and with him of a new emperor, whence the whole constitution of Europe assumed a new form. For the face of the World is not changed by conquest alone; but still more by new views of things, by new dispositions, laws, and rights.

CHAPTER III.

Kingdoms of the Allemans, Burgundians, and Franks.

THE allemans were one of the rudest of the german nations. At first plunderers of the roman borders, and ravagers of their towns and fortresses; as the roman power declined, they seized on the eastern part of Gaul; and with it, and their ancient possessions, became masters of a fine country, to which they might have given as excellent a constitution. But this the allemans
 496 never did; for they were overpowered by the franks; their king fell in battle; and the people submitted to the yoke, or were dispersed. At length, under the sovereignty of the franks, they obtained a duke; in a short time
 536 after, christianity; and lastly, written laws. These are still extant, and display the simple, rude character of the people. Under the last of the merovingian line of kings, their duke was taken from them, and they were con-

founded in the mass of the francic nations. If the german swiss be the descendants of these allemans, they have the merit of having a second time cleared the forests of the Alps, and gradually adorned them with huts, villages, towns, towers, churches, convents, and cities. At the same time we must not forget those, by whom they were converted, St. Columbanus and his companions, the name of one of whom, St. Gall, is to be recorded as a benefactor of all Europe, by the foundation of his monastery. We owe the preservation of many classic authors to the institution of these irish monks, whose hermitage amid barbarous nations was a source of moral improvement, if not a seat of learning, and shines like a star amid these gloomy regions*.

The burgundians became a gentler people, after their alliance with the romans. They suffered themselves to be fixed by them in towns, and were not averse to agriculture, arts, and trade. The romans having bestowed on them a province in Gaul, they lived peaceably, cultivated corn and the vine, cleared the woods, and would probably have established a flourishing kingdom in their delightful country, which ultimately extended to the borders of Provence and the Lemman lake, if the haughty and plundering franks would have allowed them room for it. Unfortunately, however, that Clotilda, who induced the franks to embrace the christian faith, was a burgundian princess, who, to expiate some family crimes, ruined both it and her paternal kingdom. This state existed scarcely a century, the laws of the burgundians during 534 which, with some determinations of their ecclesiastical councils, are still extant; but it has more particularly perpetuated it's name by the cultivation of the land about the Lemman lake, and in the gallic provinces. This country it rendered a Paradise, while others were yet no more than wildernesses. It's legislator, Gundebald, rebuilt Geneva; and his walls for more than a thousand years have protected a city, the influence of which on Europe has been greater than that of many extensive regions. In the land it cultivated the human mind has been more than once fired, and imagination soared with lofty wing. Even under the franks the burgundians retained their ancient constitution: accordingly, on the fall of the carlovingian race, they were the first who chose themselves a king. This new state continued above two hundred years; and formed no bad example for other nations, to establish their own independence.

* Every thing respecting the kingdoms and nations here mentioned, in which Switzerland is any way concerned, will be found to receive illustration, or judicious remark, in John Mueller's *Geschichte der Schweiz*, 'History of Swit-

zerland,' Leipzig, 1786, &c.; so that I may call this book a library of historical information. A history of the origin of the nations of Europe, from the pen of this writer, would probably be the first in it's kind.

It is now time to speak of that kingdom, which put an end to so many others, the kingdom of the franks. After repeated attempts, these at length succeeded in establishing in Gaul that state, which, from a slight beginning, first conquered the allemans, then gradually drove the visigoths into Spain, subjugated the britons in Armorica, reduced the kingdom of the burgundians under subjection, and barbarously destroyed the state of Thuringia. When the declining royal houses of Merovæus and Clovis had valiant mayors of their palaces, Charles Martel repelled the arabs, and subdued the frisons : and when the mayors of the palace had ascended the throne, Charlemagne soon arose, by whom the kingdom of the lombards was destroyed ; Spain, as far as the Ebro, with Majorca and Minorca, conquered ; the south of Germany, to Pannonia, and the north, to the Elbe and the Eyder, subjugated ; the imperial title transferred from Rome to his own country ; and the nations bordering on his empire, the huns and slavians, kept in fear and submission. A mighty empire ! more powerful than any one since the time of the romans had been ; and equally memorable to all Europe in it's rise, and in it's fall. How did the kingdom of the franks acquire this pre-eminence over all it's contemporaries ?

1. *The situation of the country of the franks was more secure, than that of the possessions of any of their wandering brethren.* When they entered Gaul, the roman empire was already overturned ; and the most valiant of their brethren, who had gone before them, were either provided for, or dispersed. They found an easy victory over the enfeebled gauls ; who, disheartened by repeated misfortune, readily submitted to their yoke ; and the last remains of the romans, scared at their approach, fled before them like shadows. When Clovis with tyrannic hand cleared the country for his new possessions, and made free with the life of every neighbour, from whom he had any thing to dread ; he soon had the coast clear both before and behind him, and his France remained as an island, surrounded by mountains, rivers, seas, and countries that he had depopulated. After the allemans and thuringians were conquered, no people inclined to migration appeared in his rear. From the saxons and frisons he contrived to remove all desire of migrating, in a ferocious manner. His kingdom lay fortunately remote both from Constantinople, and from Rome : for if the franks had had any thing to do with Italy it is probable, that, from the vile morals of their kings, the treachery of their nobles, and the negligent government of the kingdom, previous to the elevation of the mayors of the palace, they would have experienced no better fate, than those worthier nations, the goths and lombards.

2. *Clovis was the first orthodox king among the barbarians.* This was of more

advantage to him, than all the virtues. Into what circle of saints did this introduce the firstborn son of the church ! Into a congregation, the influence of which extended over all the west of european christendom. Gaul and roman Germany were full of bishops. They sat in seemly order along the course of the Rhine, and on the banks of the Danube. Mentz, Triers, Cologne, Befancon, Worms, Spires, Strafburg, Constance, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Tongres, Lorca, Trent, Brixen, Basil, and other ancient seats of christianity, employed the orthodox king as a bulwark against heretics and heathens. At the first council held by Clovis in Gaul were present thirty-two bishops, among whom were five metropolitans : a compact spiritual body politic, and very efficient for his purposes. By them the arian kingdom of the burgundians was given to the franks : the mayors of the palace courted their favour ; Boniface, bishop of Mentz, crowned the usurper king of the franks ; and as early as Charles Martel's time, the patriciate of Rome, with the guardianship of the church, was a matter in agitation. At the same time these guardians of the church cannot be reproached with neglect of their ward. They repaired the episcopal cities that had been ravaged, supported their dioceses, summoned the bishops to their diets, and in Germany the church is greatly indebted to the kings of the franks at the expense of the nation. The archbishops and bishops of Salzburg, Wurtzburg, Eichstadt, Augsburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, Passau, Osnabruck, Bremen, Hamburg, Halberstadt, Minden, Verden, Paderborn, Hilderheim, and Munster, the abbots of Fulda, Hirschfeld, Kempten, Korney, Elwangen, St. Emeran, and others, established themselves through their means : and to them these spiritual lords are indebted for their seats in the diets, with their lands and vassals. The king of France is the firstborn son of the church : the emperor of Germany, his younger step-brother, only inherited the guardianship of the church from him.

3. *Under such circumstances, the first imperial constitution of a germanic people could be more conspicuously displayed in Gaul, than in Italy, Spain, or Germany itself.* The first step to a monarchy governing all around it was made by Clovis ; and his example was silently adopted as the rule of the state. In spite of the repeated division of the kingdom ; in spite of its internal shocks from the crimes of the royal house, and the unbridled conduct of the great ; it was never destroyed : for the church was interested in upholding the monarchy. Valiant and able officers of the crown wielded the sceptre of the feeble kings ; conquest went forward ; and it was deemed much better to permit the extinction of the race of Clovis, than to suffer the fall of a state, which was indispensable to all romish christendom. For as the constitution of germanic nations in fact every where

depended on the king and officers of the crown personally; and still more particularly in this kingdom, placed between arabs and heathens; all united to maintain, in this frontier empire, that mound against them, which the house of Pepin de Heristal had happily formed. We have to thank him and his brave posterity, that a stop was put to the conquests of the moors, as well as to the progress of the northern and eastern nations; that a glimmering of science at least was preserved on this side of the Alps; and lastly, that a political system of the german kind was established in Europe, to which other nations were ultimately obliged to accede, either voluntarily or by compulsion. As Charlemagne was the head of this branch, to which Europe is so much indebted, his picture may serve us for those of all the rest*.

Charlemagne descended from officers of state. His father became, what he was not born, a king. Of course his ideas were such as he derived from the house of his father, and the constitution of his kingdom. This constitution he sought to carry to perfection, as he was educated in it, and deemed it of all the best; for every tree grows in its own soil. Charles clothed himself as a frank, and was a frank in his heart: assuredly, therefore, we cannot better learn to appreciate the constitution of his people, than from the manner in which he viewed and treated it. He summoned diets, and did with them whatever he pleased: he issued salutary laws for the state, and capitularies, but with the assent of the empire. He respected the different orders in it after his manner; and permitted conquered nations to retain their own laws, as long as it could be done. He was desirous of uniting them all in one body, and had spirit enough, to impart to it animation. Dukes, from whom danger was to be apprehended, he suffered to become extinct; and filled their places with counts, holding offices from the court. He appointed commissioners (*missos*) to visit both these and the bishops; and took every method of checking the despotism of rapacious satraps, insolent nobles, and idle monks. On the deficiency of his crown he was not an emperor, but a father of a family; and he would willingly have been the same throughout his whole empire, to animate every indolent member of it with the spirit of industry and order: but here the barbarism of the age, and the ecclesiastical and military spirit of the franks, too frequently opposed his endeavours. Scarcely ever mortal so strictly obeyed the laws of equity; except where the interest of the church or the state prompted him to

* In the late *Geschichte des Regierung Karls des Grossen*, 'History of the Reign of Charlemagne,' by Hegewisch, Hamburgh, 1791, I think I discover the same view of his intentions,

as I have here given. The whole of that acute work is a commentary on the brief sketch here attempted.

acts of violence and injustice. He loved fidelity and activity in his service; and would have looked indignant, had he returned, on the attempt of making his mask give a sanction to a lethargic titular constitution. But the wheel of Fate is in continual revolution. The race of his progenitors sprung from servants of the crown; and after his death other servants of inferior talents unworthily wielded his sceptre, ruined his kingdom, destroyed the labours of his life, and frustrated the schemes of his intelligent mind. Posterity inherited from him, what he did his utmost to suppress or improve, vassals, orders of nobility, and a barbarous pomp of francic court parade. He converted dignities into offices; after him these offices soon became again empty dignities.

From his forefathers Charles likewise inherited a thirst of conquest: for, as they had been decidedly successful against the frisons, allemans, arabs, and lombards, and it was almost an established maxim of state with Clovis, to secure the countries he conquered by the depression of their neighbours; he proceeded with giant steps on the same course. Personal quarrels gave birth to wars, of which one followed another, so as to occupy the greater part of his reign, that continued near half a century. The lombards, arabs, bavarians, hungarians, and slavians, felt this military spirit of the franks; and still more the saxons, against whom, toward the end of a three and thirty years war, Charles scrupled not to employ very violent means. He thus so far obtained his object, that with his empire he established the first solid monarchy throughout Europe: for whatever troubles the normans, slavians, and hungarians, afterwards gave his successors; and however the great empire might be enfeebled, disturbed, and broken, by partitions and internal dissensions; a stop was put to all future tatarian immigrations, from Pannonia to the Elbe. The empire of the franks established by him, against which the huns and arabs had already foundered, proved to them an immovable corner stone.

In his religion and love of science, likewise, Charles was a frank. Political causes had rendered the catholic profession hereditary in the crown from the time of Clovis: and when the power came into the hands of Charlemagne's family, they were the more confirmed in it, as the church alone aided them to ascend the throne, and they were formally anointed by the bishop of Rome himself. Charles, when a boy of twelve years old, had seen the holy pontif in his father's house, and had then received from his hands the inunction to his future empire: the conversion of Germany had long been carried on under the protection of francic sovereigns, and often with their voluntary assistance; as to the west christianity was the strongest bulwark against the pagan barbarians:

how, then, could Charles avoid proceeding in the same towards the north, and at last converting the saxons with the sword? As an orthodox frank, he had no idea of the constitution he thus destroyed among them: he carried on the pious work of the church for the security of his empire, and persevered in the gallant and meritorious services of his fathers toward the pope and bishops. His successors, particularly when the chief empire of the World had fixed itself in Germany, followed his steps; and thus slavians, wendes, poles, prussians, livonians, and esthonians, were converted in such a manner, that none of these baptized nations ventured to make any farther incursions into the holy german empire. If, however, the holy and blessed Charles, as the golden bull has styled him, saw what has sprung from the establishments he formed for the promotion of religion and science, from his wealthy bishoprics, canonries, and monastic schools, he would wave his francic sword and sceptre over many of them with no friendly hand.

4. *Lastly, it is undeniable, that the bishop of Rome set his seal upon all this, and conferred the crown as it were on the empire of the franks.* He had been a friend to the franks from the time of Clovis: he had taken refuge with Pepin, and received from him as a gift the whole booty of the conquered lands of the lombards. After this he had recourse to the assistance of Charlemagne; and being victoriously established by him in Rome, he gave him in return, on the famous christmas night, a new present, the roman imperial crown. Charles appeared staggered and abashed; but the joyful acclamations of the people reconciled him to this new honour: and, indeed, as it was accounted by all european nations the highest dignity in the World, who could be more worthy of it than this frank; the greatest monarch of the west; king of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; the effectual protector of the see of Rome; respected by every king in Europe, and even by the khalif of Bagdad? Accordingly he soon entered into a treaty with the emperor of Constantinople; and took the title of roman emperor, though he resided at Aix-la-Chapelle, or travelled about his extensive dominions.

Charlemagne deserved the crown: O that it had been buried with him, at least for Germany! For, when he was no more, of what advantage was it on the head of the good and weak Lewis? and when Lewis was compelled prematurely to divide his empire, how oppressive was it on the heads of each of his successors! The empire was torn to pieces: its irritated neighbours, normans, slavians, and huns, rose up, and ravaged the land; the law of the stronger prevailed; the diets of the empire fell into decay. Brother basely warred against brother; father, against son; and the ecclesiastics, with the

bishop of Rome, were their unworthy umpires. Bishops grew up into princes : the incursions of the barbarians drove every thing into the power of those who resided in fortresses. In Germany, France, and Italy, governors and officers of state erected themselves into petty sovereigns : anarchy, treachery, cruelty, and discord, every where prevailed. Eighty-eight years after Charles had assumed the imperial crown, his legitimate race was extinguished in the deepest misery ; and before he had tenanted the grave a century, his last spurious imperial shoot was cut off. No one, but a man like him, could rule an empire of such vast extent, of such an artificial constitution, composed of such discordant parts, and endowed with such pretensions. The moment the soul had quitted this giant frame, it's parts began to dissolve, and it remained for centuries a putrefying carcase.

Rest in peace, great king ! too great for a long train of thy successors. A thousand years are elapsed, and the Rhine and the Danube are not yet united, though thy hand had already begun the work for a trifling object. By thee institutions were founded for education and science in thy days of barbarism : by aftertimes they have been abused, and are abused still. Thy capitularies, compared with many of subsequent ages, are divine laws. By thee the bards of ancient times were collected : by thy son Lewis they were despised and sold, and their memory in consequence for ever annihilated. By thee the German language was cherished, and improved to the utmost of thy power : men of learning were assembled round thee from the remotest lands : Alcuin, thy philosopher, Angilbert, the Homer of the academy of thy court, and the excellent Eginhart, thy secretary, were beloved by thee : thy chief opponents were ignorance, inveterate barbarism, and indolent pride. Perhaps thou wilt again appear at the end of the eighteenth century, and alter that machine, which began at the end of the eighth. Till then we will honour thy relics, abuse thy establishments according to law, and despise thy old francic industry. Great Charles, thy empire, which fell immediately after thee, is thy monument : France, Germany, and Lombardy are it's ruins.

CHAPTER IV.

Kingdoms of the Saxons, Normans, and Danes.

THE history of the german nations in the heart of the continent possesses a certain degree of sameness : the maritime nations, on the contrary, to which we now come, were more rapid in their attacks, more barbarous in their ravages, and more unsettled in their possessions ; but then we discern among them, as amid

the tempests of the ocean, men of the highest courage, enterprizes of the most successful kind, and kingdoms the genius of which still breathes the fresh air of the sea.

449. Already in the middle of the fifth century, the anglo-saxons, who had long carried on the trade of war and plunder by sea, repaired to the aid of the britons, from the northern shores of Germany. Hengist and Horsa (stallion and mare) were their leaders: and as they easily overcame the enemies of the britons, the pict's and caledonians, and were pleased with the country, they invited over more of their brethren; resting not, till, after a hundred and fifty years of the most savage war and horrible desolation, all Britain, Wales and Cornwall excepted, became their own.

The cimbri, who were confined to these parts, were never so fortunate as to issue from their mountains, and reconquer their ancient country, as was done by the visigoths in Spain; the savage saxons being soon secured and confirmed in their possession as catholic christians. For it was not long after the establishment of the first saxon kingdom of Kent, that the daughter of an orthodox king of Paris prepared her heathen spouse Ethelbert to embrace christianity,

597. which Austin the monk, armed with a silver cross, introduced into England with great solemnity. Gregory the great, then holding the see of Rome, who burned with ardour to introduce christianity into every nation, particularly by the marriage of orthodox princesses with heathen kings, sent him

725. thither; determined his cases of conscience; and made him the first archbishop of this fortunate island, which, from the time of Ina, was liberal of its tributary pence to St. Peter. Scarcely any other country in Europe has been so abundantly provided with convents and ecclesiastical foundations as England, yet literature reaped less advantage from them than might have been expected. In this country christianity sprouted not from the roots of an ancient apostolical church, as in Spain, France, Italy, and even in Ireland: the Gospel was brought to the rude saxons in a new form by modern romish strangers. The english monks had afterwards so much the more merit, however, in foreign conversions; and would have been of considerable service to the history of their country, at least in monastic records, if these had escaped the ravages of the danes.

Seven kingdoms of saxon barbarians, unequal in extent, on a peninsula of moderate size, entangled by christian and heathen warfare, exhibit no pleasing picture. And yet this chaotic state endured for more than three hundred years, during which we perceive only the occasional glimmering of some ecclesiastical foundations and ordinances, or the commencement of a written

law, as those of Ethelbert and Ina. At length the seven kingdoms were united under Egbert; and more than one of the subsequent monarchs possessed sufficient spirit and power, to have rendered their government flourishing, had not the incursions of the normans and danes, who roamed the sea with fresh desire of plunder, prevented any permanent good either on the coast of France or England. The injury they did is beyond expression; the barbarities they exercised are unutterable: and if Charles treated the saxons, if the angles treated the britons and cimbri, with cruelty, their acts of injustice toward these people were avenged on their posterity, till the whole fury of the warlike north was exhausted. But as the greatest minds display themselves in the most turbulent storms, on the call of necessity; so England has to boast among others her Alfred, a pattern for kings in a time of extremity, a bright star in the history of mankind.

Having received the royal unction, while yet a child, from the hands of pope Leo IV, he remained unschooled, till the desire of reading saxon heroic poems so excited his industry, that he proceeded from them to latin authors: and with these he calmly conversed till his 22d year, when the death of his brother called him to a throne, and to every danger, with which a throne could be surrounded. The danes were in possession of the country; and as they observed the courage and good fortune of the young king, they so united their forces in repeated attacks, that Alfred, who had fought eight battles with them in one year, who had repeatedly obliged them to swear on holy relics to preserve peace, and who was not less mild and just as a conqueror than brave and wary in fight, at length found himself reduced to seek security in a peasant's garb, and become the unknown servant of a herdsman's wife.

Still, however, his courage deserted him not. With a few followers he constructed himself a habitation in the midst of a morass, which he called the isle of Ethelingey, or of Nobles, and which constituted the whole of his dominions. Here he remained above a year, neither idle, nor debilitated. He made incursions upon the enemy, as from an invisible castle; and supported himself and his followers by the booty he made: till at length one of his adherents took from the danes their magic standard, the raven, which he considered as the omen of success. Clad as a harper he now entered the camp of the danes, and enchanted them with his melodious songs. He was conducted to the tent of the prince, and every where beheld their profound security, and lawless dissipation. On this he returned; dispatched secret messengers to his friends, to acquaint them, that he was still alive; and requested them to meet him in the corner of a wood. A small army assembled, and received him with

joy. With this he instantly fell on the careless and affrighted danes; defeated them; surrounded them; and made of these his prisoners of war allies and colonists, with whom he peopled the countries of Northumbria, and East Anglia, which had been laid waste; their king was baptized, and Alfred was his sponsor at the font. Alfred employed the first moments of tranquillity, in repelling other enemies, who distressed the land in swarms. He reduced the distracted state to order with incredible speed; rebuilt the cities, that had been destroyed; formed himself an army; and soon created a naval force, so that in a short time the coasts were protected by a hundred and twenty ships. On the first report of an attack, he was ready with assistance: and at a moment of need the whole country resembled a camp, where each knew his post.

Thus he frustrated every attempt of his predatory enemies as long as he lived; and gave the state naval and military forces, arts and sciences, cities, laws, and order. He wrote books; and was the instructor of the nation he protected. Equally great in private and in public life, he apportioned his hours, his occupations, and his revenue; and gained time for recreation, as well as for royal beneficence. Living a century after Charlemagne, he was perhaps a greater man, in a circle happily more limited: and though under his successors many disorders were occasioned by the incursions of the danes, and not less by the selfishness of the clergy, as on the whole no second Alfred ever arose among them; still, from the good principles of its constitution, even in early times, England has not been wanting in excellent kings; and even the attacks of its maritime enemies kept it alert and prepared. Among these may be reckoned Athelstan, Edgar, and Edmund Ironside: and if England were tributary to the danes under the last, it must be ascribed only to the treachery of the nobles. Canute the great, indeed, was acknowledged as king; but this northern victor had only two successors. England resumed its liberty; and it was probably to its misfortune, that the danes permitted the peaceable Edward to remain in tranquillity. He collected laws, and left others to govern: the manners of the normans came over to England from the coast of France; and William the conqueror espied his time. One single battle placed him on the throne, and gave the land a new constitution. Of the normans it is incumbent on us to take a nearer view; since to their manners not England alone, but a great part of Europe also is indebted, for the splendour of its spirit of chivalry.

Some of the northern germanic tribes, saxons, frisons, and franks, frequented the sea in the earliest times; and danes, norwegians, and scandinavians, under various names, were still more bold in their maritime expeditions. The anglo-

saxons and jutes passed over into Britain; and as the kings of the franks, particularly Charlemagne, extended their conquests northwards, still bolder bands continued to engage in naval enterprises, till at length the terrour of the norman name by sea became almost greater than that of the allied warriors, the marcomans, franks, allemans, &c., had ever been by land.

Were I to enumerate the naval heroes, whose exploits are celebrated in the songs and tales of the north, hundreds of renowned adventurers would swell the catalogue. The names of such, however, as have distinguished themselves by discovering countries, or laying the foundation of kingdoms, must not be passed over; and the extensive space over which these have spread themselves is astonishing. To the east we find Rorick, or Roderic, with his brothers, 862. who founded a kingdom in Novogorod, and thus laid the basis of the ruffian empire; Ofkold and Diar, who established a government in Kiow, 865. which was afterwards united with that of Novogorod; and Ragnwald, 882. who settled at Polockzki on the Dwina, the progenitor of the grand- 990. dukes of Lithuania. To the north, Naddod was driven by a storm on 861. the coast of Iceland, and thus discovered an island, which soon became 875. the asylum of the noblest families of Norway, certainly the purest nobility in Europe, where the songs and tales of the north were preserved, and augmented by fresh additions, and which for more than three centuries was the seat of lovely and not unpolished freedom. To the west, the Faroe islands, Orkneys, Shetland, and Hebrides, were frequently visited by the normans, in part 862. peopled, and many of them were long governed by northern earls, so that the remotest nooks were insufficient to protect the retreating gael from the germannic nations. In the time of Charlemagne they established themselves in Ireland; where Dublin fell to the share of Olave; Waterford, to 795. Stirik; and Limeric, to Ywar. To England they were terrible under the name of danes; and not only possessed Northumberland, intermixed with 827. faxon earls, for more than two hundred years, partly independent, partly to in fief; but governed the whole country under Canute, Harold, and Har- 1066. dicanute. The coasts of France they had infested ever since the sixth cen- 514. tury; and the apprehensions of Charlemagne, who foreboded much dan- to ger to his country from them, were abundantly justified soon after his death. 1052. The ravages they committed, both in France and Germany, not only on 840. the coasts, but wherever the rivers enabled them to penetrate, are inexpressible; so that most of the cities and establishments formed by the romans, or by Charlemagne, were brought by them to a miserable end; till at length Rolf, on his bap-

911. tism christened Robert, became the first duke of Normandy, and the progenitor of more than one royal family. From him descended William the conqueror, who gave England a new constitution; and in consequence of whose plans England and France were involved in war for four centuries, which 1029. served wonderfully to exercise the powers of both nations. Those normans, who, with almost incredible courage and success, wrested from the arabs Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and for a time even Jerusalem and Antioch, were adventurers from the duchy founded by Rolf; and the successors of Tancred, who afterwards wore the crowns of Sicily and Apulia, descended from him.

Were all the bold deeds of the normans to be enumerated, performed 1130. by them as pilgrims or adventurers, in the service of Constantinople, or in their travels, in almost every land, and in almost every sea, from Greenland to Africa; and from America to the Levant, the narrative would have the air of romance. For our purpose it will be sufficient, to trace the principal consequences of these from the *character of the people*.

Rude as the inhabitants of the northern shores must have long remained, in consequence of their soil and climate, their institutions and way of life; still they concealed a germe, particularly in their maritime occupations, which would soon have shot forth highly flourishing branches in a less severe climate. Strength and courage; activity and expertness in all the exercises, to which the epithet of knightly was subsequently annexed; a strong sense of honour and nobleness of birth; with the wellknown northern esteem for the female sex, as the prize of valour, handsomeness, and worth in man; were qualities, that could not fail to endear these northern pirates to the inhabitants of the south. In the interior parts of the land the laws grasp every thing: each rude effusion of the will must either become a law among the rest, or sink by its own weight. On the wild element of the ocean, to which the sway of the monarch of the land does not extend, the mind receives animation: it roams in quest of war, and of booty, which the youth is eager to bring home to his intended bride, the husband to his wife and children, as marks of their prowess; while a third seeks more solid acquisitions in distant lands. To be good for nothing, was in the north the grand vice, punished here with contempt, hereafter with the pains of Hell; while valour and honour, friendship to death, and a chivalrous respect towards women, were the virtues, which, from the concurrence of various occasional circumstances, contributed much to the gallantry, as it was called, of the middle ages.

The normans settled in a french province, and Rolf, their leader, married a daughter of the king: many of his comrades followed his example, and formed

alliances with the noblest families of the land: the court of Normandy soon became the most brilliant in all the west. As christians they could no longer pursue their piratical expeditions against christian states; but they received and civilized such of their brethren as followed them, so that this coast, happily situated, was the central and ennobling point of the seafaring normans. As the anglofaxon monarchs, oppressed by the danes, had recourse to them for assistance; and Edward the Confessor, who was educated among the normans, gave them hopes even of succeeding to the english throne: as William the Conqueror won the kingdom by a single battle, and immediately filled the chief posts of it, both civil and ecclesiastical, with normans: the norman language and manners soon became the polite manners and language of the english court. What these rude conquerors had learned in France, and assimilated with their own nature, passed over to Britain, even to a rigid feudal constitution and forest law. And though many laws of the Conqueror were afterwards abolished, and the more mild anglofaxon of former times revived; the spirit instilled into the manners and language of the nation by the norman families could not be again obliterated: hence an inoculated shoot of the latin language still flourishes in the english. The british nation would scarcely have become what it was before others, had it remained at rest on its ancient lees: but the danes agitated it a long while, and the normans drew it over the sea into long wars with France. Here its talents were exercised; the conquered became conquerors; and at length, after various revolutions, a political structure appeared, which probably would never have arisen from the anglofaxon monastic economy. An Edmund, or an Edgar, would by no means have withstood pope Hildebrand, as he was withstood by William; and the english knights would not have rivalled the french in the croisades, had not the normans set in motion the internal springs of the nation, and various circumstances improved it by force. The engrafting of nations at proper seasons appears to be as indispensable to the progress of mankind, as transplanting to the productions of the earth, or inoculation to the wild fruit tree. The best, confined to the same spot, will at length decay and die.

The normans were not equally fortunate in their less permanent possession of Naples and Sicily, the acquisition of which is a real romance of personal valour, and the spirit of adventure. On their pilgrimages to Jerusalem they became acquainted with these fine countries; and eighty or a hundred knights, by succouring the oppressed with their arms, laid the basis of their subsequent dominion. Rainulph was the first count of Aversa; and three of the valiant sons of Tancred, who also fortunately came over, were rewarded for their various

services against the arabs, by being first created counts, and afterward dukes, of Apulia and Calabria. More of Tancred's sons, William the Ironarmed, Drogo, and Humphrey, followed. Robert and Roger Guiscard conquered Sicily from the arabs; and Robert bestowed on his brother the crown of this fine kingdom. Robert's son Boemund pursued his fortune in the east; and being followed thither by his father, Roger became the first king of the two Sicilies, invested with both the spiritual and temporal power. Under him and his successors science put forth a few young buds in this corner of Europe: the school of Salerno arose in the midst, as it were, of the arabs and the monks of Cassino: here jurisprudence, physic, and philosophy, again showed leaves and shoots, after a long winter. The norman princes maintained themselves valiantly, in this dangerous neighbourhood of the papal see: they made peace with two of the holy fathers, when they were in their power; thus acting with more prudence and vigilance than most of the german emperors. Pity it was, that they formed matrimonial alliances with these, and thus gave them a claim to the succession: and still more pity, that the purposes of Frederic, the last of the suabian emperours, with regard to these countries, were so barbarously frustrated. From this period both kingdoms remained objects of contention to other nations; the prey of foreign conquerors and viceroys, and above all of a nobility, who have proved, even to the present day, an obstacle to any amendment in the state of this once flourishing land.

CHAPTER V.

The Northern Kingdoms, and Germany.

THE history of the northern kingdoms, obscure as it is till the eighth century, has at least this advantage over the history of most european countries, that a mythology with tales and songs lies at the bottom of it, which may serve as it's philosophy. For in this we discern the spirit of the people, their ideas of men and gods, and the direction of their inclinations and passions, in love and hatred, in their hopes on this side the grave, and in their expectations beyond it: and such a philosophy of history is preserved to us no where but in the Edda, if the grecian mythology be excepted. Besides, the history of the northern kingdoms must be eminently simple and natural; as they were exposed to the hostile incursions of no foreign nation, after the finnish tribes had been expelled, or subjected: for what nation would have sought these regions, subse-

cuently to the great expeditions to more southern countries? Where necessity issues her injunctions, men live for a long period in obedience to them: and accordingly the germanic nations of the north remained in a state of freedom and independence, much longer than others of their brethren. Mountains and deserts separated the tribes from each other: lakes and rivers, forests, pastures, and cultivated lands, with the sea abounding in fish, afforded them nutriment: and such as the land was unable to support, betook themselves to the ocean, to seek elsewhere food and plunder. In these regions, as in a northern Switzerland, the simplicity of primitive german manners has been long retained, and will still endure, when in Germany itself it is become no more than an old wife's tale.

When here, as every where else, in time the free inhabitants became subject to nobles; many of the nobles became kings of the fields and deserts; and at length from many little kings one great monarch arose: the courts of Denmark, Norway, and Scandinavia, were still happy in this, that whoever was unwilling to remain in servitude might seek another land; and thus, as we have seen, all the adjacent seas were long the resort of roving adventurers, to whom plunder seems to have been an allowed, local occupation, like the herring or whalefishery. At length the kings stepped in for a share in this national trade: they conquered the lands of one another, or of their neighbours; but the majority of their foreign conquests were quickly lost. The coasts of the Baltic suffered by this most severely. The danes rested not, after innumerable depredations, till they had ruined the commerce of the slavians, and their wealthy ports, Vinetha and Julin: when they proceeded to exercise their right ^{1043.} of conquest, and laying under contribution, against the prussians, cour- ^{1170.} landers, livonians, and esthonians, long before the saxon hordes.

Nothing tended so much to suppress this mode of life of the northern nations as christianity, by which the heroic religion of Odin was totally subverted. Charlemagne had endeavoured to baptise the danes, as well as the saxons: but his son Lewis first succeeded in the experiment at Mentz on a petty king of Jutland. Yet it was far from being well received by the countrymen of this king, who still continued for a long time, to plunder and lay waste the christian shores: for the example of the saxons, whom christianity had rendered the slaves of the franks, was too glaring before their eyes. The antipathy of these people to the christian religion was deeply rooted; and Kettil, the pagan, chose rather to retire living to his tomb, three years before his death, than submit to be baptised: What disposition could these inhabitants of the islands and mountains of the north entertain for the articles of faith and canonical precepts

of a hierarchical system, which overturned all the tales of their forefathers, subverted the manners of their country, and, poor as their land was, rendered them the tributary slaves of an ecclesiastical court in distant Italy? The religion of Odin was so interwoven with their language and way of thinking, that christianity could not introduce itself among them, as long as a trace of his memory remained: the religion of the monks being an inveterate enemy to the tales, songs, customs, temples, and monuments of paganism; while the minds of the people were devoted to these, and despised the practices and legends of the monks. The prohibition of labour on sundays, and of marriage within certain degrees, fasting and penance, the monastic vows, and the whole order of priests whom they despised, these northern people could never reconcile to themselves; so that the holy men who sought to convert them, and even their newly converted kings themselves, had much to suffer, if they were not hunted out or martyred, before the pious work was accomplished. But as Rome knew how to catch every nation in the net that was adapted to it, these barbarians were entranced by the incessant endeavours of their anglo-saxon and frank converters, aided by the pomp of the new worship, church-music, incense, tapers, temples, high altars, bells, and processions: and as they firmly believed in ghosts and incantations, they, with houses, churches, church-yards, and domestic utensils of every kind, were so disenchanting from paganism, and bewitched to christianity, by the power of the cross, that the demon of a double superstition returned into them. Some of those, by whom they were converted, however, St. Ansgarius in particular, were actually deserving men, and heroes after their manner for the welfare of mankind.

We come lastly to the native country, as it is called, of the germanic nations, the depository of their melancholy remains, Germany. After so many tribes had emigrated from it, not only was half of it occupied by a foreign race, the slavians, but the remaining german moiety, after various ravages, had become a province, subjected by conquest to the great empire of the franks. Frisians, alemans, thuringians, and last of all saxons, were reduced to submission and christianity: inasmuch that the saxons, for example, when they became *kerstene* (christians), and forswore the great idol Wodea, were forced to yield up all their rights and possessions to the will of the sanctipotent Charles, beg their lives and liberty at his feet, and promise fidelity to the triune god, and to the sanctipotent king. The subjection of these free and independent people to the francic throne must necessarily cramp the spirit of their original institutions: many of them were treated with severity or mistrust; the inhabitants of whole districts were removed to distant parts; none of the nations that remained had

room, or time, to form themselves. Immediately on the death of the giant, who alone embraced with his arms this forcibly compounded empire, our Germany, with varying limits, was now the portion of this feeble carlovingian, now of that : and as it was compelled to take a part in the incessant quarrels and wars of this unfortunate race, what could it, or what could it's internal constitution, become ? Unluckily it formed the northern and eastern boundary of the francic empire, and with this of roman catholic christendom ; and on it's whole frontier dwelt irritated savage nations, glowing with implacable animosity, who made this land the first sacrifice to their vengeance. While, on the one hand, the normans advanced as far as Treves, and wrung from the nation a disgraceful peace ; on the other, Arnulph, the savage hungarian, broke into the country, to destroy the moravian kingdom of the slavians, and thus laid it open to long continued and terrible devastation. Last of all the slavians were considered as the hereditary enemies of the germans, and for centuries exercised their valour and skill in arms.

The means adopted under the franks to exalt and secure the empire were still more burdensome to dismembered Germany. It inherited all those bishoprics and archbishoprics, abbeys and chapters, which were formerly founded on the frontiers for the conversion of the heathen ; those court places and chancelleries, in districts that no longer made part of the empire ; those dukes and margraves, who had been appointed as officers of the empire for the defence of it's boundaries, and whose number had long been augmented against the danes, wendes, poles, slavians, and hungarians. The most brilliant and indispensable jewel of all was the roman imperial crown ; which alone has done more injury to Germany, probably, than all the expeditions of tatars, hungarians, and turks. Lewis, the first of the carlovingian race to whose lot Germany fell, was no roman emperor : and during the division of the empire of the franks, the popes bandied about this title in such a manner, that it was born by various princes in Italy, and even bestowed on a count of Provence, who died after being deprived of sight. Arnulph, an illegitimate descendant of Charlemagne, coveted this title, which his son, however, did not obtain ; and which the first two kings of german blood, Conrad and Henry, did not desire. Otto, who was inaugurated at Aix-la-Chapelle with the diadem of Charlemagne, unfortunately took this great frank for his model : and, as an adventure conferred on him the kingdom of Italy, in consequence of delivering the beautiful widow Adalaid from a tower in which she was confined, and thus opened to him the way to Rome ; claim followed claim, war succeeded war, from Lombardy to Sicily and Calabria ; where for the honour of it's emperor the blood of Ger-

many was profusely spilt, the Germans were betrayed by the Italians, German emperors and empresses were maltreated in Rome, Italy was foiled by German tyranny, Germany was attracted out of its orbit by Italy, its spirit and power drawn over the Alps, its constitution brought into dependence on Rome, and the nation, set at variance with itself, was made detrimental to itself and others, without deriving the least advantage from this dazzling honour. *Sic vos non vobis* was always its proper motto.

The more is it to the honour of the German nation, that, placed by the concatenation of affairs in such hazardous circumstances, it stood as the bulwark and defence of the liberty and security of all Christian Europe. Henry the Fowler had formed it to this, which Otto the Great had talents to employ: but then the faithful and willing nation followed its leader, even when, in the universal chaos of its constitution, he himself knew not which way he led it. As the emperor himself was unable to protect his people from the spoliation of the privileged orders, part of them shut themselves up in towns, and purchased from their plunderers the protection of a trade, without which the land would long have remained a Tatar. Thus a peaceable useful state, connected by trade, compacts, and confraternities, was formed in the discordant empire by the intrinsic energies of the nation: thus manufactures arose under the oppressive yoke of vassalage; and were in part improved by German industry and integrity into arts, which were transmitted to other nations. What these have brought to perfection, the Germans, for the most part, had first attempted; though, oppressed by poverty and want, they had seldom the satisfaction of seeing them employed and flourishing in their native country. They repaired in numbers to foreign lands, and were the instructors of other nations, east, west, and north, in various mechanic inventions. It would have been the same with the sciences, had not the government of the country rendered all institutions of this kind, which were in the hands of the clergy, political wheels of the confused machine, and thus in a great measure robbed them of science. The convents of Corvey, Fulda, and others, have done more for the advancement of science, than extensive districts in other countries; and amid all the disorders of these ages, the inextinguishable fidelity and probity of the German character remain evident.

The women of Germany were nowise inferior to the men: domestic activity, chastity, fidelity, and honour, are the distinguishing features of the female sex in all the Germanic tribes and nations. The most ancient arts of these people were exercised by the women: they spun and wove; they superintended the labouring people; and they had the management of the family, even in

the highest class. In the court itself the wife of the emperor had her grand household, to which a considerable part of his revenue was frequently appropriated: and this regulation was long retained in many a princely house, certainly not to the detriment of the land. Even the romish religion, which greatly diminished the estimation of the wife, operated not so powerfully in this respect here, as in warmer countries. The nunneries of Germany were never the graves of chastity to such a degree, as those on the other side of the Rhine, or beyond the Alps and Pyrenees: in many points, indeed, they were rather magazines of german industry. The gallant manners of chivalry were never polished to that refined sensuality in Germany, which they attained in warmer and more voluptuous countries: for the very climate enjoined more strict confinement to the house, while other nations could pursue their occupations and amusements in the open air.

Lastly, as soon as Germany became a separate empire, it could boast greater monarchs; at least monarchs more benevolent and industrious; among whom Henry, Otto, and the two Frederics, are preeminent. What would not these men have accomplished, in a more solid and determinate sphere!

After this individual examination, let us take a general view of the institutions of the germanic nations, in all the countries and kingdoms they acquired. What were their principles? and what have these principles produced?

C H A P. VI.

General View of the Institutions of the German Kingdoms in Europe.

IF social institutions be the most exquisite productions of the human mind, and human industry; as they embrace the whole state of things, according to time, place, and circumstances, and consequently must be the result of much experience, and assiduous attention: it is easy to conjecture, that a germanic institution formed on the shores of the Black Sea, or amid the forests of the north, must have had very different consequences, when it fell among nations of improved manners, or depraved by luxury and a superstitious religion. To conquer these was far more easy for the germans, than to govern them well, or themselves amid them. Hence the german kingdoms, that were founded, soon disappeared, or decayed in such a degree, that their subsequent history exhibited only the shreds of an abortive institution.

1. *Every conquest of the germans proceeded on the principle of a common property.* The nation was as one man: to it every acquisition belonged by the barbarous

right of war, and was so to be divided among its members, that all should still remain a common possession. But how was this practicable? A nation of shepherds on their downs, hunters in their forests, an army with their booty, fishermen with their common draughts of fish, may divide what they have among themselves, and yet remain a whole: to a conquering nation, settling in a distant country, this is far more difficult. Every soldier becomes a landholder on his newly acquired possessions: he remains pledged to the state for warlike expeditions, and other duties: but in a short time his public spirit declines; he no longer frequents the assemblies of the nation; and he seeks to compound for his military service, now become burdensome to him, by the performance of duties of a different kind. Thus it was among the franks, for example: the Field of Mars was soon forsaken by the free commons; of course its resolutions were left to the king and his servants; and even the *arriere-ban* * required the most vigilant exertions, to maintain it effective. Thus in time the free commons necessarily declined much in power, as they transferred their military services to the ever ready knights, and made them ample compensation; so that the stock of the nation was lost, like a divided and expanded stream, in sluggish impotence. Now if a kingdom thus modified were attacked in this period of its first relaxation, what wonder that it fell? And if free from external enemies, what wonder, that this indolence suffered the best rights and properties of the people, to pass into vicarious hands? The constitution of the whole was framed for war, or for a way of life, in which all should remain in activity; but not for a people living dispersed in peaceful industry.

2. *With every victorious king a band of nobles came into the country, who, as his comrades and friends, his household and servants, were to be portioned out of the lands he conquered.* At first this was only for life: but in time the estates allotted them for their maintenance became hereditary; the demesne lord gave, till he had nothing left to bestow, and himself was impoverished. In most constitutions of this kind the vassals so drained their lord, the servants their master, that, if the government were of long duration, the king had nothing left of all his profitable claims, and was at length the poorest individual in the country: Now since, as we have seen, according to the course of things in long periods of hostility, the nobles must necessarily by degrees depress the stock of the nation, the free commonalty, such of them excepted as raised themselves to the rank of nobles; it is obvious, how the honourable trade of chivalry, at that time indispensable, attained such eminence. The kingdom was conquered by warlike

* A summons for the vassals of the king to attend his armies with their vassals. T.

hordes: he, who persevered longest in the exercise of arms, continued to add to his acquisitions, while any thing was to be gained by the sword. Thus ultimately the sovereign had nothing, because he had given every thing away: and the free commons had nothing, because they were either become nobles, or impoverished; and the rest of the people were serfs.

3. *As in the state of common property of the people it was fit, that the king should visit every part, or rather be every where present; which was impracticable; vice-roys, dukes, and counts, were indispensably necessary.* And as, according to the german constitution, the legislative, judicial, and executive powers were not yet divided; it was almost inevitable, that, under feeble kings, the viceroys of great cities, or remote provinces, should in time become themselves sovereigns, or satraps. Their districts, like a piece of gothic architecture, contained every thing in miniature, which the kingdom possessed at large; and as soon as they and their nobility could agree, according to the state of affairs, the little kingdom was formed, though still dependent on the state. Thus Lombardy, and the kingdom of the franks, fell to pieces, and were scarcely held together by the silken thread of a regal name: and so would it have been with the kingdoms of the goths, and of the vandals, had they been of longer duration. To reunite these fragments, where each part sought to become a whole, has employed the endeavours of every kingdom in Europe of the germanic constitution for five centuries; and some of them have not yet succeeded in recovering their own members. The seeds of this division lay in the constitution itself: it is a polyypus, in each dissevered part of which lives a whole.

4. *As every thing turned on personality in this collective body, it's head, the king, though he was as far as possible from being absolute, represented the nation, in his person, as well as in his domestic economy. Moreover, his collective dignity, properly a mere fiction of state, was imparted to his satellites, officers, and servants.* Personal services to the king were considered as the first offices of the state; as they who were about his person, chaplains, equerries, and sewers, must frequently serve and assist him at councils, in courts of justice, and on other occasions. Natural as this was in the rude simplicity of those times, it was altogether absurd, that these chaplains and sewers should be actually representative members of the empire, enjoy the first rank in the state, or indeed hold their dignities as hereditary to all eternity: and yet such a parade of barbarian pomp, adapted to the dining tent of a khan of tatars, but not to the palace of a father, director, and judge of a nation, forms the fundamental constitution of every germanic kingdom in Europe. The old fiction of state was converted into a naked truth: the whole empire was metamorphosed into the hall, the kitchen,

and the stable of the king. Singular metamorphosis! They who were servants and vassals might indeed be represented by these servants of higher order, and more splendid appearance; but not the body of the nation, no one free member of which had been a servant of the king, but his comrade and companion in the field and the cabinet, and could not allow himself to be represented by any of the king's domestics. This tatarian constitution flourished no where with such magnificence as on gallic ground; whence it was transplanted into England and Sicily by the normans, into Germany with the imperial diadem, thence into the northern kingdoms, and last of all from Burgundy with great pomp into Spain; every where producing new blossoms, according to the time and place. Neither greeks nor romans, neither Alexander nor Augustus, knew any thing of such a fiction of state, which made the household of the regent the sum and substance of the kingdom: but on the banks of the Yenisey and the Yaik it is indigenous; and therefore the fables and ermines of it's arms and devices are not insignificant.

5. This constitution would not easily have found and retained such firm footing in Europe, had it not been preceded by another barbarism, with which it amicably coalesced, the *barbarism of the papacy*. For as all the remains of science, with which even the barbarians could not dispense in these countries, were in the hands of the clergy; there was but one mode left for them, undesirous of acquiring science themselves, to add it as it were to their conquests, by admitting the bishops among them. This they did. And as these became servants of the court with the nobles; as these too allowed themselves to be endowed with benefices, lands, and privileges, and in many respects gained the preeminence over the laity, from various causes; this constitution was dear to the papacy above all others. Now as on the one hand it is undeniable, that the spiritual order contributed much to the softening of manners, and establishment of order; on the other it must be confessed, that the introduction of two distinct codes of law, of an independent state within the state at large, must have loosened the foundations of the political edifice. No two things could be more directly opposite to each other in themselves, than the roman papacy, and the spirit of german manners: this spirit the papacy was incessantly undermining, while on the other hand it appropriated much of it to itself, and at length compounded from the two a german romish chaos. That, at which all german nations had long shuddered, became at length most dear to them: they suffered their own principles to be employed against themselves. The domains of the church, wrested from the state, became one common domain, which the bishop of Rome governed and protected with more energy, than any secular potentate his dominions. A constitution full of incongruity, and fatal discord.

6. *Neither soldiers nor monks feed a country*: and as so little care was taken of the labouring class in this constitution, which tended rather to render the whole community serfs of the bishops and nobles; it is obvious, that the state was long deprived of its most invigorating springs, *industry, and the active spirit of uncontrolled invention*. The soldier deemed himself too great to till the ground, and sunk into obscurity: the nobles and convents would have their predial slaves, and predial slavery was never advantageous to mankind. As long as lands and goods were considered as an indivisible dead possession, belonging to the crown, or the church, or the head of a noble race, in the quality of an immoveable estate, to which serfs appertained; and not as an useful body, organized in all its parts and products: the right use of this land, and the true estimation of human powers, were prevented in an unspeakable degree. The greater part of the land was an unproductive common; and men were attached to the glebe like beasts, with this severe law, that they could never loosen themselves from it. Arts and trades followed the same course. Exercised by women and slaves, they long remained, in the gross, slavish occupations: and when convents, having acquired from the roman world a knowledge of their utility, drew them within their walls; when emperors conferred on them the privileges of city corporations; the course of things did not change. How can arts raise themselves, where agriculture is depressed? where the primitive source of wealth, independent, gainful industry, with all the streams of traffic and free trade, is dried up? where none but soldiers and monks are leading men, and wealthy proprietaries? Conformably to the spirit of the times, the arts could only be introduced as common bodies, *universitates*, in the form of corporations: a rude shell, which, though then necessary to security, was still a fetter, restraining the activity of the human mind from exerting itself out of the corporate pale. We have to thank such constitutions, that barren commons are still to be found in countries cultivated for centuries; that firmly established corporations, orders, and fraternities, still cherish all the ancient prejudices and errors, which they have faithfully preserved. The human mind has modelled itself mechanically by the square and compass, and crouched in the privileged chest of a corporation.

7. From all this it is evident, that the idea of the germanic popular constitution, natural and noble as it was in itself, when applied to great, conquered, long civilized, or indeed romanish christian kingdoms, could be no other than a *bold experiment*, liable to various abuses: it required to be long exercised, and proved and polished in various ways, by many intelligent nations, before it could attain any degree of stability. In little municipalities, in judicial pro-

cesses, and wherever the general preference is something more than a dead letter, it is unquestionably the best. The old german principles, that every one shall be tried by his peers, that the judge has no authority but what he derives from those to whom the right of judging belongs, that satisfaction for every crime is to be made only as it is an offence against the community, and that an offence is to be judged not by the letter of the law, but from actual consideration of the fact: these, with a number of customs, respecting the administration of justice, confraternities, and other matters, testify the clear understanding, and equitable spirit of the germans. With regard to the state, likewise, the principles of the community of property, defence, and liberty, to the whole nation, were grand and noble: but as these principles required men, qualified to keep all the members of the community together, to maintain the balance between them, and to animate the whole with a glance; and as such men were not to be produced according to the law of primogeniture; it followed, as it has every where more or less, that the members of the nation gave a loose to the exercise of lawless power, oppressed the unarmed, and supplied the want of understanding and industry by long tatarian disorder. Yet, in the history of the World, the popular constitution of the german nations has proved the solid bulwark, that has protected the remains of civilization from the storms of time, developed the public spirit of Europe, and slowly and silently operated on all the regions of the Earth. First appeared the lofty phantoms of a spiritual and a temporal monarchy; but they promoted objects far different from those, for which they were designed.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XIX.

NEVER was a nominal allusion attended with consequences more important, than that made to St. Peter, that an indestructible church should be built on the rock of his faith, and that to him the keys of the kingdom of Heaven should be entrusted. The bishop, who was supposed to sit in St. Peter's chair, and near his grave, had the art, to interpret this as alluding to himself: and as various circumstances concurred, to render him the primate of the greatest christian church, and at the same time to confer on him the power of issuing spiritual ordinances and injunctions, calling councils and deciding upon them, establishing and defining articles of faith, absolving irremissible sins, and imparting indulgences, that no other could bestow; so that, in short, he enjoyed the authority of God upon Earth; he soon passed from this spiritual monarchy, to it's natural consequence, temporal. As he had formerly limited the power of bishops, he now restrained that of monarchs. He conferred a western imperial diadem, the authority of which he himself did not acknowledge. His dreaded hand, wielding anathemas and interdictions, erected and gave away kingdoms, chastised and pardoned kings, deprived countries of the exercise of religious worship, absolved subjects and vassals from their duties, deprived the whole body of his clergy of wives and children, and founded a system, which a series of ages have shaken indeed, but not yet destroyed. Such a phenomenon demands attention: and as no regent in the world had such obstacles to surmount for the establishment of his power, as the bishop of Rome, it deserves at least to be examined without rancour and animosity, as well as any other political constitution*.

* Though particular parts of the papal history have been handled with considerable ability since Sarpi, Puffendorf, &c. ; yet I think a philosophical history of the papacy, treated throughout with perfect impartiality, is still want-

ing. The author of the *Reformationgeschichte*, 'History of the Reformation,' after he has completed his design, might thus give his work a singular degree of perfection.

CHAPTER I.

Romish Hierarchy.

WHEN a man designs to erect an edifice, he usually makes a sketch of the structure, before he lays it's foundations: but this is seldom the case with the work of the political architect, which is left to time to complete. It may be doubted, whether the most unremitting attention could ever have been sufficient, to raise the spiritual greatness of Rome. The bishops, that wore the roman mitre, differed as much as any other potentates; and there were unpropitious times for the ablest operators. But it was the policy of this see, to turn to account even these unpropitious periods, and the faults both of it's enemies, and of it's preceding occupiers: and by this policy it attained it's grandeur and stability. Out of numerous circumstances of history, let us consider a few, with the principles on which the greatness of Rome was erected.

The very name of Rome itself says a great deal: the ancient queen of the World, the head and the crown of nations, inspired her bishops with the desire of being also the head of nations after their manner. No tales of the episcopacy and martyrdom of Peter would have had such political effects at Antioch, or Jerusalem, as in the flourishing church of ancient, immortal Rome: for how much did the bishop of this revered city find, that could not fail to exalt him almost against his will! The ineradicable pride of the roman people, to which so many emperors were obliged to yield, lifted him on their shoulders; and inspired him, the pastor of the first people upon Earth, with the thought of studying science and politics, in this their high school, to which even in christian times men journeyed for instruction in the roman jurisprudence; that, like the ancient romans he might rule the World by his laws and ordinances. The pomp of pagan worship glared in his eyes; and as this was connected with the sovereign power in the roman constitution, the people expected in it's christian bishop, likewise, the ancient *pontifex maximus, aruspex, & augur*. Accustomed to triumphs, festivals, and ceremonials of state, they gladly saw christianity emerging from graves and catacombs into temples worthy of the roman greatness; and thus Rome became a second time the head of nations, by means of it's festivals, rites, and institutions.

Rome early displayed it's legislative policy, by inculcating the *unity of the church, purity of doctrine, orthodoxy, and catholicism*, on which it was necessary the church should be built. Even so early as the second century, Victor had

the boldness to refuse acknowledging the christians of Asia as his brethren, because they would not celebrate Easter at the same time with him : nay the first division between jewish and heathen christians was probably terminated by Rome, where Paul and Peter lay peaceably interred *. This spirit of an universal doctrine maintained itself in the romish see : and though some of the popes themselves are scarcely free from the imputation of heresy, their successors always contrived to take a turn, and reenter the pale of the orthodox church. Rome never bowed to heresy, though often threatened by it : the eastern emperors, the ostrogoths and visigoths, the burgundians and the lombards, were arians : some of these governed Rome ; yet Rome remained catholic. At length it separated itself without ceremony from the greek church, though this was almost half a world. This foundation of an immoveable purity and universality of doctrine, professing to rest on Scripture and tradition, must necessarily acquire and support the superstructure, under favourable circumstances, of the throne of a spiritual judge.

Such favourable circumstances occurred. After the emperors had left Italy ; when the empire was divided, and overrun by barbarians ; and Rome had been repeatedly taken and plundered ; it's bishop had more than once opportunities of being it's deliverer. He was the father of the abandoned metropolis ; and the barbarians, who venerated the majesty of Rome, respected it's chief priest. Attila retired ; Genseric submitted ; enraged lombard kings fell at his feet, even before he was lord of Rome. Long did he hold the balance between greeks and barbarians : he had the art to divide, that he might afterwards govern. And when this policy of division would no longer succeed, he had already prepared his catholic France to assist him : he crossed the mountains, and obtained from his deliverer more than he had asked, his episcopal city, with all the cities of the exarchate. At length Charlemagne became emperor of Rome ; and now the word was, one Rome, one emperor, one pope three inseparable names, thenceforward to work the weal and woe of nations. Unheard of liberties were taken by the roman bishop even with the son of his benefactor ; and his later successors expected still more. He interfered between the emperors, issued his commands to them, deposed them, and tore from their brows the crown, which he conceived he had given to them. The openhearted germans, who for three hundred and fifty years visited Rome for the sake of this jewel, and readily sacrificed to it the blood of the nation, were

they who raised the arrogance of the pope to its most tremendous height. Without a german emperor, and the wretched constitution of his empire, a Hildebrand would never have arisen : and even now the constitution of Germany renders it the pillow of the roman tiara.

As heathen Rome was happily situated for its conquests, so was christian Rome. From the North Sea and the Baltic, from the Euxine and the Wolga, came numerous nations, whom the bishop of Rome must finally sign with his orthodox cross, if they would live in peace in this orthodox region : and those, who came not of their own accord, he took care to seek. He sent prayers and incense to the nations ; in return for which they dedicated gold and silver to his use, and endowed his numerous servants with woods and fields. But their most valuable present was their raw, unprejudiced hearts ; which sinned the more, as they acquired the knowledge of sin ; and received from him catalogues of offences, that his absolutions might become requisite. Thus the keys of St. Peter came into employ ; but never did they turn without a fee. What a fine inheritance for the clergy were the lands of the goths, allemans, franks, angles, saxons, danes, swedes, flavians, poles, prussians, and hungarians ! The later these people entered into the kingdom of Heaven, the dearer were they obliged to pay for admission ; and not unfrequently their land and liberty were the price. The farther they lay to the north, or to the east ; the more tardy was their conversion, and the more ample their gratitude. The greater the difficulty with which a nation was led to the faith, the more firmly did it learn to believe. At length the fold of the romish bishop extended to Greenland, and stretched from the Dwina and the Nieper to the extreme promontory of the west.

Winifred, or Boniface, the converter of the germans, raised the authority of the pope over bishops situated out of his diocese to a much higher pitch, than any emperor could have done. As a bishop in a land of infidels he had taken an oath of fealty to the pope, which persuasion or assumption afterwards extended to other bishops, till at length it became a law in all catholic kingdoms. The frequent division of countries under the carlovingian race likewise changed the limits of episcopal dioceses, and afforded the pope abundant opportunities of exercising his authority in them. Lastly, the collection of decretals of the Pseudo-Isidorus, which first appeared publicly in these times of the carlovingians, probably in the interval between the frank and germanic empires, being permitted to pass as valid, from inattention, artifice, and ignorance, at once established all the growing abuses of recent times on the basis of ancient authority. This single book was of more service to the pope than ten imperial

diplomas: and indeed ignorance and superstition in general, with which the whole western world was deluged, formed the deep and extensive sea, into which the net of St. Peter was cast with ample success.

The political abilities of the roman bishops were most eminently displayed, in the art with which they turned the most unpromising circumstances to their advantage. Long were they oppressed by the emperors of the east, and often by those of the west: and yet Constantinople was first obliged to allow them the rank of universal bishops, and Germany at last to cede to them the investiture of the spiritual order of the empire. The greek church separated itself: and by this, too, the pope profited; for in it he could never have obtained that authority, for which he strove in the west, and which he was thus enabled, to render the more compact. Mohammed appeared: the arabs subdued a great part of the south of Europe: they even cruised in the neighbourhood of Rome, and attempted to land. These calamities, likewise, were of inestimable value to the pope; who well knew how to avail himself of the feebleness of the greek emperors, and the danger which threatened Europe; taking the field as the deliverer of Italy, and thenceforward assuming to himself the standard of christendom against all infidels. A fearful species of war, which he had the power to enforce by bans and interdictions, and in which he was not merely the herald, but often both treasurer and commander in chief. He likewise turned to account the successes of the normans against the arabs; investing them with lands, to which he had no right, and by means of them securing his rear, that he might be at full liberty, to carry on his operations in front. So true it is, that he advances farthest, who knows not in the beginning how far he shall advance, but avails himself with steady principle of every circumstance, that time throws in his way.

Let us impartially exhibit some of these principles, pursued by the court of Rome to it's no small advantage.

1. *The sovereignty of Rome rested on faith:* on a faith, that was to promote the good of men's souls, both in time and in eternity. To this system pertained every thing, that could lead the human mind; and every thing conducive to this end Rome got into her own hands. From his mother's womb to the grave, nay beyond it in the flames of Purgatory, a man was in the power of the church, from which he could not withdraw himself, without being irremediably miserable. The church moulded his head: the church disturbed and calmed his heart. Confession placed in her hands the keys of his secrets, of his conscience, of every thing that he carried in or about him. All his lifetime the believer remained a pupil under her discipline: and in the article of death she

bound him with sevenfold bonds, the more liberally to loose the penitent and the liberal. This was equally the case with the king and the beggar, the soldier and the monk, the husband and the wife: master neither of his reason, nor of his conscience, every one was doomed to be led, and guides he could not want. Now as man is an indolent animal, and, when once accustomed to have his mind under spiritual direction, cannot easily dispense with it, but rather commends this soft yoke to his posterity, as the pillow of a sick soul; the dominion of the church was hereby interwoven most intimately into the believer's frame. With his reason and conscience she had every thing in her power: it was a trifle, that, sowing her spiritual seed, she reaped his temporal harvest; she was surely the heir of him, whom resignation had stamped her sole property during life.

2. *To guide this faith, the church employed not the greatest, the most important means, but the least, and most comprehensible; well knowing how little satisfies men's devotion.* A crucifix, a picture of Mary and her child, a mass, a rosary, promoted her object more than many refined reasonings would have done: and even these implements she managed with the most frugal diligence. Where a mass was sufficient, it was not necessary to eat the Lord's supper: when a low mass would answer the purpose, high mass was not required: if a man ate the transubstantiated bread, he might dispense with the transubstantiated wine. This economy afforded the church opportunity for innumerable indulgences, and unexpensive presents: for even the most frugal economist may be defied, to make more of a little water, bread, or wine, a string of glass or wooden beads, a lock of wool, a little ointment, or a cross, than was made by the church of Rome. It was the same with rituals, prayers, and ceremonies. They were never invented and established in vain: old ceremonies remain, though new are adapted to more modern times: pious posterity must and will be saved after the manner of their fathers. Still less has the church retracted any of the faults committed by her: when too glaring, indeed, they have been artfully glossed over; otherwise every thing has remained as it was, and, when opportunity offered, not corrected, but enlarged. Before Heaven was peopled with saints in this prudent way, the church was filled with wealth and miracles: and even with regard to the miracles of their saints the inventive powers of the narrators have been at little expense. Every thing was repeated, and built on the grand principles of the popular, the comprehensible, and the familiar: for the frequent and bold repetition of what is least credible challenges belief, and at length obtains it.

3. With this principle of the smallest means the romish policy contrived fo

to combine the *most refined* and the *most gross*, that it would be difficult to exceed it in either. No one could be more humble, cajoling, and suppliant, than the popes, in time of need, or towards those who were liberal, and prompt to serve them; at one time it is a tender father, at another St. Peter, that speaks through their mouth: but no one could write or act with more openness and vigour, with more coarseness and severity, when it was requisite. They never disputed, but decreed: an artful boldness, which pursues its own course, in spite of tears, or prayers, or demands, or threats, or defiance, or punishment, distinguishes the language of the romish bulls, almost without a parallel. Hence the peculiar tone of the laws, mandates, and decretals of the church, in the middle ages, singularly different from the dignity of the ancient roman legislation: the servant of Christ is accustomed to speak to laics, or those under his immediate control, always certain of his object, never retracting his words. This holy despotism, glossed with paternal authority, has done more than the empty courtesy of frivolous state policy, in which no one confides. It knew its object, and how obedience was to be ensured.

4. *The romish policy attached itself to no particular object of civil society in preference: it existed for itself; it employed every thing, that was of use to it; it could annihilate every thing, that was an obstacle to it: for it depended solely on itself. An ecclesiastical state, which lived at the expense of all christian states, could not fail to be of service now to science, now to morality and order, to agriculture, arts, or commerce, when it suited its purpose: but that papacy was never truly inclined to promote the diffusion of genuine knowledge, the advancement to an improved form of government, and whatever is connected with it, is apparent from all the history of the middle ages. The best germe might be crushed, if it were at all dangerous: and the more learned papist must conceal or accommodate his knowledge, the moment it interfered with the eternal interest of the see of Rome. On the other hand, whatever promoted this interest, arts, taxes, municipal mutinies, or donations of lands, were cherished and managed for the greater glory of God. In every movement the church was the fixed centre of the universe.*

5. *The romish political supremacy might employ whatever was conducive to this object: war and devastation, fire and sword, death and imprisonment, forged writings, perjury on the holy sacrament, inquisitorial tribunals and interdictions, poverty and disgrace, temporal and eternal misery. To stir up a country against its prince, it might be deprived of all the means of salvation, except at the hour of death: the keys of Peter exercised an authority over the laws of God and man, over the rights of individuals and of nations.*

6. *And as all the gates of Hell were not to prevail against this edifice*; as this system of canonical institutions, the power of the keys to bind and to loosen, the magic power of holy signs, the gift of the spirit, transmitted from Peter to his successors, and those whom they consecrated, preached nothing but eternity; who can imagine a more deeply rooted empire? The clerical order were it's own, body and soul: with shaven heads, and irrevocable vows, they were it's servants to eternity. The bond that connected the priest to the church was indissoluble: he was deprived of child, of wife, of father, and of heir: cut off from the fruitful tree of the human species, he was engrafted into the barren evergreen of the church; and his honour was thenceforward it's honour, his profit it's profit: no change of mind, no repentance, for him, till his slavery was terminated by death. In recompense the church opened to these it's vassals an ample field of reward, a lofty ladder, leading them, though servants, to wealth and extensive command, to dominion over all the free and great ones of the Earth. It held out honours to tempt the ambitious, devotion to stimulate the devout, and for every one his proper bait and reward. This legislation, too, has this peculiarity; that, as long as a fragment of it remains, the whole exists; and, with each individual maxim, all must be followed: for it is the rock of Peter, from which the fisherman casts his indestructible net; it is the garment without seam, that can be the lot only of *one*, though soldiers play for it.

7. And who was this *one*, at the head of the sacred college at Rome? Never a whimpering child, to whom men had taken the oath of fealty perhaps in his very cradle, and thereby vowed submission to all his future freaks; never a playful boy, with whom men sought to creep into favour by indulging him in all his youthful follies, that they might afterwards become the spoiled children of his caprice: a man of ripe years, or silvered with age, was elected, already for the most part practised in the affairs of the church, and acquainted with the field, to which he was to appoint labourers; or one closely allied with the princes of his time, and chosen at a critical period, precisely for the difficulty, which he had to surmount. He had but few years to live, and no posterity for whom he could legitimately make provision: and if he did this, it was but as a drop in the great ocean of the catholic pontificate. The interest of the see of Rome was progressive: the experienced old man was only set up, that he also might put his name to what had been done. Many popes sunk under the burden: others, versed in law and politics, bold, and steady, performed more in a few years, than a weak government could have accomplished in half a century. Were only the most eminently great and worthy popes to be enumerated, they

would present a long catalogue of names, many of which must excite our regret, that they who bore them could not be employed to some other purpose. Fewer effeminate debauchees by far have worn the roman tiara than secular crowns; and of many of these the faults are striking only because they were the faults of popes.

CHAPTER II.

Effect of the Hierarchy on Europe.

FIRST of all it is proper to consider the benefits, that christianity, even in this garb, must from its nature confer. Compassionate toward the poor and oppressed, it took them under its protection from the wild devastation of the barbarians: many bishops in Gaul, Spain, Germany, and Italy, have proved this as saints. Their habitations and the temples were asylums for the oppressed: they redeemed slaves, liberated prisoners, and repressed the horrible traffic in human beings, carried on by the barbarians, wherever it was in their power. This merit of clemency and generosity to the oppressed part of the human species cannot be refused to the principles of christianity: from its infancy it laboured for the deliverance of man, as is evinced even by many impolitic laws of the eastern emperors. But this benefit was still more indispensable in the western church; and many decrees of the bishops in Spain, Gaul, and Germany, inculcate it, even without the assistance of the pope.

It is also incontestible, that, in times of general insecurity, temples and convents were the sanctuaries, in which peaceful industry and trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactures, found refuge. Ecclesiastics established annual fairs, still bearing in honour of them the name of *masses* *, and protected them with the peace of God, when no royal or imperial proclamation could give them security. Artists and mechanics retreated within the walls of the convent, as a safeguard against the nobles, who would have held them in a state of vassalage. Monks pursued neglected husbandry, both with their own hands, and by means of others: they prepared whatever was necessary for their convents, or at least afforded a place for a monastic application to the arts, and bestowed on them a frugal reward. The remains of ancient authors were saved from destruction in convents; and, being occasionally transcribed, were thus transf-

* The term *messe* is equally applied, in Germany, to the religious office named a mass, and to the great meeting of traders, called a fair; the most important of which are held about easter and michaelmas, when a great deal of business is transacted. T.

mitted to posterity. Lastly, by means of divine service a slight clew was preserved, such as it was, in the latin language, which afterwards led men back to the literature of the ancients, and thus to improvement in knowledge. For such times were convents adapted, which afforded even the pilgrim security and protection, food, lodging, and conveniencies. Journeys of this kind first brought nations peaceably together; for the pilgrim's staff was a defence, where the sword would have been of little avail: and through their means was acquired a knowledge of foreign countries; while at the same time tales, narratives, romances, and poetry, were cherished by them though in their rudest infancy.

All this is undeniably true: but as much of it might have taken place without the bishop of Rome, let us inquire what advantages his spiritual sovereignty may properly be said to have brought to Europe?

1. *The conversion of many heathen nations.* But in what manner were they converted? Frequently by fire and sword, by secret tribunals, and wars of extirpation. Let it not be said, that the bishop of Rome ordered none of these: he approved them, enjoyed their fruits, and copied them, when it was in his power. Hence that tribunal of the inquisition, at which psalms were chaunted; hence those croisading missions, the plunder of which was shared by popes and princes, knights, prelates, canons, and priests. They who escaped destruction were reduced to the state of vassalage, in which they for the most part still continue. Thus was christian Europe rounded: thus were kingdoms erected, and their crowns conferred by popes: and thus was the cross of Christ afterwards carried as the signal of death into every quarter of the Globe. America yet smokes with the blood of her slain; and the enslaved nations of Europe still curse their converters. And you, innumerable victims of the inquisition, in the south of France, in Spain, and in other quarters of the World! your bones are mouldered into dust, and your ashes are dispersed by the winds: but the story of the barbarities exercised towards you remains, an eternal appelland in behalf of human nature outraged in you.

2. To the hierarchy is ascribed the merit of *having united all the nations of Europe in one christian republic.* But in what did this consist? That all nations should kneel before one cross, and hear one mass, was something, but not much. That they should all be governed by Rome in spiritual affairs, was not of any inestimable advantage to them: for they groaned under the weight of the tribute they sent thither, and an innumerable army of monks and ecclesiastics, nuncios and legates. Peace between the european powers then there was less than now; owing, among other things, to the system of false policy,

which the pope himself cherished in Europe. Christianity stopped the piratical depredations of heathenism: but powerful christian nations rubbed hard against each other; and all were full of disorder within, animated by a spiritual and temporal thirst of plunder. This double sovereignty, too, a papal state within every state, prevented each kingdom from recurring to its principles; to which men have turned their attention only since they have been free from the supremacy of the pope. Europe, therefore, has shown itself as a christian republic only toward the infidels; and this not often to its honour: for the croisades can scarcely be deemed deserving of fame, even by the epic poet.

3. It has been reckoned to the honour of the hierarchy, that it served to *balance the despotism of the princes and nobles, and exalt the lower classes of men.* True as this is, as to the matter of fact, it must be admitted with great limitations. The original constitution of the germanic nations was properly so repugnant to all despotism, that, if this disease of the mind were to be learned, it would be much less difficult to maintain, that the bishops taught it to the kings. For instance, the oriental or monastic notion of blind submission to the will of the ruler was first introduced into the jurisprudence and education of the people by the bishops, who derived it from abuse of Scripture, from Rome, and from their own order: they converted the office of the sovereign into an idle dignity, and infused into him presumption with the oil of divine right. Those who were employed by kings, to establish their despotic power, were almost always ecclesiastics: if these were but well fed with presents and privileges, they little scrupled the sacrifice of others. Then, too, were not the secular princes in general preceded, or at least zealously emulated by the bishops, in extending their powers and privileges? and did not these sanctify the unjust booty? The pope, lastly, as lord paramount of kings, and despot of despots, decided by right divine. In the time of the carlovingian, frank, and suabian emperors, he indulged himself in pretensions, on which a laic could not have ventured without universal disapprobation; and the single life of the emperor Frederic II, of the house of Suabia, from his minority under the guardianship of a pope, of all others most learned in the law, to his own and the death of his grandson Conradin, may serve as a summary of what may be said of the supremacy of the pope over the princes of Europe. The blood of this house can never be washed out from the apostolical chair. What a tremendous height, to be the sovereign lord over all the kings and countries of christendom! Of this Gregory VII, certainly no ordinary man, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII, are glaring examples.

4. *The great institutions of the hierarchy in all catholic countries are palpable;*

and probably the sciences would long ago have been reduced to beggary, had they not received a support, though scanty, in the crumbs that fell from these ancient holy tables. Let us not, however, mistake the spirit of the times. Agriculture was not the principal object of any benedictine monk, but cloistered devotion. He ceased to work, as soon as he could dispense with labour: and how considerable was the portion of the sums he gained that went to Rome, or were consumed for purposes, on which they ought not to have been employed! The useful benedictines were followed by a series of other orders, advantages to the hierarchy indeed, but then extremely burdensome to arts and science, to the state and to mankind; the mendicants in particular. All these, with the nuns of every description, the brothers and sisters of mercy perhaps alone excepted, were suited only to those harsh, unenlightened, barbarian times. Who would now found a convent according to the rules of Benedict, to promote the cultivation of the ground? or a cathedral, that an annual fair might be held under its protection? Who would expect from a monk instructions in the theory of commerce; from the bishop of Rome, the best system of political economy; or from the teacher in ordinary of a chapter, the most perfect form of education? Still every thing, that promoted science, morality, order, and gentleness of manners, though but collaterally, was of inestimable value.

In this class, however, the forced vows of chastity, idleness, and monastic poverty, are to be reckoned at no time, and in no religious sect. They were indispensable to the supremacy of the papal chair; which found it necessary to break every tie, by which the servants of the church were connected with society, that they might live for it alone: but to mankind they were never adapted, never beneficial. Let any one lead a life of celibacy, beg, sing psalms, count beads, and scourge himself, who can and will: but to whom can it appear a subject of praise, or of approbation, that confraternities of this sort should be favoured with privileges, benefices, and an eternal salary, under the protection of the public, nay under the seal of sanctity and supererogatory merit, at the expense of active, useful industry, a virtuous domestic life, nay the desires and propensities of our very nature itself? The amorous sighs of pining nuns, the furtive gratifications of monks, the secret and crying sins of ecclesiastics, their infringements of the matrimonial tie, the accumulation of property in mortmain, the pampered ambition of the isolated body of the clergy, and every irregularity, that must necessarily grow out of it, gave Gregory the VIIth no concern; but their consequences stand conspicuous in the page of history.

5. The *pilgrimages* of holy idlers, too, deserve no great commendation. Where they were not immediately subservient to commerce and the arts in a clandestine manner, they contributed but very imperfectly and casually to the knowledge of men and countries. Certainly it was very commodious, under the sacred garb of a pilgrim to find every where security, in beneficent convents food and repose, on every road travelling companions, and at last, in the shade of a temple, or sacred grove, the desired comfort and absolution. But if the pleasing revery be reduced to the standard of truth, we shall frequently detect, beneath the holy palmer's weeds, some malefactor, desirous of atoning for flagrant crimes by an easy pilgrimage, or some insane devotee, who has forsaken house and home, perhaps bestowed all he had on some convent, renounced the first duties of his condition, or of man, to remain for the rest of his life a rotten limb of society, a haitnad, arrogant, or dissolute fool. The life of a pilgrim had seldom any claim to sanctity; and the maintenance, which they still derive from certain states at the chief places of their resort, is an actual robbery of the country. The single circumstances, that this pious rage of performing pilgrimages to Jerusalem produced among other things the croisades, gave birth to many ecclesiastical orders, and miserably depopulated Europe, alone bear sufficient testimony against them; and if missionaries made them their stalking-horse, they had certainly no good purpose in view.

6. Lastly, much may be urged against *the colloquial latin of the monks*, the *band* by which all roman catholic countries were unquestionably united. This not only contributed, to keep the vernacular languages of the nations that inhabited Europe, and with them the people themselves, in an uncultivated state; but it was particularly instrumental in depriving the people of their last share in public affairs, because they were ignorant of latin. The public business of the nation lost a great part of the national character, with the vernacular tongue; while with the monkish latin crept in that pious monkish spirit, which could flatter, ensnare, or even falsify, as it saw occasion. The writing of all the public acts of the nations of Europe in general, their laws, decrees, testaments, commercial instruments, titledeeds, and likewise history, for so many centuries, in latin, could not be otherwise than advantageous to the clergy, as the body of the learned, and prejudicial to the nation. The cultivation of it's mother tongue alone can lift a nation out of a state of barbarism: and this very reason kept Europe so long barbarous; a foreign language fettering for near ten centuries the natural organs of it's inhabitants, robbing them even of the remains of their monuments, and rendering a native code of laws, a native constitution, and a national history, utterly unattainable by them for so

long a period. The ruffian history alone is founded on documents in the language of the country; and this is owing to the state having remained unconnected with the hierarchy of the pope of Rome, whose legates Wladimir would not receive. In all other countries of Europe the monkish language has stifled every thing susceptible of being stifled by it, and is to be commended only as a language of necessity, or the slender plank, on which the literature of antiquity saved itself for better times.

These restrictions of the praise of the middle ages I have written with reluctance. I am fully sensible of the value, that many institutions of the hierarchy possess even with respect to us; and of the necessity of the times, in which they were formed; and I delight to wander amid the awful gloom of their venerable piles. As a coarse medium of conveyance to us, capable of withstanding the storms of barbarism, it is estimable, and evinces both the ability and circumspection of those, who committed treasures to it's charge; but it would be absurd to ascribe to it an absolute and permanent value for all ages. When the seed is ripe, the integument bursts.

CHAPTER III.

Temporal Protectors of the Church.

THE kings of germanic tribes and nations were originally generals appointed by election, the superintendants, the chief judges of the people. As soon as they came to be anointed by bishops, they were kings by divine right, the protectors of the church of their country. When the pope inaugurated the roman emperor, he appointed himself his coadjutor: he the Sun, the emperor the Moon, the other kings the stars, of the catholic church. This system, planned in darkness, was first brought out in the twilight, but soon glared into broad day. Already the son of Charlemagne laid down his sceptre at the command of the bishops, and would not again take it up, without their fresh injunction: under his successors the compact was frequently repeated, that the kings should consider their spiritual and temporal orders as coadjutors in the affairs of the church and of the state. Lastly, the Pseudo Isidorus made the principle universal, that the power of the keys authorized the pope, to lay princes and kings under his ban, and declare them incapable of ruling their states. Over the roman imperial crown in particular the pope arrogated to himself many rights, and they were not disputed. Henry of Saxony styled himself only king of Germany, till he was inaugurated emperor by the pope. Otto, and

his successors down to Frederic II, received from the pope the imperial sceptre, and imagined they thus acquired precedency, or indeed a sort of sovereignty, over all the kings of christendom. They, who often found it difficult to govern their german dominions, were offended when any thing, of which they did not confer the investiture, was taken from the grecian empire: they made war upon the heathen, and placed bishops in those lands. When the pope created a christian king in Hungary, the first christian prince in Poland was a vassal of the german empire, and many wars afterward arose on account of this 1000. feudal dependency. The emperor Henry II received from the pope the golden imperial ball, as an emblem, that the World belonged to him: and Frederic II was laid under the pope's ban, because he declined the croisade he was enjoined to undertake. A council deposed him: the pope declared the imperial throne vacant; and so low was it degraded, that no foreign prince would accept it. Thus the christian Sun had proved a bad assistant to his Moon; as the protection of christendom had at length reduced the german emperor to a state of inability to protect himself. He was to travel about, hold diets and tribunals, and confer fiefs, sceptres, and crowns, according to the directions of the pope; who, from his seat on the Tiber, governed the World by his legates, bulls, and interdictions. There is not a catholic kingdom in Europe, which has not considered it's king as a protector of the church, under the sovereign guidance of the pope: nay for a certain period this was the public law of Europe*.

All the internal regulations of kingdoms could not avoid being conformable to this notion: for the church was not in the state, but the state in the church.

1. As the spiritual and temporal orders every where composed the states of the kingdom, the most important political, military, and feudal customs were stamped as it were with the seal of the church. The kings held their grand court-days on the ecclesiastical festivals: the ceremony of crowning them was performed in churches: their coronation oath was taken on the gospels, and on relics: their dress, their crown, and their sword, were consecrated. They themselves were considered, in consequence of their office, as servants of the church; and enjoyed the privileges of the clerical order. All the festivities of the state

* Leibnitz has touched upon this notion in many of his writings, and occasionally admitted it in his historical system. Puettter's *Geschichte der Entwicklung der Deutschen Staatsverfassung*, 'History of the Development of the

German Constitution,' gives a fine clew to it, which, in former times, led every statift, after his manner, to the prerogatives or pretensions of the german empire.

were more or less connected with masses and religion. The first sword given to the bachelor knight was consecrated upon the altar; and when knighthood in time arrived at the solemnities of an order, one third of these consisted in religious ceremonies. Piety took its place in the order with love and honour: for it was the professed object of all the orders of chivalry, to draw the sword in defence of christendom, as well as of injured innocence and virtue. Christ and the apostles, the mother of God, and other saints, had long been the patrons of christendom, of all conditions and offices, of particular companies of mechanics, churches, abbeys, castles, and families: their images soon became the banners of armies, standards, seals: their names, the watchword, and the shout of onset. Men took up their swords at the reading of the Gospel; and went to battle with a *kyrie eleison**. Practices of this kind so prepared the way for war against heretics, heathens, and infidels, that a loud cry, well timed, and accompanied with spiritual ensigns and promises, was sufficient to set all Europe on the saracens, albigenses, slavians, prussians, and poles. Nay the knight and the monk could coalesce in the singular shape of a spiritual order of chivalry: and in particular cases bishops, abbots, and even popes themselves, exchanged the crozier for the sword.

The abovementioned foundation of the kingdom of Hungary by the hand of the pope affords us a brief example of these manners. The emperor and the empire had long considered, how the savage and often defeated hungarians might be reduced to a state of tranquillity. Their conversion to christianity was the sole mean, by which it could be effected: and this being accomplished after considerable labour, a king educated in the christian religion, St. Stephen, pursuing himself the work of conversion, an apostolical crown, probably an avarian robbery, was sent him; he received, too, the holy lance, or hungarian battle-axe, and St. Stephen's sword, to protect and extend the church toward all quarters of the Globe; and, at the same time, the imperial ball, the episcopal glove, and the crozier. He was appointed the pope's legate; and delayed not, to found a canonry at Rome, a convent at Constantinople, and hospitals, hostels, and religious houses, at Ravenna and Jerusalem; to turn the road of the pilgrims through his country; to invite priests, bishops, and monks, from Greece, Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Venice: to erect the archbishopric of Gran, with a number of bishoprics, and convents; and to make of the bishops, who were not exempt from the duties of the field, one of the estates of his kingdom. He promulgated a code, the spiritual part of which

* 'The Lord have mercy upon us:' the form of solemn invocation in the romish liturgy. T.

was borrowed from capitularies of the west, particularly those of the franks, and ecclesiastical decrees of Mentz; and left it to his successors, as the fundamental law of the new christian kingdom. This was the spirit of the times: the whole constitution of Hungary, the relations and condition of its inhabitants, were built upon it: and it was the same in Poland, in Naples and Sicily, in Denmark, and in Sweden, with some trifling variations, according to the circumstances of time and place. All floated on the ocean of the church; the episcopal power formed the starboard side of the vessel; the feudal system, the larboard; the king, or the emperor, served as a sail; and the pope stood at the helm.

2. In all kingdoms the *administration of justice* was arch-catholic. The customs and statutes of the people must bend before the decrees of the pope and ecclesiastical councils: nay, before the roman jurisprudence prevailed, the canon law was introduced. It cannot be denied, that many rude asperities of the people were thus rubbed off: for even when Religion stooped to consecrate the trial by combat, or exchange it for the ordeal, she laid these under some restraint, and at least reduced superstition within less pernicious limits*. Abbots and bishops were the arbitrators of peace and ministers of divine justice upon Earth: ecclesiastics, for the most part, were the clerks of courts of justice, the makers of laws, ordinances, and capitularies, and often ambassadors on the most important occasions. The judicial authority, which they enjoyed among the heathen of the north, was retained among the christians; till, at a late period, they were thrust out of their seats by the doctors of law. Monks and confessors were often the oracles of princes; and in the vile affair of the cruades, St. Bernard was the oracle of Europe.

3. The little *physic* of the middle ages, except what was practised by the arabs and jews, was in the hands of the clergy; whence, as among the northern pagans, it was a tissue of superstition. The devil and the cross, relics and set forms of words, acted the most conspicuous parts in it; for the true knowledge of nature, a few traditions excepted, had vanished from Europe. Hence so many diseases, that with infectious rage traversed whole countries, under the appellations of the leprosy, the plague, the black death, St. Vitus's dance: no one resisted their progress, for no one was acquainted with them, or knew their proper remedies. Uncleanliness in dress, the want of linen, confined habita-

* No one, to my knowledge, has shown the good effects of the ecclesiastical domination in tranquillizing the then turbulent World, and promoting the cultivation of the land, in a more instructive and philosophical manner, than John Mueller, in his *Schweizerergeschichte*, 'History of Switzerland.' This side is not to be overlooked, though it is but one side.

tions, and even the imagination clouded by superstition, could not fail to promote them. It would have been a truly guardian office, if all Europe had combined, under the direction of the emperor, the pope, and the church, against the influx of such pests, as real works of the devil, and left neither small-pox, plague, nor leprosy, in their land: but they were permitted to enter, rage, and destroy, till the poison exhausted itself. To the church, however, we are indebted for the few institutions formed to counteract them: that was done as a work of compassion, which men yet wanted skill to perform as a work of art*.

4. The *sciences* were not so properly in the state, as in the church. What the church thought fit was written and taught: all issued from the schools of monks: accordingly the monkish manner of thinking prevailed in the few literary productions, that then appeared. Even history was written for the church, not for the state, for very few except monks read; and hence the best authors of the middle ages smack of the cloister. Legends and romances, to which the invention was then confined, paced round in a narrow circle: for few writings of the ancients had any circulation, so that few ideas had an opportunity of being compared, and the images christianity then afforded were soon exhausted. Besides, this allowed no poetical mythology: a few circumstances from the ancient history, or fables, of Rome and Troy, interspersed with the occurrences of more recent times, formed all the rude scenes of the poetry of the middle ages. And as soon as these began to be diffused in the language of the country, spiritual subjects were brought forward, with a singular intermixture of heroic fables, and tales of chivalry. On the whole, neither popes nor emperors † gave themselves any concern about literature, considered as a mean of diffusing knowledge; the science of jurisprudence alone excepted, which was indispensable, to support the pretensions of both: A pope like Gerbert, who loved the sciences as a man of learning, was a phoenix indeed: the ship of the church was ballasted with the sciences of the convent.

5. In like manner, of the *arts* those only were cherished, without which neither churches, nor castles, nor towers, could exist. Gothic architecture, as

* The histories of the small-pox, plague, leprosy, &c., are known from the writings of many skilful physicians; who have likewise proposed means for eradicating these evils, and in some degree accomplished their purpose. Good accounts of the art of physic, and the medical establishments, of the middle ages, with remarks, may be found in Mœhler's

Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Mark Brandenburg, 'History of Sciences in the Marche of Brandenburg.'

† The particular exceptions to this melancholy truth will be noticed in the following book. Here the subject is merely the spirit of the times.

it is called, so thoroughly accorded with the spirit of the times, the religion and way of life, the wants and climate, of it's contemporaries; that it fashioned itself as individually and seasonably, as monkery or knighthood, or as the hierarchy and feudal system. Among the inferiour arts such maintained and improved themselves, as were employed in adorning the arms of the knight, and in the decorations and ceremonies of the church, the castle, or the convent: their productions were sculpture and mosaic, painted windows and illuminated books, representations of saints, tapestry, shrines for relics, pixes, chalices, and goblets. From these, not excluding church music, or the huntsman's horn, the revival of the arts in Europe commenced: how different from what was once in Greece *!

6. The *trade and commerce* of Europe, too, received their broad and deeply indented outline from the all-grasping ecclesiastical and feudal systems. The noblest tutelary offices of emperors and kings were unquestionably their delivering towns from plundering violence, and artists and tradesmen from the yoke of vassalage; their protecting and promoting the free exercise of industry and commerce, by justice, exemption from imposts, peaceable fairs, and secure roads; their endeavouring to annihilate the barbarian right of wreck, and to exonerate the useful inhabitants of the town and country from other oppressive burdens: to all which the church very honourably contributed †. The bold idea of Frederic II, however, to abolish all guilds and confraternities in his towns, went far beyond his age, like many others of his active mind. Corporate bodies were still necessary, in which, as in the systems of chivalry and monachism, all should be answerable for each, and, even in the most trifling occupations, the learner should rise by degrees; as the monk or the soldier rose in his order. In both, every higher step was accompanied with similar festivities; and the spirit of guilds and associations was extended even to commerce. It's greatest combination, the hanse itself, arose from fraternities of merchants, who first travelled about like pilgrims: danger and necessity by sea and land extended the union higher and farther, till at length, under the protection of

* A history of the arts in the middle ages, particularly of gothic architecture as it is called, in their different periods, would be a work well deserving perusal: a selection of such essays as deserve general notice, from the works of the British Antiquary Society, would serve as a preliminary to it.

† Fisher's History of the Trade of Germany has already been quoted as a collection of important inquiries: from it, and other publica-

tions of modern days, might be collected materials for a General History of Trade and Navigation, very different from that which was published at Breslaw in 1754, or from what was in Anderson's power to give in his valuable History of Commerce. A history of the arts, manufactures, guilds, towns, and municipal laws, of the middle ages, is likewise a desirable work.

European Christendom, such a widespread *commercial republic* arose, as the World had otherwise never seen. Afterwards the universities were similar guilds: gothic institutions, such as neither Greeks, Romans, nor Asiatics, ever knew; but, as institutions of monachism and chivalry, indispensable to the times, and beneficial to future ages by the preservation of the sciences. In the middle ages, too, a particular *municipal law* arose; very different from that of the Romans, but erected on the basis of liberty and security, according to German principles, and productive of industry, arts, and subsistence, on every favourable soil. It bears marks of its origin amid the pressure of princes, nobles, and ecclesiastics; yet operated powerfully on the civilization of Europe. In short whatever could arise under the compressed arch of the hierarchy, feudal system, and tutelary superintendance, has arisen: the firm edifice of gothic architecture seems to want but one thing, light. Let us see in what singular ways it acquired this.

CHAPTER IV.

Kingdoms of the Arabs.

THE Arabian peninsula is one of the most distinguished regions of the Earth, apparently intended by Nature herself, to stamp a peculiar character on its nation. The great desert between Syria and Egypt, extending from Aleppo to the Euphrates, afforded, like a southern Tatar, ample room for the predatory and pastoral life, and has been possessed by tribes of wandering Arabs from the remotest periods. The mode of life of these people, to whom a town appeared a prison; their pride of an ancient indigenous origin, of their god, their rich and poetic language, their noble horses, their sword and bow, with every thing else which they fancied sacred to themselves; seem to have prepared the Arabs for a part, which in due time they performed in three quarters of the Globe, in a manner very different from the Tatars of the north.

Even in the age of ignorance, as they call their ancient history, they extended themselves beyond their peninsula: in Irak and Syria they had founded small kingdoms; some of their tribes dwelt in Egypt; the Abyssinians were descended from them; the whole of the African desert appeared to be their inheritance. Their peninsula was separated from the great body of Asia by the desert, which protected them against the frequent expeditions of its conquerors: they remained free, and proud of their descent, of the nobility of their families, of their unconquered valour, and their uncontaminated language. With this

they were the centre of the southern and eastern trade; and consequently in the way of acquiring the knowledge of all the nations, that carried on this trade, in which, from the happy situation of their country, they could not avoid taking part. Thus at an early period an intellectual culture arose here, which the Altai or Ural could never have produced: the arabian language formed itself to an ingenuity in figurative eloquence and prudential apophthegms, long before they, by whom it was spoken, knew how to commit them to writing. On their Sinai the hebrews received their law, and among them they almost always dwelt. When christians arose, and persecuted each other, christian sects also repaired to them. Could it be otherwise, then, that from the mixture of jewish, christian, and native ideas, among such a people, with such a language, a new flower in due time should appear? and when it appeared, could it fail, from this point between three quarters of the Globe, to obtain the most extensive spread from commerce, wars, foreign expeditions, and books? Thus the odoriferous shrub of arabian fame, springing from such an arid soil, is a very natural phenomenon, the moment a man arose, who knew how to rear it into blossom.

In the beginning of the seventh century this man did arise; a singular compound of whatever the nation, tribe, time, and country, could produce; merchant, prophet, orator, poet, hero, and legislator; all after the arabian manner. *Mohammed* * was born of the noblest tribe in Arabia, the guardian of the purest dialect, and of the Caaba, the ancient sanctuary of the nation; a boy of considerable beauty, not rich, but educated in the family of a man of consequence. Already in his youth he had enjoyed the honour of replacing the sacred black stone in its former situation, in the name of the whole people: circumstances brought him early acquainted, on his commercial journeys, with other nations and religions, and led him to the acquisition of considerable property. The praises bestowed on him as an extraordinary youth, the dignity of his tribe and family, and his early employment in the affair of the Caaba, no doubt operated powerfully on his mind; the impression he had received of the state of christianity united with these; before him stood mount Sinai decorated with a hundred tales from ancient history; the belief in divine inspirations and missions was common to all these religions, natural to the national way of thinking, and flattering to his own character:

* Not to mention Sale's Introduction to the Koran, Gagnier's Life of Mohammed, and other writers, who have resorted to arabian documents, Brequigni, in his Essay on Mohammed, which is separately translated into german, has given some excellent observations on his situation and mission.

all these probably acted so deeply on his mind, in the fifteen years during which he led a life of contemplation, that he believed *himself*, the koreith, *himself* the distinguished man, chosen to restore the doctrines and duties of the religion of his fathers, and to reveal himself as a servant of God. Not the dream of his celestial journey alone, but his life, and the Koran itself, evince the fervour of his imagination, and that no artfully concerted deception was necessary to the persuasion of his prophetic call. Mohammed came forward on the stage, not in the ebullition of youthful blood, but in the fortieth year of his age; first as the prophet of his house, who revealed himself only to few, and gained scarcely six followers in three years: and when, at the celebrated feast of Ali, he had announced his mission to forty persons of his tribe, he thenceforward exposed himself freely to every thing a prophet has to expect from the opposition of the incredulous. His followers justly compute their time from the year of his flight to *Yatreb* (Medina): in Mecca his undertaking would have miscarried, if his life had not been lost.

Thus, if detestation of the barbarous idolatry, which he saw practised by his tribe, and imagined he perceived in christianity; with an ardent zeal for the doctrine of the unity of God, and a mode of serving him by purity, devotion, and beneficence; appear to have been the grounds of his prophetic mission: corrupted traditions of christians and jews, the poetical way of thinking of his nation, the dialect of his tribe, and his personal talents, may be considered as the wings, that bore him above and out of himself. His Koran, that wonderful mixture of poetry, eloquence, ignorance, sagacity, and arrogance, is a mirror of his mind; displaying his talents and defects, his faults and propensities, the self-deception and necessary pretext with which he imposed upon himself and others, much more perspicuously, than any other Koran of any prophet. He delivered it in separate fragments, as they were called for by occasional circumstances, or when his mind was rapt by contemplation, without thinking of a written system: it consisted of the ebullitions of his imagination, or prophetic discourses of censure and exhortation, at which at other times he himself was astonished, as something above his powers, as a divine gift entrusted to his charge. Hence, like all men of strong minds under the influence of self-deception, he required faith, which at length he contrived to extort even from his bitterest enemies. Scarcely was he lord of Arabia, when he sent his apostles to all the neighbouring kingdoms, Persia, Ethiopia, Yemen, nay to the greek emperor himself; considering his doctrines, local as they were, as the religion of all nations. The stern expressions that fell from him, when his ambassadors returned, and brought him the refusals of the kings; together with the celebrated passage of

the Koran, in the chapter of the Declaration of Immunity *; afforded his successors sufficient grounds, to pursue the conversion of nations, from which the prophet was prevented by his early death. To this, alas, christianity taught him the way; christianity, the first of all religions, that imposed its belief upon foreign nations, as the necessary condition of salvation: the arab, however, converted not by means of women, monks, and underhand practices, but in a manner suited to an inhabitant of the wilderness, with sword in hand, and the authoritative demand, 'belief, or tribute!'

After Mohammed's death, war spread itself over Babylon, Syria, Persia, and Egypt, like the burning wind of the desert. The arabs went to battle, as to the service of God, armed with texts of the Koran, and the hopes of Paradise. At the same time they wanted not personal virtue: for as the first khalifs of the house of Mohammed were just, temperate, and excellent men, their blind zeal excepted; so their armies were led by valiant and able generals, as Khaled, Amru, Abu-Obeidah, and many others. They found the empires of the persians and greeks so badly constituted, the christian sects so inveterate in their hatred to each other, perfidy, voluptuousness, selfishness, treachery, pride, vanity, cruelty, and oppression, so universally prevalent, that in the dreadful history of these wars we seem to read a fable of a troop of lions breaking into the folds of sheep and goats, into farms abounding with fat oxen, gaudy peacocks, and helpless lambs. These degenerate people were for the most part a contemptible race, deserving to ride upon asses, as incapable of managing the generous steed, and unworthy the cross upon their churches, which they were unable to defend. What pomp of patriarchs, priests, and monks, in these rich and extensive regions, was now laid at once in the dust!

With this was sunk in a moment, as by an earthquake, the remains of that ancient grecian cultivation and roman grandeur, which christianity was incapable of demolishing. The most ancient cities of the World, and with them innumerable treasures, fell into the hands of valiant robbers, who at first scarcely knew the worth of gold. Above all we have to lament the fate, that befel the remains of science. John the Grammarian begged the library of Alexandria (what would the fool have done with the present?), on which the conqueror, Amru, had never once thought. The petition was referred to the khalif Omar, who answered it by that celebrated argument, which deserves for

* • Fight against them who believe not in God, nor in the last day, who forbid not that which God, and his apostle, have forbidden, and who profess not the true religion, of those unto whom the Scriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of subjection, and they be reduced low.' Koran [Sale's version, chap. IX.]

ever to hear the name of the khalif's fyllogifm * ; and the books were committed to the flames. Above a thousand warm baths were heated with them constantly for fix months ; and thus the moft precious thoughts, the moft indifpenfable records, the moft elaborate fystems in the World, with every thing that depended upon them for ages to come, was at once loft through the foolifh request of a grammarian, and the pious fimplicity of a khalif. Gladly would the arabs have recovered this treasure, when a century afterwards they were fenfible of it's value.

Almost immediately after the death of Mohammed diffenfions arofe, which, on the deceafe of Ofman, the third khalif, might foon have checked the conquests of the arabs, if the valiant, honeft, long oppreffed Ali, and his fon Haffan, had not eftablifhed the houfe of the Ommiades. In the perfon of Moawiyah this now feated itfelf in the high prieft's chair, of which it maintained the hereditary poffeffion for ninety-years. Damascus was made the feat of the khalifs : the arabs foon became a maritime power : and, under an hereditary government, splendour affumed the place of the former fimplicity of the court. In Syria, Mefopotamia, Afia Minor, and Africa, indeed, the work of conquest ftill went on : Conftantinople was more than once befieged, but in vain : under Al Waled, Turkeftan was taken, and an inroad made even into India : Tarik and Mufa conquered Spain with extraordinary fuccefs ; and the latter conceived the vaft project of forming, by the addition of France, Germany, Hungary, and all the country even beyond Conftantinople, a more extenfive empire, than the romans had accumulated in the courfe of feveral centuries. But how completely was this project fruflrated ! All the incurfions of the arabs into France miscarried : in Spain itfelf they loft province after province by inceffant revolts : Conftantinople was not yet ripe for conquest : and, even under fome of the Ommiades, turkifh tribes, afterwards deftined to become the conquerors of the arabs themfelves, began to try their ftrength in the field. On the whole, the firft overwhelming flood of their military fuccefs fubfided with the thirty years of their early enthufiafm, when the houfe of Mohammed fat on the throne : under the hereditary Ommiades, their conquests proceeded, amid various internal diffenfions, with flower and often interrupted fteps.

The houfe of the Abaffides followed, who removed their refidence from Da-

* What is contained in the books, of which thou fpeakeft, either agrees with what is written in the book of God, the Koran, or it is contradictory to it. If it agree with it, the

Koran is fufficient without it ; if it be contradictory to it, it is fit that the books fhould be destroyed.'

mascus, and whose second khalif, Al-Manfur, built Bagdad, as the seat of government, in the centre of his dominions. The court of the khalifs now attained the summit of it's splendour; and it was also visited by the arts and sciences, in regard to which the names of Al-Rafchid and Al-Mamoun will ever be celebrated. Under this race, however, less was done toward foreign conquest, than for the conservation of the monarchy itself. Already under Al-Manfur, the second of this family, Abderahman, the supplanted heir of the Ommiades, founded a separate, independent khalifate in Spain, which continued almost three hundred years, and was afterwards divided into ten kingdoms, which were for some time shared among different arabian families, but never reunited to the khalifate of Bagdad. On the western coast of african Barbary (Mogreb) the Edrisiates, a branch of the family of Ali, tore off a kingdom, where they laid the foundations of the city of Fez. In the reign of Haroun Al-Rafchid, his viceroy at Kairwan (Cyrene) in Africa made himself independent. The son of this viceroy conquered Sicily. His Successors, the Aglabites, removed their residence to Tunis, where they constructed the great aqueduct; and their kingdom endured above a hundred years. In Egypt the attempts of the viceroys to render themselves independent were at first attended with doubtful success, till the family of the Fatimites swallowed up those of the Edrisiates and Aglabites, and founded a third khalifate, extending from Fez to Asia, and including Tunis, Sicily, and Egypt.

Thus there were now three khalifates, at Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova. However, the kingdom of the Fatimites also fell to ruin: curds and zeirites divided it between them; and the valiant Saladin (Selah-eddin), the grand visir of the khalifs, supplanted his masters, and founded the kingdom of the curds in Egypt; which afterward fell into the hands of the life-guards (*mamalukes*, or slaves), who were at length dispossessed of it by the *osmans*. Thus affairs went on throughout all the provinces. In Africa, zeirites, morabethians, muahedians, acted their respective parts; in Arabia, Persia, and Syria, dynasties of every nation and family; till at length the turks (*seljuks*, curds, arabecks, turcomans, *mamalukes*, &c.) got every thing into their hands, and the mungals took Bagdad itself by storm. The son of the last khalif of Bagdad fled to Egypt, where the *mamalukes* left him his empty title; till, on the conquest of this country by the *osmans*, the 18th of these dethroned princes was carried to Constantinople, but soon sent back to Egypt, there miserably to close the list of these arabian emperor-popes. The splendid empire of the arabs was lost in the turkish,

perſian, and mungal; parts of it fell under the dominion of the chriſtians, or became independent; and moſt of it's nations ſtill continue to live amid perpetual revolutions.

The cauſes both of the ſpeedy decline of this vaſt monarchy, and of the revolutions by which it was inceſſantly perturbed and torn, were inherent in it's nature, ariſing from it's origin and conſtitution.

1. *The arabian power aroſe from the virtues of enthufiaſm, and could be upheld only by theſe virtues*; by valour and fidelity to the law, by virtues of the deſert. While their khalifs, either in Mecca, Cufa, or Medina, adhered to the rigid mode of life of their firſt four great predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed the magic means of binding all their generals and viceroys to their commands with this ſtrong bond, what power could injure this nation? But when the poſſeſſion of ſo many fine countries introduced, with a widely extended commerce, wealth, pomp, and luxury; and the hereditary throne of the khalifs attained ſuch ſplendour in Damafcus, and ſtill more in Bagdad, that the deſcription of it appears like a fable of the Arabian Nights Entertainments; the drama, that has been acted a thouſand times on the ſtage of the World, was repeated: Voluptuouſneſs introduced Effeminacy, and at length enfeebled Refinement funk beneath the arm of rude Strength. The firſt of the Abaffides created a grand viſir; and under his ſucceſſors the authority of this officer grew up to the tremendous power of an *emir al omrah* (*emir of emirs*), and was deſpotic over the khalif himſelf. As moſt of theſe viſirs were turks, and the life-guards of the khalif were compoſed of the ſame people; the evil, that was ſoon to overpower the whole body of the monarchy, was ſeated in it's very vitals. The territories of the arabs lay along thoſe elevated regions, on which theſe warlike people, curds, turks, mungals, berbers, were on the watch like beaſts of prey; and as moſt of them were held unwillingly under the dominion of the arabs, they could not fail to avenge themſelves, when opportunity offered. Accordingly, what happened to the roman empire happened here; viſirs and mercenaries were converted into ſovereigns and deſpots.

2. *That the revolution took place more ſpeedily with the arabs, than with the romans, muſt be aſcribed to the conſtitution of their monarchy.* This was khalific; that is deſpotic in the higheſt degree, the characters of emperor and pope being moſt intimately combined in that of khalif. The belief of inevitable deſtiny, and the word of the prophet, which enjoins obedience in the Koran, promoted ſubmiſſion to the word of his ſucceſſors, and of their viceroys; and thus this ſpiritual deſpotiſm pervaded the government of the whole empire. But how eaſy was the tranſition from the exerciſe of deſpotic power in another's name to that of

arbitrary authority in a man's own, particularly in the remote provinces of this extensive empire! Add to this, the viceroys were almost every where absolute lords, the chief art of government of the khalifs consisting in distributing, recalling, or changing them, with skill. Thus, for example, when Mamoun allowed his valiant general Taher too much power in Chorasán, he gave the reins of independence into his hand; the countries beyond the Gihon were detached from the khalifate; and a way into the heart of the kingdom was opened to the turks. Thus it went on throughout all the viceroynalties, till the great empire resembled an archipelago of detached islands, scarcely connected by religion and language, and in a state of the highest disturbance within and without. This empire of varying islands went on for seven or eight hundred years with frequent change of boundary, till most, though not all of them, fell under the power of the osmans. The empire of the arabs had no constitution: a circumstance equally unfortunate to the despot, and to his slaves. The constitution of mohammedan kingdoms consists in submission to the will of God, and of his vicegerent; *islamism*.

3. *The government of the arabian empire was attached to one tribe, and properly only to one family of this tribe, the house of Mohammed: and as almost from the beginning the rightful heir, Ali, was set aside, kept out of the khalifate for a considerable time, and quickly expelled from it with his family, the great schism between the omniades and alites arose; which even now continues with all the animosity of religious rancour between the turks and persians, after the lapse of more than a thousand years. In remote countries impostors arose, who forced themselves upon the people as relations of Mohammed, either with sword in hand, or an appearance of sanctity: nay, Mohammed having founded the empire in the character of a prophet, fanatics occasionally ventured, to speak like him in the name of the Lord. Instances of this occurred even in the prophet's lifetime: but Egypt and Africa were the peculiar theatres of such fanatics and impostors*.*

The religion of Mohammed might appear to have exhausted the abominations of fanaticism and blind credulity, if, alas! they had not reappeared in other religions also: the despotism of the *old man of the mountain*, however, has nowhere been exceeded. This monarch of a distinct state of murderers, practised, nay born to the trade, may say to any one of his subjects: 'go, and kill:' he will do it, though to the sacrifice of his own life. And this kingdom of assassins has continued for centuries.

* Schlotzer's *Geschichte von Nordafrika*, *Geschichte der Araber in Afrika und Spanien*, 'History of the North of Africa;' Cardonne's *History of the Arabs in Africa and Spain;* &c.

CHAPTER V.

Effects of the Arabian Kingdoms.

QUICK as the spread and division of the khalifate were, it attained with equal celerity the period of its bloom, for which, on a more frigid soil, ten centuries would scarcely have sufficed. The genial power of nature, which accelerates the blossoming of the eastern plant, displays itself equally in the history of the people.

1. *The vast empire of arabian commerce* had an effect upon the World, which, proceeding from the local situation and national character of the people, out-lived their possessions, and still in part survives. The tribe of Koreish, from which Mohammed sprung, and indeed the prophet himself, were leaders of travelling caravans; and Mecca the holy had long been the central point of an extensive commerce between various nations. The gulf between Arabia and Persia, the Euphrates, and the ports of the Red Sea, were the famed repositories, or roads of conveyance, of the produce of India, in all ages: whence many indian wares bore the epithet of arabian, and Arabia itself was called by the name of India. Tribes of these active arabs had early possession of the eastern shores of Africa, and were instruments of the commerce of India even in the times of the romans. Accordingly, when all the country between the Nile and the Euphrates, and from the Hindus, Ganges, and Oxus, to the Atlantic ocean, Pyrenees, and Niger, belonged to these people, whose colonies extended even to the land of Caffraria, they were enabled, to become for a time the greatest commercial nation on the face of the Globe. Hence Constantinople suffered, and Alexandria shrunk to a village; while Omar was enabled to build at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates the city of Balsora, which received and distributed all the merchandize of the east. Under the Ommiades Damascus became the seat of government; an ancient great emporium, a natural centre of the caravans in its paradisiacal situation, the zenith of wealth 670. and industry. In Africa the city of Kairwan was built so early as the 969. time of Moawiyah, and afterwards Cairo, through which the trade of the World was carried on across the isthmus of Suez*. In the interior parts

* See Sprengel's *Geschichte der Entdeckung* †, words, and the *Geschichte des Handels*, 'History in every section of which much is said in few of Commerce,' already quoted.

† I suppose his *G. der wichtigsten geographischen Entdeckungen*, 'History of the most important geographical Discoveries.' T.

of Africa the arabs had monopolized the gold and gum trade, discovered the gold mines of Sofala, and founded the cities of Tombut, Telmasen, and Darah : on it's eastern shores they had planted considerable colonies and commercial towns ; and had even extended their settlements to Madagascar. When India was conquered under Waled, as far as Turkestan and the Ganges, the western World was connected with the extremities of the east. To China they had early traded, partly in caravans, partly over the sea to Kanfu (Canton). From this empire they imported brandy, afterward so inordinately increased by the art of chymistry, which they first cultivated ; while, fortunately for Europe, it was some centuries later before it spread over this quarter of the World, with the pernicious use of tea, and of coffee, an arabian drink. They also brought from China into Europe the knowledge of porcelain, and probably of gunpowder likewise. They were masters of the coast of Malabar ; visited the Maldivia islands ; formed settlements in Malacca ; and taught the malays to write. More recently they planted colonies and their religion in the Moluccas ; so that, before the arrival of the portuguese in these seas, the east-india trade was entirely in their hands, and pursued by them to the east and the south, without any european rival. Even the great discoveries of the portuguese by sea, which changed the whole face of Europe, were led on by war with the arabs, and the christian zeal of subduing them in Africa.

2. The *religion and language* of the arabs produced another important effect on many nations of three quarters of the Globe. For while every where, throughout their extensive conquests, they preached islamism or tributary submission, the religion of Mohammed extended eastward to the Gihon and the Hindus ; westward, to Fez and Morocco ; northward, beyond Caucasus and Imaus ; southward, to Senegal, Caffraria, the two peninsulas of India, and the neighbouring archipelago ; and acquired a greater number of followers than christianity itself. Now with regard to the doctrines taught by this religion, it cannot be denied, that it has raised the heathen converted to them above the gross idolatrous worship of the powers of nature, the stars of Heaven, and inhabitants of the Earth ; and has rendered them zealous adorers of one God, the creator, ruler, and judge of the World, with daily devotion, with deeds of charity, with cleanliness of person, and with resignation to his will. By the prohibition of wine, it has sought to prevent drunkenness and quarrelling ; and by enjoining abstinence from unclean meats, it has endeavoured to promote temperance, and preserve health. In like manner it has forbidden usury, avaricious gambling, and many superstitious practices : and it has raised several nations out of a savage or depraved state to a middle degree of civilization, so that the

moslem, or mussulman, profoundly despises the vulgar herd of christians in their gross excesses, and particularly in the impurity of their lives. The religion of Mohammed imprints on the minds of men a degree of tranquillity, an uniformity of character, which, though they may be as dangerous as useful, are in themselves valuable, and deserving esteem: but on the other hand, the polygamy it allows, the prohibition of all inquiry concerning the Koran, and the despotism it establishes in spiritual and temporal affairs, cannot easily avoid being attended with pernicious consequences*.

Be this religion, however, what it may, it was propagated in a language, the purest dialect of Arabia, the pride and delight of the whole nation. No wonder, therefore, that the other dialects were thrown by it into shade, and the language of the Koran became the victorious banner of arabian sovereignty. Such a common standard of the oral and written language is advantageous to a widely extended, flourishing nation. Had the german conquerors of Europe possessed a classic book of their language, such as the Koran was to the arabs, their tongue would never have been so overpowered by the latin, and so many of their tribes would not have been left in oblivion. But neither Ulphilas, nor Kædmon, nor Ottfried, could produce, what Mohammed gave to all his followers in the Koran; which is to this day a pledge of their ancient genuine dialect, by which they are led to the most authentic documents of their race, and remain one people throughout the whole Earth. The language of the arabs is their noblest inheritance; and even now it forms in various dialects such a bond of intercourse and commerce, between so many nations of the eastern and southern World, as no other language ever equalled. Next to the greek, perhaps, it is most worthy too of this general sway: at least the *lingua franca* of those countries appears on comparison with it but as a wretched beggar's cloak.

3. In this elegant and copious language *sciences* were cultivated, which, when roused by Al-Mansur, Haroun Al-Raschid, and Mamoun, spread from Bagdad, the seat of the Abassides, north-east, and still more westward, and flourished for a considerable period throughout the extensive arabian empire. A chain of cities, Balsora, Cufa, Samarcand, Rosetta, Cairo, Tunis, Fez, Morocco, Cordova, &c., were celebrated schools, whence science was imparted to Persia, India, some tatarian countries, nay China itself; and even down to the malays formed the means, whereby Asia and Africa acquired some

* Good remarks on this subject may be 'Oriental Bibliotheca,' Vol. VIII, p. 33 and found in Michaelis's *Orientalischer Bibliothek*, following.

new improvement in civilization. Poetry and philosophy, history and geography, philology, mathematics, chymistry, and physics, were cultivated by the arabs; in most of which the spirit of nations has felt their influence as inventors or disseminators, thus conferring benefits on those they conquered.

Poetry was their ancient inheritance: the offspring of freedom, not of a khalif's favour. It flourished long before Mohammed; for the spirit of the nation was poetical, and a thousand circumstances served to excite this spirit. Their country, their way of life, their pilgrimages to Mecca, the poetical contests at Okhad, the honour in which a rising poet was held by his tribe; the pride the people felt in their language and legends; their propensity to adventure, love, and glory; and even their love of solitude, thirst of vengeance, and wandering life, were all incentives to poetry, and their muse distinguished herself by splendid imagery, pride and grandeur of sentiment, acute apophthegms, and something extravagant in the praise or censure of the subjects of her song. Her ideas stand like detached rocks piercing the clouds: the fire of the arab's words appals like the lightning of his scimitar; his wit is sharp as the arrow from his bow. His noble steed is his Pegasus: often uncomely, but intelligent, faithful, and indefatigable. The poetry of the persian, on the other hand, which, like his language, descended from the arabic, has moulded itself to the character of the nation and country; more voluptuous, soft, and gay, a daughter of the terrestrial Paradise. And though neither was acquainted with the forms of grecian art, the epopee, the ode, the pastoral, still less the drama; though both, when they had acquired the knowledge of them, rejected them as models; the peculiar poetic talent of the arab and persian appeared the more distinctly formed and beautified on this very account. No nation can boast of so many passionate votaries of poetry as the arabs, during their golden age: in Asia this passion spread even to the tatarian princes and nobles; in Spain, to the christian. The *gaya ciencia* of the limosin or provencal poets was in a manner forced upon them, or inspired by their arabian foes: and thus Europe by degrees acquired, though rudely and slowly, an ear for more refined and animated poetry.

The fabulous part of poetry, the *romance*, flourished more particularly under an orient sky. An old national story, orally transmitted, became in time a romance: and when the imagination of the people, by whom these stories are told, has a fixed propensity to the extravagant, incomprehensible, grand, and wonderful, the common is exalted into the rare, the unknown into the extraordinary; to which the oriental eagerly lends an ear, for the instruction or amusement of his leisure hours, in his tent, on his journies, or in the social circle. Even in the time of Mohammed there came among the arabs a persian

merchant with amusing tales, which filled him with apprehensions, that they would obscure the fables of his Koran: and indeed the most pleasing fictions of eastern genius appear to be of persian origin. The gay talkativeness of the persians, and their love of splendour, gave their ancient tales in time a romantic form, which was considerably heightened by creatures of the imagination, chiefly formed from the animals of the neighbouring mountains. Hence arose that Fairyland, the country of the peries and neries, for which the arabs had scarcely a name, and which was copiously introduced into the european romances of the middle ages. These tales were arranged by the arabs at a much later period, when the brilliant reign of the khalif Haroun Al-Rafchid was made the scene of their adventures; and this form afforded Europe a new model, for concealing delicate truths under the fabulous garb of incredible events, and uttering the most refined maxims of policy under the pretext of diverting idle hours.

From the romance of the arabs let us turn to it's sister, their *philosophy*; which, according to the oriental mode, was properly erected upon the Koran, and acquired a scientific form only from the translation of Aristotle. As the simple idea of one God was the basis of the whole religion of Mohammed, so we can scarcely conceive an hypothesis, which the arabs would not connect with this idea, or deduce from it, while they carried it into their metaphysical speculations, and made it the subject of their lofty encomiums, sentences, and maxims. They almost exhausted the synthesis of metaphysical fiction and united it with an exalted mysticism of morality. Sects arose among them, which, in their disputes, already exercised a refined criticism of abstract reason*; and indeed scarcely left the schoolmen of the middle ages any thing more to do, than to adapt their notions to the doctrines of european christians. The jews were the first scholars of this metaphysical theology: afterwards, it came to the newly erected christian universities, where Aristotle appeared first wholly in the arabian mode, not in the grecian, and greatly polished and whetted the speculations, polemics, and language of the schools. Thus the illiterate Mohammed shares with the most learned of the grecian philosophers the honour of having given the whole metaphysical science of modern times it's direction: and as most of the arabian philosophers were poets also, so among the christians in the middle ages mysticism was constantly united with scholastic lore, in such a manner, that their boundaries were undistinguishable.

* 'Eine kritik der reinen vernunft.' *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is the title of Kant's celebrated work. T.

Philology was cultivated by the arabs as the honour of their race ; so that, from pride in the beauty and purity of their language, they reckoned up all it's words, and their inflexions, and in very early times the man of learning might load threescore camels with dictionaries. In this science, likewise, the first scholars of the arabs were the jews. They endeavoured to fabricate for their much simpler language an artificial grammar after the arabian fashion, which remained in use even among the christians to the most recent times : on the other hand, in our days men have taken from this very arabic language a living guide, to lead them back to the natural meaning of hebrew poetry ; to consider as figurative what is figurative, and to sweep away a thousand idols of fallacious hebrew exegesis from the face of the Earth.

In the delivery of *history* the arabs have not been so happy as the greeks and romans ; for they were destitute of republics, and consequently strangers to the practice of philosophically discussing public acts and events. They could write nothing but brief and dry chronicles ; or, if they attempted biography, ran the hazard of falling into poetical panegyric of their hero, and unjust censure of his enemies. The impartial historical style never formed itself among them ; their histories are poems, or interwoven with poetry : but their chronicles, and geographical accounts of countries, with which they had opportunities of being acquainted, and which still remain unknown to us, such as the interior of Africa, are of much utility *.

The most decided merit of the arabs, however, appears in mathematics, chymistry, and physic ; in which sciences, augmented by themselves, they were the teachers of all Europe. So early as the reign of Al-Mamoun, a degree of the meridian was measured on the plain of Sanjar, near Bagdad. In astronomy, though compelled to subservise the purposes of superstition, celestial atlases, astronomical tables, and various instruments, were executed and improved with much art by the arabs ; in which they were greatly assisted by the fine climate, and clear sky of their extensive dominions. Astronomy was applied also to the service of geography : they made maps, and composed statistical sketches of many countries, long before such things were thought of by europeans. By it likewise they fixed the dates of chronology : they employed their knowledge

* Most of these, however, remain unexplored or neglected by us. There are lettered germans, who possess both knowledge and industry, but want support, to publish them as they ought to be : in other countries, the learned sleep over wealthy institutions and legacies ap-

pointed for this purpose. Our Reiske has fallen a martyr to his arabic-grecian zeal : peace be to his ashes ! but long will be the time, ere we shall see again such learning, as was neglected in him.

of the courses of the stars in navigation, many technical terms of which are of arabic derivation: and in general the name of this people is inscribed among the stars with more permanent characters, than it could have imprinted any where upon the Earth. The books produced by the industry of it's mathematicians, astronomers particularly, are innumerable: most of them now lie unknown, or unused; and multitudes have been destroyed by war, by the flames, by inattention, or by ignorance. Through it's means the noblest sciences of the human intellect penetrated into Tatory, the mungal countries, and even the secluded China: in Samarcand astronomical tables were constructed, and epochs ascertained, to which we still refer. The characters employed in our arithmetic we received from the arabs: and algebra derives from them it's names. So does chymistry, of which they are the fathers: a science that has put into the hands of man a new key to the secrets of Nature, not only for the purposes of physic, but of every department of natural philosophy. As from attachment to this science they paid less attention to botany, and the pursuit of anatomy was prohibited by their law; they were more sedulous in the application of chymistry to the materia medica, and in the discrimination of diseases and temperaments by an almost superstitious observation of their external signs and symptoms. What Aristotle was to them in philosophy, what Euclid and Ptolemy were in mathematics, such were Galen and Dioscorides in the art of physic: though it cannot be denied, that, in following the greeks, the arabs were not merely the keepers, propagators, and amplifiers, of the sciences most indispensable to man, but occasionally the falsifiers of them. The oriental taste, in which they cultivated the sciences, long adhered to them in Europe, and could not easily be removed. In some of the arts, too, much of what we call the gothic style is properly the arabian: as in architecture, which these rude conquerors formed after their own manner from the edifices they found in the grecian provinces, and brought with them into Spain, whence it spread farther into Europe.

4. Lastly, we should speak of the dazzling and romantic *spirit of chivary*, which they unquestionably mingled with the european ardour for adventure; but this will soon appear of itself.

CHAPTER VI.

General Reflections.

IF we cast a retrospective view on the form our quarter of the Globe has acquired through the migrations and conversion of nations, through wars and the hierarchy, we shall discern a powerful but helpless body, a giant wanting nothing but eyes. This western end of the ancient World was sufficiently populous: the territories of the romans, enfeebled by luxury, were abundantly peopled by men of strong bodies and solid courage*. For in the early days of their recent possession of these countries, before the distinction of ranks had acquired the oppressive hereditary form, the conquered dominions of the romans were a real Paradise to the rude enjoyments of these uncultivated people, in the midst of other nations, who had long planted and built for their own convenience. They regarded not the ravages their expeditions occasioned, which kept back the human race more than ten centuries: for we feel not the loss of unknown good; and for the animal man this western part of the northern World, with the slightest remnants of its cultivation, was in every respect preferable to his ancient Sarmatia, Scythia, or remoter eastern Hunland. By the devastations, that took place after the christian era; in the wars, that these people carried on among themselves; in the new pests and diseases, that ravaged Europe; it must be confessed the human species suffered: but by nothing so much, as by the despotic feudal system. Europe was full of men, but of men in a state of bodily servitude: and the slavery, under which these groaned, was so much the more severe, as it was a christian slavery, reduced into rule by political laws and blind custom, confirmed by writings, and attached to the soil. The very air conferred property: he who was not emancipated by contract, or a despot by birth, entered into the pretended natural state of subjection, or vassalage.

From Rome no succour was to be expected. Its servants shared with others the sovereignty of Europe; and Rome itself was supported by a multitude of spiritual slaves. Whomever kings and emperors made free, were to be forced from giants and dragons, as in the books of romance, by letters

* The bodily strength of our forefathers is attested by their graves and armour, as well as by history: and without it the ancient and middle history of Europe is scarcely reconcile-

able to the understanding. The valiant and noble men possessed but few ideas; and these few were set in motion slowly, yet forcibly.

of enfranchisement: accordingly this way was tedious and difficult. The knowledge the christianity of the west possessed was expended, and turned to profit. It's popular form was become a wretched verbal liturgy: it's vile patrician rhetoric had been converted, in monasteries, churches, and communities, into a magic despotism over the mind, which the vulgar adored under whips and scourges, nay licking the dust in penitence. The arts and sciences were no more: for what muse will dwell amid the bones of martyrs, the din of bells and organs, the smoke of incense, and prayers for deliverance from Purgatory? The hierarchy had launched it's thunderbolts against all freedom of thought, and crippled with it's yoke every noble spring of action. Reward in another World was preached up to the suffering: the oppressor was secure of absolution in the hour of death, for a legacy: God's kingdom upon Earth was let to farm.

In Europe there was no salvation without the pale of the romish church. For, not to mention the oppressed nations miserably pent up in the corners of the Earth, nothing was to be expected from the grecian empire, still less from the only kingdom, which had begun to form itself in the east of Europe, out of the jurisdiction of the roman emperor and pope*. Thus nothing remained for the western part, but itself; or the only southern nation, in which a new shoot of mental cultivation bloomed, the mohammedans. With these Europe soon came into conflict, in it's most sensible parts; and this conflict was of long duration: in Spain it continued till the time when knowledge was diffused over all Europe. What was the prize of the contest? and who were the victors? Unquestionably the newly excited activity of mankind was the most valuable prize of the victory.

* This is Russia. From the time of it's foundation it took a peculiar course, different from that of the other kingdoms of Europe. With these it entered not the lists till late.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BOOK XX.

IF the croisades, carried on by Europe in the east, may justly be considered as the epoch of a great revolution in our quarter of the Globe, yet we must take care not to esteem them it's first and only cause. They were nothing more than a mad enterprize, which cost Europe some millions of men; and reconveyed to it in the survivors, for the most part, a loose, daring, debauched, and ignorant rabble. The good which was effected in their time arose chiefly from collateral causes, which obtained freer play at this period, and produced advantages, in many respects attended with considerable danger. Indeed, no occurrence in human affairs stands alone: arising from antierior causes, the spirit of the times, and the disposition of nations, it is to be considered only as the dial, the hand of which is moved by internal springs. Let us proceed, therefore, to examine the movements of Europe in the whole, and observe how every wheel in them cooperated to one common end.

CHAPTER I.

The Spirit of Commerce in Europe.

THIS small portion of the Earth was not in vain surrounded by Nature with so many coasts and bays, and intersected by so many navigable rivers and lakes: the nations, that dwelt on them, were active from the remotest times. What the Mediterranean had been to the south of Europe, the Baltic was to the north; an early incentive to the pursuit of navigation, and a mean of intercourse between different countries. Beside the gael and cimbri, we have seen the frisons, the saxons, and more especially the normans, traversing all the seas of the west and the north, nay even the Mediterranean, and effecting much good, and much evil. From the simple excavated trunk of a tree they rose to ships of burden, to a capacity of keeping the open sea, and availing themselves of every wind; so that even now the points of the compass, and many nautical terms, in all the languages of Europe, are of german derivation.

Amber in particular was the costly bauble, that attracted greeks, romans, and arabians, and brought the north and the south acquainted with each other. It was conveyed by ships of Massilia (Marseilles) over the ocean; by land, through Carnuntum (Presburg) to the Adriatic; and on the Dnieper, to the Black Sea; in quantities scarcely credible.

The way of the Black Sea was preeminently the path of intercourse between the nations of the North, South, and East*. At the mouths of the Don and the Dnieper were two great commercial towns, Azoph (Tanais, Asgard), and Olbia (Borysthenes, Alfheim); the repositories of the wares of Tatar, India, China, Byzantium, and Egypt, which were dispersed over the north of Europe, chiefly by way of barter: and even when the readier way through the Mediterranean was frequented, down to the times of the croisades and beyond them, this north eastern commerce was pursued. After the flavians became possessed of a great part of the baltic shores, they established a range of flourishing commercial towns along them. The germanic nations on the islands and opposite coasts were their eager rivals; and desisted not, till, for the sake of gain and of christianity, the commerce of the flavians was destroyed. They then endeavoured to occupy their place; and long before the proper hanseatic league, a kind of maritime republic, *a league of mercantile towns*, was gradually established, which afterwards rose to the grand hanse. As in the days of plunder there had been maritime kings in the north; so now a much more extensive commercial state was formed of various members, on the genuine principles of mutual aid and security; a prototype, probably, of the future state of all the mercantile nations of Europe. Industry, and useful manufactures, flourished on more than one of the northern shores; first of all particularly in Flanders, which was peopled with german colonists.

The internal constitution of this part of the World, however, was assuredly not the best adapted to the rising industry of its inhabitants: for, on almost every coast, the most promising establishments were frequently ruined by pirates; and, by land, the love of war, that still raged among the nations, and the feudal system, which sprung from it, threw in its way a thousand obstacles. In the earliest times, after the barbarians had dispersed themselves over Europe, when greater equality prevailed among the members of the nation, and the ancient inhabitants experienced gentler treatment, the general spirit of industry required nothing but

* Much on this subject is collected in the first volume of Fischer's *Geschichte des teutschen Handels*, History of german Commerce.'

encouragement : and this would not have been wanting, had more Theodorics, Charlemagnes, and Alfreds, appeared. But when every thing fell under the yoke of bondage, and an hereditary order arrogated to itself the labour and industry of it's vassals, for the support of it's luxury and splendour ; when no man, possessed of talents for any art, could dare to pursue it, till he had redeemed himself out of the clutches of this demon by tribute, or by patent ; every thing was unquestionably manacled with heavy chains. Intelligent sovereigns did what they could : they founded cities, and endowed them with privileges : they took artists and mechanics under their protection ; invited merchants, and even hebrew usurers, into their dominions, exempting the former from tribute, and often conferring on the latter pernicious commercial liberties, because they stood in need of jewith gold : but all these could not establish a freer employment or circulation of human industry on the continent of Europe, under the circumstances we have mentioned. Every thing was confined, mutilated, oppressed ; nothing therefore could be more natural, than that the address of the south, aided by convenience of situation, should for a time prevail over the assiduity of the north. Yet it was only for a time : for all that Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, have done, is confined within the limits of the Mediterranean : the ocean belongs to the navigators of the north ; and, with the ocean, the World.

Venice arose amidst it's marshes like Rome. First the asylum of those, who saved themselves from the incursions of the barbarians on wretched, inaccessible islands, and supported themselves as well as they could : afterwards joining with the ancient haven of Padua, it united it's villages and islands, acquired a form of government, and rose from a paltry trade in fish and salt, with which it began, to be in a few centuries the first commercial city of Europe, the repository of merchandize for all the surrounding countries, and the mistress of several kingdoms ; even in the present day it boasts the honour of being the most ancient republic existing, and a republic never conquered *. It's history confirms, what that of many commercial cities has proved, that men may rise from nothing to every thing, and save themselves from the very jaws of destruction, if they unite indefatigable industry with prudence. It ventured not out of it's marshes till late, when, like a timid inhabitant of the mud, it fought a little district on the strand. It then advanced a few steps farther, and, to obtain the favour of the wealthy grecian empire, assisted it's feeble exarchs of Ravenna.

* This was true when the original was published. T.

In return for this, it obtained what it desired; the most important privileges in this empire, then in possession of the principal trade of the World.

When the arabs had extended their dominions; and with the sovereignty of Syria, Egypt, and almost all the shores of the Mediterranean, had likewise usurped their commerce; the venetians boldly and successfully withstood their attacks on the Adriatic. As soon as a proper opportunity offered, however, they entered into a treaty with them, and thus became the venders of all the wealth of the east, to their immense profit. Thus spices, silk, and all the commodities of oriental luxury, were so abundantly diffused over Europe, that almost the whole of Lombardy was converted into a repository of them, and the venetians and lombards were, together with the jews, the general brokers of the western world. The more useful trade of the northern nations suffered from this for a certain period: and now the wealthy Venice, pressed upon by the hungarians and avari, established a firm footing on the main land. Embroiling themselves neither with the greek emperors, nor with the arabs, they drew advantages from Constantinople, Aleppo, and Alexandria; and opposed the commercial establishments of the normans with timorous jealousy, till they had enclosed these also in their grasp.

The commodities subservient to the calls of luxury, which they and their rivals imported from the east; and the wealth they acquired thereby; with the reports the pilgrims gave of the magnificence of the oriental nations; inflamed the minds of the europeans with greater desire for the possessions of the mohammedans, than did the sepulchre of Christ: and when the croisades broke out, there were none who derived from them so much advantage, as these commercial cities of Italy. They transported over several armies, carried them provision, and hence acquired not only immense sums of money, but new privileges, factories, and possessions, in the newly conquered lands. Venice was particularly fortunate above all the rest: for as it succeeded in taking Constantinople with an army of croisaders, and establishing in it a latin empire, it shared the plunder with its allies so advantageously, that they had but little, and that little insecure, and but for a short period, while it obtained every thing conducive to its trade, the coasts and islands of Greece. These possessions it retained for a long time, and considerably augmented: and all the dangers that threatened them, from rivals or enemies, it contrived to surmount by success, or ward off by circumspection; till a new order of things, the voyages of the portugese round the Cape of Good Hope, and the irruption of the turks into Europe, restricted it to its own Adriatic. A great part of the booty of the

grecian empire, the croisades, and the commerce of the east, concentrated in it's marshes: it's fruits, both good and bad, were disseminated over Italy, France, and Germany, particularly it's southern part. They were the hollanders of their time; and, beside their commercial industry, beside various arts and manufactures, they have eminently distinguished themselves in the book of human nature by the durability of their form of government*.

Genoa acquired a great trade earlier than *Venice*, and possessed for a long time the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. It shared the grecian commerce, and afterward the arabian: and as it was of importance to it, to preserve the security of the Mediterranean, it not only made itself master of *Corfica*, but also, with the assistance of some christian princes of *Spain*, of several places in *Africa*, and dictated peace to the pirates. During the croisades it was very active: the genoese supported the armies with their fleets; and assisted, in the first expedition, at the conquests of *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, *Cæsarea*, and *Jerusalem*; so that, beside an honorary inscription over the altar in the chapel of the holy sepulchre, they were rewarded with distinguished privileges in *Syria* and *Palestine*. In the trade of *Egypt* they rivalled the venetians: but in the *Black Sea* they bore supereminent sway, where they possessed the great commercial city of *Kaffa*, the repository of all the commodities, that took their course from the east over land; and they enjoyed magazines and liberty of trade in *Armenia*, nay far within *Tatary*. They long defended *Kaffa*, and the islands they held in the *Ægean Sea*, till the turks had conquered *Constantinople*, and excluded them first from the *Black Sea*, afterwards from the *Archipelago*. With *Venice* they carried on long and bloody wars, and more than once brought this republic to the brink of destruction: *Pisa*, indeed, they rased to the ground; but at length the venetians succeeded in checking the power of the genoese at *Chiozza*, and completing the fall of their greatness.

1288.

1381.

Amalfi, *Pisa*, and some other cities of *Italy*, had part with *Genoa* and *Venice* in the arabian trade of the east. *Florence* rendered itself independent, and joined to it *Fiesole*: *Amalfi* obtained the privilege of a free trade throughout the states of the egyptian khalifs: *Amalfi*, *Pisa*, and *Genoa*, how-

*In *Le Bret's Geschichte von Venedig*, 'History of *Venice* †,' we have such an abstract of every thing most memorable, that has been written respecting the history of this city, as no other

language can exhibit. What this maritime city has done in the history of *Europe* for the church, letters, and in other points, will hereafter appear.

† I doubt whether this be a distinct work, as I know no one under this title. Probably *Herder* refers to the account of *Venice* in *Le Bret's Geschichte von Italien*, 'History of

Italy, and all the ancient and modern States founded therein,' a work in nine volumes 8vo, 1787.

ever, were the principal maritime powers in the Mediterranean. The coasts of France and Spain, likewise, fought to participate in the trade of the Levant; and the pilgrims of both countries repaired thither as much for the sake of gain, as of devotion. Such was the situation of the south of Europe, with respect to the possessions of the arabs; which to the shores of Italy, in particular, expanded like a garden of spices, as a Fairyland of wealth. The italians, that accompanied the croisades, fought not the body of the Lord, but the spices and treasures in his grave. The bank of Tyre was their Holy Land; and what they any where undertook was in their usual way of trade, which they had trodden for centuries.

Transient as was the prosperity these foreign riches brought to those, by whom they were acquired, still in all probability they were indispensable to the first blooming of italian cultivation. By them men were taught a less rude and more commodious manner of living; and, instead of their coarse ostentation, to distinguish themselves by more refined magnificence. The many great cities of Italy, which were held only by feeble ties to their weak and absent sovereigns on the other side of the Alps, while they all panted after independence, acquired more than one superiority over the uncivilized marauder of the castle: for they either drew him within their walls, by the attractions of luxury, and the increased enjoyments of social life, and converted him into a peaceable citizen; or by their increase of population they acquired sufficient strength, to destroy his fortrefs, and compel him to live as a quiet neighbour. Rising luxury awakened industriousness, not only to the pursuit of arts and manufactures, but even of agriculture: the fields of Lombardy, Florence, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the coasts of Naples and Sicily, flourished under the hand of the husbandman, in the neighbourhood of great and industrious cities. Lombardy was a garden, when great part of Europe was covered with woods and downs. For as these populous cities must derive their support from the land; and the proprietor of the soil could gain more by the provision, with which he furnished them, in consequence of the increased price given for the necessaries of life; he could not avoid exerting himself in pursuit of this gain, if he were desirous of participating in the luxury recently introduced. Thus one species of activity roused another, and kept it in play: and, with this new course of things, order, the free enjoyment of private property, and submission to the laws, necessarily prevailed. Men were obliged to learn frugality, that they might have money to spend: human invention was sharpened, while one endeavoured to carry the prize from another: every householder, formerly an unconnected individual, now

became in some degree himself a merchant. Thus it arose from the nature of things, that fertile Italy, watered by the wealth of the arabs, should first put forth the blossoms of a new cultivation.

These blossoms, however, were far from perennial. Trade diffused itself, and took a different course: the republics decayed: voluptuous cities became insolent, and at variance within themselves: the whole country was filled with parties, among which enterprizing men, and a few powerful families, raised themselves to great authority. War and oppression succeeded: and as luxury and the arts had banished not only the military spirit, but also faith and probity, one city, one state, after another, fell a prey to foreign or domestic tyrants. The strictest laws of moderation alone were capable of preserving from ruin the distributor of this pleasing poison, Venice itself. Yet let no spring of human action be denied it's rightful claims. Happily for Europe, this luxury was at that time far from general, and the greater part of it promoted the gains of the lombards alone: a spring still more powerful acted in opposition to it, the spirit of chivalry, despising selfinterest, and daring every thing for the sake of glory. Let us examine from what seeds this flower arose; whence it derived it's nutriment; and what virtues it possessed, to check the spirit of commerce.

CHAPTER II.

Spirit of Chivalry in Europe.

ALL the germanic tribes, that spread themselves over Europe, consisted of warriors: and as the most arduous part of military service fell upon the cavalry, it was natural, that these should amply recompense themselves for their skill in equestrian accomplishments. Accordingly, a fraternity of horsemen soon arose, who learned their art in due form: and as these were the attendants of the commander, duke, or king, a sort of military school was established where the court resided, in which the bachelor knights served their apprenticeship. When this was accomplished, it is probable, that they were sent in quest of adventures, as the means of rendering them perfect in their trade; and, having well approved themselves on this trial, continued to serve as masters of their craft, to the privileges of which they were admitted, or as teachers to instruct others in those arts, which themselves had learned. It is scarcely possible, that the order of chivalry should have had any other origin. The germanic nations, who carried the corporation spirit into every thing, must have applied it parti-

cularly to an art familiar to themselves alone: and as this was their grand and sole art, they naturally conferred upon it all the honour, which they were too ignorant to bestow on any other. All the laws and regulations of chivalry may be deduced from this origin*.

This company of horsemen being trained for the service of the prince, the first duty incumbent both on the bachelor and the knight was, to swear fealty to him. Horsemanship and the use of weapons were the exercises of their school; whence tilts and tournaments, with other knightly sports as they were called, afterwards arose. At court the young cavalier was to be about the person of the prince and his consort, to be ready for courtly services: hence the duty of courtesy toward princes and ladies, which he learned as a trade. And as, beside his horse and his arms, a little religion and favour with the ladies were necessary for him, he acquired the former from a short breviary, and obtained the latter as he could, according to his abilities and the fashion of the times. Thus originated chivalry, consisting of a blind faith in religion, a blind submission to the will of the prince, provided he required nothing inconsistent with the principles of the confraternity, courteousness in service, and gallantry toward the ladies: if a knight possessed these virtues, no matter whether his head contained a single idea, his heart a single sentiment, besides. The lower classes were not his equals: the knowledge of the mechanic, the artist, or the man of learning, he, as a soldier and accomplished knight, could despise.

It is obvious, that this military trade must degenerate into unbridled barbarism, as soon as it became an hereditary right, and the genuine, thorough knight was a noble in his very cradle. Sagacious princes, who supported such an idle train about their courts, paid considerable attention to the improvement of this calling, by instilling into the minds of the noble masters some few ideas, and giving them morals, for the security of their own court, family, and country. Hence the severe laws by which every act of baseness was subjected to penalties among them: hence the noble duties of succouring the oppressed, protecting virgin innocence, treating enemies with magnanimity, and the like: the design of which was to obviate their bursts of violence, to temper the rudeness and barbarity of their manners. These laws of the order were not to be obliterated from the virtuous mind, on which they had been impressed from the earliest infancy;

* See Mæfer's *Osnabruckische Geschichte*, 'History of Osnabruck,' Vol. I. For what follows, instead of the numbers who have written on chivalry, I shall cite only *Carne de St. Palaye*, whose work is translated into german

by D. Klueber. The chief part of the original relates to the french knights alone; the general history of chivalry in Europe has never yet been written to my knowledge.

so that the probity and faith almost mechanically displayed in word and deed by every worthy knight astonish us. Pliability of character, facility of placing a question in every point of view, and fertility of ideas, were not their failings: hence the language of the middle ages was so ceremonious, stiff, and formal, that it seems to move as it were caparisoned in steel, round two or three thoughts, in all the pomp of knighthood.

Causes from two extremities of the Earth concurred, to give this body of chivalry more life and motion: Spain, France, England, and Italy, but principally France, were the places where it received its chief refinements.

1. The national character and country of the *arabs* rendered a kind of knight-errantry, mixed with the tenderness of love, somewhat like hereditary property to them, from the earliest times. They went in quest of adventures; fought single combats; and washed out the stain of every disgrace, thrown on themselves, or their tribe, with the blood of their enemy. Accustomed to hard fare and slight clothing, their horse, their sword, and the honour of their race, were dear to them above all things. And as while roaming with their tents they fought love-adventures, and then breathed out complaints of the absence of the object of their passion in their much valued poetical language; their songs very soon fell into the regular train of chaunting their prophet, themselves, the honours of their race, and the praises of their mistress; without much attention to the aptness of transition. On their expeditions of conquest the tents of the women were intermingled with theirs: the most courageous animated them in battle, and in return the spoils of the victory were laid at their feet. And as from the time of Mohammed the influence of the women in the formation of the arabian empire had been great; and the orientals had no enjoyments in a period of peace, except games of pastime, or amusing themselves among the women; the festivities of chivalry, as throwing the javelin at the ring, and other contests, within lists, in the presence of the ladies, were celebrated with great splendour and magnificence in Spain, during the government of the arabs. The fair dames encouraged the champions, and rewarded them with jewels, scarves, or garments worked with their own hands: for these festivals were held in honour of them, and the portrait of the conqueror's mistress was hung up to view, surrounded by the portraits of the knights he had overcome. The competitors were divided into bands, distinguished by their colours, devices, and garments; poems were sung in honour of the feast; and the thanks of love were the victor's noblest reward. Thus the more refined customs of chivalry were evidently brought into Europe by the arabs: what with the heavy-armed heroes of the north remained only profes-

sional manners, or mere fiction, were with these nature, light play, sportive exercise*.

Thus this gayer spirit of chivalry was first introduced among the christians in Spain, where the arabs and goths lived together for centuries. Here we not only discover the most ancient christian orders, established either for the purpose of opposing the moors, for protecting pilgrims on their journeys to Compostella, or for pleasure and amusement; but the spirit of chivalry was so deeply imprinted in the character of the Spaniards, that even knights errant, and chevaliers of love, perfectly in the arabian style, were not with them mere creatures of the imagination. The romaunt, or historical poem, particularly as dedicated to the adventurers of love and chivalry; and probably the romance, as the old Amadis, and others; were the offspring of their language and way of thinking, in which Cervantes found in latter days the materials for that incomparable national romance, Don Quixote de la Mancha.

But their influence was more eminently displayed in the *lighter poetry*, both here and in Sicily, the two countries of which the arabs longest maintained possession †. For in the land, extending to the Ebro, which Charlemagne conquered from the arabs, and peopled with limosins, or the inhabitants of the south of France, the first poetry among the vernacular languages of Europe, the *provençal*, or *limosin*, gradually formed itself, on either side the Pyrenees, in the neighbourhood of the arabs. Tenzonets, sonnets, idyls, villanescas, sirventes, madrigals, canzonets, and other forms, invented for witty questions, dialogues, and envelopes of amorous subjects, gave occasion, as every thing in Europe must assume the court or corporation form, to a singular tribunal, the court of love (*corte de amor*), in which ladies and knights, princes and kings, were concerned as judges and parties. Before it was formed the *gaya ciencia*, the science of the troubadours; first the pursuit of the higher nobility, but afterwards, being considered after the european mode as an amusement of the court, it fell into the hands of the *contadores*, *truanes*, and *bufones*, the story-tellers, jesters, and court-buffoons, where it became contemptible.

In its early flourishing days the poetry of the provençals had a softly harmonious, pathetic, and engaging style, which polished the heart and mind, refined the language and manners, and was the general parent of all modern european poetry. The limosin language extended itself over Languedoc, Provence, Barcelona, Arragon, Valencia, Murcia, Majorca, and Minorca: in these charming

* See Reiske on Thograi, Pocock on Abulfaragius, Sale, Jones, Ockley, Cardonne, &c.

† See Velasquez on spanish poetry, and all who have written on the provençals, minnesingers, &c.

countries, fanned by the sea-breeze, love breathed it's first sigh, love poured the first language of delight. The poetry of Spain, France, and Italy, were it's daughters: by it Petrarch was tutored, of it he was emulous: our minnesingers were it's remote and harsh echoes, though the softest of our language is unquestionably theirs. The universally diffused spirit of chivalry transplanted some of it's flowers from France and Italy into Swabia, Austria, and Thuringia: some emperors of the Stauffish family, and Hermann landgrave of Thuringia, delighted in it, with more german princes, whose names would have sunk into oblivion, had they not been transmitted to posterity with some of their songs. The art, however, speedily degenerated, sinking into the despicable trade of vagrant *jongleurs* in France, of *meisterfingers* in Germany. In languages sprung like the provençal itself from the latin, and known by the name of romanish, it could take deeper root; producing far more pleasing fruits as it spread from Spain through France and Italy to the island of Sicily. In Sicily, as in Spain, arose the first italian poetry on what was once arabian ground.

2. What the arabs began from the south, the *normans* cultivated still more strenuously from the north, in France, England, and Italy. When their romantic character, their love of adventures, heroic tales, and martial exercises, and their native respect to the women, united with the refined chivalry of the arabs, it gained a wider spread, and deeper root in Europe. The tales called romances, the ground-work of which existed long before the croisades, now came more into vogue: for all the german nations had ever celebrated the praises of their heroes; and these songs and poems had maintained their ground, even amid the darkest ages, in the courts of the great, nay in the convents themselves; and in proportion as genuine history declined, men's minds were the more turned to spiritual legends, or romantic stories. Accordingly, from the first ages of christianity we find this exercise of the human imagination more employed than any other, first after the african greek manner, latterly after the northern european: monks, bishops, and saints, were not ashamed of it; nay, from their mouths, true history, and the Bible itself, spoke the language of romance. Hence arose the suit of Belial against Christ: hence the allegorical and mystical personification of all the virtues and duties: hence the spiritual dramatic moralities and interludes.

Such being the general taste of the times, the offspring of ignorance, superstition, and an awakened fancy, tales and fables (*contes et fables*) were the only food of the human mind, and heroic tales were most admired by the equestrian order. In France, the centre of this cultivation, the subjects most peculiar to it were naturally chosen, according to the two streams that united

here. The expedition of Charlemagne against the Saracens, with all the adventures said to have happened in the Pyrenees, was one of these: what already existed in the country of the Normans, in Brittany, in the ancient stories of King Arthur, was the other. Into this were introduced, from the more recent French constitution, the twelve peers, with all the splendour of Charles and his knights, and all the savage deeds they had to tell of the Saracen heroes. Ogier the Dane, Huon of Bordeaux, the children of Aimon, and various stories of the pilgrims and crusaders, entered likewise into this: but the most interesting persons and events were always borrowed from the country of the Provençals, Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, and that part of Spain, where the limousin poetry flourished. The second stream, the tales of Arthur and his court, came over the sea from Cornwall, or rather from an utopian land, where men indulged in a peculiar species of the wonderful. The mirror of knighthood was brightly polished in these romances: the vices and virtues of this court were clearly exhibited in the various characters of the knights of the round table; for which there was ample room in the unbounded domains of the romance of Arthur, and in such ancient times.

At length from these two branches of romance issued a third, which excluded no French or Spanish province. Poitou, Champagne, Normandy, the forest of Ardennes, Flanders, nay Mentz, Castile, and Algarva, furnished knights and scenes to the drama: for the ignorance of the times, and the form in which the histories of antiquity then appeared, permitted, or rather urged this jumble of all ages and countries. Troy and Greece, Jerusalem and Trebizond, what was known of old, and what report just bruited about, united in the garland of chivalry: and above all the claim to a descent from Trojan blood was a family honour, of which all the nations and empires of Europe, with its greatest knights and potentates, were firmly persuaded. With the Norman romance passed into England and Sicily: each country afforded it new heroes, and new materials; but no where did it flourish as in France. From the coalescence of various causes, this taste formed the way of life, language, poetry, and even religion and morals of men*.

Then, if we pass from the regions of fable into the land of history, is there a kingdom in Europe, where chivalry has blossomed with more elegance than in France? When, after the decline of the Carolingian race, almost as many courts of little potentates, dukes, counts, or barons, shone forth in power and

* Of these directions and ingredients of the romance of the middle ages I shall speak elsewhere.

splendour, as there were provinces, castles, and fortresses; every palace, every knight's seat, was also a school of chivalry and honour. The national vivacity of the people; the contests they had maintained for centuries against the arabs and normans; the fame their forefathers had thereby acquired; the flourishing state, to which many families had raised themselves; their intermixture with the normans themselves; but, especially, that peculiarity in the character of the nation, which displays itself throughout their whole history from the days of the gauls; introduced into chivalry that felicity of expression, that prompt elasticity, easy complaisance, and sparkling grace, which, in any other nation except the french, is to be found but late, or seldom, if ever. How many french knights may be named, whose sentiments and actions, in peace and war, throughout the whole history of France, even down to the times of royal despotism, display so much valour, nobleness, and gallantry, that their families will be eternally honoured! When Fame founded the trump of the croisades, the knights of France were the flower of european chivalry: french families wore the diadem of Jerusalem and Constantinople; and the laws of the new state were promulgated in french. The language and manners of France seated themselves on the british throne, likewise, with William the conqueror: and the two nations emulously rivalled each other in the virtues of chivalry, as the plains both of France and Palestine witnessed, till England relinquished to it's neighbour the prize of empty splendour, and chose the more useful career of civil virtues. France first braved the power of the pope; and indeed in the easiest way, with a degree of grace: even St. Lewis himself was far from a slave of the holy father.. England, Germany, and other countries, have had more valiant kings than France: but policy first entered France from Italy, and there assumed at least the garb of decorum, however disgraceful her actions. This spirit imparted itself likewise to institutions of learning, magisterial dignities, and tribunals of justice, at first to their advantage, afterwards to their detriment.

No wonder, then, that the french nation is become the vainest in Europe: almost from the origin of it's monarchy it has held the lamp to this quarter of the Globe, and given it the tone in it's most important revolutions. When all nations flocked together to Palestine, as to a grand carousal, the german knights were led by their connexion with the french, to lay aside their teutonic turbulence (*furor teutonicus*). The new dress, likewise, which coats of arms and other marks of distinction spread over all Europe in the time of the croisades, was for the most part of french origin.

We should now speak of the three or four orders of spiritual knights, which,

founded in Palestine, attained so much wealth, and so many honours; but the heroic and political drama, in which they acquired these, lies before us, with its five, or rather seven acts; to it therefore we will proceed.

CHAPTER III.

The Croisades and their Consequences.

986. PILGRIMS and popes had long complained of the distresses of christians
 1000. at Jerusalem. The end of the World was announced to be at hand:
 1074. and Gregory VII believed he had 50000 men ready to follow him to
 the holy sepulchre, if he would place himself at their head. At length a na-
 1094. tive of Picardy, Peter the hermit, in concert with Simeon, the patriarch
 of Jerusalem, succeeded in persuading pope Urban II to set his hand to
 1095. the work. Two councils were called; and in the latter of them the pope
 made a speech, at the conclusion of which the people in a frenzy exclaimed: 'it
 is the will of God! it is the will of God!'

Accordingly multitudes were marked with a red cross on the right shoulder; the croisade was preached throughout all papal christendom; and various privileges were conferred on the holy warriors. They were allowed to alienate or mortgage lands without the assent of their lords; a permission, which was also conferred on ecclesiastics, with respect to their benefices, for a term of three years: all the croisaders were taken under the protection and jurisdiction of the church, with regard both to person and property, and admitted to the rights of the clergy: during the continuance of the holy war they were exempt from all taxes and contributions, from being sued at law for any debts they had contracted, and from paying any interest for what they owed: and they obtained a complete absolution for all their sins. An incredible number of devout, dissolute, giddy, restless, savage, fanatics and dupes, of all ranks and degrees, and even of both sexes, flocked together. The forces were
 1096. mustered; and Peter the hermit set out, barefoot, and clad in a long cowl, at the head of an army of 300000 men. Spurning at all order, they plundered wherever they came. The hungarians and bulgarians united; hunted them into the woods; and he arrived at Constantinople with a miserable remnant, of about 30000, in a wretched condition. Gottschalk, a priest, followed with 15000; and a count of the name of Emich, with 200000 more.

These men began their holy war with a massacre of the jews, of whom they murdered twelve thousand in a few towns on the banks of the Rhine: and in Hungary they themselves were either massacred or drowned. The first undisciplined horde of hermits, strengthened by the addition of some italians, were transported into Asia, experienced the distresses of famine, and would have been totally extirpated by the turks, had not Godfrey of Bouillon at length arrived before Constantinople with his regular forces, and the flower of european chivalry. The army was mustered in the plains of Chalcedon, and found to consist of 500000 foot, and 130000 horse. Nicæa, Tarsus, Alexandria, Edeffa, Antioch, and at length Jerufalem, were taken amid incredible dangers and difficulties; and Godfrey of Bouillon was unanimously chosen king. His brother Baldwin was made count of Edeffa; and the prince of Tarentum, Boemund, duke of Antioch: Raymond, count of Tholouse, became count of Tripoli; and all the heroes celebrated in Tasso's immortal poem distinguished themselves in this campaign. Misfortune, however, succeeded misfortune: the little kingdom had to defend itself against innumerable swarms of turks from the east, and of arabs from Egypt; and defended itself at first with incredible courage and fortitude. But the ancient heroes died: the kingdom of Jerufalem came under a regency: dissensions arose among the princes and knights: a new power sprung up in Egypt, that of the mamalukes, with which the noble and valiant Saladin straitened the perfidious, depraved christians, and at length took Jerufalem; thus putting an end to this little shadow of a kingdom, before it had been enabled to celebrate it's centennial jubilee. 1097. 1187.

All the subsequent croisades, to maintain or reconquer this kingdom, were in vain: and the little principalities preceded or soon followed it in their downfall: Edeffa remained in the hands of the christians no more than fifty years: and the immense croisade, the second in order, undertaken by the emperor Conrad III, and Lewis VII king of France, at the war-whoop of St. Bernard, with 200000 men, was unable to restore it. 1144. 1147.

In the third croisade, three valiant potentates, the emperor Frederic I, Philip Augustus king of France, and Richard the lionhearted of England, took the field against Saladin. The first was drowned in a river, and his son died: the other two, being jealous rivals, and the french king in particular envious of the british, could accomplish nothing more than the reconquest of Acre. Unmindful of his word, Philip Augustus returned; and Richard, unable alone to contend against the power of Saladin, was obliged reluctantly to follow him. Nay he had the misfortune, as he travelled through Germany 1189.

in a pilgrim's guise, to be stopped by Leopold duke of Austria, in revenge for a pretended insult at the siege of Acre, and basely delivered into the hands of the emperor Henry VI; who still more basely detained him four years in strict confinement, till, all the world murmuring at this unknighly action, he
 1194. suffered him to ransom himself for 100000 marks of silver.

The fourth croisade, undertaken by the french, dutch, and venetians, under the count of Mounterrat, never reached Palestine; being led by the self-
 1202. ish, revengeful venetians. They took Zara, and failed for Constantinople:
 1204. the imperial city was twice taken and plundered: the emperor fled: Baldwin, count of Flanders, erected a latin empire in Byzantium: the empire and the spoil were divided, and the venetians acquired the richest part of the booty, on the Adriatic, the Euxine, and the Grecian sea. The com-
 1205. mander in chief of the expedition became king of Candia, which island also he sold to his covetous allies: and instead of the countries beyond the Bosphorus he received the crown of Thessalonica. A principality of Achaia, and a duchy of Athens, were created for french barons: wealthy venetian nobles were made dukes of Naxos and Negropont: there was a count palatine of Zant and Cephalonia: the grecian empire was sold like ordinary plunder to the best bidder. On the other hand, different branches of the grecian imperial race
 1204. erected an empire at Nicæa; a duchy, which afterwards assumed the title of empire, at Trebifond; and a despotism, afterwards styled an empire likewise, in Epirus. As so little was left to the new latin emperors of Constantinople, this
 1261. weak and hated throne with difficulty stood for fifty years: the emperors of Nicæa retook the ancient grecian imperial city; and at length, all these possessions, acquired by adventurers, fell into the hands of the turks.

The fifth croisade, undertaken by the hungarians and germans, was without effect. The kings of Hungary and Cyprus, a titular king of Jerusalem,
 1217. and the grand masters of the different orders, surrounded Mount Tabor, blocked up the enemy, and had the victory in their hands: but jealousy and discord robbed them of their advantage; and the croisaders returned home, foiled and dejected.

Urged incessantly by the papal court, the emperor Frederic II dispatched a fleet to the Holy Land. An advantageous truce was on the point of
 1221. being concluded; but it was frustrated by the pope's legate: and as the emperor, compelled greatly against his inclinations, entered on the campaign, the
 1228. pope himself hindered all probability of it's success, by an absurd ban, and a treacherous attack upon the european dominions of the emperor.
 1229. A truce was concluded with the sultan of Bagdad; Palestine and Jeru-

Jerusalem were yielded to the emperor; but the holy sepulchre remained in the hands of the saracens, as a free port for pilgrims from all quarters.

This divided possession of Jerusalem, however, continued scarcely 1244. fifteen years; and St. Lewis was unable to regain it by his croisade, the 1248. seventh in order, and of all the most unfortunate. He himself, with 1250. his whole army, fell into the hands of the enemy in Egypt: he was obliged to purchase his ransom at a dear price: and on a second expedition, equally useless and unfortunate, against the moors, he ended his life before Tunis. His melancholy example at length stifled the senseless propensity to religious wars in Palestine; and the last of the christian cities there, 1268. Tyre, Acre, Antioch, and Tripoli, fell, one after another, into the hands 1288. of the mamalukes. Thus ended this infatuation, which had cost european christendom immense sums of money, and multitudes of men: and what were its consequences * ?

It has been customary, to ascribe so many beneficial effects to the croisades, that, conformably to this opinion, our quarter of the Globe must require a similar fever, to agitate and excite its forces, once in every five or six centuries; but a closer inspection will show, that most of these effects proceeded not from the croisades, at least not from them alone; and that, among the various impulses Europe then received, they were at most accelerating shocks, acting upon the whole in collateral or oblique directions, with which the minds of europeans might well have dispensed. Indeed it is a mere phantom of the brain, to frame one prime source of events out of seven distinct expeditions, undertaken in a period of two centuries, by different nations, and from various motives, solely because they bore one common name.

1. *Trade*, we have seen, the europeans had already opened with the arabian states, before the croisades: and they were at liberty to have profited by it, and extended it, in a far more honourable way, than by predatory campaigns. By these, indeed, carriers, bankers, and purveyors, were gainers: but all their gain accrued from the christians, against whose property they were in fact the croisaders. What was torn from the greek empire was a disgraceful trader's booty, serving, by extremely enfeebling this empire, to render Constantinople an easier prey at a future period to the turkish hordes, who were continually pressing more closely upon it. The venetian lion of St. Mark prepared the way, by the fourth croisade, for the turks to enter Europe, and spread themselves so widely

* I have never seen the essays and prize papers, concerning the effects of the croisades, written at the instigation of different learned societies: therefore I deliver my own opinion, without reference to any of them.

in it. The genoeſe, it is true, aſſiſted one branch of the greek emperors to re-aſcend the throne: but it was the throne of a weakened, broken empire, which fell an eaſy prey to the turks; then both the venetians and genoeſe loſt their beſt poſſeſſions, and finally almoſt all their trade, in the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas.

2. *Chivalry* aroſe not from the croiſades, but the croiſades from chivalry. the flower of french and norman knighthood appeared in Paleſtine in the firſt campaign. The croiſades, indeed, contributed rather to rob chivalry of it's proper honours, and to convert real armed knights into mere armorial ones. For in Paleſtine many aſſumed the creſted helmet, which in Europe they durſt not have born: they brought home with them armorial devices and nobility, which they transmitted to their families, and thus introduced a new claſs, the nobility of the heralds office, and in time alſo nobility by letters patent. As the number of the ancient dynaſties, the true equeſtrian nobility, leſſened, theſe new men fought to obtain poſſeſſions, and hereditary prerogatives, like them: they carefully enumerated their anceſtors, acquired dignities and privileges, and in a few generations aſſumed the title of ancient nobility; though they had not the ſlighteſt pretenſions, to rank with thoſe dynaſties, which were princes to them. Every man, that bore arms in Paleſtine, might become a knight: the firſt croiſades were years of general jubilee for Europe. Theſe new nobles in right of military ſervice were ſoon of great uſe to growing monarchy, which cunningly knew how to avail itſelf of them againſt ſuch of the ſuperiour vaffals as ſtill remained. Thus paſſion balances paſſion, and one appearance counteracts another: and at length the nobility of the camp and the court totally obliterated the ancient chivalry.

3. It is ſelf evident, that the orders of *ſpiritual knights*, founded in Paleſtine, were of no advantage to Europe. They ſtill conſume the capital, once dedicated to the holy ſepulchre, an object wholly dead to us. The hospitalers
 1100. were to receive pilgrims on their arrival, nurſe the ſick, and adminiſter to the leper: theſe are the lofty knights of St. John of our time. When a nobleman of Dauphiny, Raymond du Puy, introduced among them the vow of
 1130. carrying arms, the order of Lazarus ſeparated from them, and adhered to the primitive inſtitution. The templars were regular canons, lived ten
 1119. years on alms themſelves, and protected the pilgrims to the holy ſepulchre; till, their property increaſing, their ſtatutes were altered, and the knights
 1128. had their eſquires; the order, it's lay brothers. Laſtly, the teutonic order was founded for the aſſiſtance of the ſick and wounded left on the field: bread,

water, and clothing, were it's rewards; till it also became rich and powerful, from it's useful services against the infidels.

All these orders displayed much valour, and much pride, in the Holy Land; and likewise treachery and disloyalty: but with Palestine their history might well have terminated. When the knights of St. John of Jerusalem were compelled to quit this country; when they had lost Cyprus and Rhodes, and Charles V had bestowed on them the rock of Malta; how singular was the commission, to remain to eternity croisaders out of Palestine, and on that score to enjoy possessions in kingdoms safe from the attacks of the turks, and which no pilgrim could traverse in his way to the Holy Land! Lewis VII received the order of Lazarus into France, and would have reclaimed it to the original purpose of it's institution, the care of the sick: more than one pope was desirous of suppressing it: but it was protected by the kings of France, and Lewis XIV united it with some other trifling orders. In this his sentiments differed from those of his ancestor, Philip the fair, who barbarously exterminated the templars from motives of avarice and revenge; and appropriated to himself their estates, to which he had no claim. Finally, the teutonic knights were called in by a duke of Massovia to assist him against the heathen prussians, and obtained from a german emperor the gift of all the land they could conquer on the occasion, except what belonged to himself. They subdued Prussia; united with the brothers of the sword in Livonia; obtained Esthonia from a king, who was unable to hold it: and thus at length ruled in knightly luxury and licentiousness from the Vistula to the Dwina and Neva. The ancient prussian nation was exterminated; lithuanians and samoiedes, courlanders, lettonians, and esthonians, were divided as live stock among the german nobles. After long wars with the poles, they lost half Prussia, and then the whole; and at length Livonia and Courland also. In these regions they left nothing behind them, but the repute, that it was scarcely possible for a conquered country, to be ruled more proudly and oppressively, than they ruled these coasts, which, had they been cultivated by some maritime states, would certainly have assumed a very different appearance. Upon the whole it may be said, that the three orders abovementioned belonged not to Europe, but to Palestine. There they were founded; there they appeared in their place. There they might fight the infidels, attend hospitals, protect the holy sepulchre, administer to the leper, and conduct the pilgrim. Their institutions should have been extinguished with these objects: their estates should have been consigned to christian works, they were the especial property of the sick and the poor.

4. As the new armorial nobility was indebted solely to the growth of monarchy in Europe for its establishment: so the *freedom of cities*, the origin of communities, and lastly the emancipation of the peasantry, in this quarter of the Globe, are to be ascribed to causes very different from the mad croisades. That in their first febrile paroxysm a respite was granted to all prodigal householders and debtors; that vassals and bondsmen were discharged from their duties, tributaries from their tribute, and those who were liable to imposts from their taxes; assuredly formed not the basis, on which the right of liberty in Europe rests. Cities had long been erected; the rights of more ancient cities had long been confirmed and extended: and if the growing industry and commerce of these cities sooner or later embraced the liberty of the peasant also; if the endeavours of such municipalities after independence were necessarily included in the progress of rising monarchy; surely we need not seek in Palestine, what the ever changing scene of events in Europe alone could produce. The durable system of Europe could scarcely have proceeded from a religious folly.

5. The *arts and sciences*, too, were nowise promoted by the proper croisaders. The disorderly troops, that first flocked to Palestine, had not the least notion of them; and were not likely to acquire them in the suburbs of Constantinople, or from the turks and mamalukes in Asia. In the succeeding campaigns we need only reflect on the short time the armies passed there; and the wretched circumstances, under which this time was often spent merely on the confines of the country; to dissipate the splendid dream of great discoveries imported thence. The pendulum clock, which the emperor Frederic II received as a present from Meledin, introduced not gnomonics into Europe; the grecian palaces, which the croisaders admired in Constantinople, improved not the style of european architecture. Some croisaders, particularly Frederic I and II, laboured to promote the progress of knowledge: but Frederic I did this ere he beheld Asia; and the short visit paid that country by Frederic II served only as a fresh stimulus, to urge him forward in that course of government, which he had long before chosen. Not one of the spiritual orders of knighthood introduced any new knowledge into Europe, or contributed to its cultivation.

All that can be said in favour of the croisades, therefore, is confined to a few occasions, on which they cooperated with causes already existing, and involuntarily promoted them.

1. As multitudes of wealthy vassals and knights repaired to the Holy Land in the first campaigns, and many of them never returned, their estates were of

course fold, or swallowed up in others. By this they profited who could, the liege lord, the church, the cities already established, each after his own manner: this promoted and accelerated the course of things, tending to confirm the regal power by the erection of a middle class, but was by no means its commencement.

2. Men became acquainted with countries, people, religions, and constitutions, of which they were before ignorant; their narrow sphere of vision was enlarged; they acquired new ideas, new impulses. Attention was drawn to things, which would otherwise have been neglected; what had long existed in Europe was employed to better purpose; and as the World was found to be wider than had been supposed, curiosity was excited after a knowledge of its remotest parts. The mighty conquests made by Genghis-Khan in the north and east of Asia attracted men's eyes chiefly toward Tatory; whither Marco Polo, the venetian, Rubruquis, a frenchman, and John de Plano Carpino, an italian, travelled with very different views; the first, for the purpose of trade; the second, to satisfy royal curiosity; the third, sent by the pope, to make converts of the people. These travels, of course, have no connexion with the croisades, before and after which they were undertaken. The Levant itself is less known to us from these expeditions, than might have been expected: the accounts the orientals give of it, even in the period when Syria swarmed with christians, are still indispensable to us.

3. Finally, on this holy theatre europeans became better acquainted with each other, though not in a manner much to be prized. With this more intimate acquaintance kings and princes for the most part brought home an implacable enmity: in particular the wars between England and France derived from it fresh fuel. The unfortunate experiment, that a christian republic could and might contend in unison against infidels, formed a precedent for similar wars in Europe, which have since extended to other quarters of the Globe. At the same time it cannot be denied, that, while the neighbouring powers of Europe obtained a closer inspection of their mutual weaknesses and strength, some obscure hints were given for a more comprehensive policy, and a new system of relationship in peace and war. Every one was desirous of wealth, trade, conveniences, and luxuries; as an uncultivated mind is prone, to admire these in strangers, and envy them in the hands of another. Few, who returned from the east, could be satisfied with european manners: even their heroism left much behind, awkwardly imitated Asia in the west, or longed for fresh travels and adventures. For the actual and permanent good produced by any event is always proportionate to its consonancy with reason.

Unfortunate would it have been for Europe, if, at the time when it's military swarms were contending for the holy sepulchre in a corner of Syria, the arms of Genghis-Khan had been sooner and more powerfully turned toward the west. Then probably our quarter of the Globe would have been the prey of the mungals, like Poland and Ruffia; and it's nations might have dislodged, with the pilgrim's staff in their hands, to tell their beads round the object of their contention. Let us quit these wild fanatics, therefore, and take a retrospect of Europe; that we may see how the course of events, reciprocally acting on each other, gradually enlightened and formed the moral and political reason of mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

Cultivation of Reason in Europe.

IN the early ages of christianity we observed numerous sects, that attempted to elucidate, apply, and refine the system of religion, through the means of an *oriental philosophy*, as it was called. These were oppressed and persecuted as heretics. The doctrine of *Manes*, which, after the manner of Zoroaster (*Zerdufht*), included a moral institution, and the design of operating as an active instructor on the community, seems to have struck the deepest root. This was more severely persecuted than theoretical heresies; and took refuge eastwards in the mountains of Tibet, westwards in those of Armenia, and here and there in european countries, in all of which it experienced the same fate as in Asia.

It was long imagined to be suppressed, till, in the profundity of the dark ages, it burst forth, as at a signal given, from a country whence it was least expected, and at once occasioned a prodigious uproar in Italy, Spain, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Germany. This country was *Bulgaria*; a barbarous province, for which the greek and latin churches had long contended: there was it's invisible head, who, far different from the pope of Rome, professed to resemble Christ in poverty. Secret missions went into all parts, and attracted, not only the common people, especially industrious mechanics and the oppressed peasantry, but also the wealthy and the noble, particularly women, with a power, that braved the severest persecution, and death itself. Their placid doctrines, which enforced pure human virtues; industry, chastity, and orderliness, in particular; and held up a pattern of perfection, to which the community should be led in a very distinguished manner; were a loud war-whoop against the prevailing abominations of the church. They

directly attacked the morals of the clergy, their wealth, ambition, and licentiousness; rejected their superstitious doctrines and practices, the immoral magic of which they denied; and instead of all these admitted a simple benediction by the imposition of hands, and an union of the members under their leaders, the perfect. According to them, transubstantiation, crucifixes, masses, purgatory, the intercession of saints, and the inherent preeminence of the romish priesthood, were human doctrines and inventions. The Scriptures, particularly of the Old Testament, they judged very freely, reducing the whole to poverty, purity of body and mind, quiet industry, gentleness, and benevolence; hence in many sects they received the appellation of *bons hommes*, *the good people*. Among the most ancient of them the oriental manicheism is palpable: they set out with the contest between light and darkness, held matter for the origin of sin, and entertained very rigid notions of sensual pleasure. By degrees their system was purified. Out of these manicheans, who were also called cathars (heretics), patarenes, publicans, *passagieri*, and by various other names in different countries, according to local circumstances, individual teachers, particularly Henry and Peter de Bruis, formed less offensive parties; till at length the waldenses taught, and maintained with great courage, almost every thing, that protestanism preached some centuries after. The earlier sects appear to have resembled the anabaptists, mennonites, bohemian brethren, and other sects of modern times. All these spread themselves in silence so powerfully, and with such persuasive impression, that the consequence of the clergy declined extremely in whole provinces, particularly as these were by no means a match for them in disputation. The countries, in which the *provençal language* prevailed, were the spots in which they most flourished: they translated the New Testament, an undertaking at that time unheard of, into this language; published their *rules of perfection* in provençal verse; and were the first, who *instructed and formed the people in their vernacular language, after the introduction of the romish religion* *.

On these accounts, however, they were persecuted, as far as they were known, and according to the power possessed by their enemies. So early as the beginning of the eleventh century, manicheans were burned at Orleans, in the heart of France, and among them even the confessor of the queen: they refused to recant, and died in the profession of their faith. 1022.

* Among the writings on these sects, of which ecclesiastical history gives a full account, I shall only mention one book, far less known than it deserves, J. C. Fuesli's *Neue und unparteiische Ketzer- und Kirchenhistorie der mittleren Zeit*, 'New and impartial History of Heresies, and of the Church in the Middle Age,' 3 vols. 8vo. in which very useful documents may be found.

They experienced equal severity in every country, in which the clergy could exercise their authority, as in Italy, and the south of Germany: but in the south of France, and in the Netherlands, where the magistrates protected them as industrious people, they lived a long time in peace; till, after various disputations had taken place, and several councils been held, when the fury of the clergy was wrought to the highest pitch, the tribunal of the ^{1200.} inquisition was let loose upon them; and as their protector, Raymond count of Toulouse, a real martyr in the cause of humankind, would not give them up, that dreadful crusade, with all its superabundance of atrocities, burst forth upon them. The order of friars established to preach against heresy, the dominicans, founded expressly to oppose them, were their detestable judges: Simon of Montford, the leader of the crusade, was the most inhuman monster the Earth ever bore: and from this corner of France, where the poor *bons hommes* had remained concealed for two centuries, the bloody tribunal against heretics extended itself to Spain, Italy, and most catholic countries.

Hence the confusion in which the most opposite sects of the middle ages are involved, as they were all indiscriminate objects of this bloody tribunal, and the persecuting spirit of the clergy: yet hence, likewise, their steadfastness, and silent spread, so that after three or four centuries the protestant reformation in all countries found the seeds still existing, to which it only imparted a new vivifying power. Wickliff in England acted upon the lollards, as Huss did upon his bohemians; for sects of this pious kind had long abounded among the bohemians, whose language and that of the bulgarians were the same. The germe of truth now planted, and the decided hatred to superstition, the adoration of mortals, and the insolent, ungodly clergy, were incapable of being again trodden under foot: the franciscans, and other orders, which, as examples of poverty and the imitation of Christ, were set up in opposition to these sects, to overturn and suppress them, were so far from accomplishing this end, even among the people, that they rather afforded fresh occasion for scandal. Thus the future downfall of the chief of tyrants, the hierarchy, proceeded from the meanest beginnings, from simplicity and sincerity: these simple *bons hommes*, though not without their prejudices and errors, certainly used more freedom of speech in several respects, than many of the reformers could afterwards venture to employ.

What plain common sense did on the one hand, was promoted not ineffectually, though more slowly and with greater refinement, on the other, by *speculative reason*. In the schools of the convents the pupils were taught to dispute on St. Austin and the logic of Aristotle; and accustomed themselves to this

art, as a literary trial of skill. The censures passed on this liberty of disputation, as an useless exercise of the middle ages, are therefore unjust: for this liberty, at that period, was inestimable. In these disputations many things could be controverted, and sifted by opposing arguments, for the positive or practical questioning of which the times were not yet ripe. Did not the reformation itself begin by men's taking shelter under the laws of disputation, and claiming the protection of it's licence? As the monastic schools became universities, that is theatres of controversy, 'protected by the papal and imperial licence, a wide field was opened, for exercising and improving the language, presence of mind, wit, and sagacity, of learned polemics. There is not an article of divinity, or a subject of metaphysics, that has not occasioned the most subtle questions, disputes, and distinctions, and in time been spun out to the finest thread. This finispun texture naturally possessed less stability, than that coarse web of positive traditions, to which an implicit faith was required: and being fabricated by human Reason, it could be unravelled and destroyed by that same Reason, as the work of her own hands. Thanks, therefore, to that subtle spirit of disputation of the middle ages; and to every sovereign, who erected palaces for it's learned webs! If many of the disputants were persecuted from motives of envy, or from their own want of caution; if, after their death, their bodies were disinterred from consecrated ground; still the art, on the whole, continued it's progress, and greatly improved the weapons of reason in Europe.

As the south of France was the first permanent stage of an emerging popular religion, it's northern part, especially in the celebrated parisian school, was the theatre of *speculation and scholastic philosophy*. Here Paschasius and Ratramnus lived: Scotus Erigena found favour and a residence in France: Lanfranc and Berengarius, Anselm, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Occam, and Duns Scotus, the morning stars and suns of school philosophy, taught in France, either the whole of their lives, or during their best years: and men of all countries flocked to Paris, to learn this chief wisdom of the times. Whoever had rendered himself famous in this succeeded to posts of honour in church and state: for scholastic philosophy was so far from being excluded from political affairs, that Occam, who had defended Philip the fair, and Lewis of Bavaria, against the pope, could say to the emperor, 'defend me with the sword, I will defend you with my pen.' The french language is indebted for its superiour philosophical precision to this circumstance among others, that ready and subtle disputation was so long and so much pursued in

it's native country; for it was allied to the latin, and easily adapted itself to the expression of abstract ideas.

That *the translation of the works of Aristotle* contributed more than any thing to the subtle philosophy of the schools is evident, from the authority this grecian sage retained in all the seminaries of Europe for several centuries: but the causes of the avidity, with which his writings, borrowed chiefly from the arabs, were studied, are to be sought in the disposition and way of thinking of the age, not in the croisades. The first stimulus Europe received from the sciences of the arabs arose from their mathematical performances, and the secrets men hoped to find in them for the support and prolongation of life, the attainment of immense riches, and the knowledge of mutable destiny. The philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality, were sought after; future events were read in the stars, and even mathematical instruments considered as implements of magic. Thus men pursued the wonderful like children, and were prompted by it to the most arduous journeys; a pursuit, which, disappointed of it's object, was destined to be rewarded with the future acquisition of truth. As early as the eleventh century, Constantine the african, had spent 39 years in travelling from Carthage over the east, to collect the secrets of the arabs in Babylon, India, and Egypt. At length he came to Europe, and as a monk at Mount Casino translated many writings, particularly medical, from the arabic and the greek. However defective the translations may have been, they came into many hands, and the first school of physic at Salernum arose to great fame, by the help of arabian knowledge. Such of the french and english as were eager after learning repaired to Spain, that they might enjoy the benefit of being instructed by the most celebrated arabian teachers. On their return they were considered as magicians, and even boasted of various secret arts as the effects of magic. Thus mathematics, chymistry, and phyfic, were introduced into the most celebrated schools of Europe, partly in writings, partly in discoveries and practical experiments. But for the arabs, no Gerbert, no Albertus Magnus, Arnold of Villa Nova, Roger Bacon, Raymund Lully, &c. would have arisen. Even the emperor Frederic II, who contributed with indefatigable zeal, to promote the translation of arabic works, and the revival of every science, was not perfectly free from superstition in his attachment to learning. The propensity to travel, or the rumour of travels to Spain, Africa, and the east, where the most valuable secrets of nature were to be learned from retired sages, prevailed for centuries: many secret orders, and numerous confraternities of travelling scholars, arose from this; and indeed the whole aspect of

the philosophical and mathematical sciences betrayed this arabian origin even beyond the epoch of the reformation.

No wonder, that *mysticism* united with such a philosophy, thus moulding itself to one of the most refined systems of contemplative perfection. Even in the first christian church mysticism had passed from the modern platonick philosophy into several sects; the translation of the spurious Dionysius the areopagite introduced it into the monasteries of the west, many sects of the manicheans were infected with it; and at length, with and without the aid of the scholastic philosophy, it attained a degree of consistency among the monks and nuns, in which it displayed sometimes the most subtle sophistry of human reason, at others the most refined tenderness of the enamoured heart. This, however, was not without it's benefits, as it called off the mind from mere ceremonial worship, accustomed it to enter into itself, and animated it with mental food. It afforded the languishing, solitary mind, separated from this World, consolation and exercise, while it refined the sentiments by a sort of spiritual romance. It was the precursor of the metaphysics of the heart, as the school philosophy prepared the way for that of the understanding, and each served as a counterpoise to the other. Happy for us, that the time is almost past, in which the use of this opiate is requisite as a medicine*.

Lastly, *the science of jurisprudence*, this practical philosophy of the sense of justice and sound reason, when it began to shine with fresh light, contributed more than mysticism and speculative philosophy to the welfare of Europe, and the firm establishment of the rights of society. In the ages of honourable simplicity few written laws were requisite; and the rude germanic nations properly strove against the subtleties of the roman jurists: more polished and partly corrupted countries found written laws of their own, and soon an abstract of the roman law, altogether indispensable. And as this at length became insufficient in opposition to a progressive papal jurisprudence, increasing with every century, it was not amiss, that the whole code of roman law should be brought forward, to exercise the judgment and understanding of enlightened and active men. With good reason did the emperors recommend this study, particularly in the higher seminaries of their italian dominions: for it was a school of arms against the pope, and all rising free-states were equally interested in availing themselves of it, against the pope, the emperor, and their petty tyrants. Accordingly the number of lawyers increased astonishingly: as knights in the realm of literature, as defenders of the liberty and property of nations, they

* After all that has been written by Poiret, mysticism, particularly of the middle ages, composed in a truly philosophical spirit.

were highly respected in courts, in cities, and in the chair of learning; and on their account the much frequented city of Bologna was esteemed the seat of learning.

The rise of the law rendered Italy what France was in the philosophy of the schools: the old roman and the canon law contended against each other: even several popes were men of the greatest eminence in jurisprudence. Pity, that the reanimation of this science happened at a time, when the sources were impure, and the spirit of the old roman law could be seen only through a mist. Pity, that the subtle philosophy of the schools arrogated to itself this practical science, and perverted the decisions of the intelligent by a captious play upon words. Pity too, that an auxiliary study, an exercise of the judgment on the model of the fages of antiquity, should have been taken as a positive rule, as the gospel of the law, in all cases, even the most novel, and farthest from being determined. Hence arose that spirit of chicane, which in time nearly extinguished the character of almost every national legislation in Europe. Barbarous book-learning assumed the place of a living knowledge of things: legal processes became labyrinths of form and quibble: instead of a noble sentiment of justice, men's minds were turned to artifice and cunning, which rendered the language of the laws and of the courts perplexed and unintelligible, and ultimately, in conjunction with the triumphant power of the magistrate, favoured a spurious paramount right of the sovereign. The consequences of this have long continued to be felt.

Were we to compare the state of the human mind on it's reawaking in Europe with some of the more ancient times and nations, it would afford a melancholy prospect. Every thing good rises tremblingly from rude and stupid barbarism, under the pressure of spiritual and temporal tyranny: here, the best seeds are trodden down on the stony soil, or scattered by the plundering birds; there, the young plants rise with difficulty amid the thorns, and are choked or stunted, as they want the favourable soil of ancient goodness and simplicity. The first popular religion appeared amid persecuted and in some degree fanatical heretics; philosophy, in the theatres of disputing logicians; the most useful sciences, as magic and superstition; the guidance of the human passions, as mysticism; an improved political system, as the patched and cast-off mantle of a long superannuated and heterogeneous legislation: and through these Europe was to raise herself from a state of the utmost confusion, and form herself anew. What the soil wanted, however, in depth of fertile mould; the implements and auxiliary means, in utility; the air, in serenity and freedom; was compensated, probably, by the extent of the field to be cultivated, and the value of the plants

to be produced. Not an Athens, or a Sparta, but an Europe was here to be formed; and this not to the *kalokagathie* of a grecian philosopher or artist, but to a reason and humanity, that in time should embrace the World. Let us see what institutions have been framed for this, what discoveries have been scattered in the darkness of ages, to be ripened by futurity.

CHAPTER V.

Institutions and Discoveries in Europe.

1. THE cities of Europe are become as it were fixed camps of cultivation, workshops of industry, and the commencement of an improved political economy, without which this country would be still a desert. In all the territories of the roman empire, these cities retained some portion of the roman arts; and in countries, which the romans had never possessed, they were mounds opposing the incursion of fresh barbarians, and the asylums of men, of trade, of arts, and manufactures. Praised for ever be the sovereigns, who founded, endowed, and protected them: for with them were founded constitutions, that first gave public spirit room to breathe; aristocratico-democratical bodies were formed, the members of which watched over each other, were often mutual enemies and opponents, and on this very account unavoidably promoted the common security, emulative industry, and progressive exertion. Within the walls of a city, all that could awaken and give consistency to invention, diligence, civil liberty, economy, policy, and order, according to the times, was condensed together in a narrow space: the laws of many cities are masterpieces of civic wisdom. Through the means of cities, nobles, as well as communities, enjoyed the first title of common liberty, *citizenship*. In Italy republics arose, which went farther through the means of their trade, than Athens and Sparta had ever gone: on this side the Alps, not only did individual cities distinguish themselves by industry and commerce, but alliances were formed between them, and ultimately a commercial state, which extended over the Euxine and the Mediterranean, the Atlantic ocean, the North Sea, and the Baltic. These cities lay in Germany, the Netherlands, and the northern kingdoms, Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Livonia. Lubec was their head, and the chief trading towns of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, joined their association; forming perhaps the most efficacious alliance, that ever existed.

This contributed more to give Europe the form of a commonwealth, than all the croisades and romish rites; for it rose superiour to religious or national distinctions, and founded the connexion of states on mutual advantage, emulative industry, probity, and order. Cities accomplished what was beyond the power of princes, priests, and nobles: they formed of Europe *one common co-operative body*.

2. The guilds in cities, troublesome as they often were to the magistracy, and even to the growing arts, were at that time indispensable, as little commonwealths, as associated bodies, in which all were answerable for each, to the support of honest trade, the improvement of the arts, and the honour and esteem of the artists themselves. By their means Europe became the manufacturer of all the productions of the Globe; and thus, though the smallest and poorest quarter of it, obtained an ascendancy over the rest. To it's industry Europe is indebted for the production of wonders from wool and flax, hemp and silk, hair and skins, earth and clay, stones, metals, plants, juices, and colours, ashes, salts, rags, and excrement, which again served as means to produce other wonders. If the history of inventions be the greatest praise of the human intellect; guilds and corporations have been their school; as by the separation of the arts, and methodical regularity of instruction, by the mutual emulation of many, and by the stimulus of want, things were produced, which the favour of the sovereign or the state scarcely knew, seldom promoted or rewarded, and rarely if ever excited. Discipline and order produced them under the shade of a peaceful city government: the most ingenious arts arose from mechanical labours and enterprizes, the garb of which they long wore, particularly on this side the Alps, not to their disadvantage. Let us not ridicule, therefore, or pity the formalities and introductory steps of every such practical regulation; for with them were connected the essence of art, and the common honour of artists. The monk and the knight had far less need of initiatory degrees than the active artificer, for the perfection of whose work the whole fraternity was in some measure answerable: for to every thing, that bears the name of art, nothing is so detrimental as underhand dealings, and the want of a sense of honour arising from being master of it; by which the very foundations of the art are sapped.

Let us honour, therefore, the masterworks of the middle ages, which evince how much arts and trades are indebted to cities. Gothic architecture would never have attained it's flourishing state, had not republics and wealthy commercial cities so eagerly rivalled each other in townhalls and cathedrals, as once the cities of Greece in temples and statues. In each we can discern whence

the models of it's taste were derived, and the country to which the stream of it's commerce flowed: the most ancient edifices of Venice and Pisa display a different style of architecture from those of Milan or Florence. The transalpine cities followed various models; but, on the whole, the better gothic architecture is most easily explicable from the constitutions of the cities, and the spirit of the times. For as men live and think, so they build and inhabit: foreign models they can copy only after their own manner, as every bird constructs her nest conformably to her figure, and mode of living. The boldest and most ornamental gothic architecture would never have taken place in convents, or in the castles of knights: it is the peculiar magnificence of public communities. In like manner, the most valuable works of art of the middle ages displayed the coats of arms of families, communities, and cities on metals, ivory, glass, wood, tapestry, or vestments; on which account they have in general a permanent intrinsic worth, and are justly an inalienable property of cities and families. Thus civic industry wrote chronicles, also; in which, it is true, the writer's house, family, trade, and city, are his World: but then his heart and soul are proportionally engaged in his subject; and happy the country, that can frame it's history from many such, and not from the chronicles of monks. In the councils of cities, too, the roman jurisprudence was first wisely and efficaciously restricted; otherwise it would have ultimately stifled the best statutes and rights of nations.

3. *Universities* were literary cities and corporations: they were instituted with similar rights, as commonwealths, and participate their merits. Not as schools, but as political bodies, they weakened the barbarous pride of the nobility, supported the cause of sovereigns against the pretensions of the popes, and opened the way to political services and rank for a properly learned class, instead of the exclusive clergy. Never, perhaps, did men of learning enjoy more esteem, than at the first dawn of science: men beheld the indispensable value of a good they had long despised; and as one party dreaded the light, the other more eagerly hailed the rising morn. Universities were fortresses and bulwarks of science against the belligerent barbarism of ecclesiastical tyranny: they at least guarded a treasure, of which the value was but half known, for better times. After Theodoric, Charlemagne, and Alfred, we would particularly honour the ashes of the emperor Frederic II; who, among his various merits, possesses that of having given universities an impulse toward improvement, the effects of which were not transient. In these institutions Germany has become as it were the centre of Europe: in it the arsenals and magazines

of science have acquired the greatest internal abundance, as well as the most durable form.

4. Lastly, we shall enumerate a few of the discoveries, which, carried into practice, became powerful implements in the hands of posterity. The *magnetic needle*, the guide of navigation, was probably introduced into Europe by the arabs, and first brought into use by the merchants of Amalfi, in their early commercial intercourse with them. With this the World was put into the hands of europeans. The genoese soon ventured into the Atlantic: and afterwards the portugese evinced, that they possessed not the western shores of the old World in vain. They sought and found a way round Africa, and thus changed the course of the whole indian trade: till another genoese discovered a second hemisphere, and thus gave a new face to all the relations of our part of the Globe. The little implement of these discoveries came into Europe with the dawn of science.

Glass, an early commodity of the asiatics, which was once estimated at it's weight in gold, has become of more value than gold in the hands of europeans. Whether it were Salvino, or some other, who polished the first lens, he thus formed the beginning of an instrument, destined after-^{1255.}wards to discover millions of celestial worlds, regulate time and navigation, and assist the noblest sciences the human mind can boast. Already Roger Bacon, the franciscan friar, in his cell discovered wonders, in the proper-^{1250.}ties of light, and in almost all the realms of nature, for which he was rewarded with the hatred of his order, and with imprisonment; but which were more happily pursued by others, in more enlightened times. The first beam of light in the mind of this wonderful man showed him a new world in Heaven and on Earth.

Gunpowder also, a murderous, yet on the whole a beneficial gift, was either brought into use by the arabs, or at least introduced into Europe by their writings. Here and there it appears from these to have been discovered by more than one, and but slowly applied to practical purposes, when it changed the whole face of the art of war. The modern state of Europe was incredibly influenced by this invention; which better subdued the spirit of chivalry, than all the councils that ever were held; promoted the authority of sovereigns, more than any assemblies of the people; checked the blind fury of personally embittered armies; and even set limits to that art of war, to which it gave birth. This and other chymical inventions, above all destructive spirituous liquors, which the arabs introduced into Europe as medicines, and which have

since spread themselves as poisons throughout the wide World, constitute epochs in the history of the human species.

The same may be said of the preparation of *paper* from rags, and the prototypes of *printing* in cards, and other impressions of immoveable characters. That probably owed its origin to the paper fabricated from cotton, and from silk, which the arabs brought out of Asia: this proceeded by slow steps from one attempt to another, till, from wooden cuts and types, the printer and copperplate engraver produced the most important effects on our quarter of the globe. The *arithmetical figures* of the arabs; the *musical notes* invented by Guido of Arezzo; *clocks*, for which we are indebted to Asia; oil-painting, an ancient german invention; and other useful implements, invented, or adopted and imitated, in various places, before the dawn of science; almost always became, in the hothouse of european industry, seeds of new things and events for future ages.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion.

How, therefore, came Europe by its cultivation, and the rank it obtained by it above other countries? Time, place, necessity, the state of affairs, the stream of events, impelled it to this: but, above all, its *peculiar industry in the arts*, the result of many *common exertions*, procured it this rank.

1. Had Europe been rich as India, uninterfered as Tatory, hot as Africa, isolated as America, what has appeared in it would never have been produced. Even in the profoundest barbarism its situation on the Globe helped to restore it to light; but from its rivers and seas it derived most advantage. Take away the Dnieper, the Don, and the Dwina; the Euxine, Mediterranean, Adriatic, Atlantic, Baltic, and North Seas; with their coasts, islands, and rivers; the great commercial league, to which Europe is indebted for its best activity, would not have existed. But as it was, the two great and wealthy quarters of the Globe, Asia and Africa, embraced their poorer, smaller sister; they sent her their wares and inventions from the remotest limits of the World, from regions the earliest and longest civilized, and thus whetted her industry and powers of invention. The climate of Europe, the remains of the ancient greek and roman worlds, assisted all this: and thus the sovereignty of Europe is founded: on *activity and invention*, on *science and united emulative exertions*.

2. The *pressure of the romish hierarchy* was perhaps a necessary yoke, an indif-

penable bridle for the rude nations of the middle ages. Without it Europe had probably been the prey of despots, a theatre of eternal discord, or even a mongal wilderness. Thus as a counterpoise it merits praise: but as the first and permanent spring it would have converted Europe into a tibetian ecclesiastic state. Action and reaction produced an effect, which neither party had intended: want, necessity, and danger, brought forward between the two a third state, which must be the life-blood of this great active body, or it will run into corruption. This is the *state of science, of useful activity, of emulative industry in the arts*; which necessarily, yet gradually, puts an end to the periods of chivalry and monachism.

3. Of what kind the modern cultivation of Europe could be is evident from what has been said: only a cultivation of men as they were, and were desirous of being; a cultivation, through the means of industry, arts, and sciences. He, who needed not, despised, or abused these, remained what he was: an universal, reciprocating formation of all ranks and nations, by means of education, laws, and a political constitution, was not then to be thought of; and when will it be? Reason, however, and the effective joint activity of mankind, keep on their unwearied course; and it may even be deemed a good sign, when the best fruits ripen not prematurely.

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