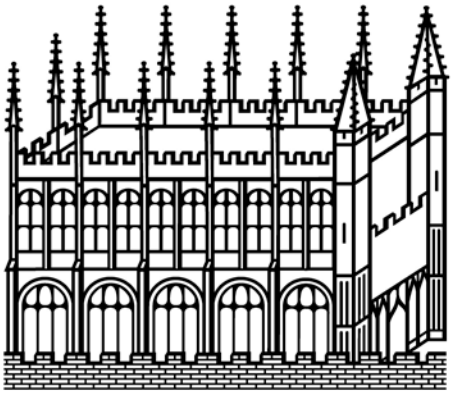

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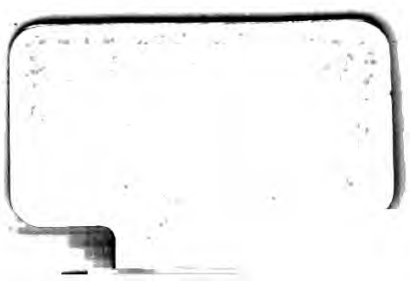

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E. 113.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

NUMBERS of MANKIND in antient and modern Times:

IN WHICH

The ſuperior Populouſneſs of Antiquity is maintained.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

Containing ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS on the ſame Subject,

And

Some REMARKS on Mr. *Hume's Political Diſcourſe, Of the Populouſneſs of antient Nations.*

Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for G. HAMILTON and J. BALFOUR. 1753.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of this Diſſertation on the Numbers of Mankind, *is deſired by the* PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY *at* EDINBURGH, *to acquaint the Public, that it was compoſed ſeveral Years ago, and was read before them.*

FOR his own part, as he has the Honour to be a Member of this SOCIETY, *he had no Thoughts of publiſhing it, till it ſhould have had a Place among their Works. However, as they had not determined when they were to publiſh their Tranſactions, he was adviſed to embrace an Opportunity of publiſhing his* Diſſertation *at a Time, when he might hope for the Attention of the Learned, which had been already directed towards the Subject, by the Publication of Mr.* HUME's *Political Diſcourſe,* Of the Populouſneſs of antient Nations. *He has therefore publiſhed it in its original Form; only ſome inconſiderable Additions have been made to it, ſince it was preſented to the* PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

THE Diſſertation *is followed by an* Appendix *on the ſame Subject, which was not read before the* PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. *The Author thought he ſhould not have done Juſtice to his Argument, if he had*

had omitted to ſubjoin thoſe Obſervations, with which he was furniſhed by a Review of the Subject, and by a careful Peruſal of Mr. HUME's Political Diſcourſe.

HE thinks himſelf obliged to own, what indeed every one, who is in the leaſt acquainted with him, muſt have immediately perceived, That the Obſervations on Law, inſerted in the Appendix, *are the Work of another Hand.*

THE firſt Edition of Mr. HUME's *Diſcourſe is quoted in the* Appendix. *However, this can be no Inconvenience to ſuch as have the ſecond; ſince the Pages of both Editions almoſt every where coincide.*

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

NUMBERS of MANKIND.

AS there is nothing in the form and condition of this Earth, or in any of the appearances of Nature, to excite in us the idea of their neceſſary exiſtence, or make us believe that this our globe was from eternity; it is not only agreeable to the ſacred Records, but alſo confirmed by other antient monuments, as well as the moſt authentic hiſtory and tradition, that mankind had a beginning on this earth*, and were not raiſed up at firſt in all its regions

* *Praeterea, ſi nulla fuit genitalis origo*
Terrai et coeli, ſemperque aeterna fuere:
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum et funera Trojae,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetae?
Quo tot facta virûm toties cecidere? nec uſquam
Aeternis famae monumentis inſita florent?
Verum (ut opinor) habet novitatem ſumma, recenſque
Natura eſt mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit.

LUCRET. lib. 5.

Thus even the irreligious Poet, contemplating the appearances on the earth.

gions at once; but that, ſpringing originally from a few, and increaſing by propagation, they gradually removed from their original ſeats, as force, or neceſſity, or choice, or accidents determined them; and in a courſe of years or ages, ſpread themſelves far and wide, till at length the more fertile ſoils, and more temperate climates, and even the more barren and leſs mild were repleniſhed with inhabitants.

WHETHER we ſhould receive any inſtruction, it would, ſurely, be curious and entertaining, had we a diſtinct and compleat view of the various migrations of mankind, and could form an accurate ſcheme of the times in which they happened, the leaders of theſe early colonies, the different regions towards which they directed their courſe, with other circumſtances concerning the firſt peopling of the world. But no ſuch entertainment can be expected. For, as in fact hiſtory affords only imperfect hints; ſo, according to the natural order of things, and without inſpiration, it could not poſſibly be otherwiſe. Before the affairs of mankind could have been ſo firmly ſettled, as to give them leiſure or inclination to write hiſtory, the memory of the moſt antient facts muſt have been in a great meaſure forgotten and deſtroyed *.

IN

* Had this been duly conſidered, many authors, more remarkable for their various reading, and fanciful application of names, than ſolidity of judgment, had given themſelves and the world much leſs unneceſſary trouble, in tracing up nations to their original.

IN what length of time all the habitable parts of the earth might have been peopled, as fully as they ever were at any period, 'tis impoſſible to determine with preciſion. However, this may be calculated according to any ſuppoſitions which ſhall be laid down; and as we comprehend all circumſtances more fully, and our ſuppoſitions are more juſt, we ſhall approach nearer to the truth.

IN attempting ſuch a calculation from a ſingle pair, let us ſuppoſe, that all marry who attain to maturity, and that every marriage produces ſix children, three males, and as many females; two of whom, *viz.* one male and one female die in the more early ſeaſons of life, or before marriage: according to which, four will remain to marry, and repleniſh the world: That, in $33\frac{1}{3}$ years from the time when this original pair began to propagate, they ſhall have produced their ſix children; and that within the ſecond period of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, each of the ſucceeding couples ſhall have produced ſix children; and this to take place continually. On theſe ſuppoſitions, at the beginning of the ſcheme, the original pair are only in life; at the end of the firſt period of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, there are ſix perſons living, *viz.* the original pair, and four others; at the end of $66\frac{2}{3}$ years, there will be 12; againſt 100 years there will be 24 living; and the number of perſons in the ſucceeding periods of the ſcheme, according to theſe ſuppoſitions, will be found as in the following table.

Periods of the ſcheme.	Years of the ſcheme.	Born ſince the laſt period.	Of whom died ſince the laſt period.	And remain in life to propagate.	Died ſince laſt period, at an advanced age.	The ſum of all who are alive at the reſpective periods.	The ſums of the laſt column collected.
Col. 1.	Col. 2.	Col. 3.	Col. 4.	Col. 5.	Col. 6.	Col. 7.	Col. 8.
0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
1	$33\frac{1}{3}$	6	2	4	0	2+4	6
2	$66\frac{2}{3}$	12	4	8	2	6+8—2	12
3	100	24	8	16	4	12+16—4	24
4	$133\frac{1}{3}$	48	16	32	8	24+32—8	48
5	$166\frac{2}{3}$	96	32	64	16	48+64—16	96
6	200	192	64	128	32	96+128—32	192

THIS table is divided into 8 columns, which are each explained at the top; and + in the 7th column ſignifies the addition, and — the ſubtraction of the following number, as in *Algebra*.

To take an example.

AT the firſt year, or the beginning of the ſcheme, none but the original pair are in life, as they have not as yet begun to propagate.

AT

AT the end of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, from the time the original pair began to propagate, ſix have been born, of whom two are dead, and four are left alive to propagate; and as the original pair are ſuppoſed to be ſtill living, there are in whole ſix perſons on the earth.

AT the end of $66\frac{2}{3}$ years, 12 have been born ſince the end of the laſt period, of whom four are dead, and eight left alive to propagate; and the original pair being by this time ſuppoſed to be dead, it being 66 years ſince they began to propagate, or about 100 ſince we muſt ſuppoſe they might have been born, (for we ſuppoſe they began to propagate in full vigour); there are only 12 in life, *viz.* 6 who were alive at the end of the firſt period deducting the original pair: and 8 younger, who are alive at the end of the ſecond period.

AGAIN, at the end of 100 years, or the third period, 24 have been born ſince the end of the ſecond or laſt period, of whom 8 are dead, and 16 left alive; and the generation, which ſucceeded the original pair, being by this time dead, there are 24 in life, *viz.* the 12 who were alive at the end of the ſecond or laſt period, deducting 4 who died ſince the end of this ſecond period: and 16 younger, born ſince that time.

AND thus we ſhall find mankind to double themſelves in each period of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, as will be evident from the compoſition of the table.

FOR, take any number in the third column, and call it a; then the number on the right hand is

$\frac{a}{3}$,

$\frac{a}{3}$, and the next to that on the right hand is $\frac{2a}{3}$; and multiplying this laſt by 3, the product is $2a$, or the double of a; and this double of a is the number immediately below a: ſo to find out the third column, you double the numbers from 6.

AGAIN, one third part of $2a$ is $\frac{2a}{3}$, which is the double of $\frac{a}{3}$: Hence to find out the fourth column, you double the numbers from 2.

AGAIN, two thirds of $2a$ is $\frac{4a}{3}$, which is the double of $\frac{2a}{3}$: ſo to find the fifth column, you double the numbers from 4.

AGAIN, the ſixth column is the ſame with the fourth, beginning one row lower, or rather the ſame with the fifth, beginning two rows lower.

AND as to the ſeventh column, it conſiſts of 3 numbers, of which the number to the left hand (after the ſecond row) is evidently equal to all in the row immediately above; and the other two numbers in the third row, *viz.* 8—2 is equal to the firſt number on the left hand, or 6: ſo the third is double of the ſecond row. Thus 16—4 in the fourth row is double of 8—2 in the third row, and 32—8 in the fifth row is double of 16—4 in the fourth; and this will always be the caſe, as will be evident from conſidering the fifth and ſixth columns, of which this part of the ſeventh column is compoſed.

THIS table may be continued to any number of years or periods; but it is ſufficient to continue the firſt, the ſecond, and the 8th columns, as follows;

Periods of the ſcheme.	Years of the ſcheme.	The ſum of all who are alive at the reſpective years or periods.
7	233	384
8	266	768
9	300	1536
10	333	3072
11	366	6144
12	400	12,288
13	433	24,576
14	466	49,152
15	500	98,304
16	533	196,608
17	566	393,216
18	600	786,432
19	633	1,572,864
20	666	3,145,728
21	700	6,291,456
22	733	12,582,912
23	766	25,165,824
24	800	50,331,648
25	833	100,663,296
26	866	201,326,592
27	900	402,653,184
28	933	805,306,368
29	966	1610,612,736
30	1000	3221,225,472
31	1033	6442,450,944
32	1066	12884,901,888
33	1100	25769,803,776
34	1133	51539,607,552
35	1166	103079,215,104
36	1200	206158,430,208
37	1233	412316,860,416

THUS

THUS we may ſee to what a prodigious multitude mankind muſt have increaſed in 1200 years; and that, according to this rate, they muſt have overſtocked the earth long before the deluge. Such a conſequence, therefore, quite inconſiſtent with fact, as well as the experience of the world concerning the proportion between births and marriages, muſt convince us, that mankind cannot be ſuppoſed to propagate at ſo high a rate. 'Tis certain, however, every marriage muſt produce more than one couple; elſe, reckoning the period of human life to be 100 years, there could never be a dozen of perſons alive at any one time. Every couple, therefore, produces more than one, but fewer than two couples, at a medium; and it is eaſy to inſtitute a calculation according to any aſſumed hypotheſis *.

FROM tables of this kind, framed according to any ſtated rule, we may ſee the number of perſons, who may be ſuppoſed to deſcend from a ſingle pair, and how they increaſe in proportion to their diſtance from the root. The table, according to ſtrict truth, does not ſhew the number of perſons who are alive at the reſpective periods, but more properly the number of perſons, ſprung from the original pair, who

* It is not owing to the want of prolific virtue, but to the diſtreſſed circumſtances of mankind, that every generation does not more than double themſelves; for this would be the caſe, if every man were married at the age of puberty, and could ſufficiently provide for a family.

who are at the ſame diſtance from the root, according to the ſeveral generations. Thus, in the 19th generation, there are above one million and a half; in the 24th, above fifty millions of people: and in the ſame manner the calculation may be extended to any generation whatever.

AND tho' all of the ſame generation, or at the ſame diſtance from the root, may not be alive at the ſame time, (for we may conceive, that perſons at the ſame diſtance from the original ſtock, may not be contemporary, but diſtant from one another by many years, nay even by ages); yet as irregularities of this kind may be generally ſuppoſed to correct and compenſate one another, the table will ſhew, nearly, the number of perſons who are in the world at the reſpective periods of time *.

'TIS impoſſible to determine the number of inhabitants on our globe in the preſent, or in any preceeding age. But we may fix, perhaps, certain limits, to direct us a little in ſuch an uncertain ſubject. And if we make Mr. *Templeman*'s obſervations, in his *ſurvey of the globe*, the foundation of our calculations, we may form various conjectures about the number of mankind at preſent.

* Tho' mankind do not actually propagate according to the rule in our tables, or any other conſtant rule; yet tables of this nature are not entirely uſeleſs, but may ſerve to ſhew, how much the increaſe of mankind is prevented by the various cauſes which confine their number within ſuch narrow limits.

THUS, if we ſuppoſe the whole habitable earth to be as well peopled in proportion as *England*, it contains more than 4960 millions of people.

OR ſuppoſing it peopled in the ſame proportion as *Scotland*, it contains more than 1655 millions.

OR if in proportion as *Spain*, it contains more than 1055 millions.

AND as *Holland* is thought to be near ſeven times as populous as *England* in proportion to its extent, if the whole habitable earth be peopled in the ſame proportion as *Holland*, it contains about 34720 millions of inhabitants.

IF it is peopled as ill as the Empreſs of *Ruſſia*'s dominions, it contains about 475 millions.

FROM whence we may conclude, that as it muſt be much better peopled than *Ruſſia*, and much worſe than *Holland*, it muſt contain many more than 475, and many fewer than 34720 millions.

AND, upon the whole, it cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſo well peopled as *England*; perhaps ſcarce ſo well as *Spain*; and does not really contain more than 1000 millions.

THUS, according to the preceeding table, there might have been many more inhabitants, than are on the earth at preſent, long before the deluge. For, in the 966th year of the world, we find more than 1610 millions: and as, from the deluge to the reign of *Alexander the Great*, there paſſed about 2000, and to the reign of *Cyrus* the founder of the *Perſian* empire,

empire, about 1800 years; according to the formerly ſuppoſed rate of propagation, or even a much lower, the earth might have been better peopled, than it is at preſent, before either of thoſe periods.

THIS holds eſpecially with reſpect to the times ſince the deluge; as it appears from ſacred hiſtory, that there were at leaſt three couples for multiplying, the three ſons of *Noah* and their wives, inſtead of one; which is the ſuppoſition in the tables. On which account, the inhabitants of the earth muſt have increaſed much quicker than in the tables; and the earth might have been well peopled in times which we account very antient *.

INDEED, whatever law of propagation we ſuppoſe, which is not altogether improbable, we ſhall find, that, calculating according to this law, mankind muſt have been much more numerous at a certain period already paſt, than they have ever been; and after that period, as well as before it, they muſt continually increaſe. But we ought not from hence to conclude, that the earth is actually peopled in this manner; that mankind are always increaſing, and are moſt numerous in the ages moſt diſtant from the beginning; or that they multiply regularly, according to any ſtated law: on the contrary, it is

* If we conſider the longævity of the Patriarchs, both before and after the deluge, mentioned in ſacred Scripture, the argument for the more ſpeedy increaſe of the world will appear ſtronger.

is certain, that they multiply irregularly, and may have been more numerous in ſome preceeding, than ſome ſubſequent ages; and that, thro' various cauſes, there has never been ſuch a number of inhabitants on the earth at any one point of time, as might have been eaſily raiſed by the prolific virtue of mankind.

THE cauſes of this paucity of inhabitants, and irregularity of increaſe, are manifold. Some of them may be called phyſical, as they depend entirely on the courſe of nature, and are independent on mankind. Others of them are moral, and depend on the affections, paſſions and inſtitutions of men. Among the phyſical cauſes, ſome are more conſtant; as the temperature of the air, the extreme heat or cold of ſome climates, the barrenneſs of ſome regions of the earth, and the unfavourableneſs of the climate or natural product of ſome ſoils to generation. Other cauſes of this kind are more variable; ſuch as, the inclemency of particular ſeaſons, plagues, famines, earthquakes, and inundations of the ſea; which ſweep off great numbers of men, as well as other animals, and prevent the quicker repleniſhing of the earth.

THAT theſe natural cauſes have had a baneful influence, cannot be doubted; yet it is probable, that this might be prevented in ſome degree, perhaps even in a great meaſure, by the ſkill and induſtry of men, and by wholeſome laws and inſtitutions; at leaſt, that all theſe natural cauſes

taken

taken together, excepting perhaps the incurable barrenneſs or unwholeſomeneſs of ſome particular regions, have not ſo bad an effect as the moral cauſes, which ariſe from the paſſions and vices of men, and have a more conſtant and powerful influence on the world.

To this laſt article we may refer ſo many deſtructive wars which men have waged againſt one another; great poverty, corrupt inſtitutions, either of a civil or religious kind, intemperance, debauchery, irregular amours, idleneſs, luxury, and whatever either prevents marriage, weakens the generating faculties of men, or renders them negligent or incapable of educating their children, and cultivating the earth to advantage. 'Tis chiefly to ſuch deſtructive cauſes we muſt aſcribe the ſmall number of men. Indeed, had it not been for the errors and vices of mankind, and the defects of government and education, the earth muſt have been much better peopled, perhaps might have been overſtocked, many ages ago: and as theſe cauſes operate more or leſs ſtrongly, the earth will be better or worſe peopled at different times. Hence likewiſe, as has been already remarked, we may ſuppoſe that the earth was much better peopled in ſome antient ages, than it has been in modern times, or is at preſent. Nor is there any neceſſity to ſuppoſe, that the number of men upon the earth muſt have continually increaſed,

creaſed, and that, in the preſent age, their number is greater than at any preceeding period.

UPON a more exact inquiry, perhaps, we ſhall find reaſon to conclude, that the reverſe is the truth. And as the illuſtration of this ſubject is of very great importance, and is cloſely connected with the deepeſt policy and moſt intimate conſtitution of human ſociety *; an accurate examination muſt be uſeful and intereſting; and tho' we may not give perfect ſatisfaction, yet any tolerable proſpect can ſcarce be unacceptable.

To ſay truth, 'tis but a very imperfect proſpect we dare promiſe on this occaſion. The ſubject itſelf is ſo involved in obſcurity, the accounts of antient authors are ſo incompleat, the matter has either not been handled at all, or handled ſo ſuperficially, that much cannot be expected in a firſt eſſay; nay, after the moſt accurate ſearch, it will perhaps be found impoſſible to determine preciſely at what rate mankind have either increaſed or decreaſed, in particular ages or countries; or from what particular cauſes ſuch variations have happened. Exact regiſters of ſuch things have never been kept, and indeed could never have been preſerved

* The queſtion concerning the number of mankind in antient and modern times, under antient or modern governments, is not to be conſidered as a matter of pure curioſity, but of the greateſt importance; ſince it muſt be a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the cuſtoms or policy of any government, if, *ceteris paribus*, it is able to raiſe up and maintain a greater number of people.

preſerved in ſuch an unſettled ſtate of human affairs. However, ſome light may, ſurely, be ſtruck out, which will illuſtrate this ſubject.

BUT ere we proceed to inquire more particularly, it will be proper to lay down ſome general maxims taken from nature and conſtant obſervation, which may be uſeful to guide us in a more particular compariſon.

1. A rude and barbarous people, living by hunting, fiſhing, or paſturage, or on the ſpontaneous product of the earth, without agriculture, commerce and arts, can never be ſo numerous as a people inhabiting the ſame tracts of land, who are well ſkilled in agriculture and civilized by commerce: ſince uncultivated can never maintain ſo many inhabitants, as cultivated lands. In every country, there ſhall always be found a greater number of inhabitants, *cæteris paribus*, in proportion to the plenty of proviſions it affords, as plenty will always encourage the generality of the people to marry.

HENCE it is evident, that the world could not be beſt peopled in rude and ignorant ages, while men lived chiefly on the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth, and were neither inſtructed in agriculture, nor poliſhed by arts or commerce; and that in whatever age we find a country groſsly ignorant of agriculture, we may be aſſured, it muſt have been but thinly inhabited.

FROM which we may juſtly conclude, that, notwithſtanding the numerous ſwarms which the

northern

northern nations ſent forth into ſouthern climes, at different times, thoſe northern regions might have, and if barbarous and without agriculture, muſt have, been ill peopled; for it is eaſy to overſtock an uncultivated country: nay, ſuch a country, in the common courſe of things, if it does not meet with ſome extraordinary calamities, muſt neceſſarily be obliged, at certain times, to diſburden itſelf of the mouths it cannot ſuſtain.

2. As the earth could not be well peopled in rude and barbarous ages, neither are all countries, climates and ſoils, equally favourable to propagation. There muſt therefore be a great difference in reſpect of inhabitants, notwithſtanding the beſt culture, diſcipline and conſtitutions.

FOR cold and barren heaths, rocky mountainous tracts, marſhes which cannot be drained, inhoſpitable ſands, and many other ſorts of unfruitful ſoils, cannot produce equal quantities of food, and, by conſequence, *cæteris paribus*, cannot be ſo well ſtored with people, as ſofter and more fertile climes. We may alſo ſuppoſe, that, in certain countries, the air, or the moſt common food may be more or leſs favourable to generation; or that there is not an equal proportion between the births of males and females; and that the males abound too much. Circumſtances of this ſort may lay a foundation for great variety in the numbers of mankind.

3. BESIDES the nature of the climate or ſoil, the number of people in every country depends greatly on

on its political maxims and inſtitutions concerning the diviſion of lands.

FOR if there is very nearly an equal diviſion of the lands, and into ſuch ſmall ſhares, that they can yield little more than what is neceſſary to feed and clothe the labourers in a frugal and ſimple manner; tho', in ſuch a ſituation, there is little room for commerce with ſtrangers, and none but the moſt ſimple and neceſſary arts can be in uſe; yet if the country be naturally fertile, it muſt of neceſſity be well ſtored with people.

HENCE we may conclude, that when any antient nation divided its lands into ſmall ſhares, and when even eminent citizens had but a few acres to maintain their families, tho' ſuch a nation had but little commerce, and had learned only a few ſimple and more neceſſary arts, it muſt have abounded greatly in people. This was in a particular manner the caſe in *Rome* for ſeveral ages, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.

BUT if the lands be divided into very unequal ſhares, and, in general, may produce much more than will decently ſupport ſuch as cultivate them, the country may, notwithſtanding, be well peopled, if arts be encouraged, and the ſurplus above what will ſupport the labourers of the ground be allotted for ſuch as cultivate the arts and ſciences.

FURTHER, where the lands are very unequally divided, and are capable of maintaining many more than thoſe who cultivate them, that country muſt

be thinly peopled, unleſs elegance is ſtudied, and proper encouragement given to the arts which conduce to it.

IN every country where nothing is known but agriculture and paſturage, and a few more ſimple arts, ſuch as thoſe of building and cloathing in a frugal taſte, without ornament; of neceſſity there muſt be few inhabitants, unleſs the lands are nearly equally divided, and into ſmall portions. And in a fertile ſoil, the ſhares of land muſt be extremely ſmall, if they are not able to ſupport many more than are neceſſary for cultivating them. Hence in every ſuch ſoil, where a great extent of property is allowed, there is room for elegance, ſumptuouſneſs, and the encouragement of arts; and in whatever country induſtry prevails, about what ſubject ſoever it is employed, provided the produce of it gives a price either at home or abroad, ſuch a country may abound in people, and flouriſh by arts and commerce: it may even flouriſh tho' agriculture is not encouraged to the full, and ſeveral tracts of land are much neglected. Nay ſuch is the force of induſtry and commerce, that by means of them many more inhabitants may be maintained in a country, than the produce of the lands can poſſibly ſupport, as their food may be brought from a diſtance.

AT the ſame time, if the lands of any country be neglected, the world in general muſt ſuffer for it, and the earth muſt contain a ſmaller number of inhabitants,

habitants, in proportion to the numbers which might be ſupported by theſe uncultivated lands.

4. As the number of people in every nation depends moſt immediately on the number and fruitfulneſs of marriages, and the encouragement that is given to marry; where-ever the greateſt care is taken in this reſpect, the number of the people, *cæteris paribus*, ſhall be greateſt; and a bad policy in this article muſt give a conſiderable check to propagation.

HENCE, in a debauched nation, addicted to ſenſuality and irregular amours, and where luxury and a high taſte of delicate living prevails, the number of the people muſt be proportionally ſmall, as their debauchery will hinder many from marrying, and their luxury and delicacy will render them leſs able to maintain families.

FOR the ſame reaſon, a nation ſhall be more populous in proportion as good morals and a ſimplicity of taſte and manners prevail, or as the people are more frugal and virtuous.

5. AS mankind can only be ſupported by the fruits of the earth and animal food, and it is only by agriculture, fiſhing and hunting, that food can be provided, to render the earth as populous as poſſible, theſe arts muſt be duly cheriſhed, eſpecially agriculture and fiſhing.

HENCE, the more perſons employ themſelves in agriculture and fiſhing, and the arts which are neceſſary for managing them to greateſt advantage, the

the world in general will be more populous; and as fewer hands are employed in this manner, there will be fewer people. 'Tis of no conſequence in this argument, how the people are employed otherwiſe, nay tho' they are employed in arts which may increaſe the riches and numbers of particular nations, if they are not employed in ſuch as are neceſſary for providing food.

AMONG arts of this latter kind, we include not only ſuch as are immediately, but ſuch likewiſe as are abſolutely neceſſary for this purpoſe, tho' perhaps more immediately ſubſervient to other ends; ſuch as, the arts of preparing all neceſſary tools of the beſt ſort, and even cloaths and houſes, and whatever tends to preſerve health and ſtrength for labour. But we exclude all thoſe arts which tend wholly to ornament and delicacy: and tho' perhaps it is impoſſible (nor is it neceſſary in the preſent argument) to diſtinguiſh preciſely, which art is for ornament, and which for uſe; yet we can eaſily diſtinguiſh *en gros*. And in proportion as the arts for ornament or thoſe for uſe do moſt prevail, there ſhall be, in general, fewer or more inhabitants in the world.

FOR if 10,000, or any other determinate number, be employed merely in works of ornament, and their labour does not ſerve for multiplying food, there muſt be a certain number, by whoſe labour, in providing food, theſe 10,000 muſt be ſupported. Now if theſe 10,000, inſtead of labouring for ornament

nament alone, were employed directly in providing food, they might not only provide for themſelves, but likewiſe for a certain number of others; by which greater numbers might be ſupported on the whole. In order therefore to have the greateſt poſſible number of inhabitants in the world, all mankind ſhould be employed directly in providing food; and this muſt always be the caſe till the whole earth ſhall be cultivated to the full. But whenever the earth ſhall happen to be as richly cultivated as is poſſible, then will there be room for thoſe arts that tend only to ornament, ſince ſuch as are employed in the more neceſſary labour of providing food, muſt be able to purchaſe it for a much greater number than themſelves.

IN all this, we do not pretend to diſtinguiſh nicely ſuch arts as are uſeful from ſuch as are merely ornamental; much leſs do we aſſert that mankind ought never to employ themſelves in arts which tend only to ornament, till the whole earth ſhall be cultivated in the higheſt degree poſſible. We only obſerve what muſt be the natural and neceſſary conſequences of various ſorts of labour, and by what means the earth may be beſt ſtocked with people; to wit, when the neceſſary arts are moſt ſtudied. This muſt hold when the whole earth is conſidered *in cumulo*. It will alſo hold, as to any particular country, in all caſes but one; I mean, when a ſmaller number by traffick and commerce, can import a greater quantity of food,

food, than could be raiſed by the ſame number purſuing agriculture at home. For in this caſe, tho' the world in general muſt loſe in numbers of people, yet a particular nation might gain. Thus the world in general, and every particular nation, (except in the caſe juſt now ſtated) muſt have fewer or more inhabitants, in proportion as luxury and a delicate taſte, or as ſimplicity of manners prevails, and as the arts neceſſary for providing food are leſs or more induſtriouſly cultivated.

HENCE it follows likewiſe, contrary perhaps to what many may apprehend, that trade and commerce, inſtead of increaſing, may often tend to diminiſh the number of mankind, and while they enrich a particular nation and entice great numbers of people into one place, may be not a little detrimental upon the whole, as they promote luxury and prevent many uſeful hands from being employed in agriculture. The exchange of commodities and carrying them from one country to another by ſea or land, does not multiply food; and if ſuch as are employed in this exchange, were employed in agriculture at home, a greater quantity of food would be provided, and a greater number of people might be maintained.

THE ſame principle will teach us, that huge and overgrown cities, which are nurſeries of corruption and debauchery, and prejudicial in many other reſpects, are in a particular manner deſtructive to the populouſneſs of the world, as they cheriſh luxury, entice

entice great numbers of all ranks to reſort to them, and drain the reſt of a country of uſeful labouring hands, who otherwiſe would be employed in agriculture and the moſt neceſſary arts.

NOR do the operoſe manufactures of linen and woollen, toys and utenſils of wood or metals or earth, in which ſo many hands are employed in a commercial nation, contribute ſo much to the increaſe of the people as many are apt to apprehend: and it is not always true, that in proportion as manufactures are numerous and flouriſhing, a country muſt of courſe be more populous than in times of greater ſimplicity.

IN general, living muſt be cheaper, where fewer things are wanted, and what is needed may be moſt eaſily purchaſed. Where-ever living is cheapeſt, and a family can be moſt eaſily ſupported, there will be more frequent marriages and greater numbers of people. Where ſcarce any thing is needed but ſimple food, a ſimple garment, and a little plain furniture, living will be cheapeſt. This agrees beſt to a ſtate, where few mechanic arts are in uſe, and men are chiefly addicted to agriculture.

BUT operoſe manufactures of linen and woollen for cloaths and furniture of houſes, a variety of utenſils of wood and metals, and all the refinements of an opulent and trading nation, tend to multiply mens wants, make the moſt neceſſary and ſubſtantial things dearer, and in general increaſe the expences of living.

FOOD and cloaths, houſes and a little furniture are neceſſary for all. And if a nation be laborious and induſtrious, theſe neceſſaries of life will be in ſuch abundance, that almoſt every one will have them at an eaſy rate; and while the people preſerve their ſimple taſte, and continue to be induſtrious, they will multiply prodigiouſly. But when this ſimplicity of taſte is loſt, which muſt always happen in proportion as operoſe manufactures increaſe: tho' they continue to be induſtrious, yet more of the people will apply themſelves to leſs neceſſary manufactures, and fewer to provide what is more ſubſtantial; and as the proportion of thoſe who apply to elegant manufactures increaſes, and fewer hands are employed in providing food, neceſſaries will become more ſcarce; toys abound, and become more neceſſary for the bulk of the people. This will ſtill keep them dear, tho' they are in plenty. Hence living even in the moſt ſimple manner will become more expenſive. Conſequently mankind be leſs able to ſupport families, and leſs encouraged to marry.

AND tho' the value of labour will become higher as manufactures increaſe, it will not compenſate the greater expences of living. For this is only one article, and will not enable the labourer to furniſh himſelf with ſuch a variety, as growing manufactures render both neceſſary and difficult to be purchaſed.

IT

IT muſt be confeſſed, that numerous manufactures make a nation more elegant and magnificent. They introduce a variety of fine cloaths and furniture; but at the ſame time they divert the attention of mankind from providing food: and while they create a taſte for delicacies, and make them neceſſary, in ſome degree, for the bulk of the people, they increaſe the number of artiſts, and diminiſh that of huſbandmen.

IN one reſpect, therefore, a variety of manufactures diverts the attention of mankind from more neceſſary labour, and prevents the increaſe of the people.

THIS will become more evident, if it ſhall appear, that, in a ſtate where manufactures abound, every inhabitant has four or five acres of ground to maintain him; and, in another where the taſte is more ſimple, there is not one acre for every member of the ſociety.

HOWEVER, if in any ſtate, whether the territory is ſmall or great, there be more people than the whole lands can maintain, even with the beſt culture, the ſociety muſt depend on manufactures; and by manufactures alone they can flouriſh.

BUT if they have ſo much uncultivated land, that, notwithſtanding flouriſhing manufactures, they have ſtill a much greater number of acres than people; had they a more ſimple taſte, and

applied more vigorouſly to agriculture, their people would increaſe more ſpeedily.

THIS argument will be equally ſtrong, whether we ſuppoſe theſe manufactures conſumed at home, or exported abroad, provided what is returned in exchange for the exported commodities is not ſubſtantial food, ſuch as corn or cattle, but only other manufactures which ſupport elegance and magnificence, or contribute to delicacy of living.

NOR has the greater or leſs plenty of money any influence in this caſe. For men cannot live on money but on food: and if, from the policy, and the general cuſtoms of a country, the people want a variety of things they cannot eaſily purchaſe; eſpecially, if, by a greater attention to manufactures than agriculture, common food becomes ſcarce and dear; whatever plenty of money may be ſuppoſed in ſuch a ſituation, there muſt be great diſcouragements to marry, as it will be impoſſible to ſupport families eaſily.

FOR money and the uſe of it muſt always be eſtimated by, and bear a proportion to the ſtock or quantity of goods that are in a nation, and the number of perſons who are to uſe them.

WHAT chiefly encourages marriages, and enables men to ſupport families eaſily, is the eaſy purchaſe of food and what is neceſſary for the bulk of the people. If theſe things can be eaſily purchaſed, it is of little conſequence, in this argument, whether money be in plenty or not. But if,

by

by means of operoſe manufactures, ſuch a variety of things becomes neceſſary, as the bulk of the people cannot purchaſe without difficulty, whatever is the quantity of money, multitudes will be diſcouraged from marrying.

AT the ſame time, we may ſuppoſe a great deal of elegance and magnificence in a ſtate, tho' plain food and the neceſſaries of life may be eaſily purchaſed. This will be the caſe if the magnificence appears only in what belongs to the publick; as in temples, theatres, or public edifices of any kind, or in the ſplendor of the magiſtrates or officers of the ſtate: or, if it deſcends to ſome rich men in a private ſtation, it muſt conſiſt principally in what is durable, and is not daily conſumed; for this ſort of magnificence will not employ many hands, and a ſufficient number will remain for providing food.

SUPPOSE the great body of manufacturers in ſome trading nations that have a large territory, to lay aſide their manufactures, and employ themſelves in agriculture, paſturage, and fiſhing; they would provide a vaſt quantity of food, they would make all the neceſſaries of life cheap and eaſy to be purchaſed; and it would ſoon become viſible how great a difference there is between agriculture and manufactures in rendering a nation populous.

IN oppoſition to this, it may be ſaid, that when a nation is poſſeſſed of a large territory, which is either ſo unequally divided, or divided into ſuch large ſhares, that the whole people, or a great part

of them, have a much greater quantity of land than will maintain them eaſily; ſuch a people muſt be lazy and indolent, and will have nothing to quicken their induſtry, unleſs arts and manufactures are introduced and cheriſhed; that if they have a ſimple taſte, and know little of elegance, as they muſt have great plenty of plain food, and all the neceſſaries of life, there is nothing that will be a ſpur to their ambition; and thus they may continue, for ages, in idleneſs, and their number increaſe very little. But if once a variety of arts and manufactures are introduced among them; if their taſte be refined, their wants increaſed, and they have many alluring objects of art to excite their deſires; this awakens ambition, kindles emulation, quickens induſtry, and engages men to labour, that they may procure the tempting objects they deſire. 'Tis thus a ſociety becomes elegant, magnificent and populous; and now they will make greater advances in a ſhort time, than formerly they were capable of making in many ages, while their ſimplicity of taſte remained.

IT muſt be confeſſed, this has a ſpecious appearance, and is partly founded on truth: yet, upon a more accurate examination, we ſhall find the former arguments for a ſimplicity of taſte remain firm and unſhaken.

IN a preceeding obſervation *, we acknowledged, "That where the lands are very unequally divi-

* Pages 17, 18.

"ded,

"ded, and are capable of maintaining many more "than thoſe who cultivate them, that country "muſt be thinly peopled, unleſs elegance be ſtu-"died, and proper encouragement given to the arts "which conduce to it." This muſt always be the caſe, where this unequal diviſion of the lands continues; or where the ſhares of individuals continue to be very large, tho' equally divided. But the queſtion is, Whether, admitting ſuch a diviſion of lands once to have taken place, the inclination men generally have to marry and raiſe families, would not cauſe them to increaſe: and ſuppoſing them to have only a ſimple taſte, and to know little but agriculture, and a few neceſſary arts, and that this taſte continues, they would not, by means of agriculture, increaſe more ſpeedily, and, in fact, become more numerous, than if they diverted gradually from agriculture; and, inſtead of improving their lands, and living in a ſimple manner, employed themſelves ſo much in ſeeking elegance, and proſecuting manufactures, that, by degrees, plain and ſimple food became ſcarce, and ſo many things were wanted, that living became expenſive, and it was not eaſy for the bulk of the people to ſupport themſelves? Now, it ſeems evident, that this muſt be determined in favour of agriculture, rather than manufactures; and that the people would grow more numerous in the one ſituation, than the other.

SUPPOSE

SUPPOSE that, at the ſame point of time, two nations were equal in all reſpects, and had the ſame ſimple taſte for agriculture, and the neceſſary arts; that the one preſerved the ſame ſimplicity, and the other became refined, and, by degrees, loſt their antient taſte: I apprehend the nation which preſerved its ſimplicity longeſt, would increaſe moſt quickly, and that the acceſſion of foreigners, which we may ſuppoſe in the one caſe more than the other, would not be able to compenſate the ruin occaſioned by luxury, except in very extraordinary circumſtances.

To put this in a clearer light, let us attend to the natural order of things, and the progreſſion that ought to be conceived from ſimplicity to luxury and refinement.

THE taſte of mankind, in the moſt early times, moſt certainly was ſimple, and without refinement. We may even ſuppoſe the actual exiſtence of a time, when men lived on the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth, and the milk and fleſh of animals; when agriculture ſcarce was known, or was extremely imperfect. This taſte however could not continue always; the world would become refined by degrees, agriculture would come more into eſteem, and be improved. But it would not be improved alone: other arts would advance likewiſe. There is a connexion among them, whence they cannot be entirely ſeparated, but muſt appear together, if any of them approaches to perfection. Hence, as agriculture advanced,

advanced, other arts would advance likewiſe; the moſt neceſſary would be firſt improved, and afterwards the leſs neceſſary, thoſe, *to wit*, that tended more to refinement than uſe. The taſte for ſimplicity being original, would long prevail; after it was loſt in ſome things, it would continue in others; and the world would be old before the higheſt refinement, and moſt enormous luxury could take place. In fact, it will be found, that what would appear ruſtic and inelegant to many thought mighty polite at preſent, and would be called great ſimplicity, remained long among the antient nations: yet objects were never wanting to excite induſtry, to provoke emulation and ambition, and diſtinguiſh the rich from the poor. This is certainly the natural order and progreſſion of things. 'Tis impoſſible to conceive, that various arts and manufactures would not be daily invented and improved along with agriculture. But we muſt alſo admit, that the higheſt refinement and greateſt luxury would come laſt into faſhion. In ſhort, I cannot help apprehending, that while the antient ſimplicity remained, and men continued to employ themſelves in agriculture and the ſubſervient arts, and did not divert to arts more elegant than neceſſary, nations would become more populous; and as luxury prevailed, they would increaſe more ſlowly, and their number at length would begin to diminiſh.

THESE general obſervations may ſhew how differently mankind may increaſe in different ages and countries, and by applying them to the hiſtory of particular nations, we ſhall be better enabled to form an opinion concerning the greater or ſmaller number of people at different periods. Something may likewiſe be done, by actual calculation from antient Hiſtorians, to make ſome approaches towards a determination of the real number of the inhabitants of ſome more noted countries. But calculations of this ſort may be thought more uncertain, and concluſions of the firſt kind more firm and ſolid.

WHAT has paſſed in antient times, or even paſſes at preſent in the moſt northern nations of *Europe*, in the northern and eaſtern regions of *Aſia*, and the middle of *Africa*, is very little known. But as to the reſt of theſe continents, particularly thoſe countries which lie near the *Mediterranean* ſea, and were the chief ſeat of antient hiſtory, we are able to form a more certain judgment: and perhaps it will appear, that in moſt of thoſe countries whoſe antient and preſent ſtate is beſt known, there have been fewer inhabitants in later ages, are fewer at preſent, than were in more antient times, and that theſe countries were better peopled before the *Roman* empire was eſtabliſhed, than they have ever been at any ſucceeding period.

To ſet this in the cleareſt light, and render ſuch a ſpeculation more uſeful, it may be proper,

Firſt,

Firſt, to take notice of ſome paſſages in antient hiſtorians, which may help us to form conjectures concerning the number of people in ſome of the moſt noted countries in antient times; and then to compare them with the numbers in *England*: whence it may, perhaps, appear, that many of the antient nations were more populous than ſuch as are reckoned moſt civilized at preſent.

Secondly, To trace the cauſes of this, and inquire whether, from the reaſon of things, and the manners and cuſtoms of antient times, it is not probable that this muſt have been the caſe.

Firſt, As to the fact, the monuments of antient times ſeem in general to preſent a more crouded and magnificent ſcene. We are ſtruck with an idea of more ſumptuous and expenſive works, more powerful ſtates and cities, more numerous armies, and greater crouds of people, than modern ages offer to our view. For this we may appeal to the hiſtories of *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, the iſlands and coaſts of the *Mediterranean* ſea, and ſeveral countries of *Aſia*, but eſpecially *Aſia Minor*.

AT the ſame time, an opinion in favour of antiquity may be carried too far. We may degrade modern policy too much, and give too great a preference to antient manners and times. The world is apt to run into parties and factions in this, as in all other diſputable matters; and in ſuch a diſpoſition, 'tis well if truth and juſtice be but moderately injured.

As an example of too great a prepoſſeſſion in favour of antiquity, we may reckon the aſſertion of *Iſaac Voſſius*, who is not only of opinion that the earth was much more populous in antient than modern times, but even brings down the number of the inhabitants of *Europe* in his own age to 30 millions; a computation undoubtedly far below the juſt account.

WE have this eſtimate in his book of various obſervations*. According to his account,

Spain contained — —	2,000,000
France — — —	5,000,000
Italy, *Sicily*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia* —	3,000,000
England, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* —	2,000,000
Belgium — — —	2,000,000
Germany, *Bohemia*, *Hungary* —	5,000,000
Denmark, &c. — — —	400,000
Sweden, *Norway*, &c. — —	600,000
Poland and *Lituania* — —	1,500,000
Hungary, and eaſtward ——	2,500,000
Dalmatia, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, all *Greece*, *Crete*, and the Iſlands	3,000,000
Sum	27,000,000
Muſcovy — — —	3,000,000
Sum	30,000,000

BUT,

* At *London*, 4to, 1685. See the Diſſertation of the great cities of the *Chineſe*, *p.* 66.

BUT, what is much more ſurpriſing in ſo great a man, we find the learned author of *Lettres Perſanes*, publiſhed ſome years ago, giving it as his opinion, that there were 50 times as many people in the world, in the days of *Julius Cæſar* the firſt *Roman* Emperor, as at preſent; which is certainly too high a proportion *.

THERE is leſs reaſon to admit ſo high a computation for the age of *Julius Cæſar*; as, according to antient accounts, the earth was much more populous in times far more antient. This is directly aſſerted by *Diodorus Siculus* who lived in *Cæſar*'s age †, and enters a caveat againſt rejecting his relation of the numerous armies of the antients, on account of the paucity of mankind in his days. He even calls the earth a deſart, compared with what it was antiently. And *Strabo*, ‡ a judicious author, who lived under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, takes notice, in ſeveral places of his Geography, how much ſome mighty ſtates and cities were decayed in his age, and how much the number of their citizens was diminiſhed; particularly how that part of *Italy* near *Tarentum* was formerly full of people, and had 13 great cities ‖; tho' in his age none remained ſave *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*; all the reſt having been reduced to villages.

* *Lettre* 108. † Lib. 2. cap. 5.

‡ The edition is in 2 volumes folio, at *Amſterdam* 1707, *apud* Joannem Wolters.

‖ In his 6th book, *p.* 430.

villages. And mentioning the great armies of the *Getæ* and *Daci* in antient times *, amounting to 200,000 men, he adds, that now they could muſter only 20,000; or, as ſome read it, 40,000, or 80,000.

IF we give credit to antient authors, many countries were well peopled in times of the moſt remote antiquity. And tho' it is not ſafe to truſt entirely, or indeed to build a great deal on the particular accounts which they have given of the vaſt armies of *Semiramis*, *Ninus*, and other eaſtern Monarchs of early time; and tho' we are far from being certain that their numbers are not magnified; yet this much we muſt neceſſarily admit, that it was the belief of ſucceeding ages, antient in reſpect of ours, that there was a great number of people in thoſe eaſtern countries in times much more antient.

THUS *Diodorus* relates †, that *Ninus* led an army into *Bactria*, of 1,700,000 foot, and 210,000 horſe, and wanted only a few of 10,600 chariots.

THAT the king of *Bactria* met him with an army of 400,000 men.

THAT *Semiramis* gathered together 2 millions of men to build *Babylon*.

THAT this powerful Princeſs carried an army into *India*, of 3 millions of foot, half a million of horſe, 100,000 chariots; and to ſupply the want of elephants,

* In his 7th book, *p.* 468.

† In his 2d book, § 5. 6. 7. 16. 17.

elephants, cauſed 100,000 men to ride on as many camels dreſſed up in the reſemblance of elephants: beſides which, ſhe carried along with her on the backs of camels, 2000 ſhips ſo framed that they could be taken down in different pieces, and joined together when there was occaſion to uſe them: notwithſtanding all which, the *Indian* King muſtered up a greater army.

THAT the *Medes*, in one of their expeditions againſt the * *Caduſii*, led an army of 800,000 men; and that the *Caduſii* met them with 200,000.

AND *Strabo* obſerves, † that antiently the *Getæ* and *Daci* had armies of 200,000 men.

THE age in which *Troy* was taken by the *Greeks*, is of very high antiquity, and was reckoned antient in the times of *Julius Cæſar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*; yet, in this early age, *Greece*, and the neighbouring countries ſeem to have been well peopled. If we compute the army *Greece* ſent againſt the *Trojans*, and their allies, we ſhall find it was one of the greateſt, which, according to their hiſtory, the *Greeks* ever brought into the field.

Homer gives a catalogue of 1186 ſhips, which *Thucydides* (for the ſake of the round number, as may be ſuppoſed) ‡ raiſes to 1200.

BUT

* Diod. Sic. lib. 2. § 33.

† In the 7th book of his Geography, *p.* 468.

‡ Book I. § 10.

BUT taking the number from *Homer*, let us determine every thing from the accounts he hath given us.

IN one part of his poem *, he aſſigns 120 hands to ſome of the ſhips; who are to be conſidered both as ſailors and ſoldiers, ſince the names of ἐρέται καὶ τόξων ἕυ εἰδότες, *rowers and ſkilful archers*, which we find in the ſame catalogue, ought to be applied to the whole army except the commanders. At this rate if each of the ſhips had carried as many, the whole army muſt have conſiſted of 142, 320 men. But as according to another paſſage †, ſome ſhips contained only 50 men, the army could not be ſo great: and, at the mean proportion of 85 to each ſhip, amounted to 100, 810 men. This was a great army; tho' *Thucydides* obſerves the *Greeks* could have raiſed a greater, had they not been afraid of wanting proviſions, in a foreign country ‡.

BUT beſides theſe general obſervations, it will be proper to enter more into a detail, and form a calculation of the number of the antient inhabitants of the moſt noted countries on the coaſts of the

* Τῶν μὲν πεντήκοντα νέες κίον, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστῃ
Κῶροι βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἴκοσι βαῖνον.
Book II. lin. 509. 510.

† ——— ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πεντήκοντα
Ἐμβέβασαν, τόξων ἕυ εἰδότες ἴφι μάχεσθαι.
Book II. lin. 719. 720.

‡ Book I. § 11.

the *Mediterranean* ſea, and compare them with the people of *England* in the preſent age.

IN this compariſon, the beſt we can do is to build upon the obſervations which have been made in a late book, concerning the bulk of moſt of the remarkable countries of the world computed in ſquare miles *: for tho' ſuch obſervations cannot be ſuppoſed to be free from miſtakes, being taken only from modern maps, which are not perfectly exact; yet they are the beſt helps we have, for determining the extent of theſe countries, and the proportion they bear to each other. They are more certain guides, than the antient maps, or the length and breadth aſſigned by antient or modern authors; eſpecially in the iſlands, and ſuch countries as *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Greece*, which had antiently, and ſtill have the moſt diſtinct boundaries by the ſea, or remarkable rivers and mountains.

A rule has likewiſe been laid down by one of our beſt Mathematicians †, by which we may nearly determine the number of inhabitants in any city or ſtate, from the number of its fighting men. And this being fundamental in calculations of this kind, I may take notice, that 'tis not only confirmed from modern, but alſo from a couple of antient obſervations

* A new Survey of the globe, by *Thomas Templeman*.

† The learned and ingenious Dr. *Halley*, in his obſervations on the bills of mortality of the city of *Breſlaw* in *Sileſia*, in *Lowthorpe*'s abridgment of the Philoſoph. Tranſact. vol. 3. p. 669.

tions of two of the moſt authentic antient writers, *Cæſar* and *Strabo*.

THE firſt of them relates, that, after he had conquered the *Helvetii*, who had abandoned their country to ſeek new habitations, and in this view had carried their wives and children along with them, he found in their camp, rolls of all who had undertaken this expedition, diſtinguiſhing ſuch as could bear arms, and the old men, women and children ſeparately *.

IN the rolls it ſtood thus:

Of the *Helvetii*	— —	263,000
Tulingi	— —	36,000
Latobrigi	— —	14,000
Rauraci	— —	23,000
Boii	— — —	32,000
	Sum	368,000
And of the whole number, thoſe who could bear arms were	—	92,000

Which is the fourth part, and agrees very well with Mr. *Halley*'s computation.

THERE

* *In caſtris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ ſunt literis Græcis confectæ, et ad Cæſarem relatæ; quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exiſſet eorum qui arma ferre poſſent, et item ſeparatim pueri, ſenes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum ſumma erat, capitum Helvetiorum millia* CCLXIII, *Tulingorum millia* XXXVI, *Latobrigorum* XIV, *Rauracorum* XXIII, *Boiorum* XXXII. *Ex his, qui arma ferre poſſent ad millia* XCII. *Summa omnium fuerunt ad millia* CCCLXIIX.

Cæſar de bell. Gall. lib. 1. § 29.

Plutarch, in the life of *Cæſar*, aſſigns different numbers; but the numbers marked by *Cæſar* himſelf are more authentic.

THERE is alſo a paſſage in *Strabo*, which confirms the ſame calculation* ;

WHEN *Auguſtus Cæſar* rooted out the nation of the *Salaſſii*, who dwelt upon the *Alps*, he ſold 36,000 perſons for ſlaves, of whom 8000 were able to bear arms. And tho', by Dr. *Halley*'s rule, there ought to have been a few above 9000, this difference is juſtly accounted for, by ſuppoſing more than 1000 of their beſt men killed, before they were ſubdued.

THESE paſſages in ſuch old authors confirm the accounts of the authors themſelves, as well as Dr. *Halley*'s rule of computation from the bills of *Sileſia*.

BUT to proceed to our calculations, let us begin with *Egypt* ſo famous in antient ſtory.

England, according to Mr. *Templeman*'s *ſurvey*, contains 49,450 ſquare miles (of which there are 60 in a degree), and *Egypt* 140,700. So the extent of *Egypt* is to that of *England*, as 2.84 to 1. *England* is computed to contain 8 millions of inhabitants. If *Egypt* was peopled in the ſame proportion, it muſt have contained about 22,700,000. But, according to antient hiſtorians, it appears to have contained many more.

Diodorus Siculus relates, † that more than 1700 males were born in *Egypt* the ſame day which gave birth to the famous *Seſoſtris*. The father of

 this

* Lib. 4. p. 315.

† Lib. 1. cap. 53. 54.

this monarch ordered all theſe boys to be brought to court and educated along with his ſon; perſuading himſelf, that thoſe who were bred up with the Prince from their infancy would become his warmeſt friends, moſt affectionate ſoldiers, and moſt faithful commanders. Such wiſdom and policy make the accounts of hiſtorians leſs improbable; ſince, by the aſſiſtance of ſo able counſellors, with an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horſe, and 27,000 warlike chariots, he might well have made ſuch mighty conqueſts. 'Tis to this uncommon action of the father of *Seſoſtris*, we owe the knowledge of the number of males born in *Egypt* on that particular day; and if as many were born every day, (which we muſt be allowed to aſſume, as there is no reaſon for diſtinguiſhing that day from any other) there muſt have been born in one year no fewer than 620,500 males; from which it follows, according to Dr. *Halley*'s calculation, that there were more than 17 millions of males in *Egypt* in that early age. And allowing an equal number of females, the whole people amounted to more than 34 millions.

ACCORDING to the accounts of *Herodotus* *, *Egypt* was very populous in the days of *Amaſis*, who lived a little before the founding of the *Perſian* empire by *Cyrus*. In the reign of this king, it contained 20,000 cities all inhabited: at this rate, allowing 2000 to each city, the number of the whole people amounted to 40 millions.

AND

* Lib. 2. p. 179. edit. Henrici Stephani.

AND conſidering how many large cities *Egypt* contained, eſpecially the grandeur and magnificence of its two capital cities *Thebes* and *Memphis*, this ſuppoſition of 2000 to each city will not perhaps be thought extravagant.

Thebes appears to have been one of the greateſt cities that ever was in the world. It is celebrated by *Homer* * for its hundred gates, out of each of which marched 200 men, with horſes and chariots, in all 20,000, whom we may call cavalry. But *Tacitus*, an author of great credit, and far from being credulous, gives us yet a more magnificent idea of its inhabitants, † in computing the number of fighting men at 700,000. The quadruple of which or 2,800,000, being the number of its inhabitants, ſhews it to have been more than twice and a half, or perhaps thrice as populous as *London*.

THE great number of the citizens of *Thebes* is further evident from the largeneſs of its extent, which,

* ——————ουδ' ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
Αἵ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστην
Ἄνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν ϗ ὄχεσφιν.
Homer. Iliad. 9. lin. 381. &c.

† Mox viſit veterum Thebarum magna veſtigia, et manebant ſtructis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ: juſſuſque è ſenioribus ſacerdotum patrium ſermonem interpretari, referebat habitâſſe quondam ſeptingenta millia ætate militari.
Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 60.

which, according to *Strabo**, was in his time no leſs than 80 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 10 *Greek* miles, in length; and *Diodorus Siculus*† computes the circuit of its walls at 140 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 17½ *Greek* miles: but in more antient times‡ its circuit was reckoned much greater, and even computed to have been 420 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 52½ *Greek* miles‖.

As

* In the 17th book of his Geography, p. 1170.

† In his 1ſt book, ſect. 45.

‡ *Euſtachius*'s Commentary upon the περιηγήσις of *Dionyſius*, printed at *London* 1638 in folio, v. 249. p. 45.

‖ To make this and the following computations more clear, we ſhall ſet down the proportion of *Greek*, *Roman* and *Engliſh* meaſures of length from *Arbuthnot*'s Tables.

A *Greek* μιλιον contained 8 *Greek* ſtadioi, and a ſtadios contained 6052½ *Engliſh* inches; an *Engliſh* furlong contains 7920 *Engliſh* inches: ſo an *Engliſh* furlong is to a *Greek* ſtadios (or, which is the ſame, an *Engliſh* mile is to a *Greek* μιλιον), as 1 to .76420272727, and ſo *in infinitum*, or nearly as 1 to .7642, or as 1.3 to 1.

A *Roman* miliare contained 8 *Roman* ſtadia, and a *Roman* ſtadium contained 7252½ *Engliſh* inches: ſo an *Engliſh* furlong is to a *Roman* ſtadium (or an *Engliſh* mile is to a *Roman* miliare) as 1 to .91571969696 *in infinitum*, or nearly as 1.09 is to 1.

From whence it is eaſy to reduce either *Greek* or *Roman* meaſures of length to *Engliſh* miles.

In all ſuch calculations, it ſeems ſafeſt to ſuppoſe, that the authors who write in *Greek*, and uſe the words ſtadios or μιλιον, mean the *Greek* meaſures; and that the writers in *Latin* mean the *Roman*, if the contrary is not expreſſed.

As *Thebes* was a moſt magnificent city, ſo *Memphis*, which became the capital in later times, was likewiſe very grand and populous. According to *Diodorus* * it was 18¾ *Greek* miles in circuit; he obſerves further †, that *Egypt* had antiently 18,000 remarkable cities, Κώμας ἀξιολογους καὶ πολεις. I confeſs he takes notice, in the ſame paſſage, that antiently there were 7,000,000 of people in *Egypt*; and that there were only 3,000,000 in his time: the expreſſion too ſeems to be comprehenſive, and to include the whole people, συμπαντος λαου; but 'tis probable, this can only be underſtood of the heads of families, or fighting men, as 3,000,000 (if it includes the whole inhabitants) was too ſmall a number for the age of *Diodorus*: it is even too ſmall for the preſent age, ſince *Maillet* makes it to contain 4,000,000 at a time when it grones under the oppreſſion of *Turkiſh* deſpotiſm. Beſides, *Joſephus*, who lived not long after *Diodorus*, computes the inhabitants of *Egypt* at 7,500,000, beſides the inhabitants of *Alexandria*‡. Underſtanding *Diodorus* therefore as meaning the fighting men, the inhabitants of *Egypt*, in the age of *Diodorus*, were 12, and had been antiently 28 millions.

THAT *Egypt* was very populous in times of the moſt remote antiquity, may be alſo concluded from

* Book 1. ſect. 50.

† Book 1. ſect. 31.

‡ Book 2. chap. 16. Of the wars of the *Jews*.

from what *Herodotus* obſerves*, That 410,000 ſoldiers, all native *Egyptians*, were ſometimes kept in pay; a great army for a country of no great extent: eſpecially as the old *Egyptians* were never much addicted to war, and the humour of keeping up great armies in time of peace, for making or preſerving foreign conqueſts, ſeems to have begun much later. The old *Egyptian* army could only be intended for preſerving the inward peace and police of the country. This makes it probable it bore a leſs proportion to the whole people, than the great ſtanding armies of modern Kings do to the reſt of their ſubjects. If we compare the *Egyptians* with the *French*, who are a more warlike people; and compute the people of *France* at 16 or 20 millions, and the army which the King maintains conſtantly at 200,000; according to this proportion, *Egypt* muſt have contained 32 or 40 millions. But the *French* armies muſt be ſuppoſed to bear a much greater proportion, than the *Egyptian*, to the number of the whole people.

THO' we ought not to pretend to certainty in ſuch computations; and conjectures on ſuch ſubjects may often be far enough from the truth: yet if the accounts of *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, may, in any meaſure, be depended on, and we take the medium of all the different computations of 34, 40, 28 and 32 millions, the inhabitants of

* Herod. lib. 2. pag. 175.

of *Egypt* may be reckoned about 34,000,000, and its populouſneſs to that of *England*, as 3 to 2.

THE preceeding computations are formed on ſuppoſition, that antient was as large as modern *Egypt*.

BUT, if antient *Egypt* was leſs, the argument for its greater populouſneſs is ſo much ſtronger; and that it was ſo, will appear probable, if we compare *Egypt* with *Italy*, the limits of which, as it is bounded by ſeas and mountains, are more eaſily aſcertained. From ſuch a compariſon, we can ſcarce ſuppoſe that *Egypt* was larger or even ſo large as *Italy*, which is only about half the bulk of modern *Egypt*, according to the meaſures in *Templeman*.

ACCORDING to *Herodotus*, the breadth of *Egypt*, at the *Mediterranean* ſea, where it was greateſt, was 3600 *Egyptian* ſtadioi, or about 346 *Engliſh* miles; and its length, from North to South, about 666 *Engliſh* miles *. The meaſures in *Herodotus* are larger than thoſe which either *Diodorus Siculus* † or *Strabo* ‡ has aſſigned. Above the diviſion of the *Nile* it becomes much narrower: and the only region of *Egypt* that was well inhabited, was that on each ſide of the *Nile*; which, in few places, according to *Strabo*, ‖ contained a breadth of 300 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 30 *Engliſh* miles.

Italy,

* Herod. lib. 2. pag. 103. 104.

† Book 1. ſect. 31.

‡ Book 17. pag. 1137. 1140, &c.

‖ Book 17. pag. 1137.

Italy, whoſe limits are better fixed, is found, by the moderns, to be about 900 miles in length*; and, at the foot of the *Alps* 560 miles in breadth; in the middle parts 136, and in ſome ſcarce 25. And tho' in ſome places it is very narrow, yet, near the *Alps*, there is a wide extent of country.

FROM theſe meaſures, it is probable, that *Egypt* was not ſo large as *Italy*; which according to *Templeman*, contains only 75,576 ſquare-miles. And, if antient *Egypt* was no larger, inſtead of being $1\frac{1}{2}$, it muſt have been thrice as populous as *England*.

WHAT has been obſerved of the extent of antient and modern *Egypt* is confirmed by a paſſage in *Strabo* † where he expreſsly aſſerts, that the antients gave the name of *Egypt* only to that region which was overflowed by the *Nile*; but that the moderns included all that region to the Eaſt which lay between the *Arabick Gulph* and the *Nile*, and a great part towards the Weſt, as the *Ptolomys* had ſo far extended their dominions, and the *Romans* ſucceeded to their power. Thus the limits of antient *Egypt* were greatly enlarged by the *Ptolomys*, and, it is probable, they continue much in the ſame ſituation at preſent. Indeed, if ſomething of this kind had not happened, there could have been no foundation for what *Diodorus Siculus* has aſſerted ‡, That antiently

* Univerſal hiſtory, vol. 11. pag. 208.

† Book 17. pag. 1139. 1140.

‡ Book 1. ſect. 31.

tiently *Egypt* was the moſt populous country in the world: this could not be true, unleſs it was thrice, for we ſhall ſhew immediately that ſeveral other countries were more than thrice, as populous as *England*.

THE accounts we have of *Egypt* from the memoirs of *Monſieur de Maillet*, a *French* Conſul who reſided long in this country, render our conjectures concerning the populouſneſs of antient *Egypt* not improbable. He does not indeed compute the inhabitants, in his time, at more than four millions, and confeſſes, that he once thought their number had never been greater; but he retracts this opinion, and declares, that, after having conſidered the matter more maturely, he believes that *Egypt* contained many more people in times of remote antiquity*: and this is an evident conſequence of the accounts he gives of the country. We have taken notice already, that it is ſaid to have contained in antient times 18,000 or 20,000 cities. This will not appear improbable, if we conſider what *Maillet* has obſerved, that many of its antient cities have been ruined by the various revolutions it has undergone; and that by cities we muſt not underſtand only walled towns, but every village built on an higher ground to prevent danger from the overflowing of the *Nile*: for the houſes, in that quarter of *Egypt* which is covered by the waters of the river, are not built on low, but riſing

* *Lettre* 1.

grounds, either natural or artificial, and formed into villages which do * not conſiſt only of a few houſes, as in other countries where there is not the ſame neceſſity, but contain, many of them, public edifices, and ſome of them have two or three thouſand inhabitants. Viewing it therefore in this light, as a country full of conſiderable towns which may well be ſuppoſed to have contained 2000 people at a medium, as ſome of them, ſuch as *Thebes* and *Memphis* were very large, it will not appear incredible that the inhabitants of *Egypt* were above 30,000,000.

Maillet obſerves further, that a larger part of *Egypt* was cultivated antiently than at preſent; and that even thoſe parts which are at any conſiderable diſtance from the *Nile* are not ſown: ſuch is the bad policy of the government. This does not contradict what was ſaid above, that antient was much leſs than modern *Egypt*, as this comprehends many large deſarts and barren iſlands, both towards the Eaſt and Weſt, which were not reckoned parts of

* *Lettre* 1. page 27.

Maillet, taking notice of the plains of *Egypt* which extend from the borders of the *Nile* to the mountains, has the following words;

Ces plaines ſont ſemées partout de gros bourgs & de villages; mais quels villages! il ne faut pas ſe figurer que ſe ſoient de ſimples hameaux. La plupart ſont décorés d'edifices publics à l'uſage du païs; il y en a où l' on compte des deux & trois-mille perſonnes, & en general, pluſieurs contiennent plus d'habitans que nos grandes villes.

of *Egypt* in the moſt antient times; notwithſtanding which, there may be, and actually is much leſs of *Egypt* cultivated, than formerly, when, by the care of its Princes, the waters of the river were conveyed to a much greater diſtance. And, if *Maillet* computes 4,000,000 of inhabitants in ſuch a ſmall extent of country, after all things have been going to wrack for 2000 years, after ſo many conqueſts and revolutions, and under ſuch an oppreſſive government, and ſuch a bad policy as the *Turkiſh*, it becomes highly probable, that, in its antient and moſt flouriſhing times, under its own Princes, and with the moſt excellent laws, when it was much better cultivated, and a greater extent of ground taken in, it contained ſix or ſeven times as many people.

NEXT to *Egypt* let us conſider *Paleſtine*, a neighbouring country of very ſmall extent. According to *Templeman*, it is not one ſixth part of *England*; and muſt ſurely have been but a ſmall country. Yet we find from ſacred writ *, that the fighting men, excluſive of the two tribes of *Levi* and *Benjamin*, were 1,570,000. And, if we take the proportions of theſe two to the other 10 tribes, from their enrolments which are marked in another paſſage †, we muſt add more than 121,000: the whole number of fighting men amounting by this account

* 1 *Chronicles* xxi. 5. 6.

† *Numbers* chap. i. 4.

account to 1,691,000; and the quadruple of this laſt ſum, or the whole number of inhabitants, to 6,764,000: at which rate *Paleſtine* was at leaſt five times as populous as *England*.

IN the 4th chapter of *Numbers*, the *Levites* between 30 and 50 years of age, in the other tribes all above 20, are numbered. The proportion of the *Levites* ought therefore to be raiſed, and of courſe the number of fighting men and of the whole people muſt have been greater.

NOR is it only from one paſſage we conclude the *Iſraelites* were ſo numerous. This appears from other paſſages of ſacred hiſtory. We find the two Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* bringing to the field no leſs than 1,200,000 *choſen* men *; *Amaziah*, who was only King of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, had an army of 300,000 *choice* men †; *Uzziah* his ſucceſſor had 307,500 ‡; and *Aſa*, one of his predeceſſors in the ſame kingdom, had yet a greater army conſiſting of 580,000 ‖: *Jehoſhaphat* the ſon of *Aſa*, had the greateſt of all, conſiſting of 1,160,000. What a prodigious army muſt he have commanded, had he been Sovereign of all the tribes **!

As

* 2 *Chronicles* xiii. 3.
† 2 *Chronicles* xxv. 5.
‡ 2 *Chronicles* xxvi. 13.
‖ 2 *Chronicles* xiv. 8.
** 2 *Chronicles* xvii.

As we cannot but admit that *Paleſtine* was of a very ſmall extent, and the account of its numerous armies is taken from ſcripture itſelf; this argument will have a peculiar force, and almoſt determine the queſtion with ſuch as acknowledge the authority of ſcripture. Two things ſeem evident: Firſt, That the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorians have not written in much, perhaps not at all, higher terms concerning the great populouſneſs of *Paleſtine*, than the Hiſtorians of other nations, concerning the numbers of people in thoſe countries of which they write; which both confirms the accounts of theſe Hiſtorians, and alſo helps to anſwer an objection that might be raiſed againſt ſacred writ, drawn from its repreſentation of the vaſt number of the *Iſraelites*. Secondly, we may obſerve, that the great populouſneſs of *Paleſtine* in ſo antient an age, would altogether determine the queſtion concerning the populouſneſs of antient nations, were it not that it may be imputed to a miracle, as there were ſo many other miraculous circumſtances in the hiſtory of the *Iſraelites*: for if there was no miracle in the caſe, no good account can be given why *Paleſtine* ſhould have been more populous than the neighbouring countries.

THE hiſtory of the *Jews* furniſhes us with another argument for the truth of our hypotheſis, as we learn from ſacred writ how much they multiplied in *Egypt* in a very ſhort time; and that when they left it, they amounted to 600,000 fighting men;

men *; which not only ſhews how numerous the *Iſraelites* were, but is alſo a confirmation of the great populouſneſs of *Egypt*, in times of ſuch remote antiquity.

WE proceed next to *Greece*, which we ſhall find very populous. According to *Templeman*'s ſurvey,

Epirus contained ſquare miles — —	7955
Theſſaly — — — —	4650
Achaia — — — —	3420
Peloponneſus — — — —	7220
Sum	23,245

AND, of theſe countries alone *Greece* conſiſted in its beſt and moſt flouriſhing times, (for *Albania* and *Macedonia* which were ſomewhat larger than the other four, were not reckoned a part of *Greece*). Excluding theſe two countries, *Greece* was not half ſo large as *England*; yet it contained many great cities and republics, and muſt have been greatly ſtored with people. There is a paſſage in *Athenæus* † which may help us to form ſome probable conjectures about the ſtate of *Athens*: for, in the times of *Demetrius Phalereus*, he makes its enrolled citizens amount to — — — 21,000

And the ſtrangers to — —	10,000
Sum	31,000

IF,

* *Exod.* xii. 37. *Numbers* chap. i.

† In the 6th book of his Deipnoſophiſts chap. xx.

IF, then, we compute each man to have had a wife and two children, the number of ſuch as were free was 124,000.

IF the family was greater, the number of citizens muſt have been greater in proportion. But

reckoning the free citizens only —	124,000
And to this adding the ſlaves whom *Athenæus* reckons — —	400,000
The whole inhabitants of *Attica* were	524,000

IF we compute 6 free perſons in each family, then the number of free perſons was — 186,000

And that of ſlaves — —	400,000
Sum	586,000

Now *Attica* was only a part of what was called properly *Greece* or *Achaia*, which contained ſeveral other diſtricts *, *viz. Ætolia*, *Doris*, *Locris Ozolæa*, *Phocis*, *Megaris*, *Bœotia* and *Locris Epicnemidia*; and, tho' ſome of theſe ſtates were ſmall, others of them were conſiderable, and were ſometimes the rivals of *Athens* itſelf. All the ſeven together with *Attica*, according to *Templeman*, contained only 3420 ſquare miles; and tho' *Attica* appears to have been larger than any of the reſt, except *Bœotia*, its territory could not have been greater than one fourth of *Achaia* or contained more than 855 ſquare miles. But, ſuppoſing it had contained 1000,

* See *Cluverius*, book 4. chap. viii.

1000, it was not, at this rate, the 23d part of *Greece*; and if all *Greece* was peopled in the ſame proportion, it contained above 12,000,000.

IF *Attica* contained only 855 ſquare miles, this makes the inhabitants of *Greece* more than 14,000,000. If it was only one fifth of *Achaia*, it raiſes the number to more than 17,000,000: taking therefore the medium of theſe three laſt computations, their number amounts to more than 14,000,000. At which rate, had *Greece* been as large as *England*, it would have contained more than 29,000,000, and been near four times as populous; and, conſidering what a mighty people the *Greeks* were, how ſurpriſing ſoever this may appear to the great admirers of modern policy, 'tis far from being improbable. The great ſtrength of the *Athenian* ſtate, at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war, is evident from the loſſes they ſuſtained; 200 triremes that periſh'd in *Egypt* with all that was in them: 150 near *Cyprus*: in *Pontus* 10,000 men compleatly armed, partly citizens, partly allies: in *Sicily*, 40,000 men, and 240 triremes: and 200 in the *Helleſpont*; and ſo many men were killed by thouſands and two thouſands, and ſo many ſhips loſt by tens and fives, that *Iſocrates*, from whom this account is taken, ſays it was needleſs to mention them. Theſe things happened in a very ſhort time *.

THAT

* *Iſocrat. de pace, edit. Cantabrigiæ* 1686 *pag.* 290, 291.

THAT the other countries in *Greece*, (beſides *Attica)* and the neighbouring iſlands, were well peopled, is evident from the whole of their hiſtory. *Athenæus* in the paſſage quoted above, in which he takes notice of the *Athenians* having 400,000 ſlaves, aſſerts alſo, that the *Arcadians* had 300,000; the *Corinthians* 460,000; and the Republic of *Ægina* 470,000, tho' it ſeems not to have had any other territory, but that ſmall iſland of the ſame name, which, according to *Strabo**, was only 180, or according to another reading, 150, *Greek* ſtadioi in circuit, that is, by the largeſt account, about 20 *Engliſh* miles. Now where there was ſuch a great number of ſlaves, we muſt conclude, that there was proportionally a great number of free citizens; and, upon the whole, that *Greece* was extremely populous.

PLUTARCH, in the life of *Lycurgus*, takes notice, that there were 9000 citizens in *Sparta*, 30,000 in the reſt of *Laconia*, in whole 39,000; and as ſlaves ſeem rather to have been more numerous at *Sparta*, than at *Athens*, the territory of *Laconia* muſt have been very populous. The whole region of *Peloponneſus* conſiſted only of 7220 ſquare miles; and beſides *Laconia*, it contained *Achaia*, (properly ſo called), *Elis*, *Meſſenia*, *Arcadia*, and *Argolis* †.

THE iſland of *Eubœa*, (now *Negropont)* ſituated near the coaſt of *Attica*, appears, both in antient

* Lib. 8. p. 576.

† Cluver. Introduct. geograph. lib. 4. cap. 7.

and modern maps, to have been a good deal larger than the whole *Athenian* territory: according to *Templeman*, it contains only 1300 ſquare miles. This confirms the former computation of the ſmall extent of *Attica*.

ITALY was likewiſe very populous before the *Romans* conquered its free cities. About the age of *Servius Tullius*, the ſixth King of *Rome*, there were powerful ſtates in the Southern parts of it, particularly in *Magna Græcia*. The ſtate of *Sybaris* alone, as *Diodorus* relates*, ſent an army of 300,000 men againſt the *Crotonienſes*, who met them with 100,000. At this rate, theſe two neighbouring ſtates had about a million and an half of inhabitants, even ſuppoſing they had no more fighting men than they brought to the field, which could ſcarce have been the caſe.

STRABO † gives the ſame account of *Sybaris*; and adds further, that it was about 200 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 25 *Greek* miles diſtant from *Croton*, was 50 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 6¼ *Greek* miles in circuit, and commanded four neighbouring nations or tribes, and 25 cities. According to the ſame author ‡, there were ſeveral other conſiderable ſtates and cities in *Great Greece*. Particularly, the *Tarentines* were a powerful people, and could raiſe 30,000 foot, 3000 horſe,

* Lib. 12. cap. 9.
† Lib. 6. p. 404.
‡ Lib. 6. p. 429.

horſe, and 1000 officers of horſe; beſides they had a good fleet; and all the country around *Tarentum* was antiently full of people. Yet *Magna Græcia* was only a part of what is called the kingdom of *Naples* at preſent, which is but a little more than two fifths of *England*.

But we ſhall beſt underſtand the antient ſtrength of *Italy*, and of what powerful and populous ſtates it conſiſted, by conſidering their long ſtruggle againſt the *Romans*, and the ſlow progreſs of the *Roman* empire, notwithſtanding the vaſt numbers and bravery of that warlike people.

ROME aroſe from the ſmalleſt and moſt contemptible beginning. When * *Romulus* founded the city, his ſubjects conſiſted only of 3000 foot and 300 horſe; but, at his death, after a reign of 37 years, he left 46,000 foot, and near 1000 horſe, within a very ſmall territory. Neither did the territory of *Rome* in after-times increaſe in proportion to the numbers of the people. Even at the death of *Camillus*, about 388 years after the building of the city, the *Roman* territory was very ſmall, and did not extend beyond 20 or 24 *Engliſh* miles around *Rome*. During this period, the *Romans* had only made war againſt their neareſt neighbours, within a few miles of their city. The war with the *Samnites*, whoſe country was at no great diſtance, began only about the 420th year A. U. C.

Eutropius

* Dionyſ. Halicarn. edit. Franckfort, 1586, folio, p. 74. 78. 79.

Eutropius remarks, that it was about that time the *Romans* began to be powerful *; for they carried on a war at *Samnium*, almoſt 130 *Roman* miles from the city. It was not till about the year of *Rome* 450, that they made any conſiderable impreſſion upon *Etruria*. The war with the *Tarentines* began only about the 477th year of *Rome*. But, during this period of 400 years, the people had increaſed prodigiouſly.

THE *Cenſus* was not inſtituted till the time of *Servius Tullius*, who began his reign about the 175th year of the city. *Livy* has obſerved †, that at the firſt *Cenſus*, 80,000 *Roman* citizens were inrolled; and another hiſtorian whom he quotes, relates, that all of them were able to carry arms. All the particular inrolments made at different times, are collected together, and may be ſeen at one view in *Voſſius*'s book of various obſervations ‡. In the year 245, the *Cenſus* conſiſted of 130,000; in the year 256, 150,700 were inrolled: after the year 400, and between that and the 500, the *Cenſus* was ſometimes 250,000, ſometimes 278,000, and ſometimes 292,224. During moſt of this period,

* Jam Romani potentes eſſe cœperant; bellum enim in centeſimo et triceſimo ferè milliario ab urbe apud Samnites gerebatur. *Eutropius*, lib. 2. cap. 8.

† Millia octoginta eo luſtro civium cenſa dicuntur. Adjicit ſcriptorum antiquiſſimus Fabius Pictor, eorum, qui ferre arma poſſent, eum numerum fuiſſe. *Liv.* lib. 1. cap. 44.

‡ P. 26.

riod, the *Roman* territory was very ſmall. How muſt it then have been crowded with inhabitants? the inrolments were only of free citizens, not of ſlaves. Theſe the *Romans* neither inliſted in their armies, nor inrolled as citizens, but in caſes of neceſſity (though they had ſlaves in great numbers from the beginning of their ſtate).

ANOTHER proof of the great numbers of the *Romans*, is their being conſtantly engaged in war, and having ſo many of their men killed almoſt every year. From whence it is evident, that if their ſmall country had not been populous to an extraordinary degree, it could never have been able to furniſh their armies with ſuch conſtant reinforcements, amidſt ſuch continual battles; in which tho' they were commonly, yet they were not always ſuperior, but ſeveral times ſuffered great loſſes, and often paid dear for their victories: notwithſtanding which, they were always able to raiſe great armies. So greatly did they abound in people!

NOR was the populouſneſs of *Italy* confined to that part of it which belonged to the *Romans*, but extended to the other powerful ſtates and republics, of which this antient country conſiſted.

Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.

IF we conſider that the *Romans* had a great number of fighting men; that they were a brave and

and warlike people; that they only attacked one of the nations of *Italy* at once, and artfully ſhunned, as much as poſſible, to be engaged with different ſtates at the ſame time; that they were conſtantly engaged with one or other of them, and made a trade of war; that notwithſtanding this, they made very ſlow progreſs, and had conquered but a little even in 400 years; we muſt admit, that thoſe different ſtates of *Italy*, were each of conſiderable power and ſtrength. This is exactly agreeable to the *Roman* hiſtory, which repreſents the *Romans*, during 400 years after the building of their city, ſtruggling with ſtates as great or greater than their own, and ſubduing them at length, only by means of ſuperior obſtinacy and valour.

INDEED, on an accurate review of the hiſtory of the *Italians*, during this period, we ſhall wonder how ſuch vaſt multitudes could be raiſed, as were engaged in thoſe continual wars, till *Italy* was entirely ſubdued.

THUS *Italy* was populous before the *Romans* enſlaved it. Nor is it perhaps ſo certain, as ſome may imagine, that its inhabitants increaſed after the *Roman* conqueſts. *Rome* became a mighty city indeed; but it may be a queſtion, whether its greatneſs was able to balance the deſtruction and havock it occaſioned among the other cities.

THAT it was not able to do ſo is not a little probable. *Livy* ſeems to have decided it on this

ſide;

ſide; when, mentioning the greatneſs of the armies of the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, he accounts for it * in this manner, "That there was an innumerable multitude "of free citizens in thoſe places, where afterwards "there were only ſlaves, and a ſmall ſeminary or "nurſery of ſoldiers."

SICILY was likewiſe well peopled before the times of *Alexander the Great*, and contained ſeveral powerful ſtates. The greatneſs and wealth of *Syracuſe* has been much celebrated. According to *Tully*, it was the greateſt of all the cities poſſeſſed by the *Greeks* †. And *Strabo* ‡ hath obſerved, it was ſurrounded with a wall of 180 *Greek* ſtadioi, or 22½ *Greek* miles. It was indeed the greateſt and moſt powerful, but not the only powerful city of *Sicily*; as appears evidently from the vaſt armies the *Carthaginians* ſent againſt the *Sicilians*, the difficulty with which ſo rich and powerful a people

* Mihi miraculo fuit, unde toties victis Volſcis et Æquis ſuffecerint milites.— Simile veri eſt, aut intervallis bellorum, ſicut nunc in delectibus fit Romanis, aliâ atque aliâ ſobole juniorum ad bella inſtauranda toties uſos eſſe: aut non ex iiſdem ſemper populis exercitus ſcriptos, quanquam eadem ſemper gens bellum intulerit: aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuiſſe locis, quae nunc, vix ſeminario exiguo militum relicto, ſervitia Romana ab ſolitudine vindicant. *Liv.* lib. 6, cap. 12.

† Urbem Syracuſas, maximam eſſe Græcarum urbium, pulcherrimamque omnium, ſaepe audiſtis. Eſt, judices, ita ut dicitur.

Accuſat. in Verrem. lib. 4. edit. Lond. fol. 1681. p. 279.

‡ Lib. 6. p. 415.

people gained and preſerved their conqueſts, and the blood and treaſure it coſt them to get any conſiderable footing in this ſmall iſland.

AGRIGENTUM in particular is ſaid to have contained natives and ſtrangers, no fewer than 200,000. Now if theſe are reckoned only the heads of families, or the fighting men, the inhabitants muſt have been above 800,000; but ſuppoſing the whole inhabitants only 200,000, *Agrigentum* was a populous and a mighty city. It was likewiſe ſplendid, and abounded with ſumptuous buildings*; and ſome of its citizens were immenſely rich. When *Gelon* the Prætor of *Syracuſe* had deſtroyed the *Carthaginian* army which was beſieging *Himera*, and had taken a great number of captives, he made a preſent to ſome of the citizens of *Agrigentum* of 500 ſlaves a-piece †. In the time of the elder *Dionyſius*, one of the citizens was ſo rich, that he kept open houſe for all paſſengers; and he is ſaid to have entertained at one time 500 riders, who came from *Gela*, and when they departed, (it being in winter) he furniſhed all of them with cloaths, ἱματια καὶ χιτωνας, out of his own wardrobe ‡. *Policlitus* the hiſtorian, as quoted by *Diodorus Siculus*‖, ſaw, in his cellar, a quantity of wine, which in our meaſure amounts to more than 3414 *Engliſh* hogſheads.

BUT

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 13. § 84. 90.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 11. § 25.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. 13. § 83.

‖ Ibid.

BUT the wealth and power of *Sicily* may eſpecially be learned from the greatneſs of *Syracuſe*, which notwithſtanding could never gain the dominion of the whole iſland. If we conſider its other ſtates, what footing the *Carthaginians* had in it, and that the whole is not ſo large as the fifth part of *England*, we muſt needs acknowledge that the territory of *Syracuſe* was very ſmall; yet *Syracuſe* was able to defend itſelf againſt the moſt powerful maritime ſtates in thoſe ages.

THE *Carthaginians* were very powerful at that time, and had made ſeveral attempts on *Sicily*, before they were engaged in any wars with the *Romans*. Hiſtory takes notice of their having equipt prodigious fleets and armies in this view*. In *Gelon*'s time they ſent a fleet of 2000 ſhips of war, and 3000 tranſports, with an army of 300,000 men on board, under the command of *Hamilcar*. This is the account of *Diodorus Siculus*; and *Herodotus* agrees with him in the number of the army, 300,000, τριακοντα μυριαδες†. Under the command of this *Hamilcar*'s grandſon, they ſent another great army in a fleet of 60 great ſhips, and 1500 tranſports. According to the account of *Ephorus* mentioned in *Diodorus Siculus*‡, this army conſiſted of 200,000 foot, and 4000 horſe; but *Timæus*, quoted by the ſame author, computes

 them

* Diod. Sic. book 11. § 20.

† Herodot. book 7. p. 499.

‡ Diod. Sic. book 15. § 54.

them to have been only a few more than 100,000. Soon after this they ſent another grand fleet and army under the ſame commander *, conſiſting, according to *Ephorus*, of 300,000 men; according to *Timæus*, of 120,000, in a fleet of 1000 tranſports, beſides many ſhips of war. Not long afterwards, they ſent an army againſt the elder *Dionyſius*, of 300,000 foot, 4000 horſe, 400 chariots, with a fleet of 400 ſhips of war, and more than 600 tranſports. This is the account given by *Ephorus* in *Diodorus Siculus* †; but *Timæus* makes the army conſiſt only of 100,000 men. And tho' this army was almoſt entirely deſtroyed, they ſent another againſt the ſame *Dionyſius*, of 80,000 men ‡. — But, notwithſtanding all theſe mighty fleets and armies, they could not gain much ground againſt the *Syracuſians*, and were ſeveral times repulſed with great loſs.

IT was in the reign of *Gelon*, that *Syracuſe* began to make ſuch a ſhining figure. He lived at the time of *Xerxes*'s expedition againſt *Greece*; and if the *Greeks* would have given him the chief command, which he thought he might well pretend to, as he had more numerous forces than either the *Athenians* or *Lacedemonians*, offered to ſupply them with 200 triremes, 20,000 men compleatly armed, 2000 horſe, 2000 bowmen, 2000 ſlingers, 2000 light horſe;

* Diod. Sic. book 13. § 80.
† Diod. Sic. lib. 14. cap. 54.
‡ Diod. Sic. book 14. § 95.

horſe; and beſides, to furniſh all the *Greek* army with corn during the whole time of the war*. This ſhews his power, and the ſtrength of *Syracuſe* in thoſe early times. To raiſe the ſiege of *Himera*, againſt which the *Carthaginians* had encamped with 300,000 men, he levied 50,000 foot, and 5000 horſe, and defeated them†: and as powerful as the *Carthaginians* were, the elder *Dionyſius* ventured to make war upon them. In which view he prepared in a ſhort time 140,000 ſhields, as many darts and helmets, and a great quantity of other arms of various ſorts, a fleet of 200 new, and 110 old ſhips, perfectly well repaired, and began the war with 80,000 foot, 3000 horſe, 200 ſhips of war, and 500 tranſports‡. The younger *Dionyſius*‖ had an army of 100,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, a fleet of 400 ſhips of war, with magazines of proviſions, and treaſures ſufficient to maintain and pay them. Princes capable of undertaking ſuch great deſigns, and preparing ſuch numerous fleets and armies, muſt ſurely have had great numbers of people, as well as great riches in their dominions: and unleſs *Sicily*, tho' it is leſs than one fifth of *England*, is acknowledged to have been little inferior to it in riches and numbers of people, it is ſcarce poſſible to account for the great tranſactions which happened, and the mighty fleets and armies

* Herodot. lib. 7. p. 496. 497.

† Diod. Sic. book 11. § 21.

‡ Diod. Sic. book 14. § 42. 43. 47.

‖ Diod. Sic. book 16. § 9.

armies which were raiſed and ſupported in it, during the ſpace almoſt of 300 years, from the time that *Gelon* made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, till it was conquered by the *Romans*.

BEFORE the *Roman* conqueſts, the *Gauls* were a great and populous nation. *Gaul* was indeed an extenſive country; for it contained not only all *France*, but a conſiderable part of the *Netherlands*, and ſome part of *Switzerland*; but it ſeems to have been equally populous, nay, to have contained more inhabitants than the ſame extent of country does at preſent, tho' ſome of the beſt peopled ſpots in *Europe*, and even the province of *Holland* itſelf are included.

ACCORDING to *Ceſar*'s deſcription, *Gaul* was divided into ſmall ſtates, many of which could ſend numerous armies into the field. When *Ceſar* firſt invaded the country, its inhabitants were not in the ſame barbarous ſtate as the *Germans*, and other Northern nations, who, according to *Strabo* *, did not exerciſe agriculture, nor lay up the fruits of the earth, but living in cottages which they could raiſe in a day, ſubſiſted chiefly by their flocks, like the *Nomades*; and therefore were obliged frequently to change their places of abode for want of proviſions, tranſporting their families and furniture in carts, and wandering from place to place with their cattle. His account of *Gaul* is quite different: *Narbonne* (ſays he) produces all kinds of fruits

* Lib. 7. p. 446.

fruits that grow in *Italy*. Farther North, the ſoil yields every thing, except oil, figs, and ripe grapes: all the reſt of *Gaul* produces much corn and other grain, and is ſtocked with cattle of all kinds. There is no part of it uncultivated, but the marſhes and woods, occaſioned, as he obſerves, by the men's being too much addicted to war. But as he admits at the ſame time, that multitudes lived even in theſe marſhy and woody grounds, which were not ſufficiently taken care of, the country in general muſt have been well peopled. It is true, the *Gauls* reſembled the *Germans* in many of their cuſtoms and inſtitutions, as well as in their fierceneſs, bulk and colour; but they were much more civilized, and neither neglected commerce nor agriculture *.

CÆSAR, when he deſcribes the manners and cuſtoms of theſe two nations, gives much the ſame repreſentation with *Strabo*†. Formerly, ſays he, the *Gauls* were ſuperior in valour to the *Germans*, and as they had not lands ſufficient for the multitude of their people, they uſed to ſend colonies beyond

* Strabo, lib. 4. p. 268. 269.

† *Of the Germans he relates.* Vita omnis in venationibus, atque in ſtudiis rei militaris conſiſtit.— Agriculturæ non ſtudent; majorque pars victûs eorum in lacte, caſeo, carne conſiſtit. Neque quiſquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios.— Civitatibus maxima laus eſt, quam latiſſimas circum ſe vaſtatis finibus ſolitudines habere.

Cæſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 21. 22. 23.

beyond the *Rhine*; but they were become inferior to them in his time, which he imputes to their growing commerce. And it ſeems evident, that the *Gauls* did not, as the *Germans*, live by paſturage and hunting, but that when *Cæſar* invaded them, they were poſſeſſed of flouriſhing and powerful cities, and had many appearances of wealth and greatneſs.

THE flouriſhing condition and mighty opulence of the *Gallic* ſtates *, appears from that immenſe treaſure at *Tholouſe*, which, according to *Poſidonius*, on whom *Strabo*† chiefly relies, amounted to 15,000 talents of gold and ſilver in bullion. This treaſure (had it been wholly ſilver) would have been worth 2,561,250 *l. ſterling*; but had it been wholly gold, according to the modern proportion of gold to ſilver, that is, 16 to 1. its value had been above 40 millions: it muſt at any rate have been a vaſt treaſure for one place; and as the *Gauls* had ſeveral ſacred treaſures in other places, what an idea muſt we have of their immenſe wealth!

As

* Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Galli virtute ſuperarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem, agrique inopiam, trans Rhenum colonias mitterent.— Gallis autem provinciæ propinquitas, & tranſmarinarum rerum notitia, multa ad copiam atque uſus largitur. Paullatim adſuefacti ſuperari, multiſque victi prœliis, ne ſe quidem ipſi cum illis virtute comparant.

Cæſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 24.

† Lib. 4. p. 287.

As the *Gauls* wanted neither ſilver nor gold, they abounded greatly in people; which may be concluded from the great armies they drew together, on ſeveral occaſions, to oppoſe *Cæſar*.

IN the ſecond book of his *Commentaries* *, he gives a particular liſt of the levies made in *Belgium*; and on this occaſion

The *Bellovaci* undertook to raiſe	60,000
The *Sueſſiones* — —	50,000
The *Nervii* — — —	50,000
The *Atrebates* — — —	15,000
The *Ambiani* — — —	10,000
The *Morini* — — —	25,000
The *Menapii* — — —	9,000
The *Caleti* — — —	10,000
The *Velocaſſes* and *Veromandui* —	10,000
The *Aduatuci* — —	19,000
The *Germani* —— ——	40,000
Sum	298,000

NOW, we cannot ſuppoſe, that this was a levy of all the fighting men in *Belgium*; for *Cæſar*'s information was, that the *Bellovaci* could have brought 100,000 to the field, tho' they engaged only for 60,000. Taking the whole therefore in this proportion of 10 to 6, the ſum of fighting men in all the ſtates of *Belgium* was 496,666; and quadrupling this laſt number, *Belgium*

* Cæſar in bell. Gall. lib. 2. cap. 4.

gium muſt have had 1,986,664 inhabitants, whom we may ſuppoſe to be free, or not employed in ſervile offices *.

BUT, beſides thoſe who were inliſted in their armies, there was certainly a great number, who were of no account in war; for among the *Gauls*, as well as ſeveral other nations, there were many who were either in the condition of ſlaves, or only employed in agriculture, and ſuch mechanic arts as were thought unworthy of brave men. This appears from what *Cæſar* relates †, when he treats of the different orders among the *Gauls*, and divides ſuch as were of any account into two ſorts, the *Druids* and the *Equites*: the reſt he calls *Plebes*, and deſcribes them as ſlaves; but the *Equites* are warriours: for when any war ariſes, *omnes in bello verſantur.*

* *In ſome copies of* Cæſar's Commentaries, *the* Aduatuci *ſend* 29,000, *inſtead of* 19,000, *as it is ſtated in the preceeding calculation; at which rate the fighting men in all* Belgium *would have been* 513,333: *ſo we may reckon them about half a million.*

† In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo ſunt numero atque honore, genera ſunt duo: nam plebes pæne *ſervorum* habetur loco, quæ per ſe nihil audet, & nullo adhibetur conſilio. Plerique, quum aut ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, ſeſe in ſervitutem dicant nobilibus. *In hos eadem omnia ſunt jura, quæ dominis in ſervos.* Sed de his duobus generibus alterum eſt Druidum, alterum eſt Equitum.—Alterum genus eſt Equitum. Hi, quum eſt uſus, atque aliquod bellum incidit, omnes in bello verſantur.

Cæſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13. 15.

verſantur. Does not this ſuggeſt, that when levies of the *Gauls* for fighting againſt *Cæſar* are mentioned, the *Plebes* muſt ſcarce be conſidered, as they were left to labour the ground, or work at meaner employments? And if we make this lower order of perſons to have been thrice as numerous as the reſt; which proportion is confirmed from what was the caſe at *Athens*, and may be obſerved in moſt places, that the laborious working people are much more numerous than their maſters, we muſt reckon the inhabitants of *Belgium* about 8,000,000.

Now *Belgium* does not appear to have been larger than the fourth part of *Gaul*: for it was bounded, on the one ſide by the *Rhine*, on the other by the ocean, and, on the third, by the rivers *Seyne* and *Marne*. But *Gaul* was bounded, on one ſide by the *Alps* which divided it from *Italy*, next, by the *Rhine* which divided it from *Germany*, and, on all other ſides by the ocean, except where the *Pyrennees* divided it from *Spain*. This was a vaſt tract of land; and, if it was four times greater than *Belgium*, (and it does not appear to have been leſs), we may compute 32,000,000 of inhabitants in *Gaul*.

In another paſſage, *Cæſar* * gives an account of numerous levies which the *Gauls* reſolved to make in order to raiſe the ſiege of *Aleſia*, where *Vercingetorix* had ſhut himſelf up with a great army. In this meaſure, tho' they ſhewed great ſpirit and

* Cæſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 7. cap. 75. 76.

unanimity, yet it is certain, that they could not make a levy through the whole extent of *Gaul*; for a conſiderable part of it was in ſubjection to the *Romans*, and, by the ſituation of *Cæſar*'s army, it would have been impoſſible for ſeveral of the provinces to have ſent their quotas. We may even ſuppoſe, they would not be entirely free from diſſenſion, and that ſome of the ſtates would be backward in joining; beſides, at a general council of the chiefs, it was reſolved, that all the fighting men ſhould not be raiſed, leſt their great number ſhould occaſion confuſion, and it ſhould be impoſſible to maintain them: but that every ſtate ſhould ſend only a certain number. By comparing this with the paſſage in the ſecond book, which mentions the levies in *Belgium*, it will appear, that this levy was very ſmall in proportion to what *Gaul* could have furniſhed before it was ſo miſerably waſted by *Cæſar*. For the *Bellovaci*, before the war, could have raiſed 100,000 men; but 10,000 are only demanded at this time: the *Nervii*, who, in the ſecond book, offered 50,000, are only marked for 5000: the *Morini* for no more, tho' they had offered 25,000: the *Atrebates* for 4000, tho' they are formerly marked for 15,000. And from the conſideration of all circumſtances, it may be conjectured, that, as all the ſtates of *Gaul* neither were, nor could be concerned in this levy; and, as ſo ſmall a proportion was demanded from thoſe which agreed to it, the army they raiſed, on this occaſion,

occaſion, was not the tenth part of the *Equites*, or ſuch as were commonly employed in war, through the whole extent of *Gaul*, at the time that this nation was firſt invaded by *Cæſar*.

Now the army they actually raiſed in this manner was — — 248,000

Hence the number of free citizens able to fight — — 2,480,000

The quadruple of this laſt is the number of free citizens, — 9,920,000

And thrice the laſt ſum is the number of the *Plebes* or ſlaves — 29,760,000

Hence the number of the whole people is — — — 39,680,000

THO' the preceeding numbers may appear high to ſuch as have not been uſed to ſpeculations of this kind, and are apt to meaſure antiquity by their own confined views, and the prejudices of modern times; they will be yet more ſurpriſed, when they are informed, that other Hiſtorians have aſſigned larger numbers than *Cæſar*. According to *Plutarch*'s account *, *Cæſar*, in his *Gallic* wars, took more than

* Plutarch in Cæſar. edit. Francofurt. fol. 1599. pag. 714. 715.

In the life of *Pompey*, the numbers are different, and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have taken by force 1000 cities, ſubdued more than 300 nations, killed one million of men, and taken another million priſoners, pag. 655. This difference in the numbers does not ſo

than 800 cities, ſubdued 300 nations or tribes of people, fought againſt 3,000,000 of men in his ſeveral battles; killed 1,000,000, and made 1,000,000 priſoners. Now, ſuppoſing theſe 3,000,000 to have been all the men in *Gaul*, that were commonly employed in war, there muſt have been 12,000,000 of this ſort: and, if we add thrice as many ſlaves, the whole number of inhabitants was 48,000,000.

OR, if we ſuppoſe that the 3,000,000, againſt whom *Cæſar* fought, were compoſed of the *Equites* and *Plebes* without diſtinction; 'tis not reaſonable to think, that a third, nay, we can hardly reckon, that more than a fourth part of the men able to bear arms were levied on this occaſion. Now, if they were a fourth part, the number of fighting men, of all ſorts, was 12,000,000, and the number of the whole people 48,000,000, as before. If we ſuppoſe them to have been a third part, the number of fighting men was 9,000,000, and of the whole people 36,000,000.

As *Plutarch*, in both paſſages, computes the number which *Cæſar* killed to have been 1,000,000, unleſs we affirm that he killed more than a thirtieth part of the whole people, the *Gauls* muſt have been 30,000,000.

IN all theſe calculations, formed on the accounts given

ſo much deſtroy the authority of the teſtimony, as it ſhews, in general, what an high opinion the antients conceived of the populouſneſs of *Gaul*.

given by *Plutarch*, we muſt exclude the *Druids* and their families, as they were wholly exempted from war; which will proportionally increaſe the number of the inhabitants of *Gaul*.

IN fine, in whatever light we view it, this part of *Europe* appears to have been more populous in the days of *Cæſar*, than ever it has been ſince, and never to have recovered the flouriſhing ſtate in which antient hiſtory repreſents it, before it was attacked and ravaged by this mighty Conqueror.

I ſhall not attempt any more calculations; tho', no doubt, many others might be made, were all the antient authors inſpected with ſuch care and accuracy as the ſubject deſerves. I ſhall only obſerve further, that it ſeems probable, that ſeveral other countries were antiently more populous than at preſent, tho' 'tis difficult to find materials for forming particular calculations. This is the condition of almoſt all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean* ſeas, which, in the happy days of *Greece*, were full of people; of *Leſſer Aſia* which flouriſhed ſo greatly in antient times; of the whole coaſt of the *Mediterranean* ſea, on the *African* ſide, or, at leaſt, of a great part of it; of *Colchis*, and the tract which lies between the *Euxine* and the *Caſpian* ſeas; of the antient *Hyrcania*, and other countries on the North or North-Eaſt of *Perſia*, where, according to *Pliny*, there were antiently many populous and flouriſhing nations or tribes; but ſcarce any thing at preſent ſave foreſts and deſarts. A-

mong

mong other things *Pliny* * mentions a city in *Colchis* called *Dioſcurias*, which was deſerted in his time (*nunc deſerta*), but ſo conſiderable of old, that, according to *Timoſthenes*, 300 nations, all of different languages, traded with it; and that even, in later times, the *Romans* had 130 interpreters for carrying on their commerce in this country. He mentions another city (*oppidum opulentiſſimum*) that had been plundered by the *Heniochi*. This ſhews, that theſe parts of the world had antiently flouriſhed, but were then in the decline. That little tract of land which lies between the *Euxine* ſea and the *Palus Mæotis*, the parts around this lake, the *Greater* and *Leſſer Armenia*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, and thoſe countries which ly towards the South and the Eaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, contained many different nations, and ſeveral great cities. A conſiderable commerce was carried on between *Europe* and *India*, by means of ſome great rivers which communicated with one another, and with the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas. Much the ſame account is given by *Strabo* † of the populouſneſs and commerce of thoſe countries: but, in later ages, they have all been diſpeopled, and ſcarce any veſtige remains of what they were in antient days.

IT muſt be obſerved, at the ſame time, in favour of modern policy, that there have been great changes

* Hiſt. nat. lib. 6. cap. 5.

† Lib. 11. pag. 762. 763. 764. 765. 772. 773. 776. 777. 782. 783.

changes to the better in ſome countries. Our iſland of *Britain* has been fortunate, in a peculiar manner, and from that antient rudeneſs and barbarity with which it was overwhelmed in the flouriſhing ages of *Greece* and *Rome*, has gradually reared up its head. How much would *Cæſar* or *Agricola* be ſurpriſed to ſee the once inconſiderable and deſpiſed *Britain*,

——*Penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos*,

now become an abode of peace and ſeat of liberty. Happy iſland! ſtudious of agriculture, flouriſhing in arts, and enriched by commerce.

BUT other countries have not been ſo fortunate. Beſides, from the preceeding calculations it appears, that even *Britain* itſelf, and the nations that are moſt civilized at preſent, are not near ſo populous as thoſe regions of the earth which were beſt cultivated in antient times: ſo that it may be a queſtion, Whether the happier condition of *Britain*, and ſome other places is able to compenſate the ruin and deſtruction of ſo many antient nations?

HAVING thus travelled along the coaſt of the *Mediterranean* ſea; taken a view of *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Gaul*; and, from particular calculations, formed ſome probable conjectures about the ſuperior populouſneſs of theſe countries in antient times; we proceed to inquire into the cauſes of this phænomenon. And, if we ſhall find that antient policy, antient manners, and antient

cuſtoms

cuſtoms were better calculated, to make nations great and populous, than modern policy, modern manners, and modern cuſtoms; this will be an argument *a priori*, for the truth of that hypotheſis, which we have endeavoured to eſtabliſh *a poſteriori*.

Now theſe cauſes are either phyſical or moral.

WHATEVER alterations may have happened in the temperature of the air, whatever decay of heat in the ſun, or diminution of the ſalubrity and nouriſhing virtue of the earth, are phyſical cauſes; which may be thought to have an effect on vegetable and animal bodies, and either prevent generation, or cut off greater numbers in all the different periods of life.

CAUSES of this nature may be ſuppoſed to operate in the ſame climates in different ages, and in different climates in the ſame age. Mankind may be greatly waſted by plagues and famines, and a fruitful land may become a deſart. Yet neither do cauſes of this kind ſeem ſufficient for explaining the phænomenon of ſo great a decay of people. Nor indeed does it appear that there has been any ſuch alteration in the ſtate of nature as could make any conſiderable difference, either over all the earth, or in particular regions: we do not therefore build on natural cauſes of this ſort.

THERE may, however, be natural cauſes of another kind which may have produced no inconſiderable effects. Thus ſome diſeaſes, unknown to antiquity, may have made great havock in modern

dern times: among theſe, two are remarkable, the *Lues Venerea*, and the *Small Pox*; concerning which the learned Author of *An Eſſay on the vital and other involuntary Motions of Animals*, was pleaſed to give me his opinion in the following words:

"AMONG the natural cauſes which have contributed in latter times, to leſſen the number of inhabitants in *Europe* and the weſtern parts of *Aſia*, the *Small Pox* and *Lues Venerea* are not the leaſt remarkable. The former diſeaſe ſeems to have made its appearance in the world much about the ſame time with *Mahomet*; the firſt who mentions it being one *Aaron*, a prieſt and phyſician of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who flouriſhed about the year 622: nor was the Small Pox known in *Europe* to the *Greek* phyſicians till after the year 640. It appears from pretty exact accounts, that in ſeveral towns of *Yorkſhire*, and ſome other places of *England*, and in *Boſton* in *New England*, the Small Pox carry off about 2 of 11 who are ſeized with them*; but as other countries may be more healthful in this reſpect, and as many people eſcape this diſeaſe altogether, we cannot, from the above account, determine what proportion of the whole race of mankind die of the Small Pox. Doctor *Jurin* however, from a compariſon of the bills of mortality in *London* for 42 years, has ſhewn, that in and about this *Metropolis*, above $\frac{1}{14}$ part of all

* Philoſoph. Tranſact. Abrid. vol. 7. p. 616.

" thoſe who are born, die of this diſeaſe*: and " as it is reaſonable to imagine, that other places " in *Europe* may not be more healthful in this re- " ſpect than *London*, we may fairly conclude, " that $\frac{1}{14}$ part of mankind are carried off by the " Small Pox, and theſe moſtly in their younger " years, before they can have any children. Now, " as there is no antient diſeaſe that has ceaſed in " latter ages, which was near ſo deſtructive; the " Small Pox may be juſtly numbered among the " cauſes which have contributed to diſpeople the " world.

" THE *Lues Venerea*, or *Great Pox*, made its " firſt remarkable appearance in *Europe*, at the " ſiege of *Naples*, *anno* 1493. At firſt it made " great havock; and altho' it is not now near ſo " mortal as the Small Pox, yet as it frequently " renders both ſexes unfruitful, or at beſt debili- " tates them, ſo as to make their poſterity ſickly, " infirm, and often barren, it may be juſtly queſ- " tioned, which of theſe diſeaſes have had the " worſt effects in leſſening the numbers of man- " kind. Further, it merits conſideration, whe- " ther the growing luxury of each ſucceeding age " does not deſerve a place here, as by this, diſ- " eaſes are at the ſame time rendered more fre- " quent, and much leſs obedient to the uſual re- " medies."

BUT

* Philoſoph. Tranſact. Abrid. vol. 7. p. 613. *&c.*

BUT notwithſtanding the bad effects of particular diſeaſes, or other phyſical cauſes which may be aſſigned, ſuch cauſes alone are by no means ſufficient. In order to account for the phænomenon in a more perfect and ſatisfactory manner, recourſe muſt be had to moral cauſes: ſuch as, 1. Difference of religion, and of religious or moral inſtitutions. 2. Different cuſtoms with reſpect to ſervants and the maintenance of the poor. 3. Different rules of ſucceſſion to eſtates; and the right of primogeniture. 4. The little encouragement given to marriage in modern times. 5. The great number of ſoldiers in the ſtanding armies of *Europe*. 6. Too extenſive trade. 7. Neglect of agriculture. 8. The different extent of antient and modern governments. 9. The ruin of the antient ſtates by the greater monarchies, eſpecially by the *Roman* empire. 10. And laſt of all, The loſs of that antient ſimplicity which had long prevailed *. Some of theſe cauſes will appear to be more

* Some perhaps may imagine, that the greater tyranny and oppreſſion of many modern governments, is alone ſufficient to account for the great depopulation of the world, ſince it cannot be doubted, that deſpotick and arbitrary power has had a baneful influence, and cauſed in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Greece*, the *Grecian* iſlands, *Leſſer Aſia*, and other countries, a ſcarcity of people extraordinary, when compared with the vaſt abundance of antient times. But beſides this obvious one, there muſt be ſome other hidden ſources of decay,

more powerful than others; but each of them, I preſume, muſt have had its influence, and all of them together been able to produce thoſe great alterations.

Firſt. Religion cannot be without its influence. It is ſurely of great importance that it do not teach any doctrines, or inculcate precepts, which are unfriendly to ſociety. Now, there have been two great changes in religion ſince the more antient times; for, inſtead of Paganiſm, firſt Chriſtianity, and afterwards Mahometaniſm, have been introduced and eſtabliſhed. Let us conſider their different effects.

As polygamy is an hinderance to the propagation of mankind, Chriſtianity cannot have any bad influence in this reſpect: on the contrary, it muſt be profitable to ſociety. Whatever ſtrange and wonderful accounts have been given of the diſproportion between males and females, and the more numerous births of the latter in ſome Eaſtern nations; according to the beſt obſervations, which have been made in the Weſtern parts, the proportion between the births of males and females appears to be nearly equal. To provide therefore moſt equally for the whole human race,

cay, as the former calculations make it credible, that even the moſt populous and moſt flouriſhing nations at preſent, and thoſe which enjoy the greateſt liberty, ſuch as *England* and *Switzerland*, are far from being ſo populous, as the more civilized nations of antiquity.

race, and make all of them moſt uſeful in propagating, one man ought to be allowed to marry but one woman at once. Thus polygamy, by which many men are deprived of wives, and ſeveral women being married to one man, become leſs fruitful, muſt have a baneful influence. Hence Mahometaniſm is pernicious in this reſpect; and if, to the influence of polygamy, we add the inſtitution of eunuchs for guarding the fair, and of female ſlaves who aſſiſt theſe eunuchs, and ſeldom marry; this muſt have no inconſiderable effect in all thoſe countries, where the Mahometan religion is eſtabliſhed at preſent, and where polygamy and eunuchs were not allowed in antient times. This is the caſe with the more Eaſtern places of *Europe*, and Weſtern parts of *Aſia*. But whatever changes have been wrought in thoſe nations which are ſituated farther to the Eaſt, cannot be accounted for in this way, ſince polygamy prevailed, and eunuchs ſwarmed in thoſe countries from very antient times.

SOME reckon the difficulty of obtaining divorces, according to the Chriſtian inſtitution, another hinderance of the increaſe of mankind, as perſons may be childleſs by being improperly matched, tho' either of them might have children in another marriage, if divorces could be eaſily obtained. But, as there are many dangers both to parents and children, from allowing divorces to be procured too eaſily; and as whatever loſs is ſuſtained by

by the difficulty of procuring them, is more than compenſated by other advantages; allowing divorces, merely for want of children, muſt have but an inconſiderable effect, as few inſtances can be ſuppoſed, where a married couple, pleaſed in other reſpects, would ſeparate on this account alone.

NEITHER ought it to be reproached to the Chriſtian religion, if any of the ſacred writers ſhould be found to declare, that celibacy is preferable to marriage in ſome particular ſituations, ſince it is certainly true: for circumſtances may be ſo diſcouraging, that neither of the ſexes are obliged to marry, merely from publick ſpirit, and to raiſe up citizens to the world.

BUT tho' Chriſtianity, in its genuine purity, is not unfriendly to ſociety; like the beſt inſtitutions, it may be abuſed, and perverted to the moſt pernicious purpoſes. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that a dangerous opinion, unfavourable to propagation, as if celibacy was to be preferred to marriage, crept in very early into the Church; neither perhaps ſhall we be able to juſtify every edict of the Chriſtian Emperors on this head; and it has been yet more unfortunate, that this opinion daily gained ground. Undoubtedly the great number of unmarried prieſts in all the *Roman* catholick countries, which make ſo great a part of *Europe*, and the multitude of women who live unmarried in convents, and profeſs perpetual virginity, fooliſhly imagining, that celibacy is a more holy ſtate than

marriage,

marriage, may juſtly be accounted one of the cauſes of the ſcarcity of people in all the countries under the Pope's dominion *. This ſuperſtitious and dangerous tenet moſt juſtly deſerves to be eſteemed a doctrine of thoſe *devils*, who are the *ſeducers* and deſtroyers of mankind †, and is very ſuitable to the views and deſigns of a church, which has diſcovered ſuch an enormous ambition, and made ſuch havock of the human race, in order to raiſe, eſtabliſh, and preſerve an uſurped and tyrannical power. Beſides, as ſo great a part of the riches of every Popiſh country, is in the hands of prieſts and religious houſes, this muſt hurt trade, and prevent the culture of the lands, which cannot but have a bad effect in diminiſhing the numbers of the people.

Secondly. Another cauſe of the ſcarcity of people in modern times, is the difference of antient and modern cuſtoms, with reſpect to ſervants and the maintenance of the poor.

FOR many ages *Europe* has been over-run with vaſt multitudes of beggars, and has alſo abounded with

* It will not deſtroy the force of this argument, that, in the Popiſh countries, abſtinence from marriage often proceeds rather from policy, and intereſted views, than devotion; for as devotion is often at bottom, ſo even when it is otherwiſe, it is the pernicious policy of the Popiſh church, which gives an opportunity to execute ſuch dangerous ſchemes.

† 1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

with ſuch as having no ſubſtance of their own, can only ſupport themſelves by daily labour. As frequently neither the firſt of theſe can be comfortably ſupported by begging, nor the ſecond by the profits of their labour; and few of either kind are able to provide for more than themſelves, little can be expected from perſons in this ſituation: for either they do not marry at all; or their marriages are not fruitful; or their children die, or become ſickly and uſeleſs, through the poverty or negligence of their parents. According to *Templeman*, there are 1,500,000 inhabitants in *Scotland*, among whom it has been computed *, that there are no fewer than 100,000 beggars or poor people, ſupported ſolely at the expence of others: and if to theſe we add the vaſt multitude of the lower ſort, in different imployments, who are pinched with poverty; as this is the caſe almoſt every where in *Europe*, we may perceive one plain ſource of ſcarcity of people. In antient times, things were on a different footing. For men were either able to ſupport themſelves, or if they fell into poverty, became moſt commonly the property of rich men; and the maſters finding their account in the number of their ſlaves, for cultivating their lands, and

* This is the computation of that worthy Patriot, and ingenious inquirer into political inſtitutions, Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*. See his works printed at *Glaſgow*, 1749. p. 100. Probably this computation is too high, as well as *Templeman*'s, of the whole people of *Scotland*.

and working in all kinds of trades, encouraged them to marry, and took good care of their children, who became their property, and a valuable part of their riches.

WE do not mean by this to aſſert, either that in the antient world none of thoſe who were free, were in ſtraitned circumſtances, or that all the ſlaves were married, or were well taken care of. Nothing leſs. The contrary alas! is too evident from antient hiſtory. But we may preſume, that as the ſubſtance of the world was in the hands of ſuch as were free, there was a ſmaller number in proportion ſo poor, as not to be able to maintain families; and that the numerous crouds of ſlaves being the property of their maſters, and uſeful to them by their labour, they were in general tolerably well taken care of, at leaſt till they were old and uſeleſs. Further, as the marriages of their ſlaves muſt have been often for the advantage of the maſters; in ſuch caſes they would commonly be encouraged to marry, and their children be taken care of, and trained up to labour, and not to begging.

THIS ſtate of ſlavery is very remote from modern manners, and indeed it appears to be extremely wretched. Undoubtedly the antient ſlaves were often expoſed to great ſeverity, cruelty, and injuſtice. Such a conſtitution would require particular, and theſe very ſtrict laws, to prevent the barbarous treatment of this order of men. However, on a more accurate examination, we ſhall

perhaps find, that their life was not ſo miſerable as we might be apt to imagine at firſt ſight. In ſome ſtates, particularly at *Athens*, equitable laws were enacted for their ſecurity; they were treated with gentleneſs and mildneſs, and allowed to acquire riches, on paying a ſmall yearly tribute to their maſters; nay, if they could ſcrape together as much as could purchaſe their liberty, their maſters were obliged to ſet them free. Upon the whole, they ſeem to have been more certain of ſubſiſtence, and to have been better fed, not only than the beggars, but even many of the day-labourers, and lower order of the farmers and tradeſmen of modern times. It would be chiefly where ſlaves were treated with equity and mildneſs, lived in friendſhip with their maſters, were looked on as a part of the family, and intereſted in its welfare, that this inſtitution could beſt ſerve to render nations populous: on the other hand, if they were cruelly uſed, and their ſpirits broken with ſevere bondage, they muſt have been leſs fit either for labour or propagation.

AFTER all, it is not eaſy, if it be not altogether impoſſible for a man of humanity, to reconcile himſelf perfectly to the inſtitution of domeſtic ſlavery. With whatever particular advantages it may be accompanied, one can ſcarce ever think of it without ſenſible horror and deep compaſſion. Like too many of the barbarous and inhuman cuſtoms of the world, it is highly diſgraceful to human nature:

ture: nor can it ever produce any advantages, which might not be gained by a better and more human policy. GOD forbid! that I ſhould ever be an advocate for ſlavery, eccleſiaſtic, civil, or domeſtic, on account of any accidental advantages which it may happen to produce; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that conſidering it only with reſpect to the phænomenon we are at preſent examining, it ſeems probable, that the antient condition of ſervants contributed ſomething to the greater populouſneſs of antiquity, and that the antient ſlaves were more ſerviceable in raiſing up people, than the inferior ranks of men in modern times.

WHAT we have obſerved on this ſubject, is confirmed by the accounts hiſtorians have given of the prodigious number of ſlaves in antient times. From *Athenæus* we have conjectured, that in *Athens*, where agriculture and the mechanic arts, as well as navigation and the art of war were honoured, they were thrice as many as the free citizens: and we may reaſonably believe, they were more numerous in other ſtates, where the free citizens neglecting agriculture and mechanic arts, left theſe to their ſlaves, employing themſelves wholly in the management of public affairs, or in war, as was the cuſtom in *Lacedæmon*; and accordingly we find, that the *Lacedæmonians* had a prodigious number. *Herodotus* relates *, that at the battle of *Platea*, there were 5000 *Lacedæmonians*, each of

* Lib. 9. p. 587. 597.

of whom had ſeven ſlaves to attend him. But 'tis needleſs to be more particular; almoſt every page of antient hiſtory demonſtrates the great multitude of ſlaves; which gives occaſion to a melancholy reflexion, that when the world was beſt peopled, it was not a world of free men, but of ſlaves.

Thirdly. The rules of ſucceſſion, and the right of primogeniture, by which the eldeſt ſon, not only of the moſt opulent, but even of the middling and inferior families, carries off the greateſt part of the father's eſtate, that the family may be ſupported in grandeur and affluence, while the younger children get but a ſmall patrimony, may juſtly be accounted another cauſe of the ſcarcity of people in modern times. This was unknown in antient times; for both *Greeks* and *Romans* divided the father's eſtate more equally among all the children; nor did the antient world in general, as far as I have been able to learn, give ſo great a proportion to the eldeſt ſon. This cuſtom no doubt may be accompanied with great advantages, if it be confined to a few great families, who by their grandeur and riches may be greatly ſerviceable to their country. In a monarchy it ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary; nay, in every ſuch government, the moſt dreadful deſpotiſm ſeems unavoidable, where there is not a ſplendid nobility or gentry. But if it becomes ſo extenſive, as to produce a general inclination to raiſe and ſupport families by ſuch an unequal diviſion of the father's eſtate, it will prove

a ſource of idleneſs to the eldeſt, and prevent the other ſons from marrying, ſince being born of the ſame parents, and educated in the ſame manner, they will naturally incline to live ſomewhat on a level with their elder brother; which they will ſeldom find poſſible, unleſs they keep themſelves free from the embaraſſments of a family. At *Venice* the cuſtom is ſaid to go ſo far, that often only one of the ſons marries. This muſt ſurely have a bad effect in modern times, and make a ſenſible difference between the modern and the antient world, in which the eſtate being more equally divided among the children, all of them had greater encouragement to marry, and were more able to maintain families.

If then we join theſe two cuſtoms together, by which the younger ſons are ſo often diſcouraged from marrying, and the eldeſt keeps many unmarried ſervants; theſe two muſt cauſe a ſenſible difference between antient and modern times.

Fourthly. Add to this, that there is now leſs care taken to encourage marriage. The antients conferred certain privileges and honours on ſuch as were married. In *Greece*, not to marry was reckoned a crime; nor could marriage in ſome caſes be delayed beyond a certain age; nay, it was even allowed to treat batchelors with contempt. By the laws of *Lycurgus*, thoſe who continued unmarried, were held to be infamous; they were excluded from certain proceſſions, and compelled

compelled to march naked round the market place in the depth of winter, ſinging a ſong to their own diſgrace; the younger ſort were diſpenſed from paying them that reverence which they were otherwiſe obliged to pay to their elders. Hence the treatment which *Dercyllidas*, a man of conſiderable rank, met with from one of their youth, who, inſtead of riſing, and making room for him when he came into a public aſſembly, told him, "You "muſt not expect that honour from me, when I "am young, which cannot be returned to me by "a child of yours, when I ſhall be old*." The antient cuſtoms of *Rome* greatly favoured marriage. In modern times there is a wide difference; the laugh is often againſt matrimony; married perſons have no privileges; and a prevailing luxury often makes it be thought imprudent to marry at the moſt proper ſeaſon of life: men muſt firſt purchaſe ſuch an eſtate, and be able to live in ſuch a manner, as they cannot often afford to do till they are grown old. In antient times there was a greater ſimplicity of taſte. I do not know if batchelors are incapable of offices at preſent any where but in *Switzerland*†. It is perhaps only in that country, where marriage is encouraged by the ſtate: it is only among the *Swiſs Cantons*, and in *Holland*, where eſtates are ſo equally divided among the children,

* *Plutarch* in the life of *Lycurgus*.

† See an account of *Switzerland* publiſhed at *London* 1714. chap. 4. p. 92.

children, and theſe two countries are the beſt peopled in *Europe*.

Fifthly. Another cauſe of the want of people, is the great number of ſoldiers in modern armies, among whom there are few who marry, and by whoſe means ſo many women are debauched, and venereal diſtempers ſpread ſo wide and ſo fatally. This is an unhappy policy on many accounts, adapted in particular to increaſe idleneſs, and leſſen the numbers of the people, and is entirely different from the policy of the moſt antient ages.

Sixthly. The extenſive trade carried on between *Europe*, and the moſt remote corners of both the eaſtern and weſtern world, ſeems to be another cauſe of the ſcarcity of people in *Europe*.

THE antient commerce, even when moſt extenſive, whether carried on by the *Phænicians*, *Carthaginians*, or any other antient nation, was much more confined than the trade in modern times, ſince *America* was diſcovered by *Columbus*, and *Vaſco de Gama* ſailed to the *Eaſt Indies* around the *Cape of Good Hope*. By theſe two diſcoveries trade has indeed been greatly extended, but at the ſame time a great number of *Europeans* have been excited to deſert their native land, and ſettle in diſtant countries, and many have been loſt by long voyages and trafficking in unwholeſome climates. Such an extenſive trade may enrich ſome particular cities or nations; yet it muſt help to drain *Europe* in general, and muſt prevent the increaſe of inhabitants,

bitants, in countries which have abundance of territory at home. Nations in this happy ſituation would often be more populous, by cultivating their lands, and trading with leſs diſtant regions, where the climate and air more nearly reſembled their own, and were more adapted to their particular conſtitutions. Indeed one can ſcarce regard it but as a ſecret faſcination, that ſo many *Europeans* go in queſt of diſtant ſeats in *America*, while the lands in *Europe* are ſo poorly cultivated, and with a proper policy might plentifully maintain a much greater number of people.

ANTIENT policy was of a very different kind, and ſeems to have been far preferable. The antients did not neglect trade, but had a greater turn to agriculture; they traded with nations which were not at a great diſtance, and whoſe climate better ſuited their conſtitutions; but agriculture was their chief employment, and they managed it well.

IN this reſpect therefore the antients had much the advantage; among them fewer hands were employed in trade; trade was more confined; agriculture was more encouraged, and was indeed their principal occupation.

Seventhly. A taſte for this peaceful and rural life, which prevailed ſo much in antient times, muſt be numbered among the cauſes of the great populouſneſs of the antient world, and the decay of this taſte among the moderns helps to account for the preſent ſcarcity of people.

IT is needleſs to inquire minutely in what manner the antients cultivated their lands, and who were employed for this purpoſe*; this much is certain, that many of them made uſe of ſlaves, while they themſelves had the chief overſight. Agriculture was of old in great honour; the plow was in the hand of the proprietor, who himſelf took the chief direction of the tillage of his farm. Thus the lands were wonderfully improved. Among the moderns 'tis quite otherwiſe. Ruſtic labour is in little honour; and as people of rank often deſpiſe it, the methods of culture are left to be invented and brought to perfection by the mean and the ignorant, and the expences ly upon the poor labourer. In this ſituation neither are the beſt

* In the more antient and ſimple times, 'tis probable every man cultivated his little field with the aſſiſtance of his own family. In after times, thoſe who had acquired large poſſeſſions, ſometimes ſent ſlaves to till their lands, the charge of whom they committed to overſeers; at other times they ſet out their lands to *Coloni*, an order of men much reſembling our farmers, who paid a certain rent. *Columella* determines when it is beſt to labour ground by ſlaves, when to ſet it out to *Coloni*, and gives it as his opinion, that for the moſt part, even tho' an overſeer might be careleſs, greater profits were to be made by the firſt than by the laſt way of cultivating. *Cæterùm, cum mediocris adeſt & ſalubritas, & terræ bonitas, nunquam non ex agro plus ſua cuique cura reddidit, quam Coloni; nunquam non etiam Villici, niſi ſi maxima vel negligentia ſervi, vel rapacitas intervenit.* On which account 'tis probable the method of cultivating by ſlaves was more commonly in uſe.

Columella de re ruſt. lib. 1. *cap.* 7.

methods found out, nor are the labourers able to purſue them. This muſt occaſion barrenneſs of lands, and greatly hinder the increaſe of the people.

How much agriculture was in eſteem in the happieſt times of the *Greek* and *Roman* Republics, is evident from their hiſtory. It was reckoned the moſt innocent, moſt uſeful, moſt pleaſant, and moſt honourable employment. The greateſt men took delight in it. Thoſe who commanded victorious armies, ſhone in the moſt auguſt aſſemblies, and had the chief direction of public affairs, did not only amuſe themſelves with agriculture, but ſtudied it, and often employed much of their time in it. In this way they ſupported their families in a ſimple and frugal manner; in this way they promoted the intereſt of their country. Sometimes theſe antient huſbandmen have been ſuddenly called from the plow, and the tillage of their little farms, to the command of armies, and the defence of their country; and having vanquiſhed their enemies, and delivered the ſtate from the danger which threatned it, been crowned with laurels, and then returned with pleaſure to their rural employments.

In antient times, the ſacred plow employ'd
The Kings, and awful fathers of mankind:
And ſome, with whom compar'd, your inſect-tribes
Are but the beings of a ſummer's day,
Have held the ſcale of empire, rul'd the ſtorm
Of mighty war; then, with victorious hand,
Diſdaining

Diſdaining little delicacies, ſeiz'd
The plow, and greatly independent ſcorn'd
All the vile ſtores corruption can beſtow.*

This ſimplicity of taſte continued long among the *Romans*, and was only deſtroyed by the ruin of their commonwealth, and by that univerſal corruption of manners, which was both the cauſe and the effect of it.

THIS is evident from *Columella*, whoſe uſeful work *de re ruſtica*, ſhews how much a man, who lived in corrupted times, laments the loſs of the antient taſte, and praiſes the manners of the old *Romans* †.

THESE

* *Thomſon*'s Spring.

† Sola res ruſtica, quæ ſine dubitatione proxima, & quaſi conſanguinea ſapientiæ eſt, tam diſcentibus egeat, quam magiſtris. Adhuc enim ſcholas rhetorum, &, ut dixi, geometrarum muſicorumque, vel quod magis mirandum eſt, contemptiſſimorum vitiorum officinas guloſius condiendi cibos, & luxurioſius fercula ſtruendi, capitumque & capillorum concinnatores non ſolùm eſſe audivi, ſed & ipſe vidi. Agricolationis neque doctores qui ſe profiterentur, neque diſcipulos cognovi.— Quo magis prodigii ſimile eſt,— ut —ſperneretur genus amplificandi retinendique patrimonii, quod omni crimine caret.

Then he compares and prefers agriculture to the profeſſion of a ſoldier or lawyer, to traffick and navigation, to putting out money to intereſt, and attendance on great men; and then concludes,

Supereſt, ut dixi, unum genus liberale & ingenuum rei familiaris augendæ, quod ex agricolatione contingit. Cujus præcepta ſi vel temere ab indoctis, dum tamen agrorum poſſeſſoribus antiquo more adminiſtrarentur, minus jacturæ paterentur res ruſticæ, nam induſtria dominorum cum ignorantiæ

THESE manners and this taſte for agriculture continued among the *Romans* till the days of *Cato* the cenſor, who endeavoured ſtrenuouſly to preſerve

rantiæ detrimentis multa penſaret.—— Nunc & ipſi prædia noſtra colere dedignamur, & nullius momenti ducimus peritiſſimum quemque villicum facere.—Quæ cum animadvertam, ſæpe mecum retractans ac recogitans, quam turpi conſenſu deſerta exoluerit diſciplina ruris, vereor, ne flagitioſa, & quodammodo pudenda aut inhoneſta videatur ingenuis. Verùm cum plurimis monumentis ſcriptorum admonear apud antiquos noſtros fuiſſe gloriæ curam ruſticationis (ex qua Quintius Cincinnatus obſeſſi conſulis & exercitus liberator, ab aratro vocatus ad dictaturam venerit, ac rurſus faſcibus depoſitis, quos feſtinatius victor reddiderat, quam ſumpſerat Imperator, ad eoſdem juvencos, & quatuor jugerum avitum hærediolum redierit. Itemque C. Fabricius & Curius Dentatus, alter Pyrrho finibus Italiæ pulſo, domitis alter Sabinis, accepta quæ viritim dividebantur captivi agri, ſeptem jugera, non minus induſtrie coluerit, quam fortiter armis quæſierat. Et ne ſingulos intempeſtive nunc perſequar, cum tot alios Romani generis intuear memorabiles duces, hoc ſemper duplici ſtudio floruiſſe, vel defendendi, vel colendi patrios, quæſitoſve fines), intelligo luxuriæ, & deliciis noſtris priſtinum morem, virilemque vitam diſplicuiſſe. Omnes enim (ſicut M. Varro jam temporibus avorum conqueſtus eſt) patres familiæ falce, & aratro relictis, intra murum correpſimus, & in circis potius ac theatris, quam in ſegetibus & vinetis manus movemus: attonitique miramur geſtus effæminatorum, quod à natura ſexum viris denegatum, muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiantque oculos ſpectantium. Mox deinde ut apti veniamus ad ganeas, quotidianam cruditatem Laconicis excoquimus, & exucto ſudore ſitim quærimus, noctesque libidinibus, & ebrietatibus, dies ludo vel ſomno conſumimus, ac noſmetipſos ducimus fortunatos, quod nec orientem ſolem videmus nec occidentem: itaque iſtam vi-

tam

ſerve the remains of the old ſimplicity and frugality, and to ſtop the growing corruption of his age.

Agriculture

tam ſocordem perſequitur valetudo. Nam ſic juvenum corpora fluxa & reſoluta ſunt, ut nihil mors mutatura videatur. At mehercule vera illa Romuli proles aſſiduis venatibus, nec minus agreſtibus operibus exercitata, firmiſſimis prævaluit corporibus, ac militiam belli, cum res poſtulavit, facilè ſuſtinuit, durata paçis laboribus, ſemperque ruſticam plebem præpoſuit urbanæ.—— Nundinarum etiam conventus manifeſtum eſt propterea uſurpatos, ut nonis tantummodo diebus urbanæ res agerentur, reliquis adminiſtrarentur ruſticæ: illis enim temporibus, ut ante jam diximus, proceres civitatis in agris morabantur, & cum conſilium publicum deſiderabatur, â villis arceſſebantur in ſenatum. Ex quo qui eos evocabant, viatores nominati ſunt: iſque mos dum ſervatus eſt perſeverantiſſimo colendorum agrorum ſtudio, veteres illi Sabini, Quirites, attavique Romani, quanquam inter ferrum, & ignes hoſticiſque incurſionibus vaſtatæ fruges, largius tamen condidere, quam nos, quibus diuturna permittente pace prolatare licuit rem ruſticam. Itaque in hoc Latio & Saturnia terra, ubi Dii cultus agrorum progeniem ſuam docuerunt, ibi nunc ad haſtam locamus, ut nobis ex tranſmarinis provinciis advehatur frumentum, ne fame laboremus: & vindemias condimus ex inſulis Cycladibus, ac regionibus Bæticis, Galliciſque. Nec mirum cum ſit publice concepta, & confirmata jam vulgaris exiſtimatio, rem ruſticam ſordidum opus, & id eſſe negotium, quod nullius egeat magiſterio præceptoris.

And then he proceeds to ſhew what a variety of knowledge is neceſſary to make one perfectly ſkilled in agriculture.

Colum. de re ruſtic. præf.

This paſſage from Columella *gives a diſtinct view of the taſte of the* Romans *both in more early and later times.*

To the ſame purpoſe are the two following paſſages:

Nam is demum cultiſſimum rus habebit, ut ait Tremellius, qui & colere ſciet, & poterit, & volet: neque enim ſcire aut velle,

Agriculture was his conſtant buſineſs, when not employed either in pleading cauſes, or in the public ſervice: and tho' he was ſo great a man in the *Roman* ſtate, he found time to compoſe a treatiſe on this ſubject, ſome part of which has been preſerved to our times *.

THE *Greeks* were both poliſhed and corrupted in more early times than the *Romans*; and notwithſtanding

velle, cuiquam ſatisfuerit ſine ſumptibus, quos exigant opera. *Columell. de re ruſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non recte cultus, quam anguſtus eximie. Ideoque poſt reges exactos, Licinia illa ſeptena jugera, quæ plebis tribunus viritim diviſerat, majores quæſtus antiquis retulere, quam nunc nobis præbent ampliſſima vervacta. Tanta quidem Curius Dentatus, quem paulo ante retulimus, proſpero ductu parta victoria ob eximiam virtutem deferente populo præmii nomine quinquaginta ſoli jugera, ſupra conſularem, triumphalemque fortunam putavit eſſe. Repudiatoque publico munere, populari ac plebeia menſura contentus fuit.— More præpotentium qui poſſident fines gentium, quos ne circumire equis quidem valent, ſed proculcandos pecudibus, & vaſtandos, ac populandos feris derelinquunt. *Columell. de re ruſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

* *In this little treatiſe, at the beginning, we have the following paſſage:*

Majores noſtri — virum bonum cum laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam, bonumque colonum. Ampliſſime laudari exiſtimabatur, qui ita laudabatur. Mercatorem autem ſtrenuum ſtudioſumque rei quærendæ exiſtimo, verum (ut ſupra dixi) periculoſum & calamitoſum. At ex agricolis & viri fortiſſimi & milites ſtrenuiſſimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quæſtus, ſtabiliſſimuſque conſequitur, minimeque invidioſus: minimeque male cogitantes ſunt, qui in eo ſtudio occupati ſunt.

withſtanding the greateſt refinement, agriculture was highly honoured in many of their ſtates.

How much it was honoured at *Athens* in the days of *Socrates*, appears from *Xenophon*'s book of *Oeconomics* *, where in the perſon of *Iſchomachus*, whom he introduces in converſation with *Socrates*, he ſets before us the manner in which many of the *Athenians* lived, and how ſtudious they were of agriculture.

NOR was agriculture in much eſteem among the *Greeks* and *Romans* alone: it was ſo too among other wiſe and mighty nations. *Xenophon* relates in the ſame book what paſſed between the younger *Cyrus* and *Lyſander*, and how much *Cyrus* valued himſelf on his knowledge and his practice in agriculture. I myſelf (ſays *Cyrus* to *Lyſander*) deſigned and meaſured out the whole garden, (meaning a fine garden at *Sardis*;) many of the plants I planted with my own hands; and when I am in health, I never

* Τις δὲ οἰκέταις προσφιλεσέρα, ἢ γυναικὶ ἡδίων, ἢ τέκνοις ποθεινοτέρα, ἢ φίλοις εὐχαρισοτέρα; ἐμοὶ μὲν θαυμασὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι εἴ τις ἐλεύθερος ἄνθρωπος ἢ κτῆμά τι τύτε ἥδιον κέκτηται, ἢ ἐπιμέλειαν ἡδίω τινὰ ταύτης εὗρηκεν ἢ ὠφελιμωτέραν εἰς τὸν βίον. Xenophon. oeconom.

Καλῶς δὲ κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν ὃς ἔφη τὴν γεωργίαν τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν εἶναι. εὖ μὲν γὰρ φερομένης τῆς γεωργίας, ἔῤῥωνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἅπασαι· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀναγκαθῇ ἡ γῆ χερσεύειν, αποσβεννύνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι σχεδόν τι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν.

Ibidem.

never dine, till I have firſt made myſelf ſweat at ſome warlike or rural exerciſe. Ταῦτα δὲ, ὦ Κριτόβυλε, ἐγὼ δηγοῦμαι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ μακάριοι δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι. *Theſe things I mention to you, O* Critobulus, *ſaid* Socrates, *becauſe the moſt fortunate and moſt happy of men cannot hinder themſelves from having the higheſt inclination to rural buſineſs*.*

Eighthly. WE may further derive the ſcarcity of people in modern times, from the extent of many of the modern, compared with that of the antient ſtates.

BEFORE the days of *Alexander the Great*, and even in ſucceeding times, till the *Roman* empire was eſtabliſhed, the weſtern parts of the world conſiſted of ſmall and independent governments. *Cæſar* deſcribes many ſuch in *Gaul*. *Italy*, *Greece*, the *Leſſer Aſia*, and the *African* coaſts, conſiſted of, and almoſt all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean* ſeas were, independent ſtates of this kind, containing commonly one city, and around it a ſmall territory, that was well improved: for lands which ly near conſiderable cities, may generally be obſerved to be richly cultivated. The extent of moſt of

* Ταῦτά τοίνυν, ὦ Λύσανδρε, ἐγὼ πάντα ϗ διεμέτρησα ϗ διέταξα· ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν, φάναι, ἃ ϗ ἐφύτευσα αὐτός.——
Ὀμνυμί σοι τὸν μίδρην, ὅταν περ ὑγιαίνω, μὴ πώποτε δειπνῆσαι πρὶν ἱδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν τι ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων μελετῶν, ἢ ἀεὶ ἔν γέ τι φιλοτιμούμενος.

Xenophon. oeconomic.

of the governments of *Europe* is much larger in modern times. This continent was antiently divided into many hundreds, perhaps ſome thouſands, of independent governments: there are not perhaps fifty at preſent. In conſequence of this a ſmall ſpot near the metropolis, or any conſiderable city, is finely cultivated, while places at a diſtance ly neglected. From hence it evidently appears, that ſtates of ſmall extent muſt in a peculiar manner be favourable to populouſneſs: for the territory of ſuch ſtates, extending but a ſmall way round the metropolis, cannot fail to be cultivated to the full.

MR. *Fletcher* *, while he indulged his taſte of inquiring into all kinds of political inſtitutions; among thoſe other ſpeculations, with which he amuſed himſelf, propoſed a ſcheme, according to which *Britain* might have been divided into ten or twelve independent ſtates of this kind. Such a diſpoſition of things might have its advantages; and in particular, as we have ſaid, would produce great numbers of people. However, the frequent wars, conteſts and diviſions among the ſtates of *Greece*, *Italy*, *Gaul* and *Spain*, which made them at length a prey to the *Romans*; the ſtruggles for power and dominion, with which *Britain* was moleſted during the *Saxon* heptarchy; the many bloody battles between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, before the union of the crowns and kingdoms, which

* P. 312. &c.

not only deſtroyed great numbers of the people, but likewiſe produced an hatred between the nations, may convince every impartial obſerver, that it would be not a little raſh to indanger the liberty, peace and tranquillity we at preſent enjoy, for any advantages which might reſult from ſuch an imaginary conſtitution. I would not therefore, that what is ſaid above, were conſtructed, as if by it I intended to hint, it were better *Britain* ſhould be crumbled down into ſo many ſmall ſtates. I mean nothing leſs, and think it would be the greateſt degree of madneſs to exchange the preſent happy conſtitution of this country, for the moſt perfect ideal one, which imagination could delineate. All I pretend is, that ſuch ſmall ſtates have a tendency to produce great numbers of people; and that the populouſneſs of antient times, before the huge monarchies aroſe, was owing in ſome degree to the ſmallneſs of the antient governments.

Ninthly. THIS points out another ſource of the deſtruction of *Europe*, cloſely connected with the cauſe juſt now given of the phænomenon into which we are inquiring; for the ſcarcity of people in later times ſeems to be not a little owing to the ruin of the antient governments by the *Roman* empire, and the havock the *Romans* made among the ſmaller ſtates and cities, before they could fully eſtabliſh their ſovereign power.

IF we may indulge conjectures about the in-

creaſe

creaſe of mankind in the more early ages, it is not improbable, that the moſt antient inhabitants of the world peopling the earth by degrees, ſeized on thoſe tracts firſt which were moſt fertile and moſt inviting: it was thus they formed ſmall ſocieties, and built cities, according to their different views and fancies. Theſe cities grew by degrees, mankind multiplied, and the earth might have been well ſtored with inhabitants much ſooner than is generally ſuppoſed; but theſe ſtates would be formed, and theſe cities built at firſt, where mankind had their firſt abodes.

Now, according to the traditions of moſt nations, mankind made their firſt appearance in the Eaſt; and according to ſacred hiſtory, a ſingle pair was formed by the creating hand of GOD, and placed in *Eden*, to be the parents of the human race. Thus the whole country around the primæval ſeat of man would be firſt peopled. After the deluge, the poſterity of *Noah* growing daily more and more numerous, would by degrees remove themſelves from their original abode, which appears alſo to have been in the Eaſt; then they would ſpread themſelves over the reſt of the adjacent countries; and perhaps it would be long ere they would chuſe to deſert the fertile plains of *Aſia*, and go in queſt of unknown, uncultivated, and perhaps barren habitations. But their growing numbers would at laſt reduce them to this neceſſity. Some of them would then tranſport themſelves

ſelves into *Europe*, others go towards *Africa*, and lay a foundation for peopling the Weſt. So that *Europe* and *Africa*, according to this account, muſt only have been peopled ſome time after the peopling of the Eaſt. Hence whatever progreſſions in government, and whatever changes in the ſituation of human affairs, are, from the nature of man, and the gradual courſe of things, moſt likely to have happened, and to have ſucceeded each other gradually, muſt from this account be ſuppoſed to have happened firſt in the Eaſt. Thus mankind would here firſt form themſelves into thoſe ſmall ſocieties or ſtates I ſpoke of. And even before *Europe*, and the weſtern parts were fully peopled, while they were as yet only dividing themſelves into ſtates of the ſame kind, ſome ambitious and turbulent nation of *Aſia* might have already raiſed its views, aimed at general empire, and perhaps accompliſhed its deſigns. This is exactly agreeable to the accounts of hiſtorians, who every where talk of great empires that were eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt in the moſt early times. And from hence it is probable, that the great *Aſſyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Median* and *Perſian* empires had ſwallowed up, and been formed on the ruins of the ſmall ſtates of *Aſia*; and that not only *Europe*, but alſo *Aſia*, was beſt peopled before the eſtabliſhment of great monarchies.

BUT at this time, when monarchs domineered in the Eaſt, we read only of ſmall ſtates in *Europe*;

rope; for theſe ſtates had had but juſt time to form themſelves, and none had ariſen to aſpire at univerſal dominion. However in a few years the fate of this part became the ſame with that of the eaſtern part of the world. *Rome* aroſe, and by the havock and deſtruction of the other ſtates, obtained the empire of the Weſt.

FROM this account of the gradual peopling of the world, and its formation into ſmall ſtates, it appears probable, that there was a point of time, when at leaſt *Europe* was better peopled than it has ever been ſince, or ſhall ever be hereafter, unleſs ſome mighty revolution produces unforeſeen changes: to wit, when it was moſt repleniſhed with ſmall ſtates, and theſe ſtates had had ſufficient time to improve their lands: for hiſtory aſſures us, that the greateſt part of *Europe* did once actually conſiſt of ſuch ſmall ſtates *.

IT cannot indeed be determined with preciſion, in what age this point of time ſhould be placed: in ſuch

* The wars and ſtruggles for power and dominion, which might happen to ariſe between them, would perhaps be neither ſo frequent, nor ſo dangerous in the moſt early times, and of courſe could not prevent the increaſe of mankind ſo much as, at firſt ſight, may be ſuppoſed; for while great tracts of the earth remained unoccupied, and it was eaſy to find convenient habitations without fighting, as moſt men naturally love eaſe, and would rather purchaſe what they want without than with danger, 'tis probable that wars would be more deſtructive ſometime after the world was well repleniſhed with inhabitants, and there was leſs empty room for new-comers.

ſuch matters there muſt be a latitude: one country flouriſhes, while another decays, and countries by turns either increaſe or are diminiſhed. This much ſeems certain, that we ought not to place ſuch a point of time in the moſt early ages, as before the ſiege of *Troy*, but rather in an after-age, when cities and ſtates had got time to cultivate their lands, and improve their whole territory.

Now, by the common chronology, there paſſed from the ſiege of *Troy* to the building of *Rome*, about 430 years, and near as many from the building of *Rome* to the overthrow of the *Perſian* empire by *Alexander the Great*: during ſome part of this period, it ſeems probable, that many of the countries of *Europe* and *Aſia* were better peopled than afterwards, and, in general, were increaſing in people. How long this might have continued, ſuppoſing no univerſal monarchy to have been eſtabliſhed, cannot be determined: it ſeems evident, that, after the building of the ambitious and turbulent city of *Rome*, a ſtop was put to the increaſe of many of the ſtates of *Italy*, by the continual wars and deſtruction cauſed by that haughty and uſurping republic *; and that from the

* Tho' the former wars of the ſmaller independent ſtates of *Greece*, and other antient nations, could not but prevent ſuch a ſpeedy increaſe of mankind, as would otherwiſe have happened in conſequence of antient manners; yet theſe wars were

the beginning of the firſt *Punic* war, which happened only about ſixty years after the death of *Alexander*, many countries in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, began to decay by the continual inroads of the *Romans*, who plundered their provinces, razed their cities, and put to death ſo many thouſands, nay millions of people: nor could ever theſe nations recover their antient vigour, their ſpirits being broken, and their moſt generous efforts prevented, or defeated by *Roman* oppreſſion. Thus inſtead of growing more populous, the world declined under the *Roman* yoke, till by the inroads and conqueſts of the *Goths*, and other barbarous and uncivilized nations, ignorant of induſtry and agriculture, it was ſtill more miſerably diſtreſſed. And, by an almoſt total ruin of antient manners and cuſtoms, and the introduction of others, not ſo well calculated for the increaſe and improvement of ſociety, the neceſſary conſequence of theſe inroads, the weſtern parts of the world, which had been well cultivated in antient times, were greatly reduced, and have never been able to regain their antient ſtrength and ſplendor.

IT will not be neceſſary to illuſtrate at great length the oppreſſion by the *Romans*, and the dreadful havock they made in every country which they invaded. This is evident from the whole of their hiſtory.

were but ſkirmiſhes, and the effect of them inconſiderable, in compariſon of the more dreadful devaſtation by the *Romans*.

hiſtory. We need only produce two examples, and take notice of the ruin they brought on the *Samnites* and their allies within *Italy*, and of the manner in which they abuſed the *Epirots*; for their joining with *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*. Theſe are dreadful ſcenes of their hiſtory; but in many other caſes they exerciſed their power with great ſeverity.

DURING the war with the *Samnites*, they not only killed very great armies in the field, but even put the inhabitants of whole cities to the ſword. Thus they treated *Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, *Veſcia* and *Luceria*, deſtroying, as *Livy* expreſſes it, the whole nation of the *Auſones* *, tho' they were only ſuſpected to favour the *Samnites*. They almoſt extirpated the nation of the *Æqui*, overrun and laid waſte their whole country, and took forty one of their cities, moſt of which they razed and burnt †. After this, two conſular armies ravaged, and entirely depopulated the whole country

* Tria oppida (Auſona, Minturnæ & Veſcia) eadem hora, eodemque conſilio capta. Sed, quia abſentibus ducibus impetus eſt factus, *nullus modus* cædibus fuit; deletaque Auſonum gens, vix certo defectionis crimine, perinde ac ſi internecivo bello certaſſet.——Lucerini ac Samnites ad internecionem cæſi.

Liv. lib. 9. *cap.* 25. 26.

† —— Ad ſingulas urbes circumferendo bello, *unum & quadraginta* oppida intra dies quinquaginta omnia oppugnando ceperunt; quorum pleraque *diruta* atque *incenſa*, nomenque Æquorum prope ad *internecionem* deletum.

Liv. lib. 9. *cap.* 45.

try of *Samnium*, waſting it for five months. During this time one of the conſuls moved his camp forty five, and the other eighty ſix times, leaving every where ſignal monuments of ruin and deſtruction*; and, continuing their devaſtations, they at length forced the army of the *Samnites* to fly to *Etruria*: upon which they immediately attacked their cities, and in a few months plundered *Murgantia*, in which they took 2100 *Samnites*; *Romulea*, in which they killed 2300, and took 6000 priſoners; *Ferentinum*, in which they killed 3000; and during the courſe of this war, they made themſelves maſters of *Milionia*, killing 3200, and taking 4200 priſoners; *Amiternum*, killing almoſt 2800, and making 4270 priſoners; *Duronia*, much of the ſame ſtrength; *Cominium*, where 4380 were killed, and 15,400 ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. This city and *Aquilonia* they plundered and burnt in one day. They took likewiſe *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*, in which three cities 10,000 were killed, or made priſoners; as alſo *Sæpinum*, where they killed 7400, and took 3000 priſoners. In ſhort, during their war with the *Samnites*, which laſted about half a century, the *Roman* Generals triumphed twenty four times, and ſo entirely ſubdued the country of *Samnium*, and deſtroyed the very ruins of its cities, that, according to *Florus*†, *Samni-*

* *Livy*, lib. 10. cap. 15. 17. 34. 39. 43. 44. 45.

† Lib. 1. cap. 16.

um in ipſo Samnio requiratur; nec facile appareat materia quatuor & viginti triumphorum.

As an example of what they did without the bounds of *Italy*, we need only reflect on their cruel order to *Paulus Æmilius*, to plunder and deſtroy the cities of *Epirus*: in obedience to which he ſeized whatever was moſt valuable, and, reſerving it for the public treaſury at *Rome*, gave all that remained as plunder to his army; beſides, he made 150,000 perſons ſlaves, and diſmantled ſeventy cities *. Thus the exorbitant power and over-grown empire of the *Romans*, as well as the means employed to raiſe both to ſo prodigious an height, contributed greatly to the ruin of the world. Indeed this muſt always be the conſequence of too extenſive governments.

Tenthly. WE may view in another light the mighty change wrought on the world by the conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, and his ſucceſſors, and afterwards by the *Roman* empire; as ſuch overgrown governments deſtroyed ſimplicity of taſte and manners, and introduced a degree of luxury unknown to more antient ages, which helped gradually and inſenſibly to diminiſh the number of mankind.

IF we conſider the ſtate of the antient world, while governments were ſmall, before ſo many arts, merely ornamental, had been invented; mankind, we ſhall find from the accounts of hiſtorians, lived in a ſimple and frugal manner,

* Liv. lib. 45. cap. 34. & Plutarch. in Paul. Æmil.

ner, and were employed chiefly in agriculture, and the neceſſary arts of life; equality obtained in a great meaſure; and even when the fortunes of particular perſons happened to be unequal, ſimplicity in general prevailed both among high and low. There was little grandeur, ſumptuouſneſs, or operoſe workmanſhip in their equipages, cloaths, or tables, in reſpect of that which was introduced under the great monarchies. This frugal and ſimple manner of living continued long; it was not baniſhed at once, but decayed gradually, as luxury and a falſe taſte prevailed. During the period of 800 years, from the ſiege of *Troy* to the conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, even after the finer arts of painting, ſculpture and architecture had attained the greateſt perfection, much of the antient ſimplicity and ſobriety remained in other reſpects, and was chiefly deſtroyed by that corruption of taſte which was introduced by the greater monarchies. Till they aroſe, the changes of manners were much ſlower; but ſo ſoon as ſuch mighty empires were raiſed, falſe refinements, and extravagant ſumptuouſneſs ſuddenly over-run the world; and beginning at courts and palaces, made rich by oppreſſion, they ſpread by degrees to places more diſtant, till at length the infection growing univerſal, a taſte for all kinds of expenſive ornaments increaſing continually, and the great people requiring ſo much attendance, a much greater number in proportion applied themſelves

to

to arts merely ornamental, fewer to agriculture and neceſſary occupations. In conſequence of this, great tracts of land being left uncultivated every where; food, and all the neceſſaries of life, became ſcarce and dear. This again prevented marriage, as many would not chooſe to ſubject themſelves to the incumbrance of a family, but would rather plunge into debauchery and irregular amours. Beſides, the greater monarchies raiſing high taxes, and oppreſſing the more diſtant parts under their juriſdiction, multitudes would leave theſe diſtant provinces, and take up their reſidence near the center of the government: their not being married, would make this more eaſy: the magnificence and ſplendor, ſhows and diverſions, exceſſes and debaucheries of the courts of princes, would allure vaſt numbers. By all theſe methods, the world daily declined in temperance, frugality and virtue, and of courſe the people were continually diminiſhed, tho' after a manner ſo ſlow as was hardly to be perceived. Nor indeed has the world ever recovered the antient taſte of frugality and ſimplicity, but is either barbarous, and in a great meaſure deſtitute of arts and agriculture, or corrupted by luxury and falſe refinements.

THE natural progreſſion from ſimplicity to refinement, and from that to luxury, would take place in ſmall ſtates, as well as in extenſive monarchies; but in the latter, the ſucceſſive changes would follow each other more quickly, at the ſame time

time that luxury would be carried to a greater height than in the former. Thus in the falſe refinements and extravagancies of ſuch over-grown monarchies, we may ſee one conſiderable cauſe of the ruin of the world.

ALL this may be illuſtrated by what we find recorded in hiſtory concerning the ſmallneſs of eſtates among the *Romans*, even in the later times of their commonwealth. When *Rome* was built*, a *Roman* family was decently maintained upon two *jugera*, or 1¼ *Engliſh* acres. *Plutarch* † relates, that when *Appius Clauſus* left the *Sabines*, and retired to *Rome*, he brought along with him 5000 *Sabine* families, to each of which the *Romans* gave two *plethra* of ground, and twenty five to *Appius* himſelf. If the *plethrum* was equal to the *jugerum*, as ſome think ‡, each family had 1¼ *Engliſh* acres, and *Appius* about fifteen: but if the *plethrum* was only 10,000 feet ſquare, it was not the half; for a *jugerum* contained 28,800 feet ſquare: if, according to others, it was only 1444 feet ſquare, it was much leſs. In the year of *Rome* 292, *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus* the dictator had only four *jugera*, or 2½ acres ‖. The famous *Attilius Regulus*,

* Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 2.

† In the life of *Poplicola*.

‡ See *Arbuthnot*'s tables of antient coins, &c. chap. 8.

‖ Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 7.

He had ſeven at firſt, but loſt three of them by a fine, ſo four only remained; yet according to *Valerius Maximus*, *Ei quatuor*

lus, in the time of the firſt *Carthaginian* war, had only ſeven *jugera*, or 4½ acres *. It is recorded, that *Manius Curius Dentatus*, who was conſul about the year of *Rome* 463, ſaid, he was a dangerous citizen, who was not contented with ſeven *jugera* †. This had been the quantity allotted to the *Plebes*, after the kings had been expelled: and if their conſuls and dictators long afterwards had no greater quantity, doubtleſs this was reckoned a decent allowance. However, as the love of riches crept in, and increaſed gradually, many without doubt became avaritious, and poſſeſſed greater eſtates. This occaſioned the law enacted under the tribuneſhip of *Licinius Stolo*, about the year of *Rome* 378, that none ſhould poſſeſs above 500 *jugera*, or about 312 *Engliſh* acres ‡. Now, when the *Roman* conſuls and dictators had only ſo ſmall a piece of ground, which they laboured with the help of their ſlaves, and often with their own hands: this ſhews in what a frugal and ſimple manner they muſt have lived; how few arts there muſt have been merely ornamental; and how eaſy it muſt have been to ſupport a family. In ſuch a dictator's or conſul's

quatuor jugera aranti, non ſolum dignitas patris familiæ conſtitit, ſed etiam dictatura delata eſt. This circumſtance is likewiſe obſerved by *Pliny*. Nat. hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 3.

* Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6.

† Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 3.

‡ Ibid. See alſo *Livy*, book 6. chap. 35.

conſul's family, we may reckon the huſband and wife, two or three children, and a ſlave or two, or perhaps more, as ſlaves were very numerous. A *Roman* family therefore, which had not above ſeven *jugera*, or $4\frac{1}{3}$ *Engliſh* acres, to maintain them, might conſiſt of ſeven perſons or more, and had leſs than an acre, often perhaps not more than half an acre for each in the family. But, according to *Templeman*'s calculations, the eight millions of inhabitants of *England* have very near thirty two millions of acres to ſupport them, or four acres *per* head. The *Roman* territory therefore muſt have been four times as populous as *England:* nor can any ſtate be ſaid to be populous, where there are great tracts of land uncultivated, and where great eſtates go to the maintaining of a few, who, notwithſtanding, through the luxury of the times, may ſtand in need of ſo many ornaments, that it is often with difficulty they can purchaſe the neceſſaries of life: whereas among the *Romans*, the neceſſaries of life being all they wanted, a ſmall piece of ground furniſhed a family with abundance: hence their territory in general was more populous than *England*, in proportion to the ſmaller extent of ground, which was allotted for the ſupport of the ſame number of perſons.

NOT only among the *Romans*, but alſo among the antients in general, there was a great ſimplicity of taſte and manners; the great expence

aroſe

aroſe from food; the generality of the people wanted fewer ornaments, and could ſupport themſelves, and maintain families more eaſily, than the bulk of mankind at preſent: nor did this ariſe from ſcarcity of money, but from the abundance of proviſions, and from the cuſtoms of the times, which made ornaments much leſs neceſſary.

WITHOUT deſcending into a tedious and particular diſcuſſion of the ſubject, I ſhall only take notice at preſent of ſome paſſages of authors, which ſhew, that in antient times there was a great diſproportion between the prices of neceſſaries and thoſe of things ornamental; that while the latter were very high, the former were very low; and that even in times of luxury, and great plenty of money, food and the common neceſſaries of life might have been purchaſed at a very low rate.

IN the more early times, during the *Aſſyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Median* and *Perſian* empires, there was great pomp in many of the countries in *Aſia*, and ſilver and gold were more plentiful than in *Europe*. The courts of the *Aſiatic* monarchs were very ſplendid. Softneſs, delicacy, and luxury reigned in their capital cities. Thus the *Perſian* emperors lived in mighty grandeur, and had great treaſures of gold and ſilver in their dominions. The magnificence with which *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*; the delicacy and ſumptuous methods of living, which appeared among the governors, and many of the ſubjects of the *Perſian* empire; the great ſums expended

pended on their numerous fleets and armies, and remitted to bribe and to divide the *Grecian* ſtates; eſpecially the vaſt riches, which fell into the hands of *Alexander the Great*, when he overthrew the *Perſian* empire, plainly demonſtrate, how much money abounded in the Eaſt.

DURING this period, the *Greeks*, *Italians*, and ſeveral other nations of *Europe* did not want a good deal of money, tho' indeed it ſeems to have been ſcarcer than in *Aſia*. Authors make early mention of very great ſums; and while the moſt neceſſary proviſions were very cheap, ſuch things as were only ornamental gave a good price.

THE taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks* was a very antient event: even according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s chronology, which places it almoſt 300 years lower than the common account, it was more than 300 years before the reign of *Cyrus*; yet in this antient age, as we may ſee from *Homer*, both ſilver and gold abounded, and many fine arts and manufactures had been introduced into *Greece* and the neighbouring countries; and it is reaſonable to preſume, they would be on the growing hand, till the days of *Alexander the Great*. But through all this period, and long afterwards, a great deal of the antient ſimplicity remained, and the common neceſſaries of life might have been eaſily purchaſed.

SOLON, the *Athenian* lawgiver, was *Archon* at *Athens* more than 250 years before the reign of

Alexander; yet there were many rich citizens in *Athens* in his time, to whom great ſums of money were owing by the poorer ſort. When he was called to ſettle the ſtate, and had actually diſcharged the debts, he himſelf loſt by it, according to ſome, five talents, or 968 *l.* 15 *s. Sterling*: according to others, 15 talents, or 2906 *l.* 5 *s.**. I cannot find he was among the richeſt citizens. *Plutarch* ſeems rather to be of opinion, that his family was poor, and that his eſtate had been much leſſened by his father. 'Tis at leaſt probable there were many richer citizens, and that many loſt more than *Solon* at this time. *Plutarch* takes notice, that while *Solon* was deviſing ſchemes for diſcharging the debts of the *Athenians*, ſome of his intimate friends knowing that he did not intend to make any alteration in the diviſion of lands, borrowed great ſums of money from rich men, with which they purchaſed ſome large farms: it ſeems, notwithſtanding the debts already contracted, there was ſtill much money to be lent. Now, ſuch conſiderable debts ſhew the *Athenians* did not want money in thoſe early ages; yet we ſhall find, that at this time the prices of cattle and of corn were very low.

ACCORDING to *Plutarch*, the price of a ſheep in *Solon*'s time was a *drachma*, or ſeven pence three farthings *Sterling*, and the price of an ox five *drachmæ*, or three ſhillings two pence three farthings.

HE

* Plutarch. in Solon.

HE obſerves, that the poorer citizens tilled the lands of the rich, and paid them one ſixth part of the produce. This would be reckoned in many caſes a cheap rent among us, and ſhews how eaſily a poor man might live by cultivating lands.

CORN at that time was valued at a *drachma* the *medimnus* *, which contained nearly an *Engliſh* buſhel and an half; ſo the *Engliſh* quarter coſt only three ſhillings and ſeven pence †.

WHEN a woman went out of town, ſhe was reſtricted in her proviſions to the expence of an *obolus*, or one penny $1\frac{1}{6}$ farthings *Sterling*.

SOLON was obliged to reſtrain, by ſumptuary laws, many abuſes and pieces of extravagance that had crept into the ſtate: it was not therefore ſcarcity of money which occaſioned the cheapneſs of proviſions.

THE age of *Solon* was illuſtrious in many reſpects. He was contemporary with *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, a country at no great diſtance from *Greece*, whoſe court at *Sardis* was remarkably ſplendid, whoſe riches have even become a proverb, and who notwithſtanding his great conqueſts in *Aſia Minor*,

* See *Plutarch* in *Solon*.

† I calculate according to the *Medimnus Georgicus*, at which rate the *Scotch* peck would have coſt about $1\frac{5}{6}$ pence *Sterling*, and the boll not more than half a crown, which ſhews the plenty of proviſions, and how eaſily the lower ſort of the people could maintain families.

N. B. In all the following computations, the *Scotch* meaſure is to be underſtood of the *Linlithgow* barley meaſure.

Minor, in which there were many *Greek* cities, ſtudied to preſerve the friendſhip of the *Greeks* in *Europe*, ſent rich preſents to their temple at *Delphos* *, and was much intereſted in the affairs of *Greece*. Now when riches abounded ſo much, and there were ſo many great and ſplendid *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, can we imagine that *Greece* itſelf was poor?

FROM the Archonſhip of *Solon* to the battle of *Marathon*, there were about 100 years; from the battle of *Marathon* to that of *Leuctra*, about 116; and from thence to the reign of *Alexander* 38. This was an illuſtrious period, in which arms, arts, learning and commerce flouriſhed in *Greece* and the neighbouring iſlands. Great ſums of money are mentioned, and high prices are recorded by hiſtorians to have been given for things merely ornamental, while the prices of neceſſaries appear to have been wonderfully low.

PLUTARCH † relates, that after the battle of *Platea*, the *Greeks*, before they divided the ſpoils, ſet apart 80 talents, or 15,500*l.* *Sterling*, for building a temple, and erecting a ſtatue to *Minerva*: the *Plateans* built the temple, and adorned it with pictures, which retained their original beauty in the age of *Plutarch*. This was a conſiderable ſum, and ſhews, that the *Greeks*, in thoſe early times, had an idea of magnificent and expenſive works; yet obſerve at the ſame time, that when it was left to *Ariſtides*

* Herod. lib. 1.

† In the life of *Ariſtides*.

Ariſtides to tax the *Grecian* ſtates, in order to maintain a conſtant war againſt the *Perſians*, he taxed them only at the rate of 460 talents, or 89,125 *l. Sterling*. With this inconſiderable ſum, an army of 10,000 foot, 1000 horſe, and 100 ſhips of war were to be ſupported. Now, ſuppoſing 100 in each ſhip (tho' the antient ſhips of war had often many more) each man and horſe will not have three pence for daily maintenance, tho' nothing be allowed for other neceſſary expences of ſuch an army and navy. This ſhews how little was thought ſufficient for purchaſing the neceſſaries of life.

THE ſame conjecture may be formed from the account which *Plutarch** gives of the generoſity of the *Trœzenians*, who, by a public decree, ordered the parents, wives and children of thoſe *Athenians*, who had generouſly left their city, and betaken themſelves to their ſhips, during the *Median* war, to be maintained at the public charge; for this purpoſe they diſtributed daily two *oboli* to each of them, or two pence $2\frac{1}{3}$ farthings *Sterling*.

MORE than 50 years after this, about the end of the *Peloponneſian* war, the ſeamen in the *Grecian* fleets had only three *oboli*, or leſs than four pence a day†. The *Lacedæmonians* indeed gave four *oboli*, which is almoſt $5\frac{1}{4}$ pence. But this was not neceſſary; and the *Lacedæmonians* did it only to encourage

* Plutarch. in Themiſtocl.

† Idem in Alcibiad.

courage them, as the money they received from *Cyrus* enabled them eaſily to bear the expence.

PLUTARCH * takes notice, that two women, very nearly related to *Ariſtides*, when they were poor, had but half a *drachma*, or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ pence, a day allowed them out of the public treaſury for their ſubſiſtence: indeed afterwards this allowance was doubled. At any rate this was a ſmall matter for perſons of their rank, if neceſſaries had not been got almoſt for nothing.

SOCRATES ſays to *Critobulus* †, that he believed, if he was to ſell his houſe with all he had, and could make a good bargain, he might get five *minæ* for it, or 16 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d.* So poor was *Socrates*. He was indeed reckoned poor at that time; yet he ſays in the ſame paſſage, that he could ſupply himſelf plentifully with all the neceſſaries of life. We may be apt perhaps to attribute this to the moderation of ſo great a man, and the willingneſs of his friends to aſſiſt him; but we ought to conſider at the ſame time, that ſuch a repreſentation had been improper, if both houſes and living had not been very cheap at *Athens*.

IF we conſider the ſituation of the *Roman* affairs, we ſhall find, that during the ſame period, that is, from the days of *Tarquin* the elder, until a little after the death of *Camillus*, a ſmall portion of ground was ſufficient to maintain very good families,

* In the life of *Ariſtides*.

† Xenophon oeconom.

lies, and that the prices of neceſſaries were very low; nay, that long afterwards, when *Italy* had grown very rich, there was ſtill a great diſproportion between the prices of neceſſaries and thoſe of ornaments; and that there was ſuch plenty of proviſions, as gave great encouragement to marry.

IN the life of *Valerius Poplicola*, *Plutarch* gives account of the prices of ſheep and oxen. A ſheep was valued at ten *oboli*, or very near thirteen pence *Sterling*, and an ox at ten times the ſum, or ten ſhillings ten pence. *Poplicola* died about the time of the battle of *Marathon*: hence it is probable, that proviſions were much about the ſame price at this time, both in *Italy* and *Greece*.

IN the manners of the elder *Cato*, who was contemporary with *Scipio Africanus*, we may ſee the frugal laborious life of the more antient *Romans*; how little they ſtood in need of, and of courſe at how ſmall an expence they might ſupport families. *Plutarch* relates *, that even while he was General or Conſul, he never wore cloaths which coſt more than 100 *drachmæ*, or 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d. Sterling*; and that the proviſions for his table at dinner never coſt more than 30 ὀψάρια, much about two ſhillings.

BUT notwithſtanding the cheapneſs of living, and the low prices of what was neceſſary for the bulk of men, there was much money at this time both

* In Cat. Cenſor.

both in *Greece* and *Italy*; for ornaments, delicacies and curioſities often gave a great price.

ALCIBIADES got with his wife a fortune of 20 talents, or 3875*l. Sterling*; he had a favourite dog, which coſt him 70 *minæ*, or 226*l. Sterling**.

THUCIDIDES introduces *Pericles* acquainting the *Athenians*, at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war, that their allies contributed yearly 600 talents † of taxes, or 116,250*l.*; that at that time there were 6000 talents of coined money in their caſtle, or 1,162,500*l.*; that there had been in it not long before 9700 talents, or 1,879,375*l.*; but that 4000 talents, or 775,000*l.* had been ſpent upon the gates of their caſtle ‡, and other buildings, together with what was ſpent upon the expedition to *Potidea*; that the uncoined gold and ſilver of the public and private donations, and the ſacred veſſels for their proceſſions and exerciſes, the *Median* ſpoils, and other things of the ſame nature, could not be valued at leſs than 500 talents, or 96,875*l.*; that there were great riches in their temples; and that the ſtatue of their goddeſs weighed about 40 talents of pure gold ‖.

THAT

* Plutarch. in Alcibiad.

† Thucidid. lib. 2. cap. 13.

‡ Τὰ προπυλαία τῆς ακροπολεως.

‖ This was the ſtatue of *Minerva*, made by the celebrated *Phidias*. Now, reckoning gold to ſilver, as 10 to 1, which was the antient proportion, the gold of this ſtatue was 77,500 *l.* but if we reckon according to the modern proportion of 16 to 1, it was much more valuable.

THAT the *Athenians* had 10,000 talents in their treaſury, at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war, is confirmed by *Iſocrates* *, who obſerves alſo, that *Pericles* brought into it 8000 talents †, beſides what was deſtined for ſacred uſes; and that the *Perſians* had given the *Lacedæmonians* 5000 talents to maintain the war againſt the *Athenians* ‡.

HELIODORUS, as quoted by *Suidas* ‖, relates, that the caſtle of *Athens* was completed in five years, had five gates, and coſt 2012 talents, or 389,825 *l.*

DEMOSTHENES ſays, that the revenues of *Athens* were once 130 talents, or 25,187 *l.* 10 *s.* *Sterling* **; that afterwards they amounted to 400 talents, or 77,500 *l.* And *Xenophon* †† calculates, that at the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war, they were 1000 talents, or 193,750 *l.*

THE ſame *Xenophon* after the retreat of the 10,000, ſold his horſe for 50 Darics, a gold coin, reckoned worth 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 3½ *d.* According to which computation he got for his horſe 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.*

* Iſocrat. de pace, p. 287.

† Ibid. p. 302.

Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν ὀκτακις χίλια τάλαντα, χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν.

‡ Ibid. p. 295.

‖ Suidas in voce προπυλαια.

** Philippic. 4.

†† Anabaſ. lib. 7.

9 *d.* *. But this was an inconſiderable price, when compared with that which *Alexander* gave for *Bucephalus*, during his father's life, *viz.* 13 talents, no leſs than 2518 *l.* A great price indeed †!

THE elder *Tarquin* is ſaid to have laid out upon the foundation of the Capitol 40,000 *libræ* of ſilver, or 109,284 *l.* ‡.

AFTER theſe examples, and ſo plain documents of the great ſums of money, and high prices of things merely ornamental among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed, that the cheapneſs of living, and the low prices of the moſt common food, were occaſioned by ſcarcity of money: 'tis more probable this aroſe from that vaſt plenty of neceſſaries, which proceeded from hence, that ſo great a proportion of the people applied themſelves to paſturage and agriculture.

BUT what I ſhall obſerve immediately, will go near to be deciſive. 'Tis certain, that even after the ſecond *Punic* war, and the conqueſts of *Sicily* and *Macedonia*, when there was ſurely great plenty of money in *Italy*, the neceſſaries of life were extremely cheap; nay, even in the time of the emperors, when riches flowed from all quarters, when luxury roſe to the higheſt pitch at which perhaps it ever arrived, and when the *Romans* were giving extravagant prices for trifles and delicacies, common proviſions, which were neceſſary for the bulk

* Anabaſ. lib. 7.

† Plutarch. in Alexand.

‡ Plutarch. in Poplicola.

bulk of the people, were not proportionally dear. This cannot well be accounted for, unleſs they were in very great plenty.

ACCORDING to *Polybius*, the *Sicilian medimnus* of wheat was even in his time ſold commonly, in ſome parts of *Italy*, for four *oboli*; the ſame quantity of barley for two *oboli*; the *metretes* of wine for the ſame price. Now, if the *medimnus Siculus* did not differ much from the *medimnus Atticus Georgicus*, it contained more than ſix *Engliſh*, or four *Scotch* pecks; that is, ſix *Engliſh* pecks of wheat were ſold for $5\frac{1}{3}d.$ *Sterling*; ſix *Engliſh* pecks of barley for half as much; and more than ten *Engliſh* gallons of wine for the ſame low price. Such being the ſtate of the caſe in the age of *Polybius*, when there was no ſcarcity either of men or money, this ſhews the prodigious abundance of common food. At this rate the *Engliſh* quarter of wheat would coſt but half-a-crown, the quarter of barley but fifteen pence, and the *Scotch* boll leſs than one ſhilling *Sterling*. This brings the prices lower than in the days of *Solon*; and proving too much, may perhaps be thought to prove nothing; or at leaſt, it may be imagined, that the meaſures are not exactly known. But what *Polybius* adds, will ſerve to obviate this objection, and ſhew, that at any rate we cannot be much miſtaken: for he obſerves further, that there was ſuch plenty of proviſions in the north of *Italy* at that time, that a traveller was well entertained in an inn with all

neceſſaries

neceſſaries he wanted, and ſeldom paid more than the quarter of an *obolus*, leſs than one third of a penny *Sterling* *. How cheap and abundant muſt proviſions have been, and how eaſily might a family be maintained in ſuch a ſituation! And how eaſily might a family be maintained ſtill, what a prodigious quantity of food might be raiſed, and how cheap would proviſions be in *Britain*, were all or the greateſt part of thoſe, who are at preſent employed in procuring ornaments, as induſtrious in raiſing grain, and breeding cattle, as they are in providing toys, and adminiſtring to luxury!

FROM the days of *Polybius*, the *Romans* increaſed in power and riches: and, during the reign of *Auguſtus*, and for ſome time afterwards, riches and luxury came to the greateſt height; the moſt extravagant prices were paid for delicacies; and the rich lived at an expence unknown to modern ages; of which I ſhall give a few examples from *Arbuthnot*'s tables of antient coins, *&c.*

IN thoſe times many of the *Romans* were immenſely rich.

APICIUS was worth 807,291 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

CRISPUS, a Burgher of *Vercelles*, 1,614,583 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

MARCUS CRASSUS was worth the ſame ſum.

DEMETRIUS, a *libertus* of *Pompey*, 4000 talents, or 775,000 *l.*

PALLAS, a *libertus* of *Claudius*, 2,421,875 *l.*

SENECA

* Polybius, Pariſiis, 1609, folio, lib. 2. p. 103.

SENECA the philoſopher in four years made 2,421,875 *l.*

LENTULUS the *Augur* was worth 3,229,166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

C. CÆCILIUS ISIODORUS, altho' he had loſt much in the civil war, left by will 4116 ſlaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, of other cattle 257,000, and in ready money 484,375 *l.*

POMPONIUS ATTICUS got from his father 16,145 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

THE patrimony of *Cato Minor* was 19,375 *l.*

SERVIUS, in *Virgil*'s life, ſays, he was worth 80,729 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

CICERO's effects muſt have been conſiderable: he owns that he had in *Aſia* 17,762 *l.* 9 *s.* 4 *d.*

GREAT debts, as they are the effect of great credit, are an indication of great riches; ſome inſtances of which are as follow:

CURIO contracted a debt of 484,375 *l.*

JULIUS CÆSAR's debts, before he had been in any office, according to ſome, were 2,018,229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* According to others, 807,291 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* According to others, 251,875 *l.* *Craſſus* was his ſurety for 160,812 *l.* 10 *s.*

MILO contracted debts to the ſum of 565,104 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

ANTONY, at the ides of *March*, owed 322,916 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; which he paid before the kalends of *April.*

OTHO, before he was emperor, run in debt 1,602,083 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

THERE

THERE are ſome circumſtances with reſpect to the eſtate of *M. Craſſus*, which will further illuſtrate this ſubject. He had left him by his father 300 talents, or 58,125 *l.* which *Plutarch* ſays he improved to 7100 talents, or 1,375,625 *l.* He had done this before he went on his *Parthian* expedition; nay he had this great eſtate, tho' he had feaſted the *Roman* people, and given every *Roman* citizen a donative of three months proviſion of corn.

THERE were ſome of very low rank and profeſſions, who acquired great eſtates. Coblers, dyers, and ſhoemakers, gave publick ſhows to the people.

As both eſtates and debts among the *Romans* were often vaſtly great, ſo their expences were great in proportion.

APICIUS, after having ſpent in his kitchen 807,291 *l.* and ſquandered immenſe grants and penſions, being at laſt forced to look into his accounts for the firſt time, found he had a remainder of 80,729 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* but thinking this too little, he poiſoned himſelf, for fear of ſtarving.

TIGELLIUS a ſinger ſpent in five days 8072 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.*

ALAGABALUS laid out on a ſupper 24,218 *l.* 15 *s.*

CALIGULA ſpent on a ſupper 80,729 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

VITELLIUS, in eating and drinking within the year, ſpent 7,265,625 *l.* Nay, *Tacitus* ſaith, he ſpent the ſame ſum in a few months.

LUCULLUS's

LUCULLUS's eſtabliſhment for each ſupper in the *Apollo*, was 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

VITELLIUS eat four times a-day; no ſupper, breakfaſt or collation under 3229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

GREAT ſums were given as donatives to the ſoldiers.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS gave to each of his ſoldiers 7*s.* 1¼*d.*

LUCULLUS gave to each of his ſoldiers 30*l.* 13*s.* 6½*d.* After the taking of *Tigranocerta*, he gave to each 25*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* out of the ſpoils taken from *Tigranes*'s army, and beſides left the town to be plundered, except king *Tigranes*'s treaſure; where, among other riches, he found in ready money 1,550,000*l.*

POMPEY, after he had overcome the pirates, in his triumph, gave to the public and the queſtors, 193,750*l.* and to each ſoldier 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

JULIUS CÆSAR gave at one time to each ſoldier of the veteran legions 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* and to the *equites* 193*l.* 15*s.* At another time to each man 80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* At another time, to each man 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* To the commander of a company double, or 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* To the *tribuni militum* and the *equites*, 645*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

BRUTUS gave to each ſoldier 1*l.* 12*s.* 1½*d.*

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR gave to each ſoldier of the prætorian bands, after he had ſerved ſixteen years, 161*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* He left to each ſoldier of the *urbanæ*

banæ cohortes 4 *l.* 8¾ *d.* To the prætorian ſoldiers 8 *l.* 1 *s.* 5½ *d.*

AT taking *Alexandria*, each *Roman* ſoldier got 8 *l.* 1 *s.* 5½ *d.* to ſave the town.

NERO laid out on donatives at ſeveral times, 17,760,416 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d.*

THE emperor *Marcus Antoninus* gave a donative to each ſoldier of 96 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* And his colleague *Lucius* gave 161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*

PERTINAX affirms, that he gave a donative to the ſoldiers of 2,179,687 *l.* 10 *s.*

HEROD king of *Judæa* gave in his life at once 4 *l.* 16 *s.* 4½ *d.*; and at his death 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 1½ *d.* to each of his ſoldiers.

BESIDES donatives to the ſoldiers, the *Roman* emperors gave *congiaria*, or gifts to the people.

JULIUS CÆSAR gave to each citizen, beſides ten *modii* of corn, and ten pounds of oil, 3 *l.* 4 *s.* 7 *d.* He bequeathed to each of the people 2 *l.* 8 *s.* 5¼ *d.*; or, as ſome ſay, only 16 *s.* 1¾ *d.*

AUGUSTUS gave ſeveral ſmaller *congiaria* to the people. But at one time he gave 2 *l.* 1 *s.* 1 *d.* not omitting the very children, tho' the common cuſtom was not to give to any under the age of eleven. *Euſebius* in his *chronicon* writes, that, after the battle of *Actium*, there were reckoned of *Roman* citizens 4,160,000: ſuppoſe there were only two millions of theſe who received the foremention ed ſum of 2 *l.* 2 *s.* 1 *d.* it would amount to 4,036,458 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

AUGUSTUS

AUGUSTUS left by his teſtament to each of the common people, 2 *l.* 8 *s.* 5¼ *d.*

NERO gave a *congiarium* of 3 *l.* 4 *s.* 7 *d.*

ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS gave a very large *congiarium* of 6 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*

HIS ſon *Commodus* gave 23 *l.* 8 *s.* 2¾ *d.*

SEVERUS gave a *congiarium* of ten *aurei*, amounting to 1,614,583 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

THE *ambitus*, or bribing for offices, was very expenſive.

MILO, when he ſtood for the conſulate, gave to each voter 32 *l.* 8 *s.* 10 *d.*

JULIAN promiſed to each of the ſoldiers 201 *l.* 16 *s.* 5½ *d.* if they would chuſe him emperor.

A man, employed as a ſpy in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy, got 1614 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.*

PAULUS the conſul was bribed by *Julius Cæſar* to be of his party, with a ſum of 56,510 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.* Others call the ſum 290,625 *l.*

Two conſiderable bribes are mentioned in lawſuits, one of 8072 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* Another of 5166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

GABINIUS was accuſed of taking a Sum of 1,937,500 *l.*

THE revenues of the *Roman* empire ſeem to have been vaſtly great.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS, after he had conquered *Perſeus* king of *Macedon*, brought into the treaſury 1,856,770 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

SCIPIO having conquered *Antiochus*, brought into it 1,614,583 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

BEFORE the third *Punic* war, there was in the treaſury in the conſulate of *Sextus Junius* and *Lucius Aurelius*, in gold and ſilver, bullion and coined money (reckoning the gold only ten times the value of the ſilver) 566,577 *l.* 12 *s.* 8½ *d.*

IN the beginning of the ſocial war, it is ſaid, there were above fifty two millions in the treaſury; but it is thought that the ſum is too extravagant, and that the numbers are not correct.

JULIUS CÆSAR brought at once into the treaſury 12,593,750 *l.*

IN the beginning of the civil war, when he entered into *Rome*, he took out of the treaſury, in gold and ſilver, bullion and ready money, 1,095,979 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

TIBERIUS left in the treaſury 21,796,875 *l.* And the revenues of the whole empire muſt have been very great, tho' it is thought, that what *Veſpaſian* ſaid at his acceſſion to the empire, was extravagant, *viz.* that more than 322 millions *Sterling* were neceſſary to ſupport the commonwealth.

LET us now conſider the prices of ſome particular commodities.

PLINY mentions a jack-aſs for a ſtallion, bought for 3229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* And that in *Celtiberia*, a province of *Spain*, a ſhe-aſs has brought colts to the value of 3229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

VARRO

VARRO ſpeaks of an aſs ſold in his own time at *Rome* for 484 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

THE price of a peacock was 1 *l.* 12 *s.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

A flock of an hundred of them was ſold at a much dearer rate, for 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* One of their eggs was worth 3 *s.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

FINE doves were ſold the pair for 1 *l.* 12 *s.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Others of a finer kind were much dearer. *Varro* relates, that *Axius* refuſed to give a pair of his under 12 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* when the merchant offered him 8 *l.* 1 *s.* $5\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

THE *Romans* were more extravagant in the prices of fiſh than of fowl. *Juvenal* tells us of a *mullus* bought for 48 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* According to *Macrobius*, there was paid for another the ſum of 56 *l.* 10 *s.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* For a third, according to *Pliny*, 64 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* which he reckons the more wonderful, the *mullus* being a fiſh that ſeldom exceeded two pound weight.

C. HIRRIUS ſold his fiſh ponds for 32,291 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* This man would not ſell, but he lent 6000 lampreys for *Cæſar*'s triumphal ſupper. *Lucullus*'s fiſh, after his death, were ſold for the ſame price of 32,291 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

PEACHES were ſold at firſt for $7\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* but afterwards they roſe to 4 *s.* 10 *d.*

LARGE aſparagus was ſometimes ſold for ſix pence a-piece.

THE pound of wool or cloth dyed a violet purple, coſt 3 *l.* 10 *s.* 11 *d.* The *Tyrian* double

dye

dye could ſcarce be bought for 35 *l.* 9 *s.* 1½ *d. per* pound. And the dying of one *Engliſh* pound of wool in ſome caſes coſt 4 *l.* 10 *s.* 5 *d.*

LOLLIA PAULINA, when dreſſed out in her jewels, wore about the value of 322,916 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

THE *triclinaria*, or quilts or carpets were dear. One is ſaid to have paid for ſuch carpets 6458 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *Nero* paid 32,291 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Some paid for one piece of linnen 8072 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.*

THE *veſtes Byſſinæ* were very dear: the weight of a pound Averdupois of ſuch cloths coſt 49 *l.* 12 *s.*

THE price of ſuch ſlaves as were well ſkilled in the finer arts was very high. *Seneca* relates, that *Calviſius Labinus* had many *Anagnoſtæ* ſlaves, or ſuch as were learned and could read to their maſters, and that none of them was purchaſed under 807 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* According to *Pliny*, *Daphnis* the grammarian coſt 5651 *l.* 10 *d.* *Roſcius* the actor could gain yearly 4036 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* A *morio* or fool was ſold for 161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*

PICTURES, ſtatues, and other pieces of fine workmanſhip gave great prices.

THE *Medea* and *Ajax* of *Timomachus* were bought by *Julius Cæſar* for 15,500 *l.* *Hortenſius* paid for *Cydia's Argonauts* 1162 *l.* 10 *s.* The *Venus Anadyomene* (that is, iſſuing out of the ſea) was valued at 100 talents (for ſo much tribute was remitted) or 19,375 *l.* The *Archigallus*, or high-prieſt

prieſt of *Parrhaſius*, of which *Tiberius* was very fond, was valued at 484 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* *Lucullus* bought the copy of *Glycera*, *Pamphilus*'s maid, the original being painted by *Pamphilus* himſelf, for 397 *l.* 10 *s.* The ſtatue of *Apollo* in the Capitol brought from *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, which was very large, coſt 29,062 *l.* 10 *s.* *Lucullus* bought the *Protoplaſma*, or model of *Venus Genetrix*, for 484 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* A model of paſte of a cup was purchaſed for 193 *l.* 15 *s.* *C. Gracchus* bought ſilver Dolphins at 40 *l.* 7 *s.* 3½ *d.* the pound. *Craſſus* had ſeveral ſilver veſſels bought at 48 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* the pound. And reckoning according to the ſtandard of our coin, and the *Engliſh* pound, the mere workmanſhip of the plate comes to 48 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* *per* pound. The *Romans* were very coſtly in their *vaſa murrhina*, and in their *Trullæ*: one that held 3½ pints, coſt 645 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

THE prices of books, and the rewards of ſuch as taught the ſciences, of orators and phyſicians, were alſo high. In ſhort, almoſt every thing that was not neceſſary for the bulk of the people, gave great prices. Indeed modern ages can ſcarce form an idea of the riches, magnificence, and luxury of the *Romans* in the declenſion of their commonwealth, and the beginning of their monarchy *.

As

* As Mr. *Arbuthnot* has made ſo large a collection of the prices

As the riches and luxury of the great men in *Rome* increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, this muſt have occaſioned a vaſt circulation, and a general plenty of gold and ſilver; nor was it poſſible to confine the money to a few hands: however, the neceſſaries of life continued at a moderate price, and did not riſe in their value in proportion to the high rates which were ſet on the materials of luxury.

WE have ſeen already from *Plutarch* *, that the price of ſheep and oxen was very low in the days of *Valerius Poplicola*. We may further learn from *Pliny*, that *Manius Martius*, an Ædile, procured corn for the people, at the rate of an *as* the *modius*; which is leſs than two ſhillings half penny *Sterling* the *Engliſh* quarter, or about one ſhilling ſix pence the *Scotch* boll. And that *Minutius Augurinus*, the eleventh tribune of the people, reduced the price of corn to this rate in three market days †.

VARRO,

prices of various ſorts of commodities; and as it is generally known, in what an expenſive manner the *Romans* lived for ſome time before and after the age of *Auguſtus*, I have ſatisfied myſelf with taking the examples I have given, from p. 132. and the calculation of the value in our money out of his collection; the reſt of the quotations, both in the *Diſſertation* and *Appendix*, are taken from the original authors.

* See above p. 127.

† Manius Martius ædilis plebis primum frumentum populo in modios aſſibus donavit. Minutius Augurinus, qui Sp. Meli-

um

VARRO, quoted by *Pliny*, relates, that when *L. Metellus* led a great number of elephants in triumph, one might have purchaſed, for about three farthings, 1.014 *Engliſh* pecks of corn (of *Scotch* pecks .688) of dried figs more than 27 pounds *Engliſh* weight, of fleſh 10 pounds 11 ounces, and of oil more than 9 pounds. This *L. Metellus*, according to the *faſti conſulares*, could not have been ſo early as the 500 year of *Rome* *.

IN one of *Cicero*'s orations againſt *Verres*, we may ſee the prices of corn, when both the *Roman* power and luxury were become high. He mentions two kinds of corn in *Sicily*, the *decumanum* and the *imperatum*; the *decumanum* was bought for three *ſeſtertii* the *Roman modius*, or the *Engliſh* peck for five pence three farthings, and the *Scotch* peck for eight pence. The *imperatum* was higher; for

um coarguerat, farris pretium in trinis nundinis ad aſſem redegit undecimus plebei tribunus. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 3.

* M. Varro auctor eſt, cum L. Metellus in triumpho plurimos duxit elephantos, aſſibus ſingulis farris modios fuiſſe, item vini congios, ficique ſiccæ pondo 30. olei pondo 10. carnis pondo 12. Plin. hiſt. nat. lib. 18. cap. 3.

He adds in the ſame chapter:

Quænam ergo tantæ ubertatis cauſa erat? Ipſorum tunc manibus imperatorum colebantur agri (ut fas eſt credere) gaudente terra vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore: ſive illi eadem cura ſemina tractabant, qua bella; eademdemque diligentia arva diſponebant, qua caſtra; ſive honeſtis manibus omnia lætius proveniunt, quoniam et curioſius fiunt.

for the *Roman modius* coſt four *ſeſtertii*, or the *Engliſh* peck ſeven pence two farthings, and the *Scotch* peck eleven pence. According to this eſtimation the ſenate ordained money to be given to *Verres* for buying corn in *Sicily*. But it appears from this oration, that no body in *Sicily* at that time got more than fifteen ſeſterces for the *medimnus* of corn (which was ſix *Roman modii*). At this rate the *Roman modius* coſt 2½ ſeſterces, or the *Engliſh* peck four pence three farthings, and the *Scotch* peck ſeven pence. But while *Verres* was prætor of *Sicily*, the prices were ſometimes lower, and the *Roman modius* was ſold for two ſeſterces *.

FROM which it appears, that notwithſtanding the vaſt luxury and immenſe riches of *Italy*, corn might be bought in the neighbouring iſle of *Sicily* cheaper than it is often with us; and that the price of it was but little affected by theſe extravagant prices which were given for delicacies and ornaments.

AFTER *Rome* was burnt in the time of *Nero*, we learn from *Tacitus* †, that the price of corn was reduced

* In medimna ſingula video ex literis publicis tibi Haleſinos H—s quinos denos dediſſe. Oſtendam ex tabulis locupletiſſimorum aratorum, eodem tempore neminem in Sicilia pluris frumentum vendidiſſe.

Eſt enim modius lege H—s III. æſtimatus. fuit autem, te prætore, ut tu in multum epiſtolis ad amicos tuos gloriaris, H—s II. Cic. tert. Verr.

† Pretiumque frumenti minutum uſque ad ternos nummos. Tacit, annal. lib. 15. cap. 39.

reduced to three *nummi*. This ſhews it had been higher before: but we can hardly ſuppoſe it had been higher than four. If it was reduced a fourth part, it was a great deal. From hence it appears plainly, that in times of the greateſt luxury, when curioſities gave the moſt extravagant prices, corn never roſe in proportion.

I do not however pretend, that the prices of corn were never higher; but it ſeems evident, that they are often higher among us, than they were among the *Romans* in the height of their grandeur, when the people of rank lived at a much greater expence, than the richeſt and moſt extravagant among us, and when they had eſtates, of which we moderns have ſcarce any conception.

BUT the truth of our hypotheſis appears in the cleareſt light from what *Cornelius Nepos* informs us, concerning the expences of *Pomponius Atticus*: indeed this paſſage alone is almoſt deciſive. He obſerves, that *Atticus* had a very good houſe, made uſe of all the beſt things, entertained perſons of all ranks, and yet ſpent no more than 9 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.* in the month, or in the whole year 116 *l.* 5 *s.* *. A very ſmall ſum for one of the moſt

* Nam cum eſſet pecunioſus, nemo illo minus fuit emax, minus ædificator. Neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit, omnibuſque optimis rebus uſus eſt.—— Elegans, non magnificus; ſplendidus, non ſumptuoſus; omni diligentia munditiem, non affluentiam affectabat. Supellex modica, non

rich and moſt eminent citizens of *Rome*, in times of ſuch plenty and magnificence. This is accounted for in the moſt probable way by what the hiſtorian adds, that he was elegant, not magnificent, ſplendid not ſumptuous, affected neatneſs, not ſuperfluity: in ſhort, that he loved the antient ſimplicity, lived on plain food, and did not throw away his money on delicacies, which could not be purchaſed, unleſs for extravagant prices. How cheap muſt plain food have been at that time!

IN general, a great deal of the primitive ſimplicity remained long in the world: and even when luxury increaſed, and great men were very expenſive, the antient taſte, accompanied with an induſtry, which was directed chiefly to the improvement of agriculture, produced the neceſſaries of life in great plenty. Simplicity and frugality cannot alone make nations great and populous: mankind muſt alſo be induſtrious, and their induſtry directed in a proper manner. Thus induſtry, which in antient times was directed to the proviſion

non multa, ut in neutram partem conſpici poſſet. Nec hoc præteribo (quanquam nonnullis leve viſum iri putem) cum in primis lautus eſſet eques Romanus & non parum liberaliter domum ſuam omnium ordinum homines invitaret; ſcimus non amplius, quam terna millia æris, peræque in ſingulos menſes, ex ephemeride eum expenſum ſumptui ferre ſolitum. Atque hoc non *auditum*, ſed *cognitum* prædicamus. Sæpe enim propter familiaritatem, domeſticis rebus interfuimus.

Vita Pomp. Attic. cap. 13.

ſion of food, cauſed a wonderful plenty: and from hence in an eſpecial manner, we may account for the ſuperior populouſneſs of many antient nations.

To what has been ſaid I would add, that the countries we have chiefly in view muſt have been beſt peopled, when all the cauſes operated moſt ſtrongly; that is, as one may conjecture, about the time of *Alexander the Great*, and before the *Roman* empire had enſlaved the world.

SOME of thoſe cauſes which have been aſſigned for the ſcarcity of people in modern times, *viz.* the great number of unmarried prieſts and women in Popiſh countries, the difference between antient and modern cuſtoms with reſpect to ſervants and the maintenance of the poor, the right of primogeniture, the great number of ſoldiers in *Europe*, the extenſive trade with the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, the largeneſs of modern governments, compared with that of the antient, and finally, the greater ſimplicity of the antient world, ſeem to be ſo fixed, and the methods of living ariſing from them, and founded upon them, ſo deeply rooted, that there is not the ſmalleſt proſpect at preſent of any conſiderable alteration in thoſe articles. Nay, not only is there not the leaſt appearance, but there ſeems not to be even the ſmalleſt chance, that there ſhall be any ſudden increaſe of mankind, equal to what appeared in antient times. It were however to be wiſhed, that as the bountiful Author of nature

ture formed this earth chiefly for an habitation to man, and as with right culture it might ſupport a much greater number than actually live upon it, the preſent ſcarcity of people in ſo many countries was more attended to, and that proper ſchemes were propoſed for putting things on a better footing. Indeed it is true, that thoſe who are employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs, are alone able to carry ſuch ſchemes into execution, yet every private citizen may be allowed to employ himſelf in ſpeculations, about ſuch matters as may tend to the good of his country. This is the only apology I ſhall offer, for making a few obſervations on the ſtate of *Scotland*.

IN general, a country can never be ſaid to be ſufficiently peopled, while either there are great tracts of land, that are not cultivated to that degree which they can eaſily bear, or while a very great part of the grain, fruits, and cattle which the country actually produces, is not conſumed at home. Indeed it may be profitable in ſeveral caſes to export corn and cattle, as well as other commodities; yet a country is ſurely moſt powerful, when it has abundance of people to conſume its grain and cattle at home, and when its lands are cultivated to the full. Till all countries are peopled in this manner, the earth is not repleniſhed with that number of inhabitants which it is able to maintain.

HOWEVER, in this a latitude muſt be allowed. For this ſcheme, if carried to its utmoſt extent, would be

be an hindrance to mutual commerce. And if the whole earth were cultivated to the full, and every country had a number of inhabitants ſufficient to conſume its own product, many would periſh at particular times by bad crops and famines: but a danger ſo diſtant needs not alarm, as from the preſent condition of the world, there is not the leaſt reaſon to fear, that the earth ſhall be cultivated to the full, and every country be plentifully ſtored with inhabitants.

IN particular, *Great Britain*, eſpecially the northern part of it, is not peopled to the full, ſince there are both great tracts of land uncultivated, and a great deal of grain exported.

THE cauſes of this may be eaſily deduced from what has been ſaid above; and among others, theſe following are remarkable.

Firſt. MANY of our youth leave the country, and go abroad to puſh their fortunes, becauſe, thro' ſome defect in our policy, they either cannot have buſineſs at home, or cannot raiſe ſuch fortunes as will ſatisfy their ambition.

Secondly. MANY who remain at home, particularly the younger ſons of the richer families, either imagine themſelves not to be, or in reality are not able to maintain families ſuitable to their birth; or, tho' able during their own life, yet cannot leave a ſufficient proviſion for their families after their death; and thus are diſcouraged from

from marrying: for both which reaſons, many of our women are, and muſt be unmarried.

FURTHER, it may be obſerved, that our lands are not ſufficiently cultivated, even where they are capable of great improvement. Hence large tracts ſerve only to maintain a ſmall number of people.

IF we aſk, why our lands are ſo ill cultivated, beſides the obvious cauſes ariſing from the poverty and unſkilfulneſs of many of our farmers, the ſhortneſs of their leaſes, and other things which will occur upon the leaſt reflexion, it is not a little owing to a want of inclination for agriculture, and even to a contempt of it in many of the richer ſort. This puts them upon educating their younger ſons, either to ſome of the liberal profeſſions, or to the army, or merchandize, or ſome of the more genteel mechanic employments, but ſeldom or never to agriculture. It is true, of late, a better ſpirit has ariſen for improving lands, as well as manufactures; yet it muſt be owned, our ſchemes are ſtill very defective, and agriculture has never been ſufficiently encouraged.

THUS having taken notice of ſome of thoſe cauſes, which prevent the culture of the lands, and of courſe the increaſe of the people in *North Britain*, it is plain, that things might be greatly rectified, were due attention given to the advantages of agriculture, and due encouragement given to carry it on with ſpirit.

IN

IN this view it may be conſidered, that, tho' it ſhould be allowed, we have often more grain and cattle than we conſume at home, whence there is leſs encouragement to cultivate our lands; yet ſince in the preſent condition of *Scotland*, of *Britain*, and of *Europe*, there is room for exporting both, it cannot be ſaid, that great profits may not ariſe from cultivating lands.

BUT if inſtead of having grain to export out of *Scotland*, it is true, more is imported than exported, and that we often want ſupplies from *England* or *Ireland*, the argument for encouraging agriculture becomes ſtronger. At leaſt, whatever may be in this, it is certain, our agriculture has not of late kept pace with our manufactures, which makes living in the principal towns of *Scotland* dearer than in many of the towns and counties in *England*.

BESIDES, as the former reaſonings tend to ſhew, that the plenty and cheapneſs of the moſt ſimple food, is the great encouragement to the bulk of mankind to marry, and of conſequence a great ſource of populouſneſs: on this account grain and cattle can ſcarce be in too great plenty, or their prices too cheap.

'TIS true it may be ſaid, and often with too much truth, that great plenty and cheapneſs of proviſions hinder labour, render ſervants and the poorer ſort of the people idle and inſolent, and impoveriſh both the landed gentlemen and the farmers.

ers. But this is only a very partial and very narrow view of the matter; for this idleneſs and inſolence proceeds chiefly from an accidental plenty, which happens only at particular times, and in ſome particular ſeaſons. Were there a conſtant abundance and cheapneſs, with a tolerable policy in other reſpects, this would have the happieſt influence in ſtrengthening a nation, by the vaſt increaſe of the people.

SUCH confined obſervations, and ſuch narrow maxims concerning the danger of plenty, are extremely juſt, if the great body of a people are only to be managed and treated in that manner, which may render them moſt ſerviceable for ſupporting the grandeur, and heightening the luxury of a few; but maxims of this kind can never ſurely ſerve to make a nation in general great and populous, or ſociety happy.

IN order therefore to increaſe the ſtock of proviſions, it would be of great advantage that rich men, inſtead of breeding all their children to the employments before mentioned, would educate ſome of them for agriculture.

MANY things recommend ſuch a plan; could young gentlemen once be brought to a juſt taſte of life, and to reliſh ſo uſeful an employment. I ſhall only obſerve,

THAT there are many places in *Scotland*, where leaſes may be got at a moderate rent, and where plenty

plenty of lime, marle, and other materials for improvement may be found. Now, if people of ſubſtance were well inſtructed in country affairs, agriculture is an employment which they might turn to great account. They might live more innocently and agreeably, and bid fair to be more rich and more happy than in moſt profeſſions. Dirty houſes and naſtineſs, tho' too common in our own, and perhaps moſt other countries, are not its neceſſary and inſeparable attendants.

And, as there are ſtill many idle hands among us, notwithſtanding a growing ſpirit of induſtry unknown to our anceſtors, it would greatly promote agriculture, and contribute much to the value and improvement of lands, if the moſt uſeful manufactures were erected in the villages, and ſupported by rich men of all ranks. Thus the manufacturers would encourage agriculture, by providing markets for the produce of the lands; the huſbandmen would encourage manufacturers, by purchaſing their commodities; and both together would conſpire, by united endeavours, to make the lands fertile, the country populous, and ſociety flouriſh *.

* It may perhaps be thought, that I have loſt ſight of the preceeding reaſoning. But tho' I am of opinion, that too great a variety of manufactures are diſadvantageous, ſome muſt always be allowed to be neceſſary; and as it cannot be expected, that the antient taſte can all at once be revived, it is even better that people be employed in leſs neceſſary arts, than be altogether idle.

By ſuch methods, the better ſort of families in *Scotland* might keep many of their ſons at home, greatly augment the number of the people, contribute to the improvement of lands and the growth of manufactures, baniſh idleneſs, and ſet a good example before thoſe of an inferior rank: nor could this fail to have an happy influence on the religion and morals of the people.

A ſcheme might alſo be deviſed, for ſupporting the families of ſuch as can eaſily provide for themſelves and their families while alive, but cannot ſo certainly provide for their widows and children, if they happen to die at an early time of life. This ſcheme might be ſomewhat after the model of that lately eſtabliſhed by law, for a proviſion for the widows and children of the miniſters of the church, and the maſters in the univerſities of *Scotland*, *viz.* by erecting one large, or ſeveral ſmall ſocieties of married men, who ſhould pay either all at once, or annually, during their lives, certain ſums, greater or leſs, as they might judge convenient, on condition, that proportional ſums be paid after their death to their widows or children, in ſuch manner, and with ſuch proviſions, as might be thought moſt proper. Such ſocieties might be a ſecurity for the ſupport of widows and children, on the event of the huſband's or parent's death, be as uſeful in policy as banks, caſh accounts, and inſurance offices in the mercantile world, and be a great encouragement to marry. It is chiefly by

encouraging

encouraging marriage, by keeping our youth at home, and by taking a greater turn to agriculture and the moſt uſeful manufactures, that it ſeems poſſible, in the preſent circumſtances of the world, to increaſe the number of the people in any one country, without draining other places of a proportional number of their inhabitants.

THE peculiar ſituation and wildneſs of one part, I mean the highlands of *Scotland*, make me preſume, ere I conclude this *Diſſertation*, to add ſome obſervations on the ſtate of a part of my country, which, tho' at preſent almoſt a deſert, is able to maintain a great number of people, and whoſe preſent inhabitants are overwhelmed with ignorance and barbarity, tho' capable of the ſame civility, which diſtinguiſhes the reſt of the ſubjects of *Britain*.

THE late unprovoked rebellion, raiſed by the rude inhabitants of theſe wilds, in order to dethrone the beſt of kings, to overturn the beſt of governments, and to undo the liberty of *Britain*, having come to ſo great and ſo unexpected an height, and having thereby awakened the attention of the government, as well as that of others, who had influence with thoſe in the adminiſtration of affairs, has produced ſome excellent laws, by which the liberty of the whole country is better ſecured, manufactures and other kinds of labour are encouraged and promoted in *Scotland*, and the inhabitants of the highlands may be brought from

a ſtate of barbarity and ſlavery, to a ſtate of civility and independence. By the happy influence of theſe laws, a ſpirit for induſtry has ſeized the minds of the people, and in a few years wrought no inconſiderable change on the country. Indeed 'tis impoſſible to expreſs, how great obligations every loyal ſubject to his Majeſty, every zealous friend to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and every ſincere aſſertor of the liberty of *Britain* has to thoſe, whoſe hearty regard to the intereſt of their country has produced the happy proſpect we have at preſent, of living for the future in peace, and ſeeing liberty penetrate into the moſt remote parts of the iſland.

BUT this change has as yet chiefly affected thoſe parts of *Scotland*, which were tolerably well peopled, and that by inhabitants, who, tho' it muſt be owned they were not over induſtrious, were yet civilized before. The highlands continue ſtill in their former ſtate of barbarity and idleneſs; and indeed will long continue in it, unleſs ſome further ſcheme is carried into execution, which may have a more immediate effect, and may make opulence and induſtry penetrate into their innermoſt and moſt diſtant parts. Unleſs they penetrate thus far, we need never reckon we have done enough; for then, and not till then, ſhall the highlanders be civilized, as well as the highlands improved. How this may be effected, and induſtry be made to penetrate thus far, muſt be left to the conſideration of thoſe who can apply the proper remedies.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, this much may be ſaid in general, that it is not by tillage chiefly, and the encouragement of it, that either the greateſt part of the highlands can be fully cultivated, or the highlanders themſelves civilized: for few parts of this country ſeem, either by the nature of their ſoil, or their ſituation, to be fitted for producing corn. Craggy rocks and high mountains cover the greateſt extent of it. There are indeed, it muſt be owned, ſome charming ſpots and pleaſant valleys, which admit of tillage. But how few and how inconſiderable are theſe!

IT ſeems therefore that the lands ought to be improved chiefly for paſture; and no doubt, if divided into well-diſpoſed incloſures, are very capable of improvement in this way, and well able to maintain abundance of cattle.

BUT the inhabitants themſelves can only be civilized, by being made induſtrious: and as the country does not ſeem to admit of much tillage, the only way in which they can be made induſtrious, is the introduction of ſome ſort of induſtry among them, different from agriculture.

THE abundance of their lakes, the neighbourhood of the ſea, and the hardineſs of the inhabitants ſeem immediately to point out one kind of induſtry, which it might be proper they were employed in. In this way they might provide food in plenty, not only to themſelves, but a great number of others. By exporting their fiſh, they might

might acquire wealth; by acquiring wealth, they would become induſtrious; by being induſtrious, they would be civilized. Thus the highlands might at laſt be well peopled, and its inhabitants help to promote the intereſt of *Britain*.

FURTHER, were it poſſible to ſend ſome induſtrious tradeſmen and manufacturers among them, who might ſet an immediate example of induſtry before their eyes, this might engage them to betake themſelves ſooner to honeſt labour. For the ſight of the great profits of labour, and of the affluence and abundance with which it ſupplies the labourer, would naturally produce a love of thoſe profits, and a deſire of that affluence and abundance.

INDEED the laws which have been enacted, and the ſchemes which in conſequence of theſe laws have been deviſed for the improvement and cultivation of this part of the country, muſt be confeſſed to be extremely good, and are irrefragable documents of his Majeſty's and the legiſlature's regard for the good of the whole ſubjects, as well as the welfare of thoſe who are inſenſible of their own felicity; yet ſomething ſeems to be ſtill wanted to make induſtry penetrate into the center of the highlands. How happy would it be, if a few villages, ſtored with induſtrious hands, could be raiſed in the wildeſt and moſt rugged parts of their country!

IN ſhort, without the wiſeſt and beſt digeſted ſchemes, for providing in a ſpeedy manner againſt the

the violence of theſe our deluded countrymen, for ſecuring liberty from their inſurrections, and for rooting out the ſpirit of clanſhip and diſaffection from among them, not only the peace, but the liberty of *Britain* ſhall be continually in danger, and their rudeneſs and barbarity ſhall, in all probability, leave them later than the remembrance of the Pretender. He may be quite forgotten, ere they ſhall be civilized.

CONCLUSION.

PHILOSOPHERS have been adviſing, and Divines calling upon mankind to cultivate frugality, temperance, ſimplicity, contentment with a little, and patience of labour, demonſtrating, that theſe humble virtues are the only means by which they can expect to ſecure ſolid, laſting, and independent felicity. They have painted their charms in the moſt lively colours; deſcribed in the moſt inviting manner, that inward peace and tranquillity of mind, which is the inſeparable attendant on theſe ſober virtues; and taught, that it is in this way alone that men can enjoy happineſs, freedom, and independence. Such has been the language of philoſophy; ſuch has been the language of religion.

BUT the cultivation of theſe virtues not only makes individuals happy; but, from what has been maintained in the preceeding *Diſſertation*, appears further to be the ſureſt way of rendering the earth

earth populous, and making ſociety flouriſh. 'Twas ſimplicity of taſte, frugality, patience of labour, and contentment with a little, which made the world ſo populous in antient times. The decay of theſe virtues, and the introduction of a corrupted and luxurious taſte, have contributed in a great meaſure to diminiſh the numbers of mankind in modern days.

FROM hence we may conclude, that it is not the prevalency of luxury, but of ſimplicity of taſte among private citizens, which makes the public flouriſh: and that private vices are far from being, what a notable writer has employed the whole force of his genius to demonſtrate them to be, public benefits. Indeed 'tis ridiculous to condemn elegance and refinement of every kind. If diſplayed in public works, and things of a durable nature, they contribute to promote the happineſs, as well as the grandeur of ſociety, and will be no hindrance to populouſneſs. But if diſplayed in every the leaſt trifle in private life, and employed to ſatisfy the ridiculous taſte and whimſical fancies of each particular citizen, muſt contribute in a great degree to diminiſh the number of mankind, as the conſtant labour, great expence, and vaſt number of hands, by which this luxury is maintained, muſt make the neceſſaries of life ſcarce and dear.

IN this manner the moſt humble virtues are found to be not only conſiſtent with, but greatly conducive to the populouſneſs and grandeur of ſociety.

FINIS.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING

Additional Obſervations concerning the NUMBERS of MANKIND in antient and modern Ages:

WITH

Some Remarks on Mr. *Hume*'s Political Diſcourſe, intituled, *Of the Populouſneſs of antient Nations.*

De hoc priuſquam ſcribamus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad ſuos referant, neve ea, quae ipſis leviora ſunt, pari modo apud caeteros fuiſſe arbitrentur.
COR. NEP. in Epaminond. cap. 1.

APPENDIX, &c.

SINCE the preceeding *Diſſertation* was compoſed, a Diſcourſe, *Of the Populouſneſs of antient Nations*, has been publiſhed by Mr. *Hume*, in which the learned Author depretiates antiquity, exalts modern times, and endeavours to prove, by all the arguments a lively and acute genius could ſuggeſt, that the ſuperior populouſneſs of the antient to that of the modern world, is not ſo certain, as is believed by the paſſionate admirers of antiquity.

THE author of the diſſertation, though much pleaſed with that Gentleman's uncommon ingenuity, and ſtruck with the brilliancy of his arguments, continued ſtill to be of opinion, that what ſeemed to be confirmed by ſo many concurring teſtimonies, and to be ſupported by the uniform evidence of all antient hiſtory, could not well be falſe. He ſuſpected therefore, that Mr. *Hume*'s arguments were ill-founded, and reſolved to review a ſubject ſo curious, ſo important, and ſo fertile in conſequences; and to try if he could diſcover the latent fallacy of thoſe pompous arguments, which puzzled, but did not convince. Thus, after having conſidered more accurately the force of his arguments, inſpected more carefully

ſome of the authors of antiquity, and reflected more attentively on the ſtate of the antient world, he now offers to the publick the reſult of his obſervations, in which he endeavours to illuſtrate more fully ſome things that were only hinted at in the diſſertation; and at the ſame time to obviate the objections ariſing from what Mr. *Hume* has advanced in his diſcourſe.

It would be a tedious, as well as an uſeleſs taſk, to follow minutely the author of the *political diſcourſe*, through all his obſervations and all his conſequences.

In general it may be remarked, that in various places of his work, he has made ſeveral conceſſions, and granted many propoſitions to be true, which are fundamental to the truth of the hypotheſis maintained in the foregoing diſſertation. An impartial inquirer is ever more fond of truth than of victory. Hence we find him admitting, * that nothing could be more favourable to the propagation of mankind, than the eſtabliſhment of ſmall governments and an equality of fortune among the citizens †; that agriculture is that ſpecies of induſtry which is chiefly requiſite to the ſubſiſtence of multitudes of people, and that it flouriſhed greatly in

* Pag. 183, 184.

† By the ſame reaſoning, an equal diviſion of the father's eſtate among his children muſt appear to be favourable to propagation.

in ſome countries in antient times*; that marriage was almoſt univerſal among all ranks of men in times of more remote antiquity, inſomuch that even the ſoldiers among the antients were all married †.

FURTHER, though he contends, that the refinements of modern ages muſt have operated ſomething towards the eaſy ſubſiſtence of men, and conſequently towards their propagation and increaſe ‡, he does not deny, that ſimplicity of taſte is attended with many advantages ‖: though he ſeems diſpoſed to believe, that the *Roman* empire introduced a peace and civility, which had not obtained formerly, he candidly obſerves, how much it tended in other reſpects to the ruin of induſtry and agriculture **: though he conſiders the barbarous and inhuman cuſtom, among the antients, of expoſing infants ††, and their unnatural paſſions ‡‡, as diſadvantages on the ſide of antiquity, he acknowledges at the ſame time, that the diſcouragements to marry in the Popiſh church are yet greater diſadvantages ‖‖.

BUT

* P. 208.

† P. 188.

‡ P. 210.

‖ P. 183, 184.

** P. 168, 169, 239, 253.

†† P. 180.

‡‡ P. 182.

‖‖ Convents ought to be conſidered not only as burdenſom to the public, and oppreſſive to thoſe confined in them, but alſo

BUT though our author has admitted, that antient ages had the advantage in ſome particular reſpects, he conceives, that the diſadvantages under which they laboured, were more than ſufficient to form a counter-balance; and, on the whole, gives the preference to modern times in reſpect of populouſneſs.

THESE diſadvantages on the ſide of the antients he endeavours to find out, firſt, in their domeſtic, and next, in their political ſituation, when compared with thoſe of modern times. Under the head of

alſo as deſtructive to populouſneſs. What our author hath obſerved, "That were the land which belongs to a convent beſtowed on a nobleman, he would ſpend its revenue "on dogs, horſes, grooms, footmen, cooks and chamber-"maids, and his family would not furniſh many more citi-"zens than the convent" (*p.* 179.), may ſometimes be true, but is not ſufficient to ſhew, that convents are not very unfavourable to populouſneſs. The revenues of a convent may ſurely be put to as bad an uſe, but are not the revenues of moſt lands put to a better, than to maintain a ſuperſtitious ſociety of monks or nuns, who do nothing to ſupport their ſpecies? How many well-peopled villages have ariſen out of the ruins of monaſteries and convents? *Paiſſy*, antiently the habitation of monks, but now one of the moſt induſtrious, as well as beſt peopled villages in our own country, is an obvious example of this truth. But, when ſuch places continue from generation to generation in the poſſeſſion of an uſeleſs and unprofitable ſet of mortals, they become highly deſtructive. There was nothing of the kind in antiquity, which can be ſuppoſed to have had ſuch a pernicious effect.

of their domeſtic oeconomy, he conſiders the inſtitution of ſlavery as remarkably unfavourable to populouſneſs. With reſpect to their political ſituation, he takes notice, *firſt*, of their unſettled and turbulent condition, both in peace and war, and endeavours to ſhew, that their foreign as well as civil wars were more frequent and bloody; that their inſtitutions in time of peace were more tyrannical and oppreſſive; and that their maxims neither of war nor of peace were ſo well calculated to preſerve order and ſtability, as the milder maxims of modern times: *Secondly*, That their ſimplicity, and their ignorance of thoſe refinements of modern times, which have improved human life, and rendered it more commodious, were a conſiderable diſadvantage in reſpect of populouſneſs. On both which accounts he is inclined to believe, that antient ages muſt have been leſs populous: and in conſequence of his theory, when he proceeds to inquire into the facts, he rejects the teſtimony of antient authors, as incredible and abſurd, when they repreſent antient nations as more populous than ſeems to him to be conſiſtent with the ſuperior refinements, and more humane and ſtable policy of modern ages.

IT will be proper to follow our author through each of theſe particular heads.

PART I.

MR. *Hume* has, in the firſt place, preſented us with a moſt diſmal picture of the domeſtic oeconomy of the antients, and endeavoured to ſhew, that the inſtitution of ſlavery muſt have been unfavourable to propagation, both becauſe the ſlaves were cruelly treated by their maſters, and becauſe the males and females were not allowed to have mutual intercourſe. But upon inquiry it will be found, that they not only were not ſo harſhly treated, as our author imagines, but were commonly well treated; that their treatment did not debilitate them, or hinder them from propagating; that intereſt, no leſs than humanity, led the maſters to encourage them to propagate; and finally, that the ſlaves multiplied exceedingly, and that the *Vernae* or home-born ſlaves were extremely numerous.

THE low condition of the antient ſlaves muſt neceſſarily have expoſed them to many inſults, and to much oppreſſion, notwithſtanding the beſt laws which could have been framed for their protection. That ſame contempt, that ſame ſeverity, which at preſent may be obſerved in ſuperiors towards their inferiors; nay, a greater degree of this inſolence muſt have often appeared in antient times. The pleaſure and humour of the maſter would be by far too much, and the happineſs of the

the ſlaves too little regarded. However, either the antients were moved by humanity, which has ever a mighty influence on the generality of mankind, to deal kindly by their ſlaves; or when motives of this kind did not influence, their conduct muſt have been chiefly regulated by regard to their own intereſt.

IN times of more remote antiquity, before the reign of *Alexander the Great*, and the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* empire, during which period, according to the *Diſſertation*, the world was moſt populous, ſlaves muſt have been better treated, than they were afterwards in times of luxury; for while ſimplicity remained, the maſters lived in greater familiarity with their ſlaves, and of courſe treated them with more gentleneſs. This is confirmed by *Seneca* * with reſpect to the *Romans*. That ſanctity of manners, for which they were ſo remarkable before the *Carthaginian* wars, was inconſiſtent with barbarity towards their ſlaves. What our author† has quoted from *Demoſthenes*, ſhews how gently they were treated by the *Athe-*

 nians.

* Ne illud quidem videtis, quam omnem invidiam majores noſtri dominis, omnem contumeliam ſervis detraxerint? dominum, patrem familiae appellaverunt: ſervos (quod etiam in mimis adhuc durat) familiares. Inſtituerunt diem feſtum, quo non ſolum cum ſervis domini veſcerentur; ſed quo utique honores illis in domo gerere, jus dicere permiſerunt, et domum puſillam rem publicam eſſe judicaverunt.

SENECA, epiſt. 47.

† P. 171.

nians. Tacitus * takes notice of the lenity of the *Germans*; and it is probable the caſe was the ſame in moſt other antient nations. The ſevere and rigorous treatment of this inferior order of men, ſeems to have prevailed only among the *Romans*, in the more degenerate times of their commonwealth, and during their monarchy. 'Tis from thoſe corrupted ages of *Rome* that Mr. *Hume* has brought all his examples of the barbarous uſage of ſlaves, except one; and this one, *viz.* the inhuman practice, among the *Greeks*, of expiſcating the truth by the torture of ſlaves, will be found to make little for his purpoſe; for this practice was not confined to ſlaves: freemen were not exempted, where it was neceſſary, or other evidence could not be got: 'tis certain, at any rate, that it could not be frequent, as few caſes would require it. Nay, in this reſpect, have modern times any advantage? Torture is allowed at preſent in almoſt all the countries of *Europe*. Was it not allowed, even in *Britain*, not very many years ago, though it is now happily aboliſhed?

* Dominum ac ſervum nullis educationis deliciis dignoſcas. Inter eadem pecora in eadem humo degunt; donec aetas ſeparet ingenuos, virtus agnoſcat.— Caeteris ſervis, non in noſtrum morem deſcriptis per familiam miniſteriis, utuntur: ſuam quiſque ſedem, ſuos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut veſtis, ut colono injungit: et ſervus hactenus paret. Caetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exſequuntur. Verberare ſervum, ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum. TACITUS de morib. German. cap. 20. 25.

aboliſhed? But whatever ſanction may have been given at any period to ſuch a cruel practice, we cannot ſurely imagine, that the diſtant poſſibility of being ſubjected to torture could have the leaſt influence to prevent marriage *.

THAT the *Roman* ſlaves, as Mr. *Hume* affirms, were ſometimes kept in *ergaſtula*, which may be tranſlated work-houſes, or houſes of correction, cannot be denied; however, it is not probable that they were common, till latter and more corrupted times †: for as long as ſlaves lived in a familiar manner with their maſters, and were not very numerous, ſuch *ergaſtula* would be leſs neceſſary, and muſt have been introduced by the degeneracy of their manners. Even in the worſt times, all the ſlaves were not confined in them: the better, and, no doubt, the far greater part were at liberty. *Columella* makes a plain diſtinction between the *ſoluti* and the *vincti*; theſe laſt muſt have been only the raſcally part of the ſlaves, who deſerved ſeverer puniſhments. It was only for the correction of ſuch vitious ſlaves, that *Columella* ordains

* By the *Roman* law, torture was allowed in civil caſes, only when the truth could be found out in no other way: and, in criminal caſes, there was no difference between ſlaves and freemen of lower rank: nay, in ſome caſes, men of the higheſt rank were put to the queſtion.

† I do not find, any where in *Livy*, what out author has quoted. *Partem Italiæ ergaſtula a ſolitudine vindicant*: I ſuppoſe the word ſhould be *ſervitia*, and not *ergaſtula*.

dains apartments to be built under ground. So far is he from ſuppoſing all the ſlaves to have been ſhut up in *ergaſtula*, and uſed ſeverely, that, on the contrary, he adviſes maſters to treat their ſlaves well; to ſee that their proviſions be good; to ſuit their work to the health and ſtrength of each individual; to take care of them when ſick, and apply proper medicines for their cure; to admit them to familiarity; nay, ſometimes to bring them to table; to ſuffer them even to jeſt; to applaud ſuch as behaved well, and to reward them*. What can be kinder, or breathe a more gentle ſpirit? The ſame humanity is to be obſerved in *Varro* †; and both of them conſider the practice of breeding from ſlaves as equally humane and profitable. 'Tis true, as Mr. *Hume* has remarked ‡, *Varro* is in this place treating of ſhepherds only; but from thence it cannot be concluded, that he did not approve of the humane uſage of ſlaves in general, and did not in particular reckon breeding from them profitable in all caſes.

As the number of ſlaves increaſed prodigiouſly in the latter times of the commonwealth, the *ergaſtula* became more common, and greater numbers were confined in them. In the ſervile war we

* De re ruſtic. lib. 1. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9.

† De re ruſtic, lib. 1. cap. 17. lib. 2. cap. 10.

‡ P. 177.

we find, that *Eunus*, who, according to *Florus* *, began the rebellion, raiſed a great army of ſlaves, conſiſting of no leſs than 60,000 Men. One of the methods by which he accompliſhed this, was by breaking open the *ergaſtula* in *Sicily*, and giving freedom to the ſlaves that were confined in them. His army however could not be entirely, probably the ſmalleſt part of it, was made up of ſuch ſlaves as had been ſhut up in *ergaſtula*; it muſt have conſiſted of ſlaves of all kinds, who would crowd to him from all quarters, and abandon their maſters, on an occaſion which called them to liberty. Nor could 60,000 (though his army had conſiſted of none but ſuch as had been confined in *ergaſtula*) have been near equal to the whole number of ſlaves in the ſouth of *Italy* and *Sicily*. The *ergaſtula* therefore muſt only have been houſes of correction for the worſt ſort of ſlaves.

THE power which *Roman* maſters had over their ſlaves was deſpotic, and may appear frightful; but the exerciſe of it was commonly very gentle, and the power itſelf was not more abſolute, than that which fathers had over their children. For, by the old *Roman* law, the *pater familias* had an equally unlimited authority not only over his children, but, in ſome caſes, over his wife †; yet there

* Hoc miraculum primum duo millia ex obviis; mox jure belli, refractis ergaſtulis, ſexaginta amplius millium fecit exercitum. FLORUS, lib. 3. cap. 19.

† See *Heineccii ſyntagma antiquitatum*, under the titles, *de patria poteſtate, et de nuptiis.*

there is no reaſon from hence to conclude, that this inſtitution was prejudicial to the populouſneſs of *Rome*. In the virtuous times of the commonwealth the power was ſeldom abuſed; and, if, in corrupted times, maſters became more ſevere, laws were enacted to reſtrain their ſeverity; at leaſt, the emperors, not long after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, began to look more narrowly into the behaviour of maſters in their families, and to puniſh outrages committed by them on their ſlaves*. The emperor *Hadrian* baniſhed a lady for her ſeverity to her ſervants. It was a particular inſtruction given to the *praefectus urbi* (or the criminal judge) who had alſo the care of the police of the city of *Rome* in moſt articles, to hear and redreſs the complaints of ſervants againſt their maſters †. The temples and the ſtatues of the prince were places of refuge for ſlaves, from whence they could not be taken away by their maſters ‡. By a reſcript of *Antoninus Pius* ‖, it was ordained, that ſuch ſervants ſhould be ſold as had been ill treated. And whoever will examine the hiſtory of the *Roman* law, will find in general, that the emperors aimed continually at leſſening that domeſtic power which the antient *Roman* citizens had been

* Vid. l. 2. D. de his qui ſui vel alieni juris ſunt.]

† Vid. l. 1. § 1.8. D. de officio praefecti urbi.

‡ Vid. § 2. inſt. de his qui ſui vel alieni juris ſunt.

‖ Vid. l. 2. D. eodem.

been authoriſed to exerciſe in their families, till every thing was brought under the abſolute power of the prince. Thus, even among the *Romans* themſelves, the deſpotic power over ſlaves was reſtrained, after it was found to be dangerous.

FURTHER, not only does it appear, that laws were made to reſtrain the *Romans* from treating their ſlaves cruelly; but we have many documents even in latter times, that where the law did not regulate their conduct, they ſet bounds to it themſelves, and often from affection treated their ſlaves with great humanity. Thus we find, that they gave them the beſt education, and taught them arts and ſciences: nor is there any branch of learning, in which we do not find, that ſlaves were eminently ſkilled. Beſides, their maſters frequently manumitted them, and at that time they often got their *peculium*, by which means they had an opportunity of acquiring large eſtates. Nay, ſuch was the affection of the *Romans* to their domeſtics, that they conſidered their *liberti* as part of their family, and hence were obliged to aliment them in their poverty; which, if they neglected to do, they forfeited their *jus patronatûs*. They often ordered their remains to be depoſited in the family ſepulchre; and, after communicating this right of burial, they frequently ſubjoined a clauſe to the monumental inſcription, *Ne de familia exeat*. If the patron had no children, he often left his whole

whole eſtate to his *liberti*, and generally gave them legacies, whoever got the bulk of the eſtate.

BESIDES the domeſtic ſlaves, the *Romans* had another kind, called *inquilini*, *coloni*, *et adſcriptitii glebae*, who were upon a ſurer footing, being only bound to certain annual preſtations, and to labour their maſter's lands; from which he could not remove them, nor raiſe their rents. Are theſe indications of an inhumanity, which could have any effect in preventing populouſneſs?

INDEED intereſt, no leſs than humanity, muſt have prompted the *Romans* at all times to encourage their ſlaves to raiſe families.

WITH reſpect to all commodities whatſoever, it is commonly more advantageous to raiſe them up than to buy them. That this holds with reſpect to ſlaves, is evident, from its having been thought profitable in *Italy*, even in times of the higheſt luxury. *Columella*, who lived at ſuch a time, adviſes to breed from ſlaves; nay, to give rewards, and even to give liberty to ſuch females, as were mothers of more than three children *.

POMPONIUS ATTICUS, a man of the greateſt oeconomy among the *Romans*, had no ſlaves, but ſuch

* Foeminis quoque foecundioribus otium nonnunquam et libertatem dedimus, cum complures natos educaſſent: nam cui tres erant filii, vacatio: cui plures, libertas quoque contingebat. Haec enim juſtitia, et cura patris familias multum confert augendo patrimonio.

De re ruſtic. lib. 1. cap. 8.

ſuch as were born in his own houſe. This is obſerved by his hiſtorian, as a mark of his good oeconomy *; he muſt therefore have thought it more profitable to breed than to buy. The ſame hiſtorian hath remarked, that the cuſtom of buying ſlaves proceeded from an incontinent and luxurious taſte. We cannot therefore infer with Mr. *Hume* †, that becauſe *Atticus* is praiſed for his diligence in breeding, breeding was not the general practice. Theſe praiſes only ſhew, that many of *Atticus*'s rank acted in a different manner from him, and that he was not ſeduced by their example.

MR. *Hume* has remarked, that near all great cities, in all populous, rich, induſtrious provinces, few cattle are bred, becauſe of the dearth of every commodity in ſuch places; and of courſe, that the remoter and cheaper are the only breeding countries for cattle; and, by parity of reaſon, for men too ‡. This only ſhews, that ſuch great numbers of ſlaves would not be bred in or near large cities, as in cheaper provinces; but it does

* Pari modo, artifices caeteri, quos cultus domeſticus deſiderat, apprime boni; neque tamen horum quenquam, niſi domi natum, domique factum habuit: quod eſt ſignum non ſolum continentiae, ſed etiam diligentiae. Nam et non intemperanter concupiſcere, quod a plurimis videas, continentis debet duci; et potius diligentia, quam pretio, parare, non mediocris eſt induſtriae.

CORN. NEP. in vit. Attici. cap. 13.

† P. 170.

‡ P. 167.

not prove, that many were not bred, even in *Rome* itſelf, many more in other places of *Italy*, or in other provinces, where proviſions were cheaper: it does not at all affect ſmall cities, or places where there was little luxury: it does not affect the more antient and ſimple ages: nay, it makes very little againſt the breeding of ſlaves even in *Rome* itſelf; for the *Romans* in times of their greateſt luxury had little reaſon to diſcourage this practice, on account of the dearth of proviſions, ſince, according to the *Diſſertation*, the moſt neceſſary proviſions were eaſily purchaſed at *Rome*, when luxury was very high. I grant, that the luxury of *Rome* was one of the chief cauſes, why *Italy* became leſs populous, not indeed becauſe it rendered the breeding from ſlaves unprofitable, but on account of growing delicacy and debauchery of manners; in conſequence of which, not only the former general practice of marrying, but the love of agriculture declined. And from the bitter reproaches which *Auguſtus* caſt upon the great men of *Rome* for not marrying, it may be juſtly preſumed, that marriage was leſs common among freemen than ſlaves; nor is it improbable, that while the maſters gave full ſwing to their appetites, they would not ſuffer their ſlaves to commit the ſame diſorders.

NOTWITHSTANDING what has been obſerved concerning the advantages which aroſe commonly from the breeding of ſlaves, it doth not follow, that

that it was in no caſe profitable to buy. On many occaſions maſters would find buying both neceſſary and advantageous; which may account for what Mr. *Hume* obſerves concerning the practice of the elder *Cato* *, who though a very great oeconomiſt, is ſaid † to have bought a great many ſlaves; for he bought them at the ſales of priſoners of war, when they would certainly be cheapeſt, both becauſe they had been moſt eaſily purchaſed, and would be moſt numerous. No wonder that a man of his frugality catched at ſuch a cheap market. But there is no where the ſmalleſt hint, that he did not encourage his ſlaves to breed; the contrary may be inferred from what *Plutarch* tells, that he allowed a commerce between his male and female ſlaves. If he allowed it only at certain times, and upon certain conditions, this might ariſe from the auſterity of his temper, and the ſeverity of his manners: if he obliged them to pay for the liberty of commerce, this proceeded from too great a love of gain, which made a remarkable part of his character, and prompted him to ſeek profit in every thing. But from neither of theſe circumſtances can it be inferred, that he did not intend to multiply his ſlaves by this intercourſe: nay, his very covetouſneſs is an argument, that he would deſign to increaſe his riches by their breed; and in order to render their breeding more convenient and advantageous,

* P. 172.

† Plutarch. in Cato. maj.

advantageous, it would be neceſſary to forbid all irregular amours, according to *Plutarch*'s narration, and to ſuffer their commerce only at certain times, that the children might fall to be born at thoſe ſeaſons of the year, when the labour of the mothers would be leaſt neceſſary.

Neither would thoſe other reſtrictions mentioned by Mr. *Hume*, prevent ſlaves from breeding; for it is ſurely of little conſequence to this effect, whether they were lodged under the ſame roof with the maſter * (as they might very well have been, if they were not too numerous) or in ſeparate apartments; whether the male and female ſlaves were laid at a diſtance from one another or not †; whether they lived on board-wages ‡, or which is more probable, had their ſtated allowance of proviſions, as is common in many houſes at preſent.

In like manner, it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, that the maſters, from a regard to their own intereſt, would bear with many inconveniencies ariſing from the breeding of their ſlaves; which accounts eaſily for the precept of old *Heſiod*, whom our author quotes ‖ to prove, that, in the opinion of the antients, married ſlaves were inconvenient. Some of the antients no doubt might be of this opinion: ſome people will gratify their inclination, in oppoſition

* Political diſcourſes, p. 174.

† Ibid. p. 175.

‡ Ibid.

‖ P. 174. Heſiod. oper. et dier. lib. 2. lin. 23, 24, 220, 221.

poſition to their intereſt: humour, fancy, caprice, a juſt regard to elegance, and a falſe taſte of refinement, have a mighty influence on all the affairs of mankind. Hence ſome of the antients might have choſen rather to buy at a dearer rate, and to want the profits ariſing from the breeding of their ſlaves, than ſubmit to the trouble which attended it. This might have been the character of *Heſiod*. Poets often ſeek pleaſure more than riches; but we muſt not make them a ſtandard for the world. Indeed the paſſage from *Heſiod* proves not, either that the breeding of ſlaves was generally reckoned diſagreeable or inconvenient in his days; or though it had been ſo, that mankind would not have generally ſubmitted to it, for the ſake of their intereſt. Perhaps too *Heſiod* meant only to caution againſt buying married ſlaves, and to adviſe to buy unmarried ones, who might afterwards have been ſuffered to breed or not, as beſt anſwered the maſters conveniency, or ſuited his humour.

WE have ſaid, that regard to intereſt would have a principal influence on maſters, and that their management of their ſlaves would be chiefly governed by it: from whence it is neceſſary to conclude, that every one who had occaſion for ſlaves, would buy or keep in his family, either males or females, according to the nature of the work in which he propoſed to employ them, and according to his views of profit; and that he would

would keep neither males nor females he had no uſe for. On which account we need not wonder *, that among the ſlaves left by *Demoſthenes*'s father, who was a ſword-maker, there ſhould be mention of none but handicraftſmen, *ſword-cutlers* and *cabinet-makers*, as our author tranſlates the word Κλινοποιοι, all males, except ſome chamber-maids, who had been about his wife. What elſe could be expected from a man of ſuch an occupation, who wanted only handicraftſmen for carrying on his buſineſs? By the ſame manner of reaſoning it appears, that we ought not to infer, that the antient ſlaves did not breed, becauſe *Cato*, when enumerating the ſlaves requiſite to labour a vineyard or plantation of olives, makes mention only of one female, *viz.* the overſeer's wife †. The reaſon is plain. Male-ſlaves being more robuſt, were fitter for country-labour, and there would be occaſion only for a woman or two, to do any of thoſe offices, for which women were more proper.

Besides, it deſerves to be remarked, agreeably to what has been ſaid in the *Diſſertation*, that the antient world being chiefly employed in agriculture and other laborious arts, for which men were more proper than women, it may be expected, we ſhould find many more male ſlaves than female; in conſequence of which, many of the

* Polit. diſcourſ. p. 171.

† Ibid. p. 175.

the males might have wanted wives, and yet all the females have been breeders.

NEITHER would the maſters be deterred from breeding ſlaves at home, becauſe of thoſe privileges and indulgencies to which the *Vernae* ſeem to have been entitled by cuſtom; for beſides the honeſty, fidelity and attachment to the family, which might be expected from thoſe who had been born and bred in it, the inconveniency of their pertneſs, if it really was thought one, might have been overbalanced by other advantages. But in truth our author * ſeems to have been miſtaken in his conjecture on this article; for ſlaves were commonly more valued and eſteemed on account of their pertneſs †.

OUR

* *P.* 169, 170.

† *This ſeems plain from many other, as well as the following paſſages.*

Eadem cauſa eſt cur nos mancipiorum noſtrorum urbanitas, in dominos contumelioſa, delectet: quorum audacia ita demum ſibi in convivas jus facit, ſi coepit a domino.—Pueros quidem in hoc mercantur procaces, et eorum impudentiam acuunt, et ſub magiſtro habent, qui probra meditate effundant: nec has contumelias vocamus, ſed argutias.

SENECA de conſtant. ſapient. cap. 11.

Cogita filiorum nos modeſtia delectari, Vernularum licentia: illos diſciplina triſtiori contineri, horum ali audaciam.

SENECA de provid. cap. 1.

Faber *obſerves on the word* vernilitas, *that it ſignified a particular kind of* urbanitas.—Urbanitas ſed affectata, neque ingenua et liberalis.

OUR author has alſo recourſe to the *Roman* law, to prove, that breeding from ſlaves was not common among the *Romans*; for he obſerves *, that it is expreſsly remarked by the writers of the *Roman* law, that ſcarce any ever purchaſe ſlaves, with a view of breeding from them: and, in the note which he has placed at the bottom of the ſame page, he

liberalis. *In confirmation of which, he quotes* Pliny, Seneca, Quintilian *and* Petronius. *He adds*, Amabatur iſta ſervulorum urbanitas ſive dicacitas procax; et quaerebantur tales vel ex longinquis regionibus, ut Ægyptii, Mauri, Syri. Quod ſi non eſſent dicaces ſatis, ut docerentur et diſcerent eſſe, navabant operam heri. *It appears from* Suetonius (in Auguſt. cap. 83.) *that the* Mauri *and* Syri *had a great reputation for this garrulity.* Ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabiles undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros. *Thoſe of* Alexandria *were alſo in high reputation for this quality; which explains the phraſe* convicia Nili *in the* Sylvae *of* Statius, Lib. 5. 5. 66.

Non ego mercatus Pharia de puppe loquaces
Delicias, doctumque ſui convicia Nili
Infantem, linguaque ſimul ſalibuſque protervum.

The following paſſage in Quintilian (inſtit. orat. lib. 1. cap. 2.) *is a further proof, that ſlaves were in general not leſs eſteemed, though they were pert and forward.* Gaudemus (*inquit*) ſi quid licentius dixerint (*viz. liberi noſtri*). Verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, riſu et oſculo excipimus.

Juſtus Lipſius *explains the word* verniliter *in* Seneca (de benefic. lib. 2. cap. 11.) Blande et cum adulatione, vox (*inquit*) a vernis, id eſt, ſervulis, qui fere blandiuntur; *which ſhews, that the behaviour of the* Vernae *was not diſagreeably impudent, but rather flattering, to make their court the better, and render themſelves more agreeable.*

* P. 173.

he is pleaſed to cite the words of ſome laws from the *Corpus Juris*; none of which ſeem to confirm his hypotheſis, or indeed to prove what he would deduce from them.

THE firſt text he quotes is from *l.* 27. *ff. de hereditatis petitione. Ancillarum etiam partus, et partuum partus, quanquam fructus eſſe non exiſtimantur, quia non temere ancillae ejus rei cauſa comparantur, ut pariant, augent tamen hereditatem.* In order to underſtand this law, it is neceſſary in the firſt place to remark, that, among the *Romans*, the *uſufructus* was a kind of perſonal ſervitude, or life-rent-right of uſe and enjoyment, by which a certain perſon, called the *uſufructuarius*, different from the proprietor, had right to all the fruits and emoluments of whatever kind, that aroſe *ordinarily* from the *fructuarious* ſubſtance; whether theſe emoluments ſerved only for ſupplying the mere neceſſities and wants, or increaſed the convenience and pleaſure of life. For all ſuch emoluments were comprehended under the term *fructus*; provided after production the ſubſtance of the fructuarious body remained entire. Thus the fruits of land were graſs, corn, wine, oil, *&c.* thoſe of houſes were either the actual lodging in them, or their rent, if hired out to others; of ſhips, the ſailing in them, or the freight; and of cattle, their brood, their milk, and their wool. To the full and unlimited uſe and enjoyment of all theſe emoluments the *fructuarius* had right, ac-

cording as his *uſusfructus* was either of land, of houſes, of ſhips, or of cattle. In the ſame manner, he who had an *uſusfructus* of a ſlave, had full right to all the fruits and emoluments to be drawn from this ſlave. Theſe, according to civilians, were the profits of his labour and induſtry, acquired either by ſetting him to work at home, or hiring him out for certain wages to the ſervice of another. *In hominis uſufructu operae ſunt, et ob operas mercedes.— Fructus hominis in operis conſtitit: et retro, in fructu hominis operae ſunt* : i. e.* the principal, the moſt conſiderable fruits of a man conſiſt in his work, labour, induſtry and pains: and theſe on the other hand are included *in fructu* or *uſufructu.*

To theſe therefore the *uſufructuarius* had undoubted right.

But, beſides theſe *operae* and *mercedes ob operas*, there were likewiſe the *partus ancillarum*; concerning which it was diſputed among the civilians of old, whether the *partus ancillarum*, or the iſſue of a female ſlave, belonged to the *uſufructuarius*, *i. e.* the liferenter of the mother, in the ſame manner as the *foetus pecorum* belonged to the *uſufructuarius pecorum.*

The queſtion was determined in the negative: and for this determination *Ulpian* in different places of his writings aſſigns different reaſons. In *l.* 68. *ff. de uſufructu*, he ſays, *Neque enim in fructu hominis*

* L. 3. 4. ff. de operis ſervorum.

hominis homo eſſe poteſt. The meaning of which is, That nature having produced all kinds of fruits for the uſe of man, man himſelf therefore could not make a part of theſe fruits, ſince he had a right to enjoy them. And thus we find this reaſon explained in *l.* 28. § 1. *ff. de uſuris. Abſurdum enim videbatur, hominem in fructu eſſe, cum omnes fructus rerum natura hominum gratiâ comparaverit.* This philoſophy of the lawyers ſeems to be founded on the doctrine of the Stoics, who taught, that every thing in nature was produced for the uſe of man. *Omnia, quae ſint in hoc mundo, quibus utantur homines, hominum cauſa facta eſſe et parata*.* For from this ſect the *Roman* lawyers borrowed moſt of their philoſophical principles.

ANOTHER reaſon for the ſame determination is aſſigned by *Ulpian* in *l.* 27. *ff. de hereditatis petitione*, quoted by Mr. *Hume. Quia non temere ancillae ejus rei cauſa comparantur, ut pariant, i. e.* the iſſue of female ſlaves is not comprehended under, or reckoned among their fruits, becauſe maids are not purchaſed *principally* for breeding. The *chief* deſign in buying or having them, is to ſet them at work, and by their work to make gain. The immediate view therefore with which ſlaves are purchaſed, is that they may labour, not that they may breed. Hence the profits of their labour belong to the *uſufructuarius*, but not their brood.

YET it would ſurely be abſurd from hence to conclude,

* Cicero, lib. 2. c. 61. de nat. deor.

conclude, that maſters might not have other views in purchaſing female ſlaves, beſides thoſe which were *moſt immediate*. It would be yet more abſurd to ſay, that thoſe who had actually purchaſed them, at firſt perhaps with other views, would not, if they found it convenient, allow them to breed. 'Tis common now a-days to hire ſervants for certain definite purpoſes; yet, if they have time, they are uſually put to other buſineſs. Beſides, it deſerves to be remarked, how cautiouſly *Ulpian* ſpeaks: he ſays, *non temere*. Now, the idea which the word *temere* conveys at firſt, is that of raſhneſs. And if the law might be underſtood in this way, 'tis ſurely true, that men, far from being raſh, would be extremely cautious and circumſpect, when they purchaſed ſlaves for breeding; and from hence it not only would not follow, that ſlaves were never purchaſed in this view, but the directly contrary would appear.

However *Ulpian*'s words can hardly bear this interpretation. His *non temere* muſt be underſtood, as if he had ſaid, that men are very cautious, how they buy ſlaves for breeding; or, which is the ſame thing, that for the moſt part they do not; for he by no means ſays, that they never do purchaſe them in this view. In ſhort, *Ulpian* can only intend to declare, that the *principal*, *chief*, and *immediate* view in purchaſing female ſlaves was not to breed from them. This is very agreeable to the deciſions of the lawyers concerning the

uſusfructus

uſusfructus and *partus ancillarum*, and makes it a very ſtrong reaſon, as in this reſpect there is a wide difference between men and other animals. For men often buy horſes, mares, bulls, cows, and all ſorts of cattle, merely and principally for the ſake of a breed; but ſeldom or never purchaſe ſlaves on the ſame deſign. For though ſometimes maids might be purchaſed for their beauty; yet, as the good qualities, either of mind or body, do not ſo conſtantly deſcend to the poſterity of mankind, as thoſe of brutes deſcend to their brood, a fine breed could ſeldom be the principal view in the purchaſe of ſlaves.

BUT that it ought not to be concluded, from either this, or any other law of the *Corpus*, that it was not uſual among the *Romans*, to breed from female ſlaves; nay, that it was not only not unuſual, but very common to do ſo, appears from the numberleſs places of it, in which the *partus ancillarum* are mentioned; from the many and various caſes ſtated about them; and from the multitude of the queſtions propoſed, and deciſions given about their property in thoſe different caſes. Had not diſputes been daily occurring of this kind, is it probable that the *Corpus* would have been repleniſhed with ſuch deciſions? And could diſputes of this kind have daily occurred, unleſs both the *ancillae* and the *partus ancillarum* had been very numerous? To cite particular paſſages would be endleſs. Almoſt every page contains ſome caſe, ſome

ſome example, or ſome determination about them; nay, *Ulpian* treating of what could be exacted by the rightful and true heir from him, who without any juſt title had ſeized on the inheritance, in this very *l.* 27. *ff. de hered. pet.* determines, that among other things, the *partus ancillarum* ought to be reſtored.

BESIDES, the *ſerviles cognationes*, the *ſerviles adfinitates*, and the *contubernia ſervorum*, are often mentioned expreſsly in the *Corpus*. Regulations are made, rules laid down, and queſtions determined as well about this *contubernium*, as about the lawful marriage of free citizens. And if it is an univerſal obſervation, which we may form upon language*, that where two related parts of a whole bear any proportion to each other, in numbers, rank or conſideration, there are always correlative terms invented, which anſwer to both the parts, and expreſs their mutual relation: as we have here a whole, and its two related parts, and correlative terms invented, which anſwer to both theſe parts, and expreſs their mutual relation; I muſt, according to Mr. *Hume*'s ingenious doctrine, infer, that ſince the *contubernia ſervorum* bore no proportion to the *nuptiae* or *connubia* of free *Roman* citizens, in rank or conſideration, they muſt have borne a great proportion to each other in number; and from hence, that the iſſue of theſe *contubernia* or the *Vernae* were very numerous: for *contubernium*

* Polit. diſcour. p. 169.

nium was as conſtantly ſaid of ſlaves, as *nuptiae* and *connubium* of free *Roman* citizens *.

FURTHER, this reaſon cannot ſhew, that the *Romans* uſed not to purchaſe ſlaves to breed from them, at the time to which the greateſt populouſneſs of antient nations is fixed in the Diſſertation: for *Ulpian*, who aſſigns it, lived about the beginning of the third century, under the emperors *Septimius Severus*, *Antoninus Caracalla*, *Opilius Macrinus* and *Diadumenus*, *Alagabalus* and *Alexander Severus*; the laſt of whom was principally directed by his advice, and governed by his counſels, long after the eſtabliſhment of that empire, which ſeems to have been one principal cauſe of the depopulation of *Europe*.

To underſtand how the other texts of the civil law, quoted by Mr. *Hume*, from the title *de Ædilitio edicto*, do not make much for his argument: 'tis neceſſary to obſerve, that the *Ædiles*, who among other things had juriſdiction over the public markets,

* To ſay the truth, however ingenious ſuch criticiſms may be eſteemed, fortune and chance ſeem to have had great influence on the formation and ſtructure of language, reaſon, philoſophy, and the real ſimilitudes and diſtinctions of things too little. The term *Verna* might have been invented, becauſe being more numerous, there were more frequent occaſions to ſpeak of the *Vernae* than of the *empti*. After all, may not *emptus* be ſuppoſed the correlative to *Verna*; at leaſt we find them oppoſed in the law: (§ 30. *inſtit. de legatis*) and I am miſtaken, if the phraſe, *Non verna ſed emptus*, is not to be found ſomewhere in an antient author.

kets, and the goods ſold in them, publiſhed an edict, by which they ordered thoſe who ſold ſlaves, to tell the buyers, *Quid morbi vitiive cuique ſit.* And if either they did not do ſo, or the ſlave was found to have faults, which the merchant had declared it had not, the *Ædiles* by this edict ordered the ſeller to receive back his ſlave, and reſtore the price to the buyer. It was therefore neceſſary to underſtand, what was meant by *morbus vitiumve*, in order to know in what caſes the purchaſer could return the ſlave, and force the merchant to reſtore the price. Now, in *l.* 1. § 7. *ff. de Ædilitio edicto*, we find a general definition of the word *morbus*: *Eſt habitus cujuſque corporis contra naturam, qui uſum ejus ad id facit deteriorem, cujus cauſa natura nobis ejus corporis ſanitatem dedit.* And in the ſame place we are told, that *morbus* and *vitium* have not, in this title, a different, but the ſame ſignification. In *l.* 1. § 8. *eod.* this general doctrine is applied to ſlaves in particular; and we are informed by the lawyer, that every thing is reckoned *morbus* or *vitium*, *quod uſum miniſteriumque hominis impediat.* In ſhort, it appears, that *morbus* was called and reckoned whatever defect, either of body or of mind, hindered the ſlave from being uſeful, and from performing the ſervice for which he was deſigned by nature.

From whence we conclude, that thoſe bodily defects alone, are here underſtood, which could, and therefore ought to have been known to the

ſeller,

ſeller, and, at the ſame time, diſabled the ſlave either from working, or from propagating his kind. Hence we need not be ſurpriſed, that *ſpado*, in *l.* 6. § 2. *de Ædil. edict.* is ſaid to be neither *morboſus* nor *vitioſus*. For though *ſpado*, as evidently appears from *l.* 128. *ff. de verborum ſignificatione*, is a general term, uſed ſometimes to denote all ſuch as are incapable of generation, from whatever cauſe this inability proceeds, whether from nature, accident or deſign; yet in this place it is taken in a more limited ſenſe, and ſignifies one, who either by diſeaſe, old age, natural infirmity, or from a wrong conformation of parts, was incapable of procreation. Such men may often be healthy, and ſtrong enough in other reſpects, and very fit for labour. Hence the buyer could not, on pretence of the impotence of a ſlave of this ſort, force the ſeller to receive him back, and to reſtore the price; becauſe, if the ſlave looked well otherwiſe, the ſeller might well be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of this imperfection; becauſe in ſome caſes the buyer himſelf might be preſumed not to be ignorant of it, as in that of old age, which he might eaſily be ſuppoſed already to know to be *effoeta*; becauſe, at the ſame time the ſlave often was not by ſuch an imperfection rendered leſs able to labour, which was his *principal* buſineſs; and, *laſtly*, becauſe the infirmity might be removed, either by an unexpected recovery of vigour, or by diet and medicine *.

* A notable inſtance of this kind, very appoſite to the preſent argument, may be ſeen in the *Medic. Eſſays, vol.* 1. *art.* 36.

But in *l.* 7. *eod.* we find that ſlave reckoned *morboſus*, who by mutilation had been made incapable of generation. For it was both the intention of nature, and of the purchaſer, if he found it convenient, that ſlaves ſhould propagate. Hence, however healthy and robuſt he might be in other reſpects, and however fit for working, ſuch a ſlave might be returned as *morboſus*; for he laboured under a bodily defect, which, at the ſame time that it might, and ought to have been known to the ſeller, rendered the ſlave incapable of performing that ſervice for which he was deſigned by nature, *viz.* of propagating his kind. Does this ſhew, that the *Romans* had little or no view of breeding from their ſlaves? Or can it be from hence inferred, that the *Roman* lawyers inculcate any ſuch doctrine, That the impotence of a ſlave was only regarded, ſo far as his health or life might be affected by it; and that in other reſpects he was full as valuable? 'Twas much otherwiſe. For though, as it has been ſaid already, the principal view in purchaſing ſlaves, was to ſet them at work; yet to breed from them, was a view ſo common, that a ſlave, made by mutilation incapable of procreation, was not only not full as valuable as he would have been, had he not laboured under this defect, but might be returned to the ſeller, as uſeleſs, and of no value. For the word *morboſus*, the miſapprehenſion or miſapplication of which ſeems to have led Mr. *Hume* to quote theſe

theſe texts from the title *de Ædil. edict.* in ſupport of his general poſition, muſt, in this title of the *Corpus*, never be underſtood as ſolely and immediately relative to health and ſtrength of body, but muſt always be referred to the redhibition allowed and introduced by this edict. *Morbus*, as defined above, appears to have a quite different ſignification among the civilians on this title, from that which it has among phyſicians. For a ſlave might happen, in the eye of law, to be reckoned *morboſus*, though perhaps he was not only healthy, but extremely robuſt.

IN general, with regard to male and female ſlaves, this doctrine is to be held, that, though unable to propagate their kind, they are not in the ſenſe of this title reckoned *morboſi*, unleſs the defect, from which this inability proceeds, be at leaſt ſuch as may be known to the ſeller. And from hence we may eaſily explain every law quoted by Mr. *Hume*.

THUS a woman is not reckoned *morboſa*, becauſe ſhe bears dead children, unleſs this proceeds from ſome apparent defect *. Such a woman might, perhaps, by phyſicians, be reckoned diſeaſed, but, according to civilians, gave no room for redhibition; for ſhe might, notwithſtanding, be very healthy and fit for labour; the merchant might well be ſuppoſed ignorant of the defect, or at leaſt of its continuance; and the death

* L. 14. p. ff. de Ædil. edict.

death of her offspring might be occaſioned by many accidents, quite foreign to the mother's conſtitution.

In the ſame manner, a woman, who is barren by nature, is not reckoned *morboſa:* but if her barrenneſs proceeds from an external defect, or from a viſible fault in her body, ſhe is then reckoned *morboſa.* So alſo we find many particular and extraordinary caſes ſtated in ſome paragraphs of the fourteenth law of this title, the deciſions of which are founded on principles preciſely the ſame with thoſe already explained *. For in moſt of theſe caſes the faults are viſible and apparent, ſuch as the ſeller either did or ought to have known. Again, it was the unanimous opinion of lawyers, and perhaps it was never doubted, that a woman with child was ſound; and the reaſon aſſigned is, becauſe it is the greateſt and moſt important office of the ſex, conſidered as ſuch, to conceive and bring children to the full time. For, beſides the uſual recovery of vigour after child-birth, women in this ſituation are employed in one of thoſe ſervices, for which they were deſigned by nature; and by conſequence could not, in conſiſtency with the definition of *morbus* given above, be reckoned *morboſa.* They were then buſied in what was both at that time, and is ſtill reckoned the chief and moſt

* L. 14. § 1. 2. 3. 7. l. 15. ff. de Ædil. edict.

moſt important buſineſs of females. It was, beſides, a ſure indication and ſtrong argument of her ſoundneſs, if a woman had that talent which nature had peculiarly allotted to her kind; for thoſe of the ſex are uſually obſerved to be moſt ſound and healthy, who bear a great number of children. Does then this prove, that the offspring of women were not conſidered, when the mothers were purchaſed? Though it muſt be confeſſed, that ſhe was reckoned ſound, not on account of the value of her offspring; for what had the value of the offspring to do with the ſoundneſs of the mother's conſtitution? Nay, not only a woman with child, but even a woman in labour, *in ipſo actu puerperii*, was reckoned ſound; for beſides that *accipere aut tueri conceptum* is expreſsly ſaid to be the *maximum ac praecipuum munus foeminarum*, no man could buy a woman in this ſituation, and at the ſame time be ignorant of her condition.

FROM all theſe obſervations, it may be inferred, either that nothing can be deduced from the writings of the *Roman* lawyers, which tends in the leaſt to ſupport Mr. *Hume*'s hypotheſis; or that none of theſe writings affect the general queſtion; or perhaps, that they help to deſtroy the truth of Mr. *Hume*'s doctrine, and to ſupport that of the hypotheſis laid down in the preceeding *Diſſertation*. For ſurely ſome of theſe laws directly prove, that the *Romans* uſed to breed from their ſlaves.

This

This could be further demonſtrated from ſeveral other texts, which it were eaſy to quote from this very title, and from many others in the *Corpus*. One thing I cannot omit, as it is indeed very remarkable, that the *dos* or dowry given to huſbands with their ſpouſes to help them to ſupport the burdens of marriage, conſiſted uſually, if not wholly, at leaſt in a great meaſure, of ſlaves; who partly by their labour, partly by their brood, ſufficiently anſwered the purpoſe. Every body knows, that the caſe is the ſame at this day in *America* and the *Weſt Indies*: and that it was ſo among the *Romans*, is evident from the titles *de ſponſalibus*, *de ritu nuptiarum*, and the other titles of the 23, 24 and 25 books of the pandects.

FROM what has been ſaid hitherto it appears, that the antients did not treat their ſlaves ſo cruelly, as Mr. *Hume* hath imagined; and that it was agreeable to their intereſt and their cuſtoms to encourage them to propagate; in conſequence of which it will be found, that as ſlaves in general were very numerous both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, ſo the *Vernae* or home-born ſlaves were far more numerous than ſuch as had been brought from foreign countries. This will add greatly to the force of all the foregoing arguments.

NOTHING is more evident, than that ſlaves were prodigiouſly numerous both in *Greece* and *Italy*. Almoſt every family had ſome: we read of many hundreds, nay thouſands belonging to one man,

man. This great numerouſneſs of ſlaves is ſufficiently proved by many paſſages of Mr. *Hume*'s diſcourſe, where on the authority of antient hiſtory he ſpeaks of immenſe multitudes of them.

IF then they were ſo numerous, methinks this ſingle circumſtance muſt go a great way to prove, that ſlaves were abundantly prolifick. How elſe could they be ſo numerous in every period? How can it be ſuppoſed, that ſo many thouſands, nay millions, were imported from foreign countries? This is an hypotheſis almoſt impoſſible; however, impoſſible as it ſeems to be, it is neceſſary to maintain it, unleſs we allow, that the numbers of ſlaves were chiefly increaſed by their propagation.

ON the other hand Mr. *Hume* cites the authority of *Pliny* and *Plutarch* *, who both take notice, how numerous *Barbarian* ſlaves were in *Italy*; from whence, and from this other circumſtance, that the number of people increaſed not in *Italy* †, though there was a conſtant flux of ſlaves from the remoter provinces of the empire, he would infer, that the *Roman* ſlaves, ſo far from being prolifick, could not even keep up the ſtock, without immenſe recruits from the provinces.

BUT this phænomenon may be eaſily accounted for, by comparing the antient and latter ſtate of the *Romans*; from whence it will be evident, that if the people of *Italy* did not increaſe, notwithſtanding

* P. 178.

† P. 168.

ſtanding the great number of *Barbarian* ſlaves, this happened only in latter times; and that this ſtagnation ought to be derived from a ſource very different from this, that the ſlaves did not commonly propagate.

In early times, the city of *Rome* and the *Roman* people increaſed greatly. Their ſimple and laborious life, their love of agriculture, the frequent tranſportations of people to *Rome* from the neighbouring ſtates which they had ſubdued, occaſioned this increaſe. But in the latter times of the commonwealth, and during the monarchy, agriculture and induſtry declined greatly, and the luxury and debauchery of the times hindered marriages. Of this *Auguſtus* complained heavily, and endeavoured to redreſs the evil by penal laws; but all in vain. The evil continued; nay, grew worſe daily. For the corruption of their manners was too great to be curbed by laws. 'Twas from hence that the ſignal decay both of *Roman* citizens and of ſlaves proceeded. Recruits were therefore neceſſary for both, but eſpecially for the latter, who decreaſed on a double account, both from the general depravity of all ranks, which could not fail to have ſome influence on ſlaves, as well as others: and likewiſe, as multitudes of them were continually manumitted, to keep up the number of the citizens. This cuſtom of manumitting ſlaves was little practiſed in the more early, but came much into uſe in the latter times, and grew at length into ſuch a grievance, that

Auguſtus

Auguſtus found it neceſſary to redreſs it, by making particular laws (*Ælia Sentia* and *Fuſia Caninia*) to regulate the numbers, qualifications, and rights of thoſe who were manumitted *. This is not only the natural, but the genuine account why ſuch large recruits for keeping up the ſtock of ſlaves came to be neceſſary, and were actually imported from the provinces. But, however neceſſary they might be, the bad conſequences of ſuch importations would be viſible: this would give occaſion of complaint to ſome, others would give directions how to prevent the bad effects in particular caſes. Hence we find *Pliny* complaining of the *mancipiorum legiones, et in domo turba externa* †; and *Plutarch* obſerving, that in the times of the *Gracchi* ‡, there was a great want of freemen over all *Italy*, while it abounded with priſons for *Barbarian* ſlaves. 'Tis hence alſo that we find *Varro* giving it as an uſeful advice for a family, not to buy too many ſlaves of the ſame nation ‖. But none of theſe teſtimonies prove, that the greateſt number of the ſlaves was born out of *Italy*, even in thoſe degenerate times; on the contrary, we have the expreſs teſtimony of *Appian* to prove, that the cuſtom of purchaſing *Barbarians*, was not the chief cauſe of

* Vide Heineccii ſyntagma antiq. l. 1. t. 5, 6, 7.

† Polit. diſcourſ. p. 176.

‡ In Tib. Graech.

‖ Polit. diſcourſ. p. 176.

the increaſe of ſlaves, but that they had multiplied prodigiouſly by propagation, as they were totally exempted from military ſervice *, while the number of the freemen had been greatly diminiſhed, both by the direful effects of war, and by that oppreſſion which the rich exerciſed over the poor, whom they deprived of their lands, and forced from their poſſeſſions and habitations.

As our author has not proved, that the greateſt part of the *Roman* ſlaves were imported from foreign countries; ſo neither does he ſeem to have ſucceeded any better in his remarks on the *Greeks*. The names given to ſlaves in the *Greek* comedies, *Syrus*, *Myſus*, *Geta*, *&c.* †, will not afford a preſumption, that at *Athens*, or other *Greek* cities, moſt of the ſlaves were imported from foreign nations; for many of the names of the ſlaves in the *Greek* plays are not of this kind: and though all of them were, how much does chance govern in ſuch matters? It is very probable, I own, that many of the *Greek* ſlaves had been originally of *Barbarian* extraction; for doubtleſs the *Greeks* would rather have made ſlaves of the *Barbarians*, than of their own countrymen, and thoſe who came firſt into *Greece*, might perhaps be named from the

* Ἐκ πολυπαίδιας θεραπόντων ακινδύνως αὐξομένων διὰ τὰς ασρατείας.

APPIAN. de bell. civ. lib. 1.

† P. 170.

the countries from which they had been imported: but as probably they would tranſmit the ſame ſort of names to their poſterity, though born in *Greece*, we cannot conclude, that becauſe a ſlave has ſuch or ſuch a name, himſelf was a native of this or that country.

UPON the whole matter, I apprehend, that we would not do well to conclude, that the names commonly given to the perſonages introduced into our dramatic performances, were the moſt common at the times when theſe pieces were compoſed. We might as well ſay, that *Stichus* was the moſt common name of a ſlave, or *Titius* of a freeman, becauſe the *Roman* lawyers, when putting caſes, and illuſtrating their doctrines by examples, commonly make uſe of theſe two names.

NEITHER does it appear from the authority of any antient writer, that all the *Greek* ſlaves were *Barbarians*. In particular, this cannot be deduced from any paſſage in *Demoſthenes*; nor can I find it aſſerted in any paſſage of *Iſocrates*'s panegyric, which Mr. *Hume* hath quoted to prove it *.

WHAT has been ſaid above, ſeems ſufficient to invalidate any objections which may be ſtarted againſt our hypotheſis, that in antient times ſlaves were generally allowed to propagate. But, beſides, ſtrong poſitive evidence may be brought to prove their fertility, and of courſe, that the *Vernae* were extremely numerous.

IN

* Polit. diſcourſ. p. 171.

In this view it deſerves to be remarked, that, among thoſe antient monumental inſcriptions which have been preſerved, vaſt numbers are found to be inſcribed * by ſlaves to the memory of their fathers, mothers, huſbands, wives and children. Now we may be ſure, that not one of many hundreds who had ſuch relations, were at the trouble and expence of teſtifying their affection in that manner; and that there is not one of many thouſands of thoſe monuments which were erected for this purpoſe that have been preſerved unto our times. This naturally leads us to conclude, that the marriages of the ſlaves were common: how elſe could there have been ſo many inſcriptions of this kind?

A much ſtronger argument may be brought for the actual fertility of the ſlaves, and the vaſt numbers of *Vernae*, from the abſurdity of ſuppoſing ſuch an incredible number of them, as we find both in *Italy* and *Greece*, or the greateſt part of them to have been purchaſed for money, or imported from foreign countries. Whence could ſuch vaſt ſums have been raiſed? Some of the *Romans* are ſaid to have had 10,000; nay, ſome of them to have had 20,000 ſlaves †. At any rate there

* See the collections of *Gruterus*, *Reineſius*, *Fabretti* and *Muratorius*.

† Athen. Deipn. lib. 6. cap. 28. Seneca *ſays of* Demetrius, *who had been made free by* Pompey, Numerus illi quotidie ſervorum, velut imperatori exercitus, referebatur. De tranquillitate, cap. 8.

there muſt have been ſeveral millions in *Italy*. Let us make a computation. It is obſerved of *Cato* the cenſor *, as an inſtance of his frugality, that he would never give above 1500 *drachmae*, or about 48 *l.* for a ſlave. This could not have been among the higheſt, it muſt rather have been among the loweſt prices. But even at this rate one million of ſlaves would have coſt the *Romans* in *Italy* more than 48 millions *Sterling*, and the importers from foreign countries half as much, allowing them even *cent. per cent.* of profit. In the ſame manner, reckoning half of the 400,000 *Athenian* ſlaves to be of full age, and each of them to be worth two *minae* †, which is the leaſt value *Demoſthenes* puts upon his father's ſlaves, they would have coſt more than 1,200,000 *l.* Is there any reaſon to think, that a trade was carried on in antient times to an extent proportionable to ſo vaſt an importation? beſides, what bad policy muſt it have been, to have encouraged the buying, and diſcouraged the breeding of ſlaves? The antients were ſenſible of this, and therefore encouraged breeding.

HENCE *Tibullus* when wiſhing for whatever was beſt for an huſbandman, prays that his farm may be ſtocked with a crowd of *Vernae*, the ſureſt ſign of wealth and plenty.

Turbaque

* Plutarch. in Cat. maj.

† *Some of them were worth five or ſix* minae, *thirty of them were not under three.*

Orat. in Aphobum. 1.

Turbaque vernarum, ſaturi bona ſigna coloni,
Ludet, et ex virgis extruet arte caſas.

TIB. eleg. lib. 2. eleg. 1. lin. 23. 24.

Horace repreſents them as numerous about the houſes of rich men, as bees about a hive.

Poſitoſque vernas, ditis examen domus,
Circum renidentes lares.

HORAT. epod. 2. lin. 65. 66.

SACRED writ takes notice, that *Abraham** armed 318 trained ſervants, born in his own houſe †, to fight againſt *Chedorlaomer*, and ſome other princes, who had plundered *Sodom*, and carried *Lot* captive. This number of 318 comprehended only the males of full age, whom *Abraham* thought fit to carry along with him in this expedition. Perhaps he had others beſides, whom he left at home: at any rate he muſt have had many females and young children unfit for war. All which ſhews how numerous the *Vernae* were in the eaſt in the moſt antient times, and how careful the antients were to encourage the breeding of their ſlaves.

BUT if the inſtitution of ſlavery tended ſo much to the populouſneſs of antient nations, it may be aſked, whence is it that it does ſo little ſervice at preſent? are *Turky* ‡, and other countries, where ſlavery now prevails, ſo extremely populous? on the contrary, are they not almoſt quite void of people,

* Gen. xiv. 14.

† Expeditos vernaculos ſuos. edit. vulg.

‡ Political diſcour. p. 179.

people, and ſtriking examples of the pernicious influence of ſlavery? are not ſuch examples which are immediately before our eyes chiefly to be regarded? And when we behold ſuch glaring inſtances of deſolation in countries where ſlavery obtains at preſent, why ſhould we imagine this inſtitution muſt have had ſuch a prolific influence in antient times?

ON this it is only neceſſary to obſerve, how eaſy it is to account from other principles for the ſcarcity of people in *Turky*, and other countries where ſlavery obtains at preſent. Modern ſlavery ſeems to be on a much worſe footing than the antient. In particular, ſlavery in *Turky*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Morocco*, and other *African* countries, is both very ſevere, and under bad regulations: if we add to this the oppreſſion and bad policy of theſe governments in other reſpects, can we be ſurpriſed at their want of people? How can it be expected, that a *Turkiſh* policy ſhould not render this vaſt empire a deſart!

To conclude this account of ſlavery, ſince our author has referred * to the maxims of our planters; to ſuch as are beſt acquainted with theſe maxims, it is referred, if many of the preceeding obſervations are not confirmed by the practice in our *American* colonies? if the planters are not fonder of purchaſing home-bred ſlaves, though at a dearer price, than of buying directly from *Africa?* if they

* P. 170.

they do not find them more uſeful for their work? if diſcouraging ſlaves to breed, on account either of dearth of proviſions, or any other reaſon, was almoſt ever known among them? if on the contrary, the planters do not encourage the breed of ſlaves as much as they can, and will not often rather buy a mate, if it be neceſſary, than want the breed? if they do not find, that the ſlaves who are bred in our plantations are not more healthy, and agree better with the climate than the *Europeans?* if they are not more prolific, and ſerve better to increaſe our colonies? and finally, if the planters, inſtead of deſiring ſuch multitudes of ſlaves as are poured in upon them from *Africa*, have not been often deliberating about preventing the importation of *African* ſlaves altogether? According to good information, all theſe queſtions will be anſwered in the affirmative *.

* *As the antient ſlavery contributed to the populouſneſs of the world, ſo it was accompanied with ſeveral other advantages: and though the* Turkiſh *ſlavery, like all other parts of their policy, is cruel and ſevere, yet a ſight of it ſeems to have reconciled that able ſcholar and politician* Buſbequius *to this inſtitution, and brought him over to the opinion, that it was accompanied with greater advantages than diſadvantages. He was ambaſſador from the emperor of* Germany *to* Solyman *about* 200 *years ago, when the* Turkiſh *empire was in a very flouriſhing condition: he was alſo a curious and accurate obſerver, much above the ordinary rate of travellers, and had better opportunities of knowing the true ſtate of* Turky *than others. I have therefore ſubjoined his words.*

Caeteroqui qui apud nos mendicant, apud eos ſerviunt: captum uſu membrorum ſervum nihilominus herus alit, nec

eſt

eſt ita debilitatus quiſquam, quin operae ejus aliquod ſit pretium. Memini me redimere non ignobilem militem Hiſpanum, qui ordines apud ſuos duxerat: quem cum membris omnibus ex vulneribus debilitatum Turca emiſſet, rationem tamen iniit, quomodo fructum ex eo caperet: trajecit eum in Aſiam, ubi anſerum greges aluntur, quibus paſcendis operas ejus locabat, ex quo non contemnendum lucellum faciebat. Ac neſcio an optime rebus noſtris conſuluit, qui ſervitutem primus ſuſtulit. Scio ſervitii varia eſſe incommoda, ſed ea commodorum pondere ſublevantur. Si juſta et clemens et qualem *Romanae leges* praeſcribunt, ſervitus, praeſertim publica, maneret; non tot fortaſſe crucibus, neque tot patibulis opus eſſet ad coercendos, quibus praeter vitam et libertatem nihil eſt, quos egeſtas ad quodvis audendum ſcelus impellit. Libertas ſine re non ſemper ſuadet honeſta: non omnium ingenia inopem ferunt libertatem: nec omnes ita nati ſunt, ut ſe regere et ſuo arbitrio recte uti ſciant; melioris ductu atque imperio tanquam adminiculo opus habent, nullum alioqui peccandi finem facturi, ut ſunt quaedam beſtiae, quarum ferocitas ſemper metuenda ſit, niſi vinculis aut robore coerceantur. Hic quidem mens imbecillior auctoritate herili gubernatur; herus ſervi labore vivit. Turcae, maxima, qua publice, qua privatim, e ſervitio emolumenta capiunt; rem familiarem ſervorum operis praeclare tuentur; ideoque proverbio negant eum pauperem videri cui vel unicus ſervus ſit. Sed et publice ſiquid moliendum, transferendum, eruderandum, aut minuendum ſit, id ſervorum opera et aſſiduitate conſequuntur. Nos operum antiquorum magnificentiam nuſquam aſſequimur, quid enim? manibus deſtituimur, hoc eſt ſervili auxilio: ut taceam, quantum inſtrumentum ſervorum doctrina et literae fuerint veteribus ad omnem ſcientiam adipiſcendam. Sed tu haec animi cauſa dici a me puta. Turcicae quidem militiae fructus haud aliunde magis conſtat quam ex ſervis. Si miles Turca nihil aliud reportet e bello quam unum aut alterum mancipium, bene rem ſuam geſſit,

tulit laborum praemium. Nam vulgare mancipium quadraginta aut quinquaginta coronatis aeſtimatur; quod ſi aetatis aut formae aut opificii acceſſione commendetur, duplicatur pretium: ex quo ſatis liquere arbitror, quantum compendium faciant cum undecunque quinque aut ſex captivorum millia abducunt, quamque quaeſtuoſae ſint illorum depraedationes. Nec Romanos olim hoc lucrum ſpreviſſe adverto, cum ſectiones urbium univerſas viginti quinque aut triginta millium capitum diſtraherent et publicarent, ut eorum ſcripta teſtantur. Turcae quidem ex tali ſectione plus minus decies quinquies centena coronatorum millia redigerent. Quanquam illi quidem a ſuae religionis hominibus jure belli abſtinent, ab omnique capitis diminutione habent immunes.

A. Giſleni Buſbequii omnia quae extant. Lugd. 1633. epiſt. 3. p. 160.

PART II.

SECTION I.

HITHERTO of ſlavery, or the domeſtic oeconomy of the antients. It will be neceſſary in the next place to inquire into their political ſituation; and firſt, to conſider the maxims of their government in time both of peace and war, of which our author hath drawn as frightful a picture, as he had done before of the cruelty exerciſed towards ſlaves.

MR. *Hume* hath indeed admitted, that the equality of fortune which obtained among the antients, the ſmall diviſions of their ſtates, and their love of liberty were circumſtances favourable to populouſneſs:

populouſneſs*. But nothing can be imagined more unfavourable than the reſt of their political maxims, as they are repreſented in the political diſcourſe.

ACCORDING to our author, the antient republics were almoſt in perpetual war; the maxims of antient were more deſtructive than thoſe of modern war, and battles were much more bloody and deſperate in antient than in modern times; the maxims of the antients in time of peace were alſo more tyrannical, their factions keener and more inveterate, the fines they impoſed more arbitrary and exorbitant, and their political inſtitutions in general not ſo well calculated to preſerve order and ſtability, as in modern times. For each of theſe particulars he hath offered his reaſons: and upon the whole, he is not only inclined to believe, that modern policy is more favourable to populouſneſs than that of the antient, but entertains ſuch an opinion of antient policy, as to affirm, that the police and government of the *Turks*, though he owns it to be not very favourable to induſtry and propagation, is preferable to that barbarous unſettled condition in which the *Thracians*, the *Getes*, and the *Illyrians* antiently lived †.

ONE would not perhaps wonder, that theſe and other barbarous nations; nay, that ſome of the *Greek* tyrannies ſhould be drawn with ſuch an horrible

* P. 210. 183. 184.

† P. 248.

rible aſpect: but is it not ſurpriſing, that the moſt civilized ſtates among the *Greeks*, in their moſt flouriſhing times, ſhould make ſo woful a figure *! For what can we perceive in our author's repreſentation of this celebrated country, the antient ſeat of the muſes, and the mother of arts and ſciences, but the moſt frightful images of deſolation and confuſion. Lands depopulated, cities plundered, citizens ſlaughtered! ſcarce any veſtige of peace and ſecurity, or of wiſe and regular inſtitutions! notwithſtanding the learning, philoſophy, and politeneſs of the *Greeks*, their factions are repreſented as more inflamed, their maxims of aſſaſſination more avowed, and party rage more fierce than among the *Iriſh*, amidſt maſſacre and rebellion! How does ſuch a repreſentation agree with the evidence of authentic hiſtory, which proves, that the *Greeks* flouriſhed greatly in the arts of peace, and in numbers of people, from the days of the ſeven ſages, till their ſtates were ſubdued by *Philip* of *Macedon* and his ſucceſſors?

DEMONSTRATION puts an end to all uncertainty, and forces the aſſent; but where the caſe is not capable of being demonſtrated, plauſible arguments may often be offered on both ſides. This happens eſpecially in political queſtions; for every political inſtitution has both its advantages and diſadvantages; and as either of theſe are repreſented in ſuch manner, as to ſtrike more forcibly on our minds,

* P. 194, 195.

minds, the impreſſions we receive of the inſtitutions themſelves, are more or leſs favourable. It muſt be confeſſed, that there is ſometimes an air of fierceneſs in antient governments, and that *Grecian* liberty may appear ſometimes to deſerve the appellation of licentiouſneſs. The ſmallneſs of antient ſtates, their near neighbourhood to one another, the equality of fortune among private citizens, their love of independence, their diſdain of mercenary troops, and forwardneſs to fight their own battles, their averſion to the power of a ſingle perſon, their hatred of tyrants, and their paſſion for the republican form of government, muſt at ſometimes have given occaſion to briſker battles, and raiſed up keener factions, in ſupport of what they valued ſo much, than will be ſeen for a conſiderable time together among the ſpiritleſs ſubjects of arbitrary monarchs. Hence the frightful images of *Grecian* ſpirit and liberty! But this high diſdain of arbitrary power, and ardent love of liberty, muſt have been accompanied with many advantages, much more than ſufficient to overbalance any of thoſe diſadvantages which aroſe from the nature of theſe governments. In particular, it muſt have excited an extraordinary vigour, and inſpired an undaunted reſolution; from whence their battles, though keener, would not much alarm, nor give them much diſturbance in their management of the ordinary affairs of life, which

they

they would purſue fearleſs, after a manner very different from that of modern times.

In nations under the dominion of arbitrary monarchs, the body of the people are not accuſtomed to war; few, except the tyrant's guards and Janizaries, are either allowed to have arms, or are capable of uſing them. Hence, frighted at every ſhadow, they are alarmed and diſconcerted by the moſt diſtant appearance of danger. So far from behaving with the intrepidity of the antient artiſts and huſbandmen, they are not even able to conceive it, or imagine how they could go on calmly in their ordinary affairs, in the face of danger and an enemy. Nay, a people bleſſed with liberty, under a government more happily poiſed than any of the antient republics, active and induſtrious, becauſe ſecure under the protection of law, tenacious of their rights, and jealous of their independence, will hardly be able to form a notion of ſuch intrepidity, if laying aſide the exerciſe of arms, and imagining themſelves ſecure by the wiſdom of their conſtitution, they ſhall employ themſelves wholly in the arts of peace.

'Tis impoſſible to form an exact compariſon between the wars and factions which have happened in different ages, or make a juſt eſtimate of the deſtruction each of them has occaſioned within the ſame periods of time, and an equal extent of country; yet it will not be difficult to produce a far more formidable liſt of civil wars, factions, and

devaſtations

devaſtations for modern times, than our author has done for the antient. But independently upon this, ſome general obſervations may be made, which will greatly invalidate the arguments in the *political diſcourſe*, taken from the wars and factions in antient times.

THE miſchiefs of war are often more terrible in appearance than reality, and the deſcription is more dreadful than what was actually felt; eſpecially if a multitude of bloody events, which only happened in ſucceeding ages, and in countries at a diſtance from one another, are collected together, and brought into one view. This is one evident reaſon, why the accounts of the direful effects of war in antient times appear ſo ſtriking. Fancy is apt to hurry us on, and make us overlook the diſtance both of time and place; ſo that we contract the whole period and field of antient hiſtory, as it were into a ſmall point. Beſides, antient hiſtorians do not, like the modern, deſcend into a minute detail of all events, but ſelecting thoſe which are more extraordinary, ſuch as battles, ſeditions, conſpiracies, and foreign conqueſts, preſent them to view in hiſtorical narrations, ſhort and conciſe, compared with thoſe of the moderns. Hence the tranſition from one remarkable event to another, in antient, is far more quick than in modern hiſtories, where the attention of the mind is diverted, and the thread of the narration interrupted

rupted by the minute detail of ſmaller and leſs conſiderable events.

THE numbers of thoſe, who were killed or baniſhed in the antient wars and factions, may have been magnified, as well as other numbers in antient authors. 'Tis probable in particular, that the confuſions in the *Greek* republics are much augmented in the accounts of their orators. Can we think otherwiſe of what *Iſocrates* ſays to *Philip*, "That it would be eaſier to raiſe an army in "*Greece* at preſent from the vagabonds, than from "the cities *". This was only an hyperbolic way of ſpeaking, and could not be agreeable to the truth of hiſtory: the whole number of theſe vagabonds, whom the orator is deſcribing, could only have been about 20,000; for this was the number of the exiles, when *Alexander* ordered them to be reſtored. A number very inconſiderable, compared with thoſe mighty armies which could have been raiſed at that time, in a country ſo populous as *Greece*, where all the citizens were ſoldiers. We find, that, about this very time, the *Greeks* agreed to raiſe eleven times as many as the whole number of vagabonds, to ſupport *Philip* in his expedition againſt the *Perſians* †.

BUT ſuppoſing that there is no miſtake in the numbers of thoſe who are ſaid to have been killed in the antient wars, it ought to be conſidered, that

* Politic. diſcourſ. p. 197.

† This ſhall be proved afterwards.

that all the antient ſoldiers, nay, all the antients in general, being married, the loſs of a much greater number, who had children to ſucceed them, would not be ſo much felt, as the death of a much ſmaller number in modern times, in which ſo many are unmarried.

ADD to this, that if we ſuppoſe a country to be populous at any particular time, ſuch a country cannot well be rendered unpopulous by wars, unleſs there is ſome other ſource of decay. If affairs are wiſely regulated in other reſpects, war will have but an inconſiderable effect, unleſs in ſome very extraordinary caſes. Notwithſtanding the civil wars in *Britain*, in the reign of *Charles* I. 'tis ſcarce to be doubted, but the country was as populous at the end of them; at leaſt at the death of *Oliver Cromwell*, as it had been at the beginning of the war.

THIS may be illuſtrated by what our author has obſerved *, That "after plagues have ſwept "away the third or fourth part of a people, in a "generation or two the deſtruction is not per- "ceived, and the ſociety acquires their former "number:" and that "the *Lues Venerea*, diffuſed "every where, is perhaps equivalent, by its con- "ſtant operation, to the three great ſcourges of "mankind, war, peſtilence and famine." From the ſame principles will it not follow, that the conſtant operation of a good conſtitution, and of

* P. 160. 157. 158.

maxims which tended much to populouſneſs, ſuch as many of thoſe of antient times are confeſſed to have been, would be more effectual to augment, than wars and inſurrections, which happen only at particular times, to diminiſh the numbers of the people? And if *Switzerland*, according to our author's conceſſion *, notwithſtanding its inliſting its ſubjects into every ſervice in *Europe*, is found to abound in people, merely by the force of its political inſtitutions, and without poſſeſſing any advantage either of ſoil, climate or commerce; may we not juſtly infer, that the antient republics, which he acknowledges it reſembles in its government and maxims, might have been much more populous than this modern republic, notwithſtanding their frequent battles, ſince they poſſeſſed much greater advantages both of ſoil and climate?

But beſides ſuch general obſervations, if we go into a more particular detail, and compare different ages with one another, it will be difficult to ſhew, that modern ages have been happier than the antient in freedom from factions and wars. Nay, if we conſider the many civil wars, occaſioned by the diſputed titles of princes, by their invaſions of the rights of their ſubjects, by their ſtruggles for arbitrary power, and by the fury of religious diſputes (a thing but little known in antiquity), it will be almoſt a demonſtration, that theſe civil and religious wars have been far more

* P. 185. 186.

more deſtructive than the antient factions in popular ſtates, on which ſo great ſtreſs is laid in the *political diſcourſe*.

'TIS natural for us in *Britain*, who amidſt all our foreign wars, have ſo long enjoyed the ſweets of peace at home, to be much ſtruck with ſuch a liſt, as our author has given, of thoſe who had been killed or baniſhed by the different factions among the *Greeks*; yet upon a more accurate inſpection, the caſe will not be found ſo dreadful, as it appears upon the firſt view. Taking our author for our guide, the number of thoſe who were baniſhed under the free governments, amounted only to 11,400, the number of the killed to 6060. In ſome caſes the preciſe numbers are not mentioned; however it can ſcarce be thought they would much ſwell the account. Add to theſe 10,000 ſaid to have been butchered in cold blood by *Dionyſius* the elder, and 69,000 killed and baniſhed by the tyrant *Agathocles*. This is the ſum of the whole. Comparing therefore the two periods; in antient times we ſhall find about 100,000 killed and baniſhed in a courſe of 60 years, in the free ſtates of *Greece*, in *Syracuſe*, *Gela* and *Ægeſta* in *Sicily*, in *Sybaris* in *Italy*, in *Epheſus* in *Aſia*, in the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Chios*, and in *Cyrene*, ſtates which were very populous; of which number *Dionyſius* the elder alone killed half as many, and *Agathocles* killed and baniſhed thrice as many as all the free ſtates taken together. This is not an inconſiderable

ſiderable number to have been deſtroyed by factions and civil wars; but nothing near ſo great, as could have depopulated antient nations; nor is it at all conſiderable, in reſpect of thoſe who have been baniſhed, killed and maſſacred by civil and religious wars in ſome particular countries, within much ſhorter periods of time, during the ſpace of about 200 years immediately preceeding the beginning of this century; as will be evident from the following examples.

In the year 1492, 200,000 *Jewiſh* families were baniſhed out of *Spain* on account of their religion *. And within little more than another century, in the year 1610, in the reign of *Philip* III. 900,000 *Moors* † were driven out of the ſame country

* *This was done in conſequence of an edict publiſhed by* Ferdinand V. Quo jubentur omnes Judaei, niſi velint Chriſtiani fieri, Hiſpania excedere. *They were allowed four months to diſpoſe of their effects.* Pulſa ſunt hoc modo plus quam ducenta familiarum millia. Sed nihil, ut appendix Urſperg. habet, exportare iis licuit de auro vel gemmis, ſed pro hiſce ipſis mutare licuit vinum, victum, veſtes, et alia ad iter neceſſaria. Calviſius ad ann. 1492.

Petavius, *in his* Rationarium temporum, *where he mentions the taking of* Granada, an. 1492, *adds*, Eodemque anno 171 familiarum millia Judaici generis in exilium abiere, quae ad 800,000 capitum fuiſſe dicuntur. *And quotes as his authorities*, Nauclerus *and* Mariana.

† *This is the number in* Turſelin's epitome, lib. 11. ad ann. 1610. *He adds indeed*, E quibus innumeri in Africam abiere, plurimi variis aliis locis diſperſi fuere; non pauci commercio linguae

country on the ſame account. Such a remarkable inſtance of cruelty, folly and madneſs, is not to be parallelled among any of the antient nations.

What vaſt numbers muſt have been killed during thoſe civil and religious wars in *France*, which laſted near 40 years, from 1562 to 1599! In the firſt battle, which was fought at *Dreux* in *Normandy*, *anno* 1562, 9000 were killed: how many muſt have periſhed in the reſt of the battles and ſieges, during

linguae tecti, et mutatis ſedibus ignoti manſere in Hiſpania. *But the number of thoſe laſt who are ſaid to have remained in* Spain, *muſt have been ſmall, in compariſon of the reſt, who could not poſſibly have concealed themſelves in this manner.*

Doctor *Geddes*, in the firſt vol. of his tracts, printed at *London*, 1730, gives an account of this expulſion of the *Jews* and *Moors*, well worth the peruſal of all ſound *Proteſtants* and politicians. Theſe two expulſions, were attended with many barbarous and cruel circumſtances. Doctor *Geddes* obſerves, that the diſperſion of the *Spaniſh Jews*, is reckoned by all of that nation and religion, to have been, both as to hardſhips, and as to numbers, nothing inferior to that which followed upon the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; above 800,000 men, women and children, having been expelled out of *Spain* at this time. He obſerves further, that the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians are not agreed about the number of the *Moriſcoes* that were expelled; ſome reckoning them a million, others 900,000; but moſt authors only 600,000. According to the archbiſhop of *Valencia*'s computation (page 133) there were above 40,000 *Moriſcoe* children born every year in *Spain*, from which it will follow, according to Mr. *Haley*'s calculations, that there muſt have been more than 1,360,000 *Moors* in the whole kingdom.

during a courſe of ſo many years! Where can we find ſuch an example of cruelty and deſtruction in antiquity, as the maſſacre which was begun at *Paris* on St. *Bartholomy*'s day, *Auguſt* 24. 1572? According to *Davila*, more than 10,000 were killed in *Paris* alone on that and the following day; among whom there were 500 gentlemen and officers, who had come from all parts of the kingdom, to honour the nuptials of the king of *Navarre*. He adds, that, according to common report, no fewer than 40,000 Proteſtants periſhed in a few days on this occaſion *.

But, as if *France* had not ſuffered ſufficiently, and too little cruelty had been exerciſed during this diſtracted period, within leſs than a century, by the unhappy politics of *Lewis* XIV. more than a million of Proteſtants, according to the common computation, were driven out of *France*, or obliged to fly it in a few years, in conſequence of the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, in the year 1685.

So

* *Calviſius*, *ad ann.* 1572, takes notice, that *Charles* ix. in a letter to Pope *Gregory* xiii. boaſted, that 70,000 of them had been killed in a few days; and quotes *Onuphrius* for his authority.

Thuan, *after a detail of this horrible affair, adds*: Proditumque a multis plus 30 hominum millia toto regno extincta; quamvis aliquanto minorem numerum credo, lib. 52.

According to Turſelin *in his* epitome, ad 60 millia Pariſiis cæſa traduntur.

So fatally was this celebrated monarch miſled by his bigotry on this occaſion *.

'Tis impoſſible to compute, how many periſhed by the wars in the *Netherlands*, excited by the tyranny and bigotry of *Philip* II. king of *Spain*; but 'tis certain, that theſe wars were very bloody and deſtructive. According to *Bentivoglio* †, the ſiege of *Oſtend* alone, which continued three years, coſt more than 100,000 lives. *Calviſius* ‡ reckons a much greater number. Could we compute the number of thoſe who were killed at each battle and ſiege, during ſo long a war ‖, together with the number of ſuch

* The author of *Le Siecle de Louis* xiv. tho' a great admirer of this Prince, moſt juſtly condemns his treatment of his Proteſtant ſubjects, as cruel and impolitic. *Tome 2. chap.* 32. he confeſſes, that almoſt 50,000 families fled out of *France* in three years, and were afterwards followed by others; and that *France* loſt about 500,000 inhabitants. *Tome* 1. *chap.* 14. he ſtates them at more than 600,000. They have been commonly computed at a million or more. The ſame author aſſerts, *tome* 2. *chap* 32. that there are ſtill remaining letters under the Marquis of *Louvois*'s hand, dated 1685, conceived in theſe terms, "ſa majeſté veut qu'on "faſſe eprouver les dernieres rigueurs à ceux qui ne voudront "pas ſe faire de ſa religion; et ceux qui auront la ſotte "gloire de vouloir demeurer les derniers, doivent être "pouſſés juſqu'à la derniere extremité."

† *In his* Guerre di Fiandra.

‡ *His words are,* In Oſtenda perierunt obſidionis tempore, 72900 homines; Hiſpanorum obſidentium qui perierunt multo plures fuerunt. Sed eorum ratio iniri non potuit.

‖ It laſted 42 years, from 1567, to 1609.

ſuch as periſhed by the barbarous cruelties of the *Spaniards* committed in cold blood, to what an immenſe multitude would the whole amount.

And though the civil wars in *Britain*, in the reigns of *Charles* I. and II. did not continue ſo long, and were not conducted with ſuch fury on the part of the Proteſtants of either ſide; yet many more periſhed in them, than what are mentioned by our author in all the ſtruggles between the nobles and the people in all the free ſtates of *Greece*. Mr. *Rapin*, the moſt impartial writer of the hiſtory of *England*, though he declares expreſsly, that, without narrating the particulars of all the ſkirmiſhes and conflicts during the war, he will confine himſelf to ſome of the principal actions; and though he frequently ſatisfies himſelf, with taking notice in general, that many were killed, without mentioning the particular numbers; yet has given as many particular liſts of ſuch as were ſaid to have been killed in different battles and rencounters, as amount to near 40,000. Undoubtedly the number was much greater, conſidering with what briſkneſs theſe civil wars were managed on both ſides, and how many battles and ſkirmiſhes were fought, and towns beſieged, taken and re-taken, in ſo many different places. To all which we may add more than 100,000 Proteſtants killed in the *Iriſh* maſſacre alone *.

alone *. Upon the whole matter, it ſeems evident, that not only no argument can be drawn againſt the ſuperior populouſneſs of antiquity, from the antient factions and civil wars, but that the argument from this topic is altogether in favour of the antients †. Nor need we ſcruple to

* *Con a Mahony* an *Iriſh* Jeſuit, in a book printed at *Liſbon* 1645, in which he exhorts his countrymen to kill all the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, has the following remarkable expreſſions as cited by Dr. *Geddes*. " My dear *Iriſh*, Go on and " perfect the work of your liberty and defence, which is ſo " happily begun by you; and kill all the Heretics, and all " that do aſſiſt and defend them. You have, in the ſpace of " four or five years, that is, betwixt the year 1641, and the " year 1645, wherein I write this, killed 150,000 Here- " tics, as your enemies do acknowledge, neither do you " deny it: and, for my own part, as I verily believe, that " you have killed more of them; ſo I would to God, you " had killed them all."

Geddes's tracts, vol. 1. pag. 84.

According to the Earl of *Clarendon*, " This inſurrection of " the *Iriſh* ſpread itſelf over the whole country, in ſuch an " inhuman and barbarous manner, that there were forty or " fifty thouſand of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants murdered, before " they ſuſpected themſelves to be in any danger, or could " provide for their defence, by drawing together into towns " or ſtrong holds."

† The civil and religious factions of modern times, have been ſo prodigiouſly deſtructive, that as our author has mentioned nothing like them, ſo it will truly be found impoſſible to ſhew that there was ever any thing of the kind ſo deſtructive, before the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* empire. How bitter have been the effects of that dogmatic, cruel and perſecuting

aſſert, that the ſtruggles for arbitrary power, and the attempts of modern tyrants to inſlave their ſubjects, together with the bigotry of modern times, and the dreadful perſecutions which have happened on account of religion, may juſtly be numbered among the fatal ſources of the want of people in *Europe* during the latter ages.

THUS it appears, that antient wars * were not near ſo deſtructive as thoſe in modern times. In the ſame manner, it will be difficult to conceive, how the members of the antient republics could have been more oppreſſed in times of peace, than the ſubjects of our modern monarchies, moſt of which are abſolute; yet our author has laid a conſiderable ſtreſs on this article, and taken notice of the large fines which were ſometimes impoſed upon individuals in an arbitrary manner under the antient ariſtocracies and democracies. No doubt,

ſecuting ſpirit which has infected the Chriſtian, or rather the Antichriſtian church, and has diſcovered itſelf ſo dreadfully in the bloody maxims, and barbarous policy of Popery! Through this ſavage zeal, how many thouſands, yea millions, have been harraſſed, baniſhed, and deſtroyed! How many of the deluded votaries, and emiſſaries of the court of *Rome*, have violated juſtice, broken through the moſt ſacred engagements, and laid aſide humanity! Of this, many authentic documents might be produced.

* Though, in the preceeding pages, I have only ſpoken of civil and religious wars; yet, it does not appear, that there is any juſt reaſon to believe foreign wars to have been, upon the whole, leſs deſtructive in modern than in antient times.

doubt, particular inſtances may be given of impoſitions under the beſt governments; but it would be a paradox indeed, if republics, notwithſtanding all their limitations and diviſions of power, ſhould be found to bear hardeſt upon their ſubjects. Where there was ſuch a high ſpirit of liberty and equality, as appeared in the antient nations, fines can never be ſuppoſed to have been ſo frequent, or ſo grievous upon the whole, as the perpetual exactions of arbitrary princes, and their favourites, who may, and undoubtedly do impoſe heavier taxes upon their inferiors, with leſs danger, than the nobles or people under the antient republics could have done upon their equals. In ſhort, as the warlike, active, and independent ſpirit of the antients had many advantages to balance the diſadvantages to which it gave occaſion; ſo there is no reaſon to believe theſe diſadvantages to have been ſo great, as to afford any probable ground of rejecting thoſe teſtimonies concerning the populouſneſs of antient nations, againſt which there is no reaſonable objection on other accounts.

BESIDES the preceeding obſervations, it will be proper to take particular notice of an extraordinary remark, That there was not in *Italy*, at the time when the laws of the twelve tables were compoſed, much more order, tranquillity and ſettled police, than there is at preſent among the *Tartars*; which Mr. *Hume* would conclude, becauſe

by

by theſe laws poſſeſſion for two years formed a preſcription for land, one year for moveables *.

THOUGH we could not make it appear, that there was no inconſiſtency between a ſettled police, and this law concerning preſcription, from the ſituation and extent of the *Roman* territory at that time; from the diviſion of the lands into the ſmalleſt ſhares; and from the ſimplicity of thoſe days: a more accurate reflexion on the hiſtory of *Rome*, might not only convince us, that there was order, tranquillity and ſettled police; but alſo diſcloſe perhaps the moſt pregnant ſymptoms of wiſdom and conduct among the *Romans* long before this time. And it will ſerve not only to overturn Mr. *Hume*'s poſition, but alſo greatly to confirm ſeveral obſervations which have been made in the foregoing *Diſſertation* concerning the diviſion of lands, if we ſhall mention particularly ſome inſtitutions which were eſtabliſhed among the *Romans*, long before the time of compoſing the twelve tables, and then ſhew from theſe laws themſelves, that property was well ſecured by them.

'TIS needleſs to deſcend into a particular detail of the great exploits which they had already performed, or to make particular mention of the many illuſtrious men, whoſe uncommon *political* abilities, as well as bravery, had raiſed their country to ſo high a pitch of glory. The annals of hiſtory

* P. 191.

hiſtory are filled with the remembrance of theſe facts; and it would be impertinent, as well as unneceſſary, to recount them.

I ſhall only beg leave to cite a ſucceſſion of elected princes, but elected with that wiſdom and foreſight, which ſhew a conſtant and determined plan, as each of them was endowed in a remarkable manner with thoſe talents which fitted him for forming as well as ſupporting a new ſtate, found in that ſituation, in which the *Roman* republic was found at the time of the acceſſion of each ſucceeding prince to the throne. Indeed theſe very princes, by their wiſe laws and inſtitutions, ſeem to have laid the foundation of the grandeur of that city, which afterwards became, by a ſteady adherence to theſe inſtitutions, the miſtreſs of the world.

NOT to mention all the particular religious inſtitutions of *Numa*, the decorations of *Ancus*, and the civil eſtabliſhments of *Servius*; conſider only in a political view that ſyſtem of religion which was introduced by *Numa:* for 'tis only in a political view, as an human inſtitution, contrived by a legiſlator for producing certain effects, that it either can or ought to be conſidered. Conſider it, I ſay, only in this view, and you ſhall find, that it ſerved in a remarkable manner, not only to preſerve integrity of manners, and ſubordination of rank among the *Romans*, but alſo to maintain peace and tranquillity in the ſtate, and to prevent

thoſe differences of ſects, factions and opinions, which have, like fiends, infeſted modern times, and torn and diſtracted modern governments. Hence it is, that in the hiſtory of *Rome*, during a long period of 700 years, we hear only, I think, of one commotion on the ſcore of religion.

THE inſtitution of the *Cenſus* by *Servius*, can never be ſufficiently admired, and is another inconteſtable proof of the wiſdom not only of that prince, by whom it was introduced, but alſo of the *Roman* people, who chearfully ſubmitted to ſo wiſe an inſtitution. Were an attempt made to introduce ſuch an inſtitution into *Britain* at this day, with what oppoſition would it meet! what confuſion would it raiſe! and into what a ferment would it throw the nation! Nay, notwithſtanding all our boaſted civility, politeneſs and wiſdom, it may be greatly queſtioned, whether it would be poſſible, with all the addreſs of which we are capable, to bring the people of *Britain* to ſubmit to it.

* AGAIN, another proof of the exiſtence of a wiſe and regular police among the *Romans* in the moſt early times, may be drawn from a view of that admirable connexion, which ſubſiſted between thoſe laws which related to the partition of lands, and thoſe which regarded the order of ſucceſſion

* See *L'Eſprit des loix, liv.* 27. where the ingenious and judicious author proſecutes this connexion to its moſt remote conſequences.

ceſſion to eſtates. *Romulus*, we are informed by antient hiſtorians, divided that little field, which, in his time, was called the *Roman* empire, among his people. Each particular family got a ſmall portion to cultivate and improve: for, having almoſt as many people as he had acres, he was obliged by neceſſity to ſtudy mediocrity, and to make the ſhares extremely ſmall. And, mediocrity being abſolutely neceſſary for the well-being and ſubſiſtence of his little ſtate, 'twas neceſſary to regulate the order of ſucceſſion, ſo as to preſerve it among the citizens, and to hinder any particular perſon from acquiring ſo great wealth, as would give him either ſuperior eminence or greater influence than the reſt of his fellows. Accordingly the order of ſucceſſion ſeems to have been regulated chiefly in this view: for the partition of the lands, and the preſervation of mediocrity among the citizens, ſeem to have been the true cauſe and original of all thoſe rules of ſucceſſion, which were in force till the time of the Decemvirs.

In order therefore to preſerve mediocrity, 'twas neceſſary that the portion which had been allotted at firſt to each particular family, ſhould remain in the family to which it had been at firſt aſſigned; and that no family ſhould acquire more than its own ſhare. For this purpoſe, the *Romans* eſtabliſhed by law two orders of heirs: thoſe who were under the parental authority of the *paterfamilias*, and were called *heredes ſui*, *their own heirs*. *Secondly*,

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In default of theſe *heredes ſui*, thoſe who were moſt nearly related to the deceas'd by males, and were called *agnati*.

HENCE 'tis evident, that if the deceas'd left heirs of the firſt order, and his eſtate deſcended to them, it could never depart from the original family. For, if he left only one heir, this perſon alone ſucceeded to the whole eſtate: if he left more than one in the ſame degree of propinquity, the eſtate was divided equally among them all: and, as marriage in thoſe incorrupted days was common, and the *Romans* were robuſt and healthful, heirs of this order would be ſeldom wanting. But if at any time they did happen to fail, the law calling to the ſucceſſion thoſe of the ſecond order, *viz.* the neareſt agnates, the eſtate was ſtill preſerved in the original family, and could never grow to an enormous bulk.

BUT, as it was intended, that the eſtate of one family ſhould never be annexed to that of another, it was hence neceſſary to exclude wholly from the ſucceſſion thoſe who were related to the deceas'd by females, and were called *cognati*: for theſe cognates belonged to another family, and would, if they had been admitted to the ſucceſſion, have cauſed ſeveral eſtates to have been ſoon united in one family, and of courſe the eminence and influence of that family to have increaſed greatly.

ON this principle, children were excluded from ſucceeding to their mothers, and mothers were excluded

excluded from ſucceeding to their children. For the mother belonging to one family, and her children to another, had they been mutual heirs, the eſtate of one family ſhould have been united to that of another.

FROM hence it appears plainly, that there was no reaſon to diſtinguiſh, whether the perſon who ſucceeded was male or female. Accordingly, females, as well as males, were admitted indiſcriminately to the ſucceſſion; for they belonged equally to the family: and if a female happened to ſucceed, no more property was veſted in her ſingle perſon, than would have been veſted in that of a male, who ſhould have happened to ſucceed in her place. If ſhe married, the eſtate ſtill continued in the original family, as repreſented by her perſon: and at her death neither her huſband ſucceeded to her, nor indeed at the death of her huſband did ſhe ſucceed to him; for they were neither *agnates* nor *cognates* to one another: nor did her children ſucceed to her, as we have ſaid already; for they were not her *agnates*. Her own *agnates* therefore ſucceeded to her, which made her eſtate deſcend to the very ſame perſons, to whom it would have deſcended, if ſhe had not interveened, and the eſtate had devolved immediately on that perſon, who would have ſucceeded to the deceas'd, if ſhe had never exiſted. Thus the eſtate of each family was kept ſeparate from that of his neighbour, and mediocrity was preſerved.

BUT yet further, it follows from what has been ſaid, that grandchildren by a ſon were allowed to ſucceed to their paternal grandfather, while thoſe by a daughter did not ſucceed to their maternal grandfather. For 'tis plain, that grandchildren by a ſon continued ſtill to make part of the paternal grandfather's family, and of courſe, on their ſucceſſion, did not make the eſtate depart from the original family; whereas grandchildren by a daughter did not make a part of their maternal grandfather's family, but a part of that of their own father or father's father. So that, had they ſucceeded to their maternal grandfather's eſtate, ſince at the ſame time they ſucceeded to that of their paternal grandfather, in this manner the eſtates of two different families would have been united in the perſon of one *paterfamilias*, and the mediocrity been quickly deſtroyed.

THAT theſe rules of ſucceſſion might remain in force, we may eaſily ſee it would be abſolutely neceſſary, that no private citizen ſhould have a power of altering the order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by the public law, and of inſtituting an heir at pleaſure. Accordingly we find, that the power of making a teſtament belonged to no private citizen before the laws of the twelve tables. For if each particular citizen had had a full power of leaving his eſtate, or diſinheriting his lawful heirs, according as his caprice or whim might have dictated, the ſtate of the republic might have been

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ſoon totally changed, and an entirely new face of affairs been ſeen. If therefore at any time a citizen found himſelf in that ſituation, which required a particular deſtination of his eſtate, ſince by his own private authority he could not alter the public law, 'twas neceſſary to profer a bill to the people, who, if they found it *e republica*, by their legiſlative authority, gave their ſupreme ſanction to his teſtament. Hence the *teſtamenta in comitiis calatis facta*, the only teſtaments that were in uſe before the laws of the twelve tables. As theſe teſtaments were really and truly laws, and could not be enacted without a great deal of ſolemnity, 'tis plain, that it would be only in extraordinary caſes they could be in uſe; and that as the people themſelves had in this way the tuition and guardianſhip of their own inſtitutions, it could ſeldom happen, that the alterations made in any particular caſe could greatly affect, or tend to deſtroy that public order of ſucceſſion, which was eſtabliſhed, in order to preſerve mediocrity of fortune among the citizens. For theſe were times of virtue, in which it would always be firſt conſidered, whether any bill was or was not *e republica*; ſo that the deſigns which the legiſlature had in eſtabliſhing this extraordinary order of ſucceſſion would be ſtill preſerved.

'Tis true indeed, that the *Decemviri* in one article receded from the antient diſpoſition of the laws, and, by thoſe of the twelve tables, gave

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to each *paterfamilias* a full and ample power of diſpoſing of his eſtate, by laſt will or teſtament, according to his own pleaſure. But we muſt at the ſame time remember, that the ſame rules of ſucceſſion *ab inteſtato* were ſtill kept in force, and eſtabliſhed by the Decemvirs, which had formerly taken place*. For this order of ſucceſſion does not ſeem to have been one of thoſe inſtitutions which were imported into the *Roman* territory by thoſe deputies, who were ſent into *Greece* to bring home materials for compoſing a body of laws; but ſeems to have been, like the *patria poteſtas*, one of thoſe native inſtitutions, which had been in force long before, perhaps from the very infancy of their empire, and to have been only continued, and further inforced by the laws of the twelve tables. Therefore, though an overweening fondneſs for paternal authority, and for its unlimited extent, led the *Romans* to allow fathers either to inſtitute or to diſinherit thoſe heirs, whom, by the moſt antient diſpoſition of their laws, they had full power to murder; we muſt not conclude, that they immediately made free uſe of this power. 'Twas much otherwiſe; the people at that time had a love of the republic, and, of courſe, of mediocrity of fortune. Their virtue did all, and the love of it hindered the people from counteracting the public law, and oppoſing the public good, by overturning thoſe rules of ſucceſſion, which were ſo neceſſary

* See L'Eſprit des loix, liv. 27.

ſary for preſerving equality among the citizens, and harmony in the commonwealth.

By conſequence, the legal ſucceſſion uſually took place, and the cuſtom of making teſtaments did not grow common for a great number of years; ſo that ſtill an equality of fortune was preſerved, and the moſt eminent citizens were poſſeſſed of only a little ſpot. However teſtaments did at laſt become frequent; and, of courſe, that mediocrity of fortune, which is the baſis of republican government, was ſoon deſtroyed. Some citizens became poor, others acquired immenſe poſſeſſions; ideas of riches and poverty became familiar, and cries for *agrarian* and *ſumptuary* laws became violent. But the evil was become both ſo univerſal and ſo virulent, as to admit of no remedy. The republic was at laſt deſtroyed; and that ſo much ſooner, as from confined ideas of natural equity, the *Prætors*, by their edicts, under the appearance of correcting, really undermined the public order of ſucceſſion, which had been ſo wiſely calculated for preſerving the happineſs and virtue of the people.

Can we then ſay, that there was no order, tranquillity, or ſettled police among the *Romans* at that time, when they had formed ſuch wiſe inſtitutions, and enacted laws with a foreſight, which may aſtoniſh many politicians, who have had the experience of 2000 years more than the legiſlators of that remote age!

Beſides; the expulſion of *Tarquin*; the *Valerian* law

law *de provocatione*, juſtly eſteemed the foundation of the liberty of the *Roman* people; the inſtitution of the Tribunes; and the ſteadineſs with which they adhered to every ſcheme contrived, and reſolution formed for the preſervation of their liberty, are evident marks of at leaſt ſome degree of wiſdom and policy, and plainly ſhew, that the ſituation of the *Romans* in thoſe early days, before the compoſition of the laws of the twelve tables, was more peaceful, and themſelves more civilized, than Mr. *Hume* ſeems to imagine.

But that there was a ſettled police and great order among the *Romans* at this time, appears eſpecially from that inclination which they ſhewed on this very occaſion, to amend their conſtitution, by introducing a new ſyſtem of laws into their dominions; from the wiſdom and ſagacity with which they carried this ſcheme into execution; from their ſteadineſs in purſuing their reſolution, as well as their care in ſearching out, and docility in embracing whatever was moſt perfect among other nations; and, finally, from thoſe fragments of the laws themſelves, which have ſurvived the *Roman* republic, and the ruins of time.

Free from thoſe prejudices, which attach an ignorant and barbarous people to their native inſtitutions, the *Romans* having laid aſide all admiration of their own laws, ſent ambaſſadors abroad into foreign countries, to collect whatever they ſhould find beſt conſtituted in other ſtates, and to import

import their obſervations, and the wiſdom they ſhould learn, into their own country. Theſe ambaſſadors having viſited the moſt renowned ſtates of *Greece*, and made accurate obſervations on different polities, returned with an ample collection, and ſtore of wiſdom and political knowledge. The ſtate was no ſooner provided in this manner with a plentiful ſtock of rich materials, on which to work, than ten men of the greateſt abilities were appointed to ſelect, arrange, and compile that body of laws, which conducted the *Romans* to univerſal empire, and was the root from whence afterwards ſprang the moſt compleat and moſt perfect body of civil law the world has as yet ſeen. Neither did the *Romans* content themſelves with the wiſdom of thoſe whom their own country could afford; for, as well in compiling as interpreting the laws *, the *Decemviri* uſed the aſſiſtance of *Hermodorus*, a celebrated *Epheſian*, who had been baniſhed by his countrymen for his ſuperior wiſdom, abilities and worth; was an intimate friend of *Heraclitus*, the moſt humane perhaps of the wiſe men of old; and ſeems to have been the philoſopher of thoſe days, who was moſt remarkable for his ſkill in policy and legiſlation †. *Heraclitus* uſed to ſay of this man, That all the *Epheſians* deſerved

* Strabo, lib. 14. p. 951. L. 2. § 4. ff. de origine juris.

† This appears from ſome letters of *Heraclitus* directed to him, which may be ſeen in *Stanley*'s hiſtory of philoſophy, *vit. Heracl.*

deſerved to die, for having baniſhed the beſt and moſt worthy of the citizens *. Other nations would perhaps have conceived an hatred, but the *Romans* ſhewed gratitude to their beſt benefactor. By public authority, they erected a ſtatue to *Hermodorus*, to whom they had ſo great obligations †. Conduct ſo wiſe, and actions ſo uncommon, are irreſiſtible proofs, not only of the wiſdom, but of the regular police of the *Romans* in thoſe days. How few modern nations have ever attempted ſo grand a ſcheme? How few have ſucceeded in the attempt, and carried their ſchemes into execution? When ſo plain inſtances of the wiſdom and docility of the *Tartars* can be cited, then, and not till then, ought they to be compared with the *Romans*.

But it can be demonſtrated from the peculiar ſituation of the *Romans*, that this law concerning *uſucapio* was well accommodated to the circumſtances of the times.

The *Romans* had not as yet carried their conqueſts far; their territory was extended but a ſmall way around the city; it was divided into the ſmalleſt ſhares; the people lived in a ſimple and frugal manner; their ſubſtance conſiſted chiefly in their ſlaves, their cattle, their inſtruments of agriculture, their arms, and a few houſhold utenſils

* Diogen. Laert. vit. philoſop. lib. ix. c. 1. n. 2. Cicer. Tuſcul. diſput. lib. 5. cap. 36.

† Plin. hiſt. nat. lib. 34. cap. 5.

ſils neceſſary for a people living amidſt labour and frugality; and they did not abound with that variety of moveables, which are found in commercial nations, nor with thoſe gew-gaws and refinements with which their poſterity became ſo well acquainted.

IN ſuch circumſtances, it would not be eaſy for one man to invade the property of another. People who have few things of which they can be deprived, will ſoon miſs any of them which may happen to be taken away from them: and if taken away, it would be an eaſy matter to recover them in a little country, where almoſt every man was acquainted with his neighbour, and had a pretty accurate knowledge of the moveables of which he was poſſeſſed. Hence an year was time long enough for the *uſucapion* of moveables. The ſame length of time continued to be the term for this *uſucapion*, not only all the while the republic enjoyed its liberty, but alſo long after the eſtabliſhment of the empire; and a time not much longer, *viz.* three years, was thought to be long enough in the days of *Juſtinian*. So that we may well be allowed to doubt, whether the tedious length of time required to give right to moveables in thoſe nations, which are reckoned moſt civilized at preſent, be any mark of more order, greater tranquillity, and more ſettled police, than were at *Rome* in the days of *Julius* or *Auguſtus Cæſar*.

BUT if moveables could not be carried away, ſurely much leſs could immoveables be invaded without obſervation. A *Roman*, who maintained himſelf and his family by cultivating his little farm, would immediately and ſenſibly feel the want of it, and would take care to recover it ſpeedily.

BESIDES, diſputes about property and ſucceſſion could be but rare, as the laws of the twelve tables were ſhort and perſpicuous, and the rules of ſucceſſion accurately determined. Kindred and affinity were eaſily known, and the remembrance of them was among the *Romans* nicely preſerved by thoſe ſacred rites and inſtitutions, which were proper to each family; at which the whole family and kindred met; and to which no extraneous perſons were admitted.

FURTHER, ſuch was the ſituation of the *Roman* territory at this time, that it was not only not eaſy, but I believe I might ſay, almoſt impoſſible, not only to ſeize on the lands of another, but to encroach even on the marches, by which theſe lands were divided. For we muſt not imagine, that at this time eſtates were divided, as they are at preſent in moſt countries of *Europe*, by inſignificant lines of no breadth. Between each farm there was left uncultivated a ſpace, no leſs than five feet broad, which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *iter limitare*. This ſpace was held ſacred, being dedicated to the god *Terminus*, and of courſe

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it could not be acquired by *uſucapion*. Nay, it was accounted ſacrilege, either to plow or to encroach on it *. In this manner was the property of each particular citizen diſtinguiſhed, and kept ſeparate from that of his neighbour. Shall we wonder then, that the *Decemviri*, when they had determined the boundaries of land with ſuch preciſion, at the ſame time made the ſpace of two years the time requiſite for the *uſucapion* of it? Shall we ſay, that there was nothing but barbarity and rudeneſs among the *Romans*, when ſo wiſe proviſions were made by their laws? Further, the *terminalia*, which were celebrated yearly by ſacrificing, and by ſurrounding the marches, kept a conſtant and certain remembrance of every man's property. Can modern times boaſt of inſtitutions better calculated for promoting the deſign which the legiſlature has in view?

NAY, ſuch anxiety and care did the *Romans* ſhew, in ſeparating property, and preſerving theſe marches, that, when their territory had become extenſive, and their people more numerous as well as leſs virtuous, they enacted the *Mamilian* law for the tuition of this very *iter limitare*; which law inforced what had been enacted of old by the laws of the twelve tables.

BESIDES, this *uſucapion* introduced by theſe laws, did not make property ſo fleeting and tranſitory,

* Dion. Halicar. lib. 2. Feſtus in voce *Termino*.

ſitory, as one would at firſt ſight imagine. 'Tis true, the time of poſſeſſion was ſhort: but the other requiſites, without which it could not proceed, were ſo many, and of a nature ſo peculiar, that they could ſeldom happen to meet in any but the true and rightful proprietor. For, firſt, it was neceſſary, that the poſſeſſor ſhould have *bona fides*, and ſhould honeſtly and ſincerely believe, that the thing poſſeſſed by him was really his own, and was tranſmitted to him either by the true proprietor himſelf, or ſomebody commiſſioned by him. Nay, it was not ſufficient to have this *good faith* at the firſt acquiſition of the property or poſſeſſion; but it behoved to be continual and uninterrupted, during the whole currency of the year or two years *. In a ſtate whoſe territory was narrow, and eſpecially where eſtates were ſmall, and every one knew what belonged to his neighbour, it would not be ſo eaſy a matter to preſerve this *bona fides* continually, even for a ſingle year or two. And the intervention of *ill faith* interrupted the *uſucapion* immediately, and no doubt would effectually hinder many acquiſitions in this way.

SECONDLY, It was neceſſary that the poſſeſſor ſhould poſſeſs *ex juſto titulo*, ſuch as would have immediately transferred the property, if derived from the true proprietor. Hence not only open force and violence, but even fraud of all kinds was pretty much excluded.

THIRDLY,

* L. un. C. de uſucap. transformanda.

THIRDLY, Not only the *good faith*, but alſo the poſſeſſion behoved to be continual and uninterrupted. For, if before the lapſe of the time required by law for completing the *uſucapion*, the poſſeſſor ſhould by any means loſe his poſſeſſion, all the paſt time availed him nothing. Nor was it neceſſary, that the true owner either ſhould be the perſon who interrupted his poſſeſſion, or ſhould himſelf acquire it. 'Twas ſufficient if this was done by any other: for the *uſurpation*, or interruption of the poſſeſſion, by whomſoever it was effected, operated equally in favour of all, who pretended to have any right to the thing in queſtion *.

MR. *Hume* ſeems to imagine, that this law had an influence over all *Italy*. But we muſt remember the extent of the *Roman* territory at this time: it made only a very inconſiderable part of *Italy*; conſequently a very inconſiderable part of *Italy* was affected by this law, and by the time of *uſucapion* introduced by it. For it never took place *extra ditionem reipublicae Romanae*; it never obtained *in terris ſociorum*, or in the provinces. Theſe were much governed by their own proper laws, and, no doubt, had each their own rules about preſcription. Indeed 'tis probable, though it cannot be peremptorily affirmed, that, after the *ſocial* war, when all the *Italians* got the *jus civitatis Romanae*, the land in *Italy* was placed *inter*

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* L. 5. ff. de uſurpationibus et uſucapionibus.

res mancipi, and might by conſequence be acquired by *uſucapion*. But at this time it can never be ſaid, there was no order or ſettled police in *Italy*. With much leſs reaſon can it be ſaid, that there was no order or ſettled police in *Italy* at the time when the laws of the twelve tables were enacted, ſince the *Roman* territory was then ſo confined.

Besides, Mr. *Hume* ſeems to have not obſerved the neceſſary diſtinction between *uſucapion* and *preſcription*, and to think, that the ſhortneſs of the time in *uſucapion* was never corrected till the days of *Juſtinian*. 'Twas much otherwiſe. For as the *Roman* power was extended over a wide tract of country, and the law of *uſucapion* did not take place *extra ditionem reipublicae Romanae*, hence things which lay without this limit, could not be acquired in this manner. For this reaſon, *poſſeſſio* or *praeſcriptio longi temporis* was introduced, by which the property of lands lying in the provinces, which were not capable of *uſucapion*, might be acquired. Indeed moſt part of modern lawyers think, this *longi temporis poſſeſſio* was introduced by the emperors, in order to ſupply the defects of *uſucapion*; however, tolerably good reaſons might be brought to prove the introduction of it to have been earlier than that of the monarchy. This poſſeſſion *longi temporis*, as it differed in many reſpects from *uſucapion*, ſo eſpecially in the length of time, during which it was required that the poſſeſſion ſhould be continued. Indeed

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'tis uncertain, what preciſe length of time, though it ſeems probable, that immemorial poſſeſſion was required at firſt; and that the duration of this poſſeſſion was ſhortened by degrees, till it was at laſt reduced to the ſtated time of ten years in preſence, and twenty in abſence.

THUS we ſee how ſmall a way the law of *uſucapion* extended during the liberty of the republic, and eſpecially at the time of the compoſition of the laws of the twelve tables. And we may infer, that there was not in *Italy* at that time ſo great rudeneſs and barbarity, as Mr. *Hume* would make us believe.

INDEED the preceeding obſervations, which it was neceſſary to make, in order to ſet this part of his argument in a clear light, plainly demonſtrate, that there was not only not barbarity, but even a moſt regular and well-ordered police among the *Romans* at this time, ſuch as may make ſome modern nations not a little aſhamed.

BUT our author ſeems to have conceived ſo ſorry an opinion, not only of that period, when the laws of the twelve tables were compoſed, but alſo of all the more remote periods of antiquity, on account of what he ſuppoſes to have been fierceneſs and an unſettled condition, as to imagine * the age of "*Trajan* and the *Antonines* to have been "more populous than any of the preceeding, and "the only period in which the weſtern part of the "world

* P. 254.

" world might poſſibly contain more inhabitants " than at preſent, as the great extent of the *Roman* " empire was then civilized and cultivated, ſettled " almoſt in a profound peace, both foreign and " domeſtic, and living under the ſame regular po- " lice and government." Thus all the charming ſcenes of more remote antiquity, like ſome fairy viſion or magic inchantment, evaniſh at once; and inſtead of *Grecian* and *Roman* freedom and virtue, we are referred to an oppreſſive deſpotic empire, as the moſt fertile ſource of populouſneſs.

For what reaſon ſhould we ſo much degrade the times of liberty, or conſider even the moſt flouriſhing period of the *Roman* empire, or the reigns of its mildeſt and moſt generous princes, in ſuch an advantageous light! 'Tis true, *Trajan* and the *Antonines* were among the beſt of the emperors. But what could the beſt emperors do in ſuch a corrupted ſtate! Theſe princes did what they could to alleviate the miſeries of the people, and make their chains more eaſy. But the time to ſet things on a right footing was paſt; tyranny was rivetted; all that could be done was only to moderate its fury. It was impoſſible to redreſs the grievances of an injured and oppreſſed world, ſinking of itſelf by the depravity of its manners, and ripening faſt for that deſtruction which at length was brought upon it by the inroads of the barbarous nations.

'Tis

'TIS the opinion of one of the greateſt modern authors *, That "all extenſive governments, "eſpecially abſolute monarchies, are deſtructive "to populouſneſs, and contain a ſecret vice and "poiſon." The maxim is infallibly true, and what our author † has allowed concerning enormous cities, "That they are deſtructive to ſociety, be-"get vice and diſorder of all kinds, ſtarve the "remoter provinces, and even ſtarve themſelves," may be affirmed with better reaſon of enormous and over-grown governments, eſpecially if they are abſolute monarchies.

IN particular, this maxim will be found true, with reſpect to the *Roman* monarchy, which was one of the moſt deſtructive and tyrannical that can well be imagined. Where do we read of ſuch genuine and undiſguiſed tyrants, as among the *Roman* emperors? Where can we find ſo great folly, madneſs or cruelty, as appears in the characters and conduct of the immediate ſucceſſors of *Auguſtus?* Nay, what was this celebrated *Auguſtus* himſelf, but a moſt cruel and treacherous ſubverter of the liberties of his country, who proſcribed and cut off the beſt and moſt worthy of the *Romans*; ſtopping at nothing, however wicked and unjuſt, to raiſe himſelf to the ſovereign power; and afterwards betaking himſelf to more popular and moderate councils, rather from cunning and

* The author of L'eſprit des loix, livre 23. chap. 19.

† P. 183.

fear of *Roman* bravery, and a dread even of the faint remainder of the antient ſpirit, as his character gives us juſt title to preſume, than out of love to *Rome?* But he and his more immediate ſucceſſors quite extinguiſhed the *Roman* ſpirit and liberty. So that before the milder and more moderate emperors came to the helm, oppreſſion and tyranny had been ſo deeply rooted, ſuch cruelties had been exerciſed in *Rome*, the conquered provinces had been accuſtomed to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſubjection, that the beſt princes could only give a little eaſe to the diſtreſſed people during their own time; but could never prevent the fatal effects of ſuch an abſolute and arbitrary power, exerciſed without any legal check or controul, by the emperor's miniſters and favourites in *Rome*, and by their emiſſaries who were commiſſioned to the provinces.

FROM whence can we imagine ſo arbitrary and deſpotic an empire could produce ſuch a populouſneſs, as ſurpaſſed whatever had been ſeen in more antient times? Is it from the contemplation of ſuch a government in itſelf, and of the conſequences naturally flowing from its forms and conſtitution? In all deſpotic governments, whether under a *Turkiſh* or *Roman* emperor, or under ſuch milder tyrants, as, though unlimited by the people, ſometimes deign to ſet limits to themſelves; peace commonly degenerates into indolence; order is nothing but the dread of the tyrant's power; as there

there is little ſecurity, induſtry ſeldom flouriſhes: nay, it is dangerous for any to be active or eminent, leſt they become ſuſpected, or awaken the jealouſy or avarice either of the tyrant or of his miniſters. But how can populouſneſs be expected in nations deſtitute of induſtry and activity!

OR is it from the happy influence of other deſpotic governments, that we would conclude, the *Roman* empire to have been ſo extremely populous? Where are ſuch examples to be found? or where can an inſtance be produced, from whence it will appear, that the number of the people actually increaſed under ſuch an empire?

OR can we draw ſuch a concluſion from the accounts that are given us by thoſe authors who lived under the *Roman* empire? The beſt authorities and ſounder teſtimonies are on the other ſide, and repreſent both *Italy* and the provinces as in a declining ſtate. We ſcarce need any ſtronger proofs of this, than what our author himſelf hath obſerved in his *political diſcourſe:* for he hath admitted *, That though "all antient authors tell "us, that there was a perpetual flux of ſlaves to "*Italy* from the remoter provinces, — yet the "number of people increaſed not in *Italy*; and wri-"ters complain of the continual decay of induſtry "and agriculture." He hath alſo taken notice †, That "there was much land uncultivated, and "put

* P. 168.

† P. 238, 239.

" put to no manner of uſe" in the days of *Pertinax*; and that it was aſcribed as a great praiſe to this emperor, that " he allowed every one to take " ſuch land, either in *Italy*, or elſewhere, and " cultivate it as he pleaſed, without paying any " taxes." He acknowledges likewiſe, " That " this correſponds very ill with an idea of extreme " populouſneſs." Now, the age of *Pertinax* approached very near to that period of antiquity which he pitches on as moſt populous; for *Pertinax* ſucceeded after the ſhort reign of *Commodus*, the ſon of *Antoninus philoſophus*. He hath further remarked from *Vopiſcus* *, That " there was in *Etruria* " much fertile land uncultivated, which the empe- " ror *Aurelian* intended to convert into vineyards, " in order to furniſh the *Roman* people with a gra- " tuitous diſtribution of wine :" and confeſſes, that this was " a very proper expedient to diſpeople ſtill " farther that capital, and all the neighbouring " territories." He hath alſo admitted, that " when " the *Roman* authors complain, that *Italy*, which " formerly exported corn, became dependent on " all the provinces for its daily bread, they never " aſcribe this alteration to the increaſe of its inha- " bitants, but to the neglect of tillage and agricul- " ture †." Why therefore ſhould we imagine ſuch ſuperior populouſneſs to have ariſen from the *Roman* empire. If *Italy* itſelf declined in every thing that

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* P. 239.

† P. 253.

was good, what may we imagine was the caſe of the provinces, waſted and plundered by rapacious governors?

BESIDES theſe documents of the languiſhing ſtate of *Italy*, taken from our author himſelf, we have a ſtrong proof of the declenſion of the world, and of the comparative ſcarcity of mankind under the *Roman* empire, from the teſtimony of *Plutarch* *, an author who had the beſt opportunities of being well acquainted both with *Grecian* and *Roman* affairs. Indeed Mr. *Hume* excepts both to the treatiſe in which this teſtimony is contained, on ſuſpicion that it is not the genuine work of *Plutarch* †; and alſo to the manner in which *Plutarch* has declared his opinion. But neither exception ſeems well founded.

THE paſſage in *Plutarch* may be interpreted to ſignify pretty much what our author would have it *,

* De oraculorum defectu.

† Whatever ſuſpicions our author may have entertained, that this little piece was not the genuine production of *Plutarch*, it has all the appearance of an antient work. According to *Suidas* (on the word *Lamprias*), *Lamprias*, the ſon of *Plutarch*, compoſed a catalogue of his father's writings. Which catalogue has been publiſhed ſeveral times, particularly by *Fabricius* in his *Bibliotheca Græca*. In it mention is made of the treatiſe, *De oraculorum defectu*: nor is that variety of opinions, which appears among the perſons who are introduced as ſpeakers in this dialogue, nor the difference between their opinions, and the opinions which prevail at preſent, a ſufficient ground on which we ought to call in queſtion its authenticity.

it*, "that the ſilence of the oracles may be aſcribed to the preſent deſolation of the world, proceeding from former wars and factions; which common calamity was more ſenſibly felt in *Greece* than in any other country, inſomuch that the whole could ſcarce at preſent furniſh out 3000 warriours, ſuch as were ſent to the battle of *Plataea* by the ſingle city of *Megara*; the gods therefore, who affect works of dignity and importance, have ſuppreſſed many of their oracles, and deign not to uſe ſo many interpreters of their will to ſo diminutive a people †."

HERE we have a clear and expreſs teſtimony, that there was a remarkable ſcarcity of people in the age of *Plutarch*, in compariſon of more antient times; and that this was eſpecially ſenſibly felt in *Greece* ‡. Indeed *Plutarch* has not expreſsly aſſigned the extenſive dominion of the *Romans* for the cauſe of this ſcarcity, but aſcribes it to the former wars and factions; all which, Mr. *Hume* ſays, were quieted by the *Roman* arms.

BUT it is plain, *firſt*, that whatever *Plutarch* imagined was the cauſe of this depopulation of the world, his teſtimony concerning the truth of the fact is moſt expreſs. *Secondly*, That however much he might have been convinced, that this was owing to the *Roman* empire, he had good reaſons

* P. 257.

† De oraculorum defectu, P. 413, 414.

‡ Polit. diſc. p. 256, 257.

reaſons not to attack the *Romans* directly, or to aſcribe the deſtruction of the world to *Roman* power. As he had lived long at *Rome*, had been well uſed by the *Romans*, and not a little favoured by one of the emperors, he might not have thought it proper, perhaps it might not have been ſafe, it might have looked like ſedition, to aſſign the *Roman* empire for a cauſe of the decay of the world. He had reaſon therefore to expreſs himſelf only in general terms; but we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he had no view to thoſe wars, by which the *Romans* ſubdued the world. Theſe wars had been more deſtructive than any other. Thoſe among the free ſtates of *Greece*, and thoſe between the tribes in *Gaul* and *Spain* often indeed let a little blood, ſometimes perhaps pretty plentifully; but on the whole, did not do any very conſiderable harm: at leaſt they were not near ſo deſtructive either as thoſe other wars, in which the *Romans* with an unrelenting hand deſtroyed the *Italian* ſtates and the nations in *Gaul* and *Spain*; or as the many bloody battles which were fought for power and dominion among their leaders, and which equally affected themſelves, and the provinces and ſtates they had conquered, *viz.* thoſe between *Marius* and *Sylla*, between *Caeſar* and *Pompey*, between *Caeſar* and the remaining chiefs of the republican party, between thoſe who put *Caeſar* to death and the *Triumvirate*, and between *Antony* and *Octavianus*. Compared with theſe more deſtructive wars, the former

former wars among the free ſtates were but little ſkirmiſhes; accordingly, while there were no other, *Greece* and the other provinces abounded in people. In truth, the moſt pernicious effect which attended them, ſeems to have been the diſunion of theſe leſſer ſtates among themſelves; for, by theſe diviſions, all of them, in their different turns, fell a prey to *Roman* tyranny. It is ſcarce to be believed, that *Plutarch* had no view to ſuch deſtructive wars, when he reflected on the deſtruction of the world, and the deſolation of his country. I cannot therefore agree with our author in thinking*, "that *Plu-* "*tarch*'s reaſoning is directly contrary to the in- "ference which is drawn from the fact he advan- "ces," ſince he does not exclude the wars, by which the *Romans* waſted and deſtroyed the world. But though he had been miſtaken in aſſigning the reaſons of the fact, this would not invalidate the truth of the fact itſelf, which he affirms ſo expreſsly, and which indeed is ſo well eſtabliſhed from all the hiſtories of thoſe times.

AGAIN, when *Plutarch* obſerves, that the calamitous deſolation of the world was more ſenſibly felt in *Greece* than in any other country, it is not neceſſary to underſtand him, as if he meant to aſſert, that the *Greeks* were in a worſe condition or were more cruelly treated by the *Romans* than other conquered nations. This ſeems to be the ſenſe in which our author underſtands his words.

But

* P. 257.

But they are capable of this other interpretation, 'that as the *Greeks* had been ſo numerous in preceeding ages, had flouriſhed ſo much, and had ſhewed themſelves ſo far ſuperior to the *Barbarians*, their preſent depopulation was more evident, more remarkable, and more ſenſibly felt.' Indeed when we reflect upon the flouriſhing condition of *Greece* in antient times; on the number of fine cities with which it abounded; on the politeneſs, learning, and freedom of ſpirit, which ſo eſſentially diſtinguiſhed its inhabitants from the reſt of mankind; we muſt neceſſarily confeſs, that *Plutarch*'s obſervation is ſtill true; and that the deſtruction, in which any of thoſe ſtates that flouriſhed moſt of old are involved, is moſt remarkable, and moſt ſenſibly felt in *Greece* even at this day.

NOR is it neceſſary with our author to interpret *Plutarch* ſo ſtrictly, as if there had been at that time only 3000 men in all *Greece* able to bear arms. Nothing more can be intended, than that the *Greeks* were dwindled into a diminutive nation, in compariſon of what they had been formerly; and that in all their cities there were not perhaps 3000 good ſoldiers, ſuch as the ſingle city of *Megara* could have furniſhed in the *Median* war *. Thus *Plutarch*'s teſtimony is cleared from thoſe

* The word ὁπλίτης which is uſed by *Plutarch*, ſignifies ſuch as were compleatly armed, or carried the heavieſt arms, in whom the antients placed their greateſt confidence.

difficulties which had ſo much perplexed our author *.

THESE teſtimonies of *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* are ſo full and expreſs, and conclude ſo ſtrongly againſt the happy influence of the *Roman* empire, that our author will not be found to have brought any thing ſo weighty on the other ſide: for we ought never to put the looſe and rhetorical declamations of ſuch a fiery paſſionate author as *Tertullian* †, or the flattering oration of the ſophiſt

* This teſtimony of *Plutarch*, concerning the ſuperior populouſneſs of *Greece* and other antient nations, before the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* empire, is exactly agreeable to what we obſerved from *Diodorus Siculus*, p. 35th of the *diſſertation*.

† In the treatiſe, *de anima*, cap. 30. *Tertullian* ſeems to have no intention of comparing the populouſneſs of the world, under the *Roman* empire, with that of the period of antiquity which immediately preceeded it, while the ſmaller republics were ſubſiſting. The compariſon is made between the age in which *Tertullian* lived, and the firſt ages, while mankind were wandering up and down in an unſettled, barbarous and uncultivated manner, before governments were regularly formed or firmly eſtabliſhed. The argument he is treating, requires no more than that mankind ſhould have increaſed greatly, and were much more numerous at that time, than at the beginning; which he obſerves was true, even according to profane hiſtory: and for this reaſon he argues, that ſince mankind have multiplied ſo greatly above what they were at firſt, and their numbers are ſo unequal in different ages, the living could not be produced from the dead, but a new ſoul muſt be produced at the formation of each body.

phiſt *Ariſtides* *, in balance with the more cool and ſedate judgment of *Plutarch*.

GREAT regard indeed would be due to *Strabo*, *Polybius* and *Pliny*, if their authority could be quoted, to ſupport what our author infers from *Tertullian* and *Ariſtides*. But when the paſſages to which he refers are duly conſidered, this will be found not to be the caſe.

As for *Strabo*, it is evident, that in ſeveral places of his geography he takes notice, how much ſome mighty ſtates were decayed in his age, and how much the number of their citizens was diminiſhed †. This ought to have more weight, and is a clearer proof of his opinion on this ſubject, than a few paſſages, in which he pays a ſlight compliment to that empire under which he lived. For all, that he obſerves in his fourth book concerning

body. Such an argument has no relation to the *Roman* empire, but would have been equally good at any other period removed at a diſtance from the firſt ages.

* This oration, or encomium upon *Rome* and the *Roman* empire, may juſtly be called flattering; for the ſophiſt ſeems to have aimed at no other thing, but to diſparage antiquity, and prefer every thing in the *Roman* empire, to every thing that preceeded. However he does not, either in the paſſage quoted by our author, or in any other part of his declamation, ſo far as I have obſerved, directly mention a greater populouſneſs; but, tho' he had done it, the manner and viſible deſign of the whole piece, is ſufficient to ſhew how little ſtreſs is to be laid on his opinion concerning the advantages of the *Roman* empire.

† Diſſertation, P. 35, 36.

ing thoſe *Gauls* who lived in the neighbourhood of *Marſeilles*, is only, that the ſuperior power of the *Romans* had obliged ſome of the *Barbarians* to lay aſide their arms, and to betake themſelves to agriculture and the arts of peace.

As to what Mr. *Hume* obſerves concerning "the "ſuperior police of the *Romans*, with regard to the "finances of *Egypt*, above that of its former monarchs*, "it is evident indeed from that paſſage of *Strabo* which he cites, that the revenues of *Egypt* amounted to a far larger ſum than they had done in former times. But this is no certain ſign, that the people were richer or more happy. This might, and in all probability did ariſe from hence, that the people of *Egypt* were burdened with more grievous taxes. Perhaps this was the reaſon, why "the "town *Mareia* near *Alexandria*, which was for-"merly a large city, had dwindled into a village:" which our author obſerves † from *Athenaeus* (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 25.).

NEITHER can it be proved from *Strabo* and *Polybius*, that the *Greeks* were well treated by the *Romans* ‡. In reality, there was nothing but artifice and affectation in their ſeeming moderation. The *Romans* were not only a warlike people, but managed with much art and addreſs. In odious caſes, or when their intereſt, or the neceſſity of their

* Polit. diſc. p. 255.

† P. 255.

‡ Polit. diſc. p. 257.

their affairs required it, no people could better cover their oppreſſion with ſpecious appearances, or more dextrouſly affect to be gentle and equitable. They affected in particular an uncommon regard for the *Greeks*, and pretended to leave them in poſſeſſion of their former laws and liberty. This is ſometimes taken notice of by *Strabo*, *Polybius*, and other hiſtorians, who lived under their empire. But at bottom there was nothing ſincere, as will be evident from the whole of their conduct taken together. 'Tis true, *Polybius* was able, by his intereſt with ſome of the great men of *Rome*, to alleviate the afflictions of his country, and to ſettle ſome good regulations, after the *Achaeans* were ſubdued*. Yet *Greece* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by the arbitrary will of a *Roman* Praetor; in which ſtate it continued till the reign of *Nero* †, who either through the advice of ſome of the good men who governed him in the beginning of his reign, or in ſome of his capricious humours afterwards, reſtored it to its liberty, or rather to an empty name of liberty. However empty as it was, the *Greeks* were not ſuffered to enjoy it long, being ſoon reduced to their former ſubjection by *Veſpaſian*. And though after the deſtruction of *Corinth*, and the ſettlement of the affairs of *Achaia*, they enjoyed

* Pauſanias in Achaicis.

† Ibidem.

enjoyed a little reſpite from war; this was only a breathing time. *Greece*, like all the *Roman* provinces, was ſoon involved in all the calamities which attend a conquered people. What liberty was allowed the conquered nations, to live according to their own laws, and obſerve their antient inſtitutions, was only a ſhadow without the ſubſtance. The good effects of ſuch a permiſſion were far overbalanced by the oppreſſion of the *Roman* governors. In ſhort, the *Romans* were ſlaves themſelves; and can we imagine the conquered provinces could have been in a better condition!

The *Grecian* ſtates fell into a languiſhing condition from the *æra* of *Philip*'s and *Alexander*'s conqueſts. So fatal is the influence of a neighbouring monarchy, governed by able councils, when it intermeddles in the affairs of popular ſtates, and by raiſing up factions among them, ſets them in oppoſition to one another. 'Twas thus that *Philip* weakened the ſtates of *Greece*, and laid the foundation of their ruin. But they declined far more ſpeedily and remarkably after the *Roman* conqueſts. It would therefore be not a little ſurpriſing, if ſo able and judicious an hiſtorian as *Polybius* ſhould be found ſuppoſing, that "*Greece* had be-" come more proſperous and flouriſhing after the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* yoke*. The paſſage referred to is ſo far from proving their riches or populouſneſs,

* Political diſcourſes, p. 257.

populouſneſs, that it is introduced by *Polybius* to prove their poverty, and that all the goods of *Peloponneſus* were not worth 6000 talents, or 1,162,500 *l.* *Polybius*'s words are; "For not to "ſpeak of thoſe times, in which the affairs of *Pe-* "*loponneſus* were entirely ruined, partly by the "kings of *Macedon*, but chiefly by a ſeries of civil "wars: even in our days, in which all the ſtates "live in peace and good agreement, and imagine "themſelves to be ſo entirely happy, ſo great a ſum "(as 6000 talents) could not be made up out of all "their goods, abſtracting from the bodies *," meaning the price of the inhabitants, if they were ſold for ſlaves. From which it is evident, that *Polybius* is comparing, not the condition of *Greece* before the days of *Philip*, with its condition in his own age; but the troubled and unſettled ſtate of *Peloponneſus* during the *Achaean* wars, with that ſhort breathing time it enjoyed, when theſe wars had juſt ceaſed. 'Tis natural for a people to think themſelves very happy in the enjoyment of peace after deſtructive wars. This is all which is ſaid by *Polybius*. For he is far from ſuppoſing, that the *Greeks* were happier, richer, or more populous, than they had been before the days of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. How can we imagine that ſuch a ſuppoſition would be found in a writer, who not only knew that a *Roman* army had ravaged *Achaia*, and diſſolved the *Achaean* league, but was himſelf

* Lib. 2.

ſelf an eye-witneſs of the barbarous deſtruction of *Corinth* * !

As for the paſſages quoted from *Pliny*, one of them rather makes againſt our author's hypotheſis; for in it *Pliny* gives the preference to the antient world †. He admits indeed, that the *Roman* empire

* Strabo, lib. 8.

† Illud ſatis mirari non queo, interiſſe quarundem memoriam; atque etiam nominum, quae auctores prodidere, notitiam. Quis enim non communicato orbe terrarum, majeſtate Romani imperii profeciſſe vitam putet commercio rerum ac ſocietate feſtae pacis, omniaque etiam quae occulta ante fuerant, in promiſcuo uſu facta? At hercule non reperiuntur qui norunt multa ab antiquis prodita: tanto priſcorum cura fertilior, aut induſtria felicior fuit, ante millia annorum inter principia literarum Heſiodo praecepta agricolis pandere orſo, ſubſecutiſque non paucis hanc curam ejus, unde nobis crevit labor. Quippe cum requirenda ſint non ſolum poſtea inventa, verum etiam ea quae invenerant priſci, deſidia internecione rerum memoriae inducta, cujus ſomni cauſas quis alias quam publicas mundi invenerit? Nimirum alii ſubiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, et avaritiae tantum artes coluntur. Antea incluſis gentium imperiis intra ipſas, ideoque et ingeniis, quadam ſterilitate fortunae, neceſſe erat animi bona exercere: regeſque innumeri honore artium colebantur, et in oſtentatione has praeferebant, opem et immortalitatem ſibi per illas prorogari arbitrantes. Quare abundabant et praemia et opera vitae. Poſteris laxitas mundi et rerum amplitudo damno fuit, poſt quam ſenator cenſu legi coeptus, judex fieri cenſu, magiſtratum ducemque nil magis exornare quam cenſus: poſtquam coepere orbitas in auctoritate ſumma et potentia eſſe, captatio in quaeſtu fertiliſſimo, ac ſola gaudia in poſſidendo; peſſum iere vitae pretia:

pire had produced greater inequality of fortune, greater riches, a more general peace, and had opened a more free communication among the nations. But his expreſſions are far from inſinuating, that it had done ſervice upon the whole, either by making men more happy, virtuous or numerous, or by advancing the beſt and nobleſt arts of life. On the contrary, he takes notice, that it had introduced greater luxury and vice: and which ought eſpecially to be remarked, had made riches ſo neceſſary, that a family was eſteemed a burden and a diſadvantage, as it increaſed expence; and that the want of children, by leſſening expence, added a dignity, and gave greater power and influence. An author of theſe ſentiments cannot be ſuppoſed to have believed, that the *Roman* empire produced greater numbers of people than the antient governments.

tia: omneſque a maximo bono liberales dictae artes in contrarium cecidere, ac ſervitute ſola profici caeptum: hanc alius alio modo, et in aliis adorare, eodem tamen habendi quo eat ſpes omnium tendente voto. Paſſim vero etiam egregii aliena vitia quam bona ſua colere malle. Ergo hercule voluptas vivere coepit, vita ipſa deſiit. Sed nos obliterata quoque ſcrutabimur.

PLIN. nat. hiſt. lib. 14. in proœmio.

As the expreſſion, voluptas vivere coepit, vita ipſa deſiit, *ſignifies, that the true taſte of living was loſt by the prevalence of ſenſuality; if* Pliny *intended to ſignify further, that voluptuouſneſs abridged the term of human life, he could not be of opinion, that theſe latter refinements were favourable to populouſneſs.*

As to the other paſſage * quoted by our author, it proves nothing but the vanity of the *Romans*, who called the ſlaviſh ſubjection of the world to their empire humanity, and *cultior vitae uſus*, imagining, like ſo many among the moderns, that their own times and manners were preferable to all that had gone before them. But neither from the contemplation of the nature and forms of their government, nor from the hiſtory of the times, will this appear to be the truth. On the contrary, the deſtruction of the world ſeems greatly owing to the ruin of the ſmaller governments, and the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* empire.

* Terra omnium terrarum alumna eadem et parens, numine Deûm electa, quae coelum ipſum clarius faceret, ſparsâ congregaret imperia, rituſque molliret: et tot populorum diſcordes feraſque linguas ſermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, et humanitatem homini daret, breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.

PLIN. nat. hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 5.

PART II.

SECT. 2.

THE humour of blaming the paſt, and admiring the preſent, is ſtrongly rooted in human nature, and has an influence even on perſons endued with the profoundeſt judgment and moſt extenſive learning.

learning. Cuſtom gives ſanction to thoſe manners which are moſt common, though perhaps the moſt ridiculous, and makes it difficult to form unprejudiced opinions concerning them. Do not mankind generally prefer the opinions, the arts, and the manners of the age in which they live to all others? Whether this inclination ariſes from vanity, or from a weakneſs and narrowneſs of mind, which renders it difficult for us to form diſtinct conceptions of diſtant ages, and of manners different from our own; the inclination itſelf is viſible. 'Twas thus that the *Romans* imagined their empire had been ſerviceable to mankind; 'tis thus that ſo many among the moderns conceive ſo favourably of the benefits ariſing from trade and manufactures, as if in all caſes, without exception, they contributed no leſs to render the world populous, than to add to the commodiouſneſs of life. But in truth it will be found, that there may be ſuch an extenſive trade, and ſuch a variety of manufactures, as will render the world leſs populous, and prevent the increaſe of mankind.

THIS argument has been partly conſidered already, and the effects of ſimplicity and refinement ſet forth in the *diſſertation* *; however, as it is a material part of the queſtion, it will be proper to add a few other ſtrokes, to obviate any objections that have been ſuggeſted in the *political diſcourſe*. BY

* P. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

By ſuch a ſimplicity of life and manners, as is maintained to be favourable to populouſneſs, is to be underſtood, not a ſavage fierceneſs or barbarity, or a total ignorance of arts, ſuch as prevailed in the rude beginnings of nations, before ſocieties were regularly formed, but ſuch as is conſiſtent with many improvements, nay, ſuppoſes the moſt neceſſary arts to be brought to a good degree of perfection. 'Tis ſuch a ſimplicity as actually obtained among many antient nations, when every family carefully cultivated its own little field, and mankind were almoſt wholly imployed in agriculture, and its attendant arts, being little acquainted with trade or merchandize, and entirely ſtrangers to luxury or magnificence in living.

It would not be difficult to ſhew, that ſuch a ſimplicity of life and manners would make a nation more virtuous, and by conſequence more happy. But the debate does not turn on this point, nor do we inquire which of the two ſtates, the ſimple or the refined, is moſt eligible in itſelf, or moſt ſuited to our taſte at preſent, after we have been acquainted with the more refined; or which method is moſt effectual to inſpire a ſlothful barbarous people in the neighbourhood of an opulent luxurious commercial nation, with the love of induſtry. The only queſtion is, whether ſimplicity or refinement renders a country moſt populous? and whether a nation already addicted to paſturage and

agriculture

agriculture (as many of the antient nations were) muſt not be more numerous by their induſtry of this kind, than moſt other commercial nations by their extenſive trade and operoſe manufactures?

Now, viewing things in this light, the examples our author brings of antient ſimplicity, *viz.* that the only garb of the antients, both for males and females, was very ſimple *; that the city of *Athens* was fully as populous before the *Median* war, as at any time after it; that its citizens applied themſelves to paſturage and agriculture, avoided an extenſive trade, and were averſe from long and diſtant voyages †; that the intereſt of money was high ‡, and the profits of trade great ‖; that the navigation of the antients was very imperfect **; that their commerce conſiſted chiefly in the exchange of thoſe commodities, for which different ſoils and climates were ſuited ††; and that the antient republics had a great reſemblance to *Swiſſerland*, where there are the worſt artiſts, and the leaſt commerce, but the beſt agriculture in *Europe* ‡‡. Theſe, and other examples of this ſort, not only make nothing againſt the hypotheſis of the *diſſertation*, but alſo prove in a remarkable

* Political diſcourſes, p. 205.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
‖ Ibid. p. 206.
** Ibid. p. 207.
†† Ibid.
‡‡ Ibid. p. 185. 208.

markable manner, that ſimplicity obtained in antient times; and that the induſtry which was among the antients, was chiefly directed, not towards the improvement and cultivation of manufactures, but to the moſt neceſſary arts, and in particular to the proviſion of food. So that this ſimplicity, and this ſort of induſtry, muſt have been effectual to produce greater numbers of people.

It is true, that our manufactures, and all our more commodious methods of carrying on a more extenſive trade, employ a great many hands. Were we to ſtrike them all off at once, it would give a great check to every kind of buſineſs and labour, and cauſe multitudes of families to periſh by want*: nor could we all of a ſudden ſupply the place of theſe later inventions. But this proceeds wholly from our preſent cuſtoms and police; if other cuſtoms and another taſte prevailed, we could gradually ſupply their places, and employ ſuch hands as would be rendered idle, in a manner much more uſeful for multiplying our people, *viz.* in agriculture, and arts ſubſervient to the proviſion of food, by which means we would both purchaſe more uſeful and ſubſtantial wealth, and diſtribute it in a more equitable manner.

Had the antients been either idle, or as much ignorant of agriculture, as they were of many of our improvements in trade and manufactures, our author's

* Political diſcourſes, p. 210.

author's reaſoning had been good. But this was not the caſe, they were both well ſkilled in agriculture, and it was their chief employment *.

OUR

* *Beſides the quotations from* Columella, Cato, *and* Xenophon, *in the diſſertation, p.* 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104. *There is a paſſage in* Pliny, *which ſhews his ſenſe of the ſtate of agriculture among the antients.*

Dona ampliſſima imperatorum ac fortium civium, quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaraviſſet. Item quartarii farris aut heminae conferente populo. Cognomina etiam prima inde.——Fabiorum, Lentulorum, Ciceronum, ut quiſque aliquod optime genus ſereret. Juniorum familiae Bubulcum nominaverunt, qui bubus optime utebatur.—Agrum male colere, cenſorium probrum judicabatur.—Hinc et locupletes dicebant, loci, hoc eſt, agri plenos. Pecunia ipſa a pecore appellabatur. Etiam nunc in tabulis cenſoriis paſcua dicuntur omnia, ex quibus populus reditus habet, quia diu hoc ſolum vectigal fuerat.—Ruſticae tribus laudatiſſimae eorum qui rura haberent. Urbanae vero, in quas transferri ignominiae eſſet, deſidiae probro:—Ergo iis moribus non modo ſufficiebant fruges, nulla provinciarum paſcente Italiam, verum etiam *annonae vilitas incredibilis erat*.—Quaenam ergo tantae ubertatis cauſa erat? ipſorum tunc manibus imperatorum colebantur agri (ut fas eſt credere), gaudente terra vomere laureato et triumphali aratore: ſive illi eadem cura ſemina tractabant, qua bella, eademque diligentia arva diſponebant, qua caſtra: ſive honeſtis manibus omnia laetius proveniunt, quoniam et curioſius fiunt.—At nunc eadem illa, vincti pedes, damnatae manus, inſcripti vultus exercent: non tamen ſurda tellure, quae parens appellatur, colique dicitur et ipſa honore hinc aſſumpto, ut nunc invita ea, et indigne ferente credatur id fieri. Sed nos miramur ergaſtulorum non eadem emolumenta eſſe quae fuerunt imperatorum. Igitur de

cultura

Our author indeed ſeems to be of opinion *, that agriculture was but little known in the age of *Xenophon*, and repreſents *Xenophon*, as if he had ſaid, that every man may be a farmer; that no art or ſkill is requiſite; and that all conſiſts in induſtry and attention to the execution. But *Xenophon* means only to ſay, what is certainly true, that agriculture is not ſo hard to learn as the other arts, to which long apprenticeſhips muſt be ſerved, before one can practiſe them in perfection; and that partly by looking upon the labourers, partly by verbal inſtructions, one may ſoon know it ſo well, as even to teach it to another. So far is *Xenophon* from thinking, that no art or ſkill is requiſite to make a farmer; that on the contrary he aſſerts not only, that agriculture is an art, but that one muſt be ſkilful in it, if he would have good crops. And from the manner of treating this ſubject in the *oeconomics*, it is evident, how much agriculture was ſtudied by the wiſer

cultura agri praecipere principale fuit et apud exteros. Siquidem et reges fecere, Hiero, Philometor, Attalus, Archelaus: et duces Xenophon, et Poenus etiam Mago.—Cato—D. Syllanus—M. Varro—Qui octogeſimum primum vitae annum agens de ea re prodendum putavit.

Nat. hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 3.

Quippe ſermo circa rura eſt, agreſteſque uſus, ſed quibus vita honoſque apud priſcos maximus fuerit.

Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 18. cap. 1.

See alſo cap. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8.

* P. 209.

wiſer and more learned part of mankind in the age of *Xenophon.*

NEITHER can Mr. *Hume* rightly infer *, from the account *Polybius* † gives of the numerous herds of ſwine in *Italy*, which frequently conſiſted of more than a thouſand; that the north of *Italy* was then much leſs peopled, and worſe cultivated than at preſent. For it evidently appears from the paſſage of *Polybius* itſelf, that theſe herds were extremely tame, and obedient to their keepers, who had accuſtomed them at the ſound of an horn to run immediately each to his own keeper, and to follow him in an orderly manner. Hence, though they had no ſeparate paſtures, and though different herds mixed together, they might eaſily have been kept from doing harm, ſince the ſwine-herds had them ſo much under command. This relation, ſo far from "having the air of that oeconomy which is "to be met with in our *American* colonies," or pointing out an uncultivated country, gives us reaſon to preſume, that the peaſants of thoſe days employed about every thing that concerned agriculture, an art and induſtry unknown at preſent in *European* countries. And we may eaſily conceive, that many methods might have been invented for preſerving their fields, however much they were improved by agriculture: in particular, they might have been ſecured by a pro-

* P. 239, 240.

† Lib. 12.

per diviſion of the farms, and by defending them with incloſures. In ſhort, the herds of ſwine in thoſe days, according to *Polybius*'s deſcription of them, might have been as eaſily hindered from ſtraggling and from deſtroying incloſures, as the numerous flocks of ſheep which are fed in *Britain* at preſent.

'Tis of ſuch importance in the queſtion, concerning the populouſneſs of antiquity, to ſhew the true ſtate and condition of agriculture, and the extent to which it had arrived in antient times, that our author has endeavoured to confirm his hypotheſis by another argument, which, having been brought by a celebrated *French* Critic, in ſupport of his own theory, Mr. *Hume* hath with great ingenuity * applied it to the preſent ſubject, and endeavoured to prove by it, that the earth was worſe cultivated in antient than in modern times. It has been obſerved by *L'Abbe du Bos*, that *Italy* is warmer in the preſent age than it was formerly. Mr. *Hume* would extend this obſervation to other *European* climates, and account for this greater warmth of the ſeaſons, by ſuppoſing that *Italy*, *Gaul*, and other countries are better cultivated, and therefore more populous than they were in antient times.

But is it either certain, that *Italy*, or other ſouthern parts of *Europe*, are warmer than they were antiently; or, though they were warmer, is it

* P. 243, &c.

it a juſt conſequence, that for this reaſon they muſt be better cultivated, aud more populous than they were in antient times?

As the antients take notice of rigorous winters, which happened in ſome particular years, deſtroyed the trees, and cauſed rivers to freeze even in warmer climates, ſome ſuch extraordinary ſevere ſeaſons ſtill continue to happen in the ſame countries, perhaps once in a century or oftner.

A. C. 401, the * ſea is ſaid to have been frozen during 20 days. If this relates to the *Euxine* ſea, the whole of it lies between 42 and 46 degrees of latitude, and its northern banks are a degree farther ſouth than the middle parts of *France*. But whatever ſea is underſtood, we have undoubted evidence, that in the eighth century, about the 23d year of *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, there was ſo great a froſt at *Conſtantinople*, which lies in about 41 degrees of latitude, and is farther ſouth than the moſt ſouthern point in *France*, that the *Euxine* ſea was covered with ice in ſome places 100 miles from the ſhore; and that the ice was ſo ſtrong, as to carry men and all other kinds of animals. *Theophanes*, who lived at that time, ſays, that he was an eye-witneſs of the mountains of ice which came rolling down by *Conſtantinople*; and that this froſt was

* It is called the *Euxine ſea* in the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, lately publiſhed, but the *Chronic. Alexand. ad ann. Chriſti* 401, which is quoted for atteſting this event, calls it only the ſea.

was not only felt in that country, but in the northern, eaſtern and weſtern regions *.

A. C. 821, the rivers in *Europe* were frozen ſo hard, as to bear loaded waggons for 30 days together †.

But to come to modern times, in the year 1709, the froſt was ſo ſevere, as to deſtroy many vegetables, not only in the northern, but alſo in the ſouthern parts of *Europe*. Even in *Italy*, moſt of the lemon and orange-trees, and a great many olive-trees periſhed. Birds and inſects were deſtroyed in vaſt numbers; nay, many cattle, and even ſeveral men periſhed in the fields with cold. Mention is made of 60 near *Paris*, of ſome at *Venice*, and of 80 *French* ſoldiers near *Namur*. Some died aboard the ſhips that were on the coaſt of *Italy*; and ſeveral loſt parts of their fingers and toes. Rivers were frozen in *England*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, *France* and *Italy*: nay, the ſea itſelf on the coaſt of *Genoa* and *Leghorn* ‡. However, notwithſtanding the rigour of this ſeaſon, the froſt in the year 1684, as it continued longer, is thought to have been more ſevere ‖. In ſhort, there

* Theophan. chronograph. ad ann. Conſtant. 23.

† Hiems ſaeviſſima fuit hoc anno, adeo ut fluvii Europae glacie conſtricti plauſtra onuſta pluſquam tricenis diebus ferent.

Calviſius ad ann. 821.

‡ *Jones*'s abridgment of the philoſophical tranſactions, from 1700, to 1720. vol. 1. part. 2. p. 113, *&c.*

‖ Ibid. p. 117. In this cold winter, the waters of the *Thames*

there appears no good reaſon to believe, that there have not been as rigorous winters in modern, as were in antient ages.

SUPPOSING geography to be as imperfect as it was in the days of *Strabo*, and a writer who was born in *Sicily*, *Greece*, or the ſouth of *Italy*, and was accuſtomed to the warmth of theſe countries, to deſcribe the climate of *Gaul*, and of the northern parts of *Europe*, 'tis ſcarce to be doubted, but he would do it much in the ſame manner, as *Diodorus Siculus* or *Varro* hath done. Suppoſe alſo that he was baniſhed from his native country to the weſtern banks of the *Euxine* ſea, and was in as melancholy an humour, and endued with as lively and as poetical a genius as *Ovid:* ſuppoſe him to ſit down to bemoan his unhappy fate, to paint the wretchedneſs of his lot, and lament his baniſhment from his country, 'tis probable that he would give as diſmal accounts of the climate, as *Ovid* has given us of that of *Tomi* *.

NEITHER

Thames were frozen to ſo great depth, that booths were erected, fires lighted, and meat dreſſed on the river.

* Our author (p. 245), quotes Mr. *Tournefort* to atteſt the fineneſs of this climate, in oppoſition to *Ovid*. But this gentleman does not appear to have been ſo far north as *Tomi*, and ſeems only to have ſeen the ſouthern coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea. Beſides, in his deſcription of that part of the coaſt, from the mouth of the *Euxine*, as far as *Sinope*; he confeſſes, he never ſaw it, but in the fineſt ſeaſon of the year; from which, and from ſome preceeding obſervations of the exceſſive froſts of modern times, it will appear, that *Ovid*'s deſcription will not prove, that the antient ſeaſons were colder than what may be ſtill felt in our days.

NEITHER will it appear, that the temperature of climates has been altered by the culture of the earth, from what our author quotes from *Strabo**, "that north of the *Cevennes*, *Gaul* produces not "figs and olives; and the vines which have been "planted bear not grapes that will ripen;" for fruits are very different from corns, and other things which are *neceſſary* for the ſubſiſtance of man. Hence, while corn-fields were richly cultivated, the culture of fruits might have made ſlow progreſs from one country to another: ſo that the want of them might have been owing, not to want of heat, but often to the neglect of the inhabitants, and to their particular cuſtoms and opinions. The emperor *Domitian* publiſhed an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding many which were already planted in the provinces to be immediately rooted up†. Near 200 years afterwards, the emperor *Probus* allowed liberty to the *Gauls*, *Pannonians*, *Spaniards* and *Britons* to cultivate vines ‡, a privilege which they ſeem not to have fully enjoyed ſince the time of *Domitian*; nay, he employed his ſoldiers in time of peace, in planting vineyards. When peaches were firſt propagated in *Italy* and *France*, it ſurpriſed the world, that they could be brought to perfection

* P. 244.

† Philoſtrat. vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. 6. cap. 17.

‡ Vopiſcus in Prob. Eutrop. lib. 9. cap. 17.

perfection out of *Perſia* *. Beſides, the richneſs of fruits does not always depend upon the heat of the climate. Thoſe grapes which yield the moſt delicious wines that *France* affords, are produced in *Burgundy* and *Champagne* provinces, ſituated far towards the north of the *Cevennes*: yet the air of theſe provinces is neither ſo warm, nor ſo cheriſhing as that of *Montpelier*. Good figs may be produced 100 miles north of *Edinburgh*, which *Strabo* would have thought impoſſible; and even within the memory of man, how many places in *Scotland* were thought incapable of producing wheat, and the beſt ſort of oats and barley, where they grow plentifully at preſent. In ſhort, the production and perfection of fruits and grains depend on many other circumſtances beſides the warmneſs of the climate: and no argument can be drawn for leſs or greater heat, from examples of this kind.

BUT though it were certain, that *Italy*, and other ſouthern parts of *Europe*, are now warmer than they were in former times; as Mr. *Hume* has well obſerved †, the conſequence may not be neceſſary, that they are better cultivated. For, if the northern countries of *Europe* were antiently wilder and more woody, the colder winds that blowed from them might have affected the ſouthern climates, and made them colder than they are now,

* Peaches are commonly reckoned *indigenae Perſiae*.

† P. 253, 254.

now, after theſe woods have been felled; notwithſtanding which, they might have been better cultivated and peopled in thoſe antient times.

PART III.

IN the preceeding ſections we have endeavoured to demonſtrate, that modern inſtitutions and modern manners are far leſs favourable to populouſneſs, than thoſe which obtained in antient ages.

HENCE it ought not to ſurpriſe us, that antient hiſtorians have given accounts of far greater numbers of people than are to be found in modern times. Nor do we ſeem to have any juſt title to reject their teſtimony on this ground, unleſs there are ſome other circumſtances which render it incredible; nay, the accounts of antient hiſtorians appearing to be ſuch as might be expected, if the hypotheſis in the *diſſertation* was true, ſerve both to confirm it, and alſo to render the teſtimonies themſelves more credible.

IT is not indeed pretended, that antient hiſtorians have fallen into no miſtakes, that ſome of their computations are not too high, or that there is a perfect agreement among them in every number or minute circumſtance. This is not neceſſary in an argument, which is not built upon a ſingle teſtimony or two, but upon a ſeries of them, given by ſuch as lived in ſucceſſive ages, and in different nations: all which agree in bearing witneſs

to the great populouſneſs of antiquity. Such concurring teſtimonies of ſo many authors, ſacred and profane, concerning ſo many countries, cannot be evaded by general inſinuations, as if the accounts, by being ridiculous, loſt all credit and authority *. Could we indeed demonſtrate, from a compariſon of antient and modern manners, that modern ages muſt be more populous than the antient, we ſhould have reaſon to reject the moſt expreſs teſtimonies: but when either it is quite otherwiſe, or the matter is at moſt only rendered doubtful, by arguments which ſeem to balance one another, we muſt not haſtily reject the teſtimonies of hiſtorians. However, to obviate the force of any objections which have been propoſed by Mr. *Hume*, it will be neceſſary to examine what he has thrown out on this head, and to ſubjoin ſome other calculations and authorities from the antients, beſides thoſe which have been already propoſed in the *diſſertation*.

As to *Egypt*, *Theocritus* celebrates *Ptolomy* for commanding 33,339 cities †; an additional proof of the great populouſneſs of this fertile country in thoſe days. 'Tis true, the number, or rather the manner in which the number is expreſſed by the poet, is ſomewhat ſingular ‡; but what reaſon have we to ſuppoſe, that this ſingularity was the

* Political diſcourſes, p. 213.

† Idyll. 17. lin. 82.

‡ Political diſcourſes, p. 214.

reaſon of aſſigning it? *Theocritus* does not ſeem to have been one of thoſe authors who wrote ſo looſely. Under the word *cities* the antients comprehended not only large walled towns, but the more noted villages. Of ſuch cities there were in *Egypt* no fewer than eighteen or twenty thouſand, according to antient hiſtorians. If to theſe we add the cities of thoſe parts of *Phoenicia*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Libya*, *Æthiopia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the *Cyclades*, which *Ptolomy* alſo commanded, and which are enumerated by *Theocritus*, we will be diſpoſed to do the poet more juſtice, and ſhall ſee a better reaſon for the number he hath aſſigned, than its ſingularity*. Such methods of expreſſion are common to *Theocritus*, with *Homer*, and all other poets.

How can we ſuppoſe, with Mr. *Hume* †, that *Diodorus* would aſſign no more than three millions of inhabitants to *Egypt*, when he computes above 300,000 of free condition in *Alexandria* alone ‡. He could not but know, that there were a great many ſlaves beſides. If we ſuppoſe them only twice as many, we have a city of near a million, which,

* Τρεῖς μέν οἱ πολίων ἑκατονταάδες ἐνδέδμηνται,
Τρεῖς δ' ἄρα χιλιάδες τριοσαῖς ἔπι μυριάδεσι,
Δοιαὶ δὲ τριάδες, μετὰ δέ σφισιν ἐνδεκάδες τρεῖς·
Τῶν πάντων Πτολεμαῖος ἀγάνωρ ἐμβασιλεύει.
Theocr. Idyll. 17. lin. 82.

† P. 214.

‡ Lib. 17. ſect. 52.

which, according to Mr. *Hume*'s interpretation, would contain a third part of all the inhabitants of *Egypt*. We muſt not therefore interpret *Diodorus* in this manner, but muſt ſuppoſe that the three millions he mentions were only the heads of families, or the males who were come to full age; and that all the inhabitants in the time of *Diodorus*, amounted to twelve millions, which is the hypotheſis in the *diſſertation* *.

IF we examine our author's computations, concerning the number of inhabitants in *Greece*, we ſhall find not only, that he has reduced their number much below the true account, but alſo, that his computation has proceeded wholly upon an erroneous foundation.

WE may obſerve in general, that though our author has reduced the whole inhabitants of *Greece* to a number not much exceeding what may be found at preſent in *Scotland* †; yet the *Greeks* may well be allowed to have been at leaſt as numerous and as powerful a people as the *Engliſh*. The hiſtory and atchievements of both nations would lead us to conclude them to have been far ſuperior.

IF we proceed even upon our author's own hypotheſis, and compute the number of the *Athenians* at 284,000 ‡, ſuppoſing them to have been even the twentieth part of the *Greeks* (though they did

* P. 45.

† P. 230.

‡ Political diſcourſes, p. 222.

did not poſſeſs one twenty third part of the country *) we ſhall find they were more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions; a number much greater than that aſſigned by Mr. *Hume*, *viz.* 1,380,000 †. Nay, ſuppoſing them to have been the twelfth part of the *Greeks* (though ſurely they did not bear ſo great a proportion) even at this rate the inhabitants of all *Greece* muſt have amounted to 3,408,000; a number more than double that of our author. But we cannot ſuppoſe, that the territory of *Athens* was much better inhabited than the other parts of *Greece*, ſince it was mountainous, and of courſe leſs fertile. Beſides, its trade did not much increaſe the number of its people; for, according to *Herodotus*, quoted by Mr. *Hume* ‡, it was as populous before the *Median* war, as at any time after it.

AGAIN; Mr. *Hume*'s computation of the number of the *Greeks*, by which he makes them to have amounted only to 1,380,000, is founded upon the ſuppoſition, that thoſe 230,000 *Greeks*, by whom *Philip* of *Macedon* would have been backed in his intended expedition againſt *Perſia*, were all the free citizens throughout all the cities of *Greece*. But this ſuppoſition cannot poſſibly be true; for it can never be ſuppoſed, that *Philip* either would or could have carried away all the citizens or fighting men

* Diſſertation, p. 56.
† P. 226. 227. 228.
‡ P. 205.

men of *Greece*. Theſe 230,000 * were only the auxiliaries which the *Grecian* ſtates had decreed to *Philip* for his *Perſian* expedition. 'Tis not probable, they would have decreed more than the fifth part of the citizens; at which rate the citizens in *Greece* amounted to 1,075,000; the number of free perſons to 4,300,000; and ſuppoſing thrice as many ſlaves, the whole inhabitants amounted to 17,200,000. If the forces decreed to *Philip* made a fourth part, the citizens amounted to 860,000, the number of all the free perſons to 3,440,000, and the whole number of the inhabitants to 13,760,000, which is much the ſame number with that in the *diſſertation* †.

IT ought to be remarked, that the *Lacedaemonians*, who were one of the moſt powerful ſtates in *Greece*, decreed no auxiliaries to *Philip*, and of courſe muſt not be comprehended in the preceeding computation; for they would receive no orders from the king, *et legem et regem contempſerunt*. Hence the real number of the *Greeks* muſt have been greater, than that aſſigned above, by the whole number of the *Lacedaemonians*.

BUT, to come to our author's computations, with reſpect to the particular ſtates of *Greece*.

'TIS needleſs to ſay any thing concerning the

* *Juſtin*, from whom this computation has been taken, calls them only 200,000 foot, and 15,000 horſe, lib. 9, cap. 5.

† P. 56.

the form or extent of the *Greek* cities, about which our author has made ſeveral ingenious obſervations*. For our inquiry is not concerning the number of people in a city, but concerning the number of inhabitants in a whole ſtate or territory.

With reſpect to *Athens* in particular, it is allowed, that all the inhabitants within the *Athenian* territory, who were of free condition, were only 124,000, being the quadruple of the number of 21,000 citizens and 10,000 ſtrangers, mentioned by *Athenaeus*. But Mr. *Hume* will needs underſtand the 400,000 ſlaves mentioned by the ſame author, only of males come to full age; becauſe the 21,000 free citizens, and the 10,000 ſtrangers mentioned in the ſame paſſage, can be underſtood only in this manner: Agreeably to which hypotheſis, he computes the ſlaves at 1,600,000; a number ſo great, that he imagines its improbability a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting *Athenaeus*'s teſtimony.

If it were neceſſary to interpret the paſſage of *Athenaeus* in this ſenſe, our author would perhaps have reaſon to call his authority in queſtion: for, according to this interpretation, the proportion of the ſlaves to ſuch as were of free condition, muſt have been more than 12 to 1 †, which will be

* P. 226. 227. 228.

† By ſome overſight, our author has ſtated it as 20 to 1. p. 223.

be reckoned by far too high. But there is no neceſſity to underſtand *Athenaeus* in this ſenſe, or to ſuppoſe, that he diſtinguiſhed the ſlaves, who were of ſo little account under the antient governments, ſo ſcrupulouſly, either as the free citizens who alone had a voice in the public councils, or as the ſtrangers who were ſo greatly honoured at *Athens*. 'Twas ſufficient if he numbered them *en gros*. When the words of an author will bear it, we ought to interpret them, conſiſtently with truth and probability. The *Greek* ſlaves were undoubtedly very numerous; few citizens wanted ſlaves altogether; and many citizens had great numbers. It is ſaid that *Timarchus* had 10; that *Lyſias* and his brother had 60 a-piece; and that *Demoſthenes* had 52 *. We may therefore reaſonably preſume, there were three ſlaves for every perſon who was free: but to ſuppoſe that they were 12 to 1, is too high an eſtimate. We muſt not therefore interpret *Athenaeus* in this manner, without any neceſſity.

IF the ſlaves had been 20, or even 12 to 1, ſeveral of our author's arguments, to invalidate the teſtimony of *Athenaeus*, and to prove that there were not 1,600,000 ſlaves among the *Athenians*, might perhaps have been reckoned concluſive: as when he argues, that if there had been ſo great a number †, it would have been impoſſible to have kept them from frequent and dangerous inſurrections;

* Political diſcourſes, p. 223.

† Ibid. p. 222. 223. 224.

rections; yet this was very poſſible, for there was only one commotion, *viz.* that of the miners; — that there would have been a neceſſity for a very rigorous military diſcipline to keep them in awe; yet there was no ſuch neceſſity: nay, the *Athenians* treatment of their ſlaves was extremely gentle and indulgent; — that the deſertion of 20,000 during the *Decelian* war, could not have brought the *Athenians* to great diſtreſs; yet this was actually the caſe. —And that *Xenophon*, when he propoſed a ſcheme for entertaining by the public 10,000 ſlaves, ſaid, "Any one who conſiders "the numbers we had before the *Decelian* war, "will be convinced, that ſo great a number may "poſſibly be ſupported;" a way of ſpeaking altogether incompatible with the larger number of 1,600,000. But it agrees well with the real number of 400,000 mentioned by *Athenaeus*; for of theſe 400,000, only a fourth part, or 100,000 could be able to bear arms. So that deducting the 20,000 who deſerted during the *Decelian* war, it would not be found ſo eaſy a matter to raiſe out of the remainder the number mentioned by *Xenophon*. Thus, as there is no neceſſity, from the paſſage in *Athenaeus*, to ſtate the number of ſlaves ſo high, as Mr. *Hume* hath done; and as inſtead of being twelve or twenty times, they were only thrice as numerous as thoſe of free condition, all theſe arguments fall to the ground at once.

NEITHER is the ſmallneſs of the *Cenſus* a good argument

argument againſt the populouſneſs of the ſtate of *Athens*. Our author hath obſerved, that both *Demoſthenes* * and *Polybius* † ſtate the *Cenſus* of *Athens* at 6000 talents, or 1,162,500 *l.* and under this ſum he would comprehend the whole value of lands, houſes, furniture and ſlaves ‡. But this cannot be the meaning either of *Demoſthenes* or of *Polybius*, nor is it poſſible to reconcile it to the circumſtances of *Athens*. Counting only 200,000 ſlaves, at two *minae* each (which was the leaſt value put upon any of the ſlaves belonging to *Demoſthenes*'s father ‖) the ſlaves alone were worth more money. We muſt not therefore conſider the *Cenſus*, as comprehending the full value of lands, houſes, furniture and ſlaves. Perhaps it is not eaſy to determine with preciſion what was meant by it; probably it was ſomething like a valuation of yearly rents and profits, according to which a tax was to be impoſed on the *Athenians*. Underſtanding it in this ſenſe, the ſum of 6000 talents was not a ſmall valuation: for, ſuppoſing the *Athenians* to have been half a million in number, each of them would have had more than 2 *l. per annum*, which would have gone far to purchaſe neceſſaries amidſt the antient plenty **. Beſides, it is not

* De claſſibus.

† Lib. 2.

‡ Political diſcourſes, p. 224.

‖ In aphob. 1.

** Diſſertation, p. 126, &c.

at all probable, that the ſum of 6000 talents was the full eſtimate of the real rents or profits of all the people of *Athens*. As it is uſual in valuations made in order to the impoſition of taxes, it would be much below the real value. Suppoſing it only a third, every inhabitant would have had more than 6 *l.* a-year to ſpend, which is not much below what *Davenant* * allots to every perſon in *England* in our expenſive times. But be this as it will, it was impoſſible that 6000 talents could be the full value of the whole ſtate of *Athens*; for not long before, there had been at one time about 10,000 talents in the *Athenian* treaſury †; ſo that the inference from this topic does not ſeem to be well founded.

Our author has affirmed ‡, that the *Athenians* brought yearly from *Pontus* 400,000 *medimni* of corn; that at that time they imported little corn from any other place; and that ‖ *Attica* itſelf was ſo barren in corn, that it produced not enough to maintain the peaſants. From whence he brings an argument againſt the populouſneſs of the *Athenian* territory, ſince its whole inhabitants were maintained

* Eſſay upon the probable methods of making a people gainers in the balance of trade, *London*, 1699. p. 23.

In this eſſay, the author ſtates 7 l. 9 s. 3 d. a-head, as the yearly expence of all the people in *England*.

† Diſſertation, p. 228.

‡ P. 226.

‖ P. 227.

tained by ſo ſmall an importation, added to the inconſiderable product which *Attica* yielded.

BUT (1.) *Demoſthenes* ſays no more than this, that the *Athenians* brought ſcarce ſo much corn from all other markets together, as from *Pontus* alone *. Beſides, theſe markets ſeem to have been only thoſe with which the *Athenians* traded by ſea †. They might, and probably did bring a much greater quantity by land from the neighbouring markets in *Greece:* for it appears to have been rather leſs expenſive to bring corn by land, than to import it by ſea, ſince navigation was either ſo imperfect, or ſo dangerous in thoſe days, that, according to *Thucydides* ‡, the importation of proviſions from *Euboea*, by a voyage about the promontory of *Sunium*, was more expenſive than bringing them by land by the way of *Oropus* ‖. (2.) Though *Attica* was repreſented to the *Roman* ſenate, by the *Athenian* ambaſſadors, as barren; yet, conſidering the circumſtances in which they were placed, and the deſign they had of excuſing themſelves to the *Romans*, we ought to lay little ſtreſs on their repreſentation; for they would repreſent their country as being at leaſt as barren as it

* Orat. adverſus Leptinem.

† This is confirmed both by the ſignification of the word ἐμπορίον uſed by *Demoſthenes*, and by what follows in the paſſage.

‡ Lib. 7. cap. 28.

‖ Political diſcourſes, p. 207.

it really was *. (3.) Notwithſtanding their repreſentation, we may well be allowed to ſuppoſe, that *Attica* produced grain enough to maintain three fourths of the peaſants. According to *Xenophon*, there were 10,000 houſes or families in *Athens* †. Allowing therefore ſeven to each family, there were 70,000 *Athenians* who dwelt in the city: the remaining 430,000 ‡ were the peaſants, who lived in the country. (4.) On this ſuppoſition 'tis eaſy to ſhew, that the *Athenians* had grain, brought in by ſea and land together, enough to maintain thoſe 70,000 who dwelt in the city and the remaining fourth part of the peaſants, which together amounted to 177,500, and were unprovided for by the product of *Attica*. If to the 400,000 *medimni* brought in yearly from *Pontus*, we add about as much imported from all the other ἐμπορια together, and twice as much, which could have been more eaſily brought by land from the neighbouring

* Primi Athenienſes introducti: ii, ſe, quod navium habuerint militumque, P. Licinio conſuli et C. Lucretio praetori miſiſſe expoſuerunt, quibus eos non uſos frumenti ſibi centum millia imperaſſe: quod quanquam ſterilem terram arent, ipſoſque etiam agreſtes peregrino frumento alerent, tamen, ne deeſſent officio, confeciſſe; et alia, quae imperarentur, praeſtare paratos eſſe.

Tit. Liv. lib. 43. cap. 6.

† Memorab. lib. 3.

‡ According to the diſſertation, p. 55. the inhabitants of the whole territory of *Attica*, are computed to have been about half a million.

bouring markets in *Greece*, we ſhall find, that they had a quantity of grain ſufficient to maintain theſe 177,500 people. For they had of grain alone more than one *Scotch*, or about 1½ *Engliſh* pecks a-week to each of them *; no inconſiderable allowance, conſidering the plenty of fruits and of other proviſions with which *Attica* abounded. (5.) So that upon the whole we cannot ſuppoſe, that the *Athenians* wanted food ſufficient to maintain about half a million of people, the number aſſigned in the *diſſertation*. Thus the teſtimony of *Athenaeus* is found to be conſiſtent with the ſuppoſed barrenneſs of *Attica*, and with the importations of corn from *Pontus* and other places.

FROM the ſame principle on which Mr. *Hume* hath ſuppoſed, that the number of *Athenian* ſlaves amounted to 1,600,000, he computes the *Lacedaemonian* ſlaves at 3,120,000; a number ſo vaſtly great, that he concludes they could not have been maintained in a narrow barren country, ſuch as *Laconia*, which had no trade. Indeed, had the number really been ſo great, his reaſoning perhaps might have been juſt: but, as his calculation of the number of the *Athenian* ſlaves is founded on a wrong

* Many of the labouring people in *Scotland*, when they are put on board-wages, have no more a-week, than two *Scotch* pecks of oat-meal, for the whole of their maintenance.

One *Scotch* is to an *Engliſh* peck, as 1.47 to 1 nearly.

The *medimnus* contained 6.084 *Engliſh*, or 4.128 *Scotch* pecks nearly.

wrong interpretation of *Athenaeus*, for the ſame reaſon, that of the *Lacedaemonian* ſlaves is erroneous. If we form a calculation, on ſuppoſition, that the number of the *Lacedaemonians* of free condition bore the ſame proportion to that of their ſlaves, as 124,000, the number of the free *Athenians*, bore even to 1,600,000, the number of their ſlaves according to our author's interpretation of *Athenaeus*, we ſhall find, that they ought to be ſtated only at 2,012,903 *. But if we calculate according to the juſt account, we ſhall find, that they ought to be ſtated only at 503,225, and all the inhabitants in the *Spartan* territory only at 659,225; a number which might have been well maintained by the product of their own ſoil, eſpecially as the *Spartans* are known to have lived in a frugal and ſimple manner.

ACCORDING to *Plutarch* †, *Lycurgus* divided the whole *Lacedaemonian* territory into 39,000 lots or ſhares, one of which he gave to each of his 39,000 citizens. Every ſhare yielded 70 *medimni* of grain to a man, 12 to a woman, with a ſuitable proportion of wet fruits (I ſuppoſe oil, wine, figs, *&c.*). Thus each citizen's family had at leaſt 82 *medimni*, which was more than 9½ *Engliſh*,

* By ſome overſight they are made 3,120,000 in the *political diſcourſe*, p. 225. a number vaſtly too great, even ſuppoſing that the *Lacedaemonian* ſlaves, were more numerous than thoſe of the *Athenians* in proportion to the free citizens.

† In Lycurg.

Iſh, or 6½ *Scotch* pecks a-week. This was paid to the *Spartans* by the *Helotes*, and was a ſufficient quantity of grain for all of free condition; and by ſuppoſing any the moſt moderate proportion between what theſe *Helotes* paid, and the whole product of the lands, you ſhall find, on a calculation, that there remained grain ſufficient to maintain, not indeed the immenſe number of ſlaves mentioned by Mr. *Hume*, but 503,225, or even a greater number, which we have ſuppoſed it contained, agreeably to the teſtimony of antient authors.

FROM *Athens* and *Lacedaemon* let us paſs to *Thebes*, another capital city of *Greece*. Our author hath computed its citizens at no more than 6000 *; for which I can ſee no reaſon, that can be offered from antiquity, but that *Epaminondas* took 6000 *Boeotians* to the battle of *Leuctra*, as we learn from *Diodorus* †; and that this levy was made up of ſuch as were moſt fit for war, after a review of the *Boeotian* ſtate. Does this ſhew, that there were no more than 6000 citizens in the whole ſtate, or even within the walls of *Thebes*? Is it ſaid, that *Epaminondas* carried with him all the fighting men in *Boeotia*? or can this be believed to have been poſſible? Can we ſuppoſe the number of the *Theban* citizens to have been ſo ſmall, at a time when the *Boeotians* made ſo great a figure, when,

* Political diſcourſes, p. 227.

† Lib. 15. cap. 52.

when, according to *Diodorus*, the *Lacedaemonians* who had 39,000 citizens * in the days of *Lycurgus*, and had for a long time been the moſt powerful people in *Greece*, began to be afraid, leſt the *Thebans* ſhould obtain the chief influence, as *Boeotia* abounded in cities, and their inhabitants were men of valour †. It was at this very period, as *Diodorus* hath obſerved, that the *Athenians* chuſed to aſſiſt the *Thebans*, for this very reaſon, becauſe they were inferior to none of the ſtates of *Greece*, either for courage, ſtrength, or numbers of men ‡. How could this have been the caſe, if their citizens amounted only to 6000?

'Tis this opinion concerning the populouſneſs of *Boeotia*, which has miſled our author in two other caſes, and made him imagine it difficult to reconcile the accounts of *Xenophon*, and ſome other antient authors, though in themſelves they are perfectly conſiſtent.

PHLIASIA is ſaid by *Xenophon* to be a ſmall city, though it contained 6000 citizens ‖. Nor is there the leaſt inconſiſtency here; for a city which contained no more than 6000 citizens, was in *Greece* accounted only a ſmall one. Upon the ſame

* Plutarch in Lycurg.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. ſect. 20.

‡ Τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος τῦτο ϗ πληθει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ϗ ἀνδρεια κατὰ πολέμον ἤδενος τῶν ἑλλήνων ἐδοκει λείπεωθαι. Ib. § 26.

‖ Political diſcourſes, p. 227.

ſame principle it is eaſy to reconcile *Xenophon*, who ſays, that *Sparta* is one of the cities of *Greece* that has the feweſt inhabitants *, with *Plutarch*, who ſays, that it had 9000 citizens †: for on a compariſon we may infer, that *Thebes*, or any other of the capital cities of *Greece*, contained many more than this number of citizens; an inference entirely agreeable to the truth of hiſtory.

ALL the *Ætolians*, able to bear arms in *Antipater*'s time, are made by Mr. *Hume* to have been only 10,000 men ‡. But *Diodorus*, whoſe authority is quoted to prove the fact, gives this account of the matter ‖; that, when *Antipater* and *Craterus* entered *Ætolia* with 30,000 foot and 2500 horſe, the *Ætolians* reſolving to act upon the defenſive, and not to riſk their all on the uncertain chance of one battle, raiſed an army, conſiſting of 10,000 of their moſt vigorous citizens. With this army they took the field, and encamped on high and inacceſſible grounds, that they might not be obliged to come to a deciſive battle, and at the ſame time might hinder the enemy from plundering at large, and from penetrating into thoſe mountainous places, whither they had conveyed their wives, children, and old men, with their moſt valuable goods. Now, 10,000 men were ſufficient

* Xenoph. de repub. Laced.
† In Lycurg.
‡ P. 228.
‖ Lib. 18. cap. 24.

ficient for annoying and harraſſing the enemy in this manner. Have we any reaſon from thence to conclude, that the *Ætolians* had only 10,000 citizens able to bear arms? 'Tis plain from *Diodorus*, that they had many more; for we are told, that, while they abandoned their weaker and more defenceleſs cities, they put ſtrong garriſons into thoſe which were defenſible. And it is evident, that this would require a great number of the beſt of their citizens.

As little reaſon is there to interpret *Pauſanias* as our author has done, as if he had ſaid *, that all the *Achaeans* able to bear arms, in the days of *Polybius*, even when ſeveral manumitted ſlaves were joined to them, did not amount to 15,000; for *Pauſanias*'s repreſentation of the circumſtances of *Achaia* leads to a very different concluſion. According to his account †, an *Achaean* army was raiſed, conſiſting of 14,000 foot and 600 horſe, and was made up of ſlaves as well as freemen. Perhaps too a proclamation had been iſſued out, that all the citizens, who were fit for war, ſhould inliſt in the army. But all the citizens did not obey the order. The circumſtances of the time ſhew evidently how this happened; for this army was raiſed, when the *Achaeans* were divided into three factions, one which was attached to the *Romans*, another which was attached to the *Macedonians*,

* Political diſcourſes, p. 226.

† In Achaicis.

donians, and a third which was attached to neither, but declared for the independency of *Greece*. It was raiſed, when ignorant, unexperienced and violent leaders were advanced to govern the ſtate; immediately after the *Achaeans* had been overcome by the *Romans* in a great battle, in which they loſt their Praetor; when a victorious *Roman* army was in *Greece*, and marching directly to *Corinth*. In ſuch a divided dangerous condition, we need not wonder, that no mighty army could be raiſed in *Achaia*. An army raiſed in theſe circumſtances, could not poſſibly have contained all the freemen able to bear arms. According to *Polybius*, who knew their affairs beſt, the *Achaean* league might have marched 30, or 40,000 men, without any inconvenience *. This gives a more juſt idea of the populouſneſs of *Achaia*; for no country can conveniently march all its fighting men; *Achaia* muſt therefore have had many more than 30,000 citizens. To ſuppoſe it had not even 15,000, is quite inconſiſtent with the hiſtory of a ſtate, conſiſting of ſo many different cities, which have been ſo juſtly celebrated for that heroic league into which they entered in defence of their liberty and independence. But what a poor defence could they have made, if all their cities, even with the addition of ſome ſlaves, could not have raiſed an army of 15,000 men!

THAT the *Romans* deſtroyed *Epirus*, and ſold 150,000

* Political diſcourſes, p. 228, 229.

150,000 of the inhabitants for ſlaves, is atteſted by *Livy* *; but that theſe 150,000 were all the inhabitants of *Epirus* †, which is neceſſary for our author's argument, is wholly improbable. How ſecretly ſoever the *Romans* gave orders to their general *Paulus Æmilius* to plunder *Epirus*, and to diſmantle its cities; and whatever care he might take to execute his orders with ſecrecy, it can ſcarce be believed, that he could have catched the whole people of *Epirus*. Multitudes of them muſt certainly have eſcaped. *Paulus Æmilius* himſelf was a good-natured man, and was greatly afflicted on receiving ſuch cruel orders ‡. If he plundered the country of its ſilver and gold, if he diſmantled 70 cities, if he made ſlaves of 150,000 perſons, he ſurely did enough. Humanity, policy, the impoſſibility of catching every perſon, and the madneſs of doing it, had it been poſſible, muſt have ſecured the eſcape of many thouſands. Neither indeed is it probable, that the *Romans* could intend to render *Epirus* entirely deſolate. To what purpoſe? 'Tis far more probable, they meant only to ſtrike terror, and would perhaps ſuffer by far the greateſt number to eſcape, who either remained ſecretly in the country, or ſoon returned to it after the *Romans* were gone.

It may appear ſurpriſing, and tend to give a diminutive

* Lib. 45. cap. 34.

† Political diſcourſes, p. 229.

‡ Plutarch. in Æmil.

diminutive idea of antiquity, that a city of ſo extenſive commerce, and of ſo great fame and ſplendor, as *Rhodes* is well known to have been, ſhould have contained only 6000 citizens. 'Tis true, as our author has ſaid *, it contained no more when it was beſieged by *Demetrius*; only *Diodorus* mentions a thouſand ſtrangers beſides †: a ſmall number, it muſt be confeſſed, if there were really no more. However, we imagine, a ſatisfactory account may be given of this matter, without degrading antiquity, or rejecting the hypotheſis in the *diſſertation* (1.) It is not probable, that theſe 7000 who defended *Rhodes*, made the whole number of its citizens and ſtrangers. For hiſtory informs us, that the firſt thing the *Rhodians* did upon this occaſion, was to get rid of all ſuch perſons, as would be either uſeleſs or burdenſom during the ſiege. Hence (2.) we may conclude, that many of the richeſt, ſofteſt, and moſt luxurious citizens, who had not fortitude and ſtrength of mind ſufficient to make them undergo the hardſhips of a ſiege, would fly before it began. Conſider only what might be expected, if a city, ſuch as *London*, inhabited by a wealthy and luxurious people, well provided with ſhips and other conveniencies for tranſporting themſelves, was in real danger of enduring a ſiege. (3.) From hence it is probable, that the 7000 who remained in *Rhodes*, were only the braveſt and moſt reſolute part

* P. 227.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 20. cap. 84.

part of its citizens, who may be ſuppoſed to have eaſily diſpenſed with the preſence of ſuch, as would have ſerved only to conſume proviſions, and to damp the ſpirits of the reſt; would perhaps have been perpetually aſſailing their ears with pitiful cries to ſurrender; nay, might have gone ſo far, as out of mere cowardice to have betrayed the city. Beſides, they might have this farther in view, effectually to ſecure a great part both of their citizens, and of their riches, that if the city happened to be taken, they might be preſerved from the violence of the enemy, and be reſerved for better times. (4.) But after all, if theſe 7000 were in truth all the citizens and ſtrangers in *Rhodes*, who were able to bear arms, thus much muſt at leaſt be granted, that that ſtate, which in antient times was poſſeſſed of the empire of the ſea*, which enjoyed the moſt extenſive commerce, and whoſe nautical laws have been not only celebrated for their equity, but are even a ſtandard, and of great authority at this day, in all controverſies relating to maritime affairs, ſeems to have contained an inconſiderable number of citizens. This, if it be true, greatly confirms the hypotheſis in the *diſſertation*, that the moſt extenſive commerce does not neceſſarily produce ſo many people, as a careful and induſtrious attention to agriculture †.

FROM

* Strabo, lib. 14.

† As manufactures were leſs numerous, navigation was more

FROM *Rhodes* we paſs to *Italy*.

As to thoſe prodigious numbers which were engaged at the battle at *Siagra* *, we apprehend, that the authority of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, is ſufficient to form a ſtrong preſumption of the very great populouſneſs, not only of *Sybaris* and *Croton*, but alſo of all the ſouthern parts of *Italy*, till ſome better reaſon is produced for rejecting the teſtimonies of theſe authors, than the greatneſs of the numbers aſſigned by them †.

To deſcend to a latter age, the forces which *Polybius* aſſigns to the *Romans* and their allies, between the firſt and ſecond *Punic* wars, amounting to more than 700,000 foot and 70,000 horſe ‡, ſhew the great populouſneſs of *Italy* in that age. Theſe were the fighting men of only a part of *Italy* ‖. The account is taken from a kind of muſter-roll, and has all marks of credibility. If it may be depended on, we muſt compute the inhabitants of *Italy*, who were of free condition, at 12 millions;

more imperfect, and commerce was leſs extenſive in antient than in modern times; neither cities nor ſtates could have then flouriſhed ſo much by their means alone, as ſeveral have done, ſince the attention of the world has turned ſo much on the improvement of trade and the encouragement of manufactures.

* Diſſertation, p. 58.

† Political diſcourſes, p. 213.

‡ Polyb. lib. 2.

‖ Not above the third part, according to the *political diſcourſe*, p. 215.

millions; and reckoning thrice as many ſlaves, the inhabitants of all ſorts will be found to be no fewer than 48 millions: or, if the proportion of three ſlaves to one free perſon ſhall be thought too high, conſidering the ſimplicity of the *Romans* in the more early ages; by ſuppoſing them only two to one, the inhabitants of *Italy* were 36 millions: and as the bulk of *Italy* is to that of *England*, as three to two, *Italy* was thrice as populous as *England*. But, ſuppoſing the ſlaves to have been even three to one, and the number of all the inhabitants 48 millions, there will be an acre for every head; which is more than ſome *Roman* conſuls and dictators had to maintain their families, not very many years before that time *. This circumſtance is a confirmation of the numbers marked by *Polybius*.

THIS account given by *Polybius*, is confirmed by the authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who computes the number of theſe forces at near a million. For though his enumeration varies from that of *Polybius* †, yet it may be obſerved, that *Diodorus* computes them in round numbers; that the variation is extremely ſmall; and that they both agree in aſſigning numbers very great. And though *Diodorus* plainly ſuppoſes, that *Italy* was not ſo populous in his time, as before the ſecond *Punic* war, this circumſtance can afford no ſuſpicion againſt either his own teſtimony, or that of *Polybius* *.

* Diſſertation, p. 118, 119.

† Political diſcourſes, p. 216.

bius *. For there is no abſurdity in ſuppoſing, what both from hiſtory and from the nature of things appears to have been the caſe, that the number of inhabitants in *Italy* was diminiſhed in the time of *Diodorus*; ſince the ſecond *Punic* war, and thoſe civil wars which followed it and brought along with them ſuch deſtruction and devaſtation into *Italy*, are evident cauſes of decay.

IT is not neceſſary to conſider the extent or buildings of the city of *Rome*, concerning which our author has made ſeveral curious obſervations †. For as the queſtion is not concerning the inhabitants who dwelt within the walls of *Rome*, but concerning the whole number of the *Roman* people, it is of leſs conſequence to inquire into the largeneſs of the city, or the extent of its walls at any particular period; whether it was largeſt under the reign of *Auguſtus*, or before or afterwards; what was the form of its houſes; whether they were high, and the inhabitants lived in ſeparate ſtories; whether there was much empty ground within its precincts; whether it did not contain a greater number of inhabitants, of all ſorts and degrees, comprehending freemen and ſlaves, *Romans*, *Italians*, and foreigners, under the emperors, than under the commonwealth; what ſort of *Canaille* thoſe 200,000 were, who received corn by the public

* Political diſcourſes, p. 216.

† P. 230, &c.

diſtribution in *Auguſtus*'s time *. For whatever may be ſaid in anſwer to theſe queſtions, and whatever was the condition of the city of *Rome*, it appears pretty evident, that *Italy* declined greatly in induſtry and in numbers of people, after the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* empire.

SICILY is confeſſed by our author to have flouriſhed greatly in antient times, and to have been much decayed in the days of *Auguſtus* †. He ſeems indeed to imagine thoſe accounts, which are given of the numerous armies maintained by the *Dionyſii*, to be entirely fabulous and fictitious; becauſe *Diodorus Siculus*, as Mr. *Hume* apprehends, allows, that, even in his time, the army of *Dionyſius* appeared incredible: and becauſe it ſeems impoſſible that ſo great an army could be maintained in a country of ſo ſmall extent, and of ſo little trade ‡. But I have not been able to fall on any paſſage of *Diodorus*, in which he ſeems to entertain the ſmalleſt doubt concerning the credibility of theſe accounts. On the contrary, I have met with one, where he mentions the great armies of *Dionyſius* the younger, with other numerous armies of later times ‖; and from thence brings an argument in ſupport of what he ſays concerning the great populouſneſs of more antient ages.

Beſides,

* Political diſcourſes, p. 234.

† P. 219.

‡ P. 217. 218.

‖ Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Beſides, 'tis well known that the *Syracuſians*, and the inhabitants of ſome other cities which the *Dionyſii* had ſubdued, employed themſelves in trade and manufactures, not indeed according to the extenſive plan of modern commerce, but according to the maxims and circumſtances of theſe times. So that if we remember the great magazines of arms and other military engines, and the immenſe treaſures which were laid up by *Dionyſius* the elder, and reflect on the great fertility of *Sicily*, we may perceive how the *Dionyſii* were able to maintain ſo great armies. Beſides, Mr. *Hume* confeſſes *, that the *Dionyſii* lived in a moſt enlightened age, and in an iſland with which the *Greeks* were well acquainted; and that the hiſtory of *Dionyſius* the elder was written by *Philiſtus*, who was not only a man of great genius, but miniſter to that prince, and of courſe had good opportunity of knowing the true ſituation of his affairs. Nay, he even confeſſes that one would imagine, that every circumſtance of the life and actions of *Dionyſius* the elder might be regarded as authentic and free from all fabulous exaggeration: ſo that, upon the whole, it ſeems ſurpriſing that he ſhould be found ſo doubtful of the truth of a hiſtory ſo well ſupported. Can ſuch authentic accounts be invalidated, merely becauſe we have not a particular eſtimate of the funds by which the *Dionyſii* maintained their armies, or by an inſinuation that they aroſe from the exaggerated

* P. 217.

ted flattery of the courtiers, or perhaps from the vanity and policy of the tyrants themſelves? Such falſhood could never have remained undetected, unleſs the *Dionyſii* had lived ſo long that the memory of the facts had been quite forgotten.

ACCORDING to the diſſertation, *Gaul* was more populous before the days of *Julius Caeſar* than it has been ever ſince: but Mr. *Hume* inclines to think, that it was not near ſo populous as *France* is at preſent *. In order to ſupport his opinion, he not only brings arguments from the antient condition and circumſtances of that country, but alſo offers objections againſt the computations of antient authors. However, on an examination we ſhall find, that his remarks are not ſufficient to ſupport his hypotheſis. (1). The *Gauls* were antiently much more advanced in the arts of life than Mr. *Hume* imagines them to have been, when he compares them with their northern neighbours, † (I ſuppoſe the *Germans* are here underſtood) as is evident from the expreſs teſtimony both of *Strabo* and *Caeſar*, mentioned in the *diſſertation* ‡. (2). We have

* P. 249.

† Ibid.

‡ P. 68. 69. 70.

I cannot find any paſſage in *Strabo*, in which he obſerves, "That though all *Gaul* was cultivated, it was not "cultivated with any ſkill or care." The paſſage which ſeems to have been in our author's eye, is interpreted too unfavourably for the *Gauls*; for it does not relate to the whole, but only to ſome particular places of this country; as may be ſeen in the *diſſertation*, pag. 69.

have no reaſon to conclude, that the *Gauls* were not antiently much advanced in the arts of life, becauſe they travelled into this iſland for their education in the myſteries of the religion and philoſophy of the *Druids* *. From hence it appears only, that the mode or tour of travelling in thoſe days was different from that which is moſt common at preſent; that the *Gauls* had an high opinion of the antiquity, learning, and ſanctity of our *Britiſh Druids*; or at moſt, that they were ſuperſtitious or enthuſiaſtic; for it is not ſaid that they travelled to *Britain* to learn the arts of life, but to learn the myſteries of their religion. So that I apprehend we have as little reaſon to conclude, that the *Gauls* were not well advanced in the arts of life, as we ſhould have to infer, that the *Britiſh* were not at preſent much advanced in them, becauſe they travel abroad into other countries. On the contrary, this cuſtom ſeems to be rather a proof of the ſuperior civility, politeneſs, and improvements of the people of this iſland above thoſe of other nations. Indeed, we may well be allowed to ſay, that theſe other nations act unwiſely in ſhewing ſo little curioſity to viſit a people remarkable for their wiſdom, their learning, their genius, their ſpirit, their trade, their liberty, and the excellency of their political conſtitution; and from intercourſe with whom good ſenſe and ſound maxims are to be learned, if any where in *Europe*. But how can the

* Political diſcourſes, p. 249.

the cuſtom of travelling be reckoned a mark of barbarity? Further, if the antient *Gauls* are concluded to have been but little advanced in the arts of life, becauſe they were ſo ſuperſtitious as to travel into *Britain*, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the myſteries of their religion; what muſt we ſay of the preſent *French*, who, notwithſtanding their boaſted politeneſs and improvements, are deeply tinctured with a ſuperſtition of the ſame kind, and are ſtill ſo fooliſh as to look for infallibility in an imaginary idol, framed by the weakneſs, pride, and ambition of man; and to imagine, like the antient *Gauls* *, that this ſovereign pontif, or arch *Druid*, the head of their religion, and the *dernier reſort* in all controverſies, is not to be found in their own country? (3). If it be a certain ſign, as undoubtedly it is, that a nation is conſiderably advanced in the arts of life, when a taſte for contemplation and philoſophy prevails, we have good authority to conclude, that the *Gauls* were curious inquirers into nature, that they ſtudied aſtronomy, were not ignorant of geography, reaſoned much concerning the divinity, and were perſuaded, that the ſoul of man did not periſh at death: *multa de ſideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi ac poteſtate diſputant, et juventuti tranſdunt* †. Beſides, it appears evidently, that

* Caeſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13.

† Caeſ. de bell Gall. lib. 6. cap. 14.

that they were acquainted with the language of that people, who had, firſt of all the *Europeans*, cultivated the arts and ſciences, had carried philoſophy to ſo ſurpriſing an height, and had produced ſo many works of taſte, genius, and learning; for it is altogether improbable to ſuppoſe, that the *Greek* language was not underſtood among a people who uſed the *Greek* letters in almoſt all their public and private affairs *. And 'tis as improbable to ſuppoſe, that they could remain barbarous and unpoliſhed, when they muſt have had ſuch opportunities of improvement, by their acquaintance with the *Greek* authors. (4.) We can hardly believe, that the *Gauls* were quite ignorant of the arts of life, when their chief deity was *Mercury*, whom they believed to be the inventor of every art, and to preſide over trade and merchandize †.

IF, as our author obſerves ‡, equality of property had no place among the *Gauls*, we may remark, that a perfect equality had place no where; for

* In caſtris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae ſunt litteris Graecis confectae.

Caeſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 29.

Neque fas eſſe exiſtimant, ea litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatiſque rationibus, Graecis utantur litteris. Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 14.

† Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: — hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt: — hunc ad quaeſtus pecuniae mercaturaſque habere vim maximam, arbitrantur.

Ibid. cap. 17.

‡ P. 250.

for there were wealthy and eminent citizens in all the antient republics. Beſides, equality of fortune is but one circumſtance; the populouſneſs of antient nations did not depend on it alone; and there were many other ſources, from whence vaſt multitudes of people might be derived *.

NEITHER are the wars among the *Gauls* † a ſtronger argument againſt their populouſneſs, than theſe in other antient nations ‡.

As to our author's calculations concerning the numbers of the inhabitants of *Gaul*, I pretend not to find a perfect agreement between *Appian*'s account of the number of thoſe whom *Caeſar* encountered, killed, or took priſoners, and the account given either by *Plutarch* or by *Paterculus* ‖; or to anſwer for the conſiſtency of *Appian*'s teſtimony concerning the number of 400 nations or tribes which inhabited that country, with what *Diodorus Siculus* affirms concerning the numbers of people, of which theſe *Gallic* nations conſiſted **. Only we may obſerve, that the teſtimonies of all theſe hiſtorians agree, in aſſigning large numbers ††, and

* See the diſſertation, p. 83, *&c.*

† See political diſcourſes, p. 250.

‡ See appendix, p. 211, *&c.*

‖ Political diſcourſes, p. 216.

** Ibid. p. 249. 250.

†† According to *Paterculus*, (*lib.* 2). *Caeſar* killed 400,000 of the enemy in his foreign wars. This number is much leſs than that which is aſſigned either by *Appian*, *Plutarch*, or *Pliny*. In particular *Pliny* mentions no fewer than *undecies centena*

and of courſe in ſupporting the opinion concerning the populouſneſs of *Gaul*; and that computing on any reaſonable ſuppoſition from the account of *Appian* and that of *Diodorus* joined together, the inhabitants of antient *Gaul* will be found not to have been more than three or four times as numerous, as the inhabitants of *France* at preſent; a proportion, which ſeems to have obtained in ſeveral other nations*.

AGAIN, it is certain, that there were three orders of men among the *Gauls*, *viz.* the *Druids*,

centena et nonaginta duo millia hominum occiſa praeter civiles victorias. *Lipſius*, in his notes on the paſſage in *Paterculus*, is ſo confident that the number is greatly diminiſhed in this author, as to aſk, "can any one then doubt that DCCC "ſhould be read inſtead of CCCC?"

See *Diſſertation*, p. 75. 76. *Appian. in Celticis. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 25. Juſt. Lipſ. ad Vell. Pater.*

* Since *Appian* relates, that there were 400 *Gallic* nations, and *Diodorus*, that the greateſt of theſe nations conſiſted of 200,000, and the leaſt of 50,000; though we underſtand *Diodorus* to mean only the fighting men, we are not obliged to compute all the inhabitants of *Gaul* at much above 80 millions; for perhaps very few of theſe nations contained many above the ſmalleſt number. And as we may compute 20 millions in *France* at preſent, which is not equal in extent to the antient *Gaul*; even according to ſuch an high computation, it will not follow, that *Gaul* was much more than thrice as populous as *France* is at preſent; which is not ſuch an extravagant ſuppoſition, as our author may imagine. However, the *diſſertation* proceeds on a more moderate computation, and ſtates the inhabitants of *Gaul* at only about 40 millions, ſince 'tis ſcarce probable, that *Gaul* was peopled in as great a proportion as *Greece*, *Italy*, and ſome other nations.

See *Appian in Celticis*, and *Diodor. Sic. lib. 5. cap. 25.*

the *Equites*, and the *Plebes*. All theſe ſeem to have been of free condition *. Now, if we compute the fighting men of *Belgium*, as in the *diſſertation* †, at half a million, and ſuppoſe, that there was among the *Gauls* another order of men, who were not inliſted in their armies, the whole inhabitants of *Gaul* will be found to amount to 32 millions. But Mr. *Hume*, by ſuppoſing, that the *Gauls* had no domeſtic

* The *Druids* were conſecrated to the ſervice of religion, and, beſides, had a chief direction in the management of civil affairs. The next order was that of the *Equites*, of whom *Caeſar* ſays, That when occaſion required, and any war broke out, *Omnes in bello verſantur*, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 15. The laſt order was that of the *Plebes*, who ſeem to have been of inferior rank, tho' they were of free condition. And ſince in time of war, all the *Equites* took the field, on this account fewer of the *Plebes* would be inliſted in their armies: ſo that we may ſuppoſe, the great bulk of them would be left to labour the ground, or work at other employments. Indeed, in the *diſſertation*, from a preſumption, that there muſt have been ſlaves among the *Gauls*, as well as among almoſt all other antient nations, we were led to imagine, that the *Plebes* were no other than ſlaves, and of courſe, that they were never inliſted in the *Gallic* armies. But, on a more accurate examination, we have found reaſon to alter our opinion, and to believe, that there were actually ſlaves among the *Gauls*; and that the *Plebes*, or the greateſt part of them, who are ſaid to be *paene ſervorum in loco*, were only thoſe among the people, who, though they were free, were of low condition; like the common people in *Greece*, *Rome*, and other countries. By this ſuppoſition, the hypotheſis in the *diſſertation*, is greatly confirmed, and ſeveral paſſages in *Caeſar* are reconciled both to it and to one another.

† P. 71.

domeſtic ſlaves, makes their number amount only to 8 millions *. On this argument (1.) we muſt obſerve, that the inſtitution of ſlavery was almoſt univerſal in antient times, and that it obtained in almoſt every nation. In particular, the *Germans*, the people neighbouring to *Gaul*, according to *Tacitus* †, had their ſlaves; a ſtrong preſumption, that there was a ſimilar order of men among the *Gauls*. (2.) It appears, that the *Gauls* had domeſtic ſlaves, from what *Caeſar* informs us was a common cuſtom in *Gaul*, *viz.* that ſuch as were either loaded with debts, or burdened with taxes, or oppreſſed by the injuries of the great, uſed to ſell themſelves for ſlaves to the *nobiles* ‡. (3.) But that the *Gauls* had domeſtic ſlaves, appears yet more evidently from another expreſs teſtimony of *Caeſar*, where, ſpeaking of that trial which *Orgetorix* was to undergo, for having conſpired againſt the liberties of the *Helvetii*, he has the following words: *Die conſtituta cauſſae dictionis, Orgetorix ad judicium omnem ſuam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coegit; et omnes clientes, obaeratoſque ſuos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit* ||. Now, it may be remarked, that the word

* P. 251.

† De mor. Germ. cap. 20. 25.

‡ Plerique, quum aut aere alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, ſeſe in ſervitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia ſunt jura, quae dominis in ſervos. De bell. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13.

|| De bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 4.

word *familia* is, in its proper and original ſignification, uſed to expreſs a family of ſlaves, ſubjected to the authority of one *paterfamilias** : at any rate it muſt be underſtood ſo in this place. So that theſe 10,000 who accompanied *Orgetorix*, can only be underſtood of ſlaves. (4.) If one man appears to have had ſo many, we may conclude, that the uſe of ſlaves was common among the *Gauls*, and that almoſt every free citizen had ſome. (5.) Hence it appears to be of little moment in this argument, whether the *Plebes* were or were not inliſted in the armies of the *Gauls*; for they muſt have had an order of men, who, by parity of reaſon, we muſt be allowed to ſuppoſe, were never admitted into their armies, ſince it was a conſtant maxim of antient policy, in almoſt every nation, never to inliſt ſlaves, or to allow them the uſe of arms, unleſs on the moſt preſſing occaſions. (6.) If the *Gauls* had no domeſtic ſlaves, nor any order of men inferior to the *Plebes*; and if the *Plebes* were admitted indiſcriminately into the armies inliſted in *Gaul*; it follows, that its inhabitants muſt be reduced to a number, which is altogether inconſiſtent with the accounts of the beſt hiſtorians,

* This appears from *Briſſonius de verborum ſignificatione in voce* familia; from *l.* 9, *ff. de juriſdictione*; from the title *de Ædilitio edicto*; from *l.* 1. § 16. and ſeveral other places of the title *de vi et de vi armata*; from both the rubric and the laws of the title, *Si familia furtum feciſſe dicetur*; from *l.* 195. *ff. de verborum ſignificatione*; and from numberleſs other places in the *Pandects*.

ans, and with the circumſtances of the *Gallic* territory; for it was extenſive, fertile, and I may add, well cultivated *. (7.) If we make the inhabitants of *Gaul* amount only to ſo ſmall a number as 8 millions, we are reduced to this abſurdity, that *Gaul* was not near ſo populous in proportion as other antient nations, though it was poſſeſſed of moſt of thoſe ſources which rendered thoſe other nations populous.

THE preceeding reaſoning, I apprehend, is deciſive; and is alone ſufficient to invalidate moſt of the objections moved by Mr. *Hume* againſt the populouſneſs of *Gaul*. In particular, there is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe that thoſe 100,000 men, whom the *Bellovaci*, one of the nations of *Belgium*, could have brought into the field, were all noblemen †. For we grant that ſome of the *Plebes* might have been inliſted as well as the *Equites*. On any ſuppoſition whatſoever, 'tis not neceſſary to call them all noblemen, ſince *Caeſar* does not call them *nobiles*, but *armata millia centum* ‡; and the term *nobiles* can be applied only to the more eminent and wealthy of all the freemen, eſpecially of the orders of the *Druids* and *Equites*.

INDEED on this article it may be objected, that if the *Bellovaci* could have brought 100,000 men into the field; and if the proportion of the ſlaves to the free perſons is made the ſame as that of 3 to

* Diſſertation, p. 69, 70.

† Political diſcourſes, p. 251.

‡ De bell. Gall. lib. 2. cap. 4.

to 1, it follows neceſſarily, that the whole people in the ſtate of the *Bellovaci* muſt have amounted to 1,600,000; a number which is directly contrary to that of *Diodorus Siculus*, who affirms that the largeſt of the *Gallic* nations conſiſted of only 200,000 men, ἄνδρες; for at this rate we cannot compute the whole people in any the largeſt ſtate of *Gaul* at more than 800,000. However, as 'tis impoſſible to determine preciſely the proportion between the freemen and the ſlaves, probable ſuppoſitions might be made to reconcile the account of *Caeſar* with that of *Diodorus*.

Besides the argument brought from the army of the *Bellovaci*, Mr. *Hume* has brought another from what *Caeſar* relates concerning the *Helvetii*, in order to prove that *Gaul* was not ſo populous as is commonly believed *. According to *Caeſar*, in the liſts which he found in the *Helvetian* camp, the number of the *Helvetii*, who had abandoned their country, in order to conquer and take poſſeſſion of ſome larger territory, was ſtated at 263,000 †; the fourth part of which, we may ſuppoſe, was able to bear arms: from whence Mr. *Hume* infers that their country was ill inhabited ſince it contained ſo ſmall a number, though it was 240 miles in length, and 180 in breadth. But (1). ſince we have proved, that the *Gauls* had

* Political diſcourſes, p. 251.

† De bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 29. By ſome overſight it is ſtated at 360,000 in the *political diſcourſe*, p. 251.

had domeſtic ſlaves who were not enrolled, we ſhall find on a computation, that the whole *Helvetii* might have amounted to about a million; no inconſiderable number of inhabitants in a country which ſeems to have been barren and mountainous. (2). Since *Orgetorix* had a family of about 10,000 ſlaves, how vaſtly numerous may we ſuppoſe the *Helvetian* ſlaves to have been, and of courſe how populous the ſtate itſelf! Indeed the multitude of their people ſeems to have been one principal cauſe of their deſign to leave their country *. (3). Though theſe 263,000 had been the real number of all the *Helvetii*, we ought not to judge of the populouſneſs of *Gaul* from the number of thoſe who lived in a part of it which was ſo barren and mountainous, that the inhabitants had formed a deſign of abandoning it†. (4). A reſolution ſo uncommon as that which the *Helvetii* formed, to abandon their country, is ever attended with many frightful ideas of its conſequences, and is counteracted by that indolence, that anxiety, thoſe prejudices, and that affection to a native ſoil, which are natural to moſt part of mankind. Hence we may well be allowed to ſuppoſe that the whole nation of the *Helvetii* could not be brought to go upon ſo hazardous an expedition; that *Caeſar*'s intelligence might have been

* Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, anguſtos ſe finis habere arbitrabantur. Caeſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 2.

† Caeſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 2

been not perfectly exact; that therefore it was only a powerful colony which had entered into this reſolution; that multitudes would chuſe to remain in their own country; in particular, that the *Druids*, who were wholly exempted from war, were conſecrated to the ſervice of religion, were of ſo great influence, importance, and authority in *Gaul*, and ſeem to have been in ſo good a way at home, would not be haſty to ſet out on ſuch an adventure, but would rather wait its iſſue; and of courſe, that we muſt augment the number of the *Helvetii*, by an increment equal to what we may reaſonably ſuppoſe to have been the number of the *Druids*, and of thoſe others who remained at home. If this was the caſe, we may eaſily ſee, why the number of the *Helvetii*, mentioned in the rolls, was ſo ſmall. Thus thoſe difficulties, which ſeem to attend the accounts of hiſtorians concerning antient *Gaul*, are found not to be inſuperable; though it muſt be confeſſed, that they are the moſt puzzling which have occurred in our examination of this queſtion.

Our author proceeds next to conſider the populouſneſs of *Spain*, and ſeems inclined to think, that it was not ſo populous about 2000 years ago, as it is at preſent; becauſe of the reſtleſs, turbulent, unſettled condition of its antient inhabitants *. But we have no reaſon to believe, that the *Spaniards* were of old more fierce and barbarous than many other

* Polit. diſcourſes, p. 251, 252.

other antient nations. 'Tis true, they are repreſented in this manner by the *Roman* hiſtorians, who ſeem to have accounted every thing, but a ſlaviſh ſubjection to their empire, barbarity. 'Tis thus that we find *Juſtin* concluding his 44th book. *Nec prius, perdomita provincia, jugum Hiſpani accipere potuerunt, quam Caeſar Auguſtus, perdomito orbe, victricia ad eos arma tranſtulit, populumque barbarum ac ferum, legibus ad cultiorem vitae uſum traductum, in formam provinciae redegit.* So that it is reaſonable to think, that what was called by the *Romans* fierceneſs, was only a zeal for liberty, and a ſpirit of independence; and that a tame ſubmiſſion to the injuries, inſults and oppreſſion of the *Romans*, was called *cultior vitae uſus.*

THUS much is certain from antient hiſtory, that *Spain*, like *Italy* and *Greece*, was antiently divided into a great many ſmall and independent ſtates; and we have ſhewed, that what is repreſented as barbarity, was not only not productive of deſolation, but even contributed not a little to the populouſneſs of the world. Now, what reaſon have we to imagine, that it could be productive of worſe conſequences in *Spain*, than in other countries?

ACCORDINGLY the *Spaniards* are repreſented as remarkably populous by antient authors; and in particular by *Cicero*, in that paſſage quoted by Mr. *Hume*, in ſupport of his hypotheſis; but which in reality makes againſt it. *Quam volumus*

*licet, P. C. ipſi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipſo hujus gentis, ac terrae domeſtico nativoque ſenſu Italos ipſos, ac Latinos, ſed pietate, ac religione,— omnes genteis nationeſque ſuperavimus**. Inſtead of giving us a diminutive †, what an high idea does it give us of the populouſneſs of antient nations? For ſince it is almoſt demonſtrable, that *Italy* and *Greece* abounded with multitudes of people, we may reaſonably infer, that the *Spaniards* ſurpaſſed the *Romans* in numbers; and that *Spain* was as remarkable for a ſuperior populouſneſs, as each of theſe nations for thoſe particular qualities aſcribed to them by *Cicero*. And as it is undoubted, that the *Gauls* were remarkable for their ſtrength, the *Carthaginians* for their cunning, and the *Greeks* for their knowledge of the arts, what reaſon have we to reject the teſtimony of *Cicero* in the other caſe, and to give no credit to him, when he repreſents the *Spaniards* as chiefly remarkable for populouſneſs ‡?

MUSCOVY,

* De haruſpicum reſponſis orat. 30.

† Polit. diſcourſ. p. 252.

‡ We may obſerve, that *Gaul* was a country, as or nearly as large as *Spain*, and that the *Carthaginians* were maſters of very large dominions. According to *Strabo (lib. 17.)* at the beginning of the third *Punic* war, they were in poſſeſſion of 300 cities in *Libya*; and the city of *Carthage* conſiſted of 700,000 inhabitants, when it was deſtroyed by the *Romans*. From whence it appears, that *Cicero* is ſpeaking of

MUSCOVY, *Sweden* and *Denmark* are ſo ill-peopled at preſent, and ſo little is known about their antient ſtate, that we have ſcarce any reaſon to believe, that they either were or could be much worſe peopled of old, than they are at preſent *. *Poland* perhaps is better peopled than either it was in antient, or it could be expected to be in our times, conſidering the badneſs of its government; both becauſe tillage ſeems to have been antiently but little known in theſe parts of *Europe*, and becauſe of the vaſt fertility of its lands, which at preſent yield great crops, notwithſtanding the many diſadvantages under which it labours.

THE only country on the continent, of which we can with any certainty affirm, that it is more populous at preſent than it was antiently, is *Germany*: for, beſides that agriculture was very much unknown among the old *Germans*, it is at preſent divided into a great many little ſtates and principalities, a circumſtance very favourable to its populouſneſs; for each of theſe ſtates has its own capital, and in many caſes has only a ſmall territory ſurrounding it: by which means, not only the lands around the capital, but even thoſe which ly at a greater diſtance, are better cultivated and inhabited, than they either were of old, or could be at

of the comparative populouſneſs of *Spain*, and means to aſſert, not only that the *Spaniards* were very numerous, but that they were at leaſt as numerous as other nations, in proportion to the extent of their country.

* Political diſcourſes, p. 248.

at preſent, if the whole empire was ſubjected to the abſolute authority of a ſingle perſon. However, there is no reaſon to be ſo preciſe as our author *, and to determine, that it has twenty times more inhabitants than in antient times; for this proportion ſeems truly to be very high.

Mr. *Hume* hath not made any conjectures concerning the numbers contained in *Egyptian Thebes*, *Babylon* and *Nineveh*, which he reckons too much involved in the obſcurity of antient fables †. *Thebes* has been conſidered already ‡. And though we cannot affirm, that *Babylon*, one of the nobleſt cities which the ſun ever beheld, was at any time fully inhabited, or peopled in proportion to its vaſt extent; yet, from the ſtrain, in which both the ſacred and profane authors of antiquity ſpeak of it, we have the greateſt reaſon to believe, that it contained a vaſt multitude of people.

We ſhall finiſh this ſurvey of antient nations, with a calculation of the inhabitants of *Nineveh*. It will not be improper to conclude with it, ſince it is built on no leſs authority than that of ſacred ſcripture itſelf.

According to the book of *Jonah*, there were 120,000 children in *Nineveh*, who could not diſcern between their right hand and their left hand ‖.

Now,

* P. 248.
† P. 219.
‡ Diſſertation, p. 43.
‖ Jonah iv. 11.

Now, computing according to the proportion, which is, from the moſt accurate obſervations, found to be moſt conſiſtent with truth *, and reckoning ſuch as were too young to diſcern between their right hand and their left, to be all thoſe who were below two years of age compleat, the inhabitants of *Nineveh* were 2,200,000; if they were all thoſe who were below three, the inhabitants of *Nineveh* were more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; if all below four, above 1,100,000; if all below five, they were more than 900,000. Thus populous was this *exceeding great city* †, the capital of the eaſt, in times of ſuch remote antiquity.

IF Mr. *Hume* had reflected on the vaſt populouſneſs of *Thebes*, *Nineveh*, and ſome other antient cities, he could never have been at ſo great a loſs to underſtand that paſſage of *Ariſtotle* ‡, where the philoſopher ſays, that, "a city cannot conſiſt "of ſo few inhabitants as ten, or of ſo many as "100,000 ‖." 'Tis plain, that the meaning of this paſſage cannot be, what Mr. *Hume* ſeems to apprehend, that there was no city in *Ariſtotle*'s time, which conſiſted of 100,000 inhabitants.

For

* Lowthorp's abridgment of the philoſophical tranſactions, vol. 3. p. 671.

† Jonah iii. 3.

‡ Political diſcourſes, p. 240, 241.

‖ Οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ δέκα ἀνθρώπων γενοιτ' ἂν πόλις οὔτε ἐκ δέκα μυριάδων ἔτι πόλις ἐστί.

Ariſt. ethic. lib. 9. cap. 10.

For this great philoſopher was too well acquainted with the hiſtory of mankind, and with the ſtate of the world in his own time, ever to embrace ſo falſe an opinion. He is not here treating of the actual greatneſs of any city, that either had exiſted before, or was exiſting in his time, but is ſpeaking of the numbers, which a well-ordered and regulated city ought to contain. The example of a city is brought to illuſtrate his doctrine concerning friendſhip, which *Ariſtotle* was of opinion could not be enjoyed in the moſt exalted manner, if one made choice of too many friends, becauſe, in proportion as the number of one's friends is augmented, the juſt tone of the affection is deſtroyed, and its force too much weakened, by being divided among too many objects. In the ſame manner, a city cannot be rightly governed, if it contain too many inhabitants. This is the natural meaning of *Ariſtotle*, and I apprehend, his opinion is founded on good ſenſe: for it ſeems plain, that a city might not only be more eaſily and better governed, and anſwer all the purpoſes of civil aſſociation better; but alſo, that its inhabitants would be more virtuous and happy, if it conſiſted of a ſmaller number than 100,000; and that cities conſiſting of a million, or half a million of inhabitants, are expoſed to many diſadvantages on this very account.

INDEED it may be ſaid, that this objection lies as well againſt antient as againſt modern times.

For

For there were not only as great, but even much greater cities of old, than are at preſent. But we muſt remember, that the bulk of the antients were employed in cultivating the earth, and in providing what may be called the neceſſaries, rather than the delicacies of life. From whence it neceſſarily followed, that there was a vaſt plenty, and of courſe an almoſt inconceivable cheapneſs of every thing which was neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of man.

BESIDES, the buſineſs, in which the antients were principally engaged, being ſimple, it would be long ere the taſte of ſimplicity could entirely give place to that of luxury. So that great cities could not become deſtructive to populouſneſs in antient times, ſo ſoon as they do at preſent. However, it muſt be confeſſed, that mankind being aſſociated together in vaſt numbers, did even in antient times at laſt find out many inventions: and that by theſe the world was depopulated. From hence it appears, that modern cities and modern times have more powerful ſources of depopulation within themſelves, becauſe of thoſe numerous inſtruments of luxury, with which they are more abundantly ſupplied, than antient cities or antient times. So that they muſt ſooner feel their bad effects, becauſe the thoughts of their inhabitants are continually turned on improving former inventions, by finding out ſtill newer and newer methods of heightening the elegance, delicacy and luxu-

ry

ry of life. All this is exactly agreeable to the truth of hiſtory, and to the progreſs of human affairs. For great cities were firſt eſtabliſhed, and of courſe luxury was firſt invented and carried to a great height in the eaſt. So that there its bad effects were firſt felt. By it a new taſte of life, a new ſet of manners, and an entirely new ſyſtem of conduct were introduced; which ruined the eaſtern world. But, at this time, there was little communication between the eaſt and the weſt; and while the *Aſiatics* were wallowing in pleaſure, a ſimple taſte prevailed in *Europe*. However, no ſooner was a communication laid open by *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors, but eſpecially by the *Romans*, than a ſimilar taſte of life, a ſimilar ſet of manners, and a ſimilar ſyſtem of conduct were tranſlated into the weſt. Of courſe the weſtern world began immediately to decline in numbers of people. There was a total annihilation of ſimple manners. The world was overwhelmed with a corrupted taſte, and has never been able to repair its deſolation.

'Tis a true, though a trite ſaying of an antient ſage, *Ne quid nimis*. For there ſeems to be fixed in nature a certain boundary, and juſt ſtandard, by which every thing either is, or ought to be limited. Thus cities, by growing too large, become deſtructive; and empires, by being too extenſive, become unweildy. Nay, the admiration of wiſdom and virtue themſelves, may grow exceſſive. We may be righteous over much, and

may

may make ourſelves over wiſe. No wonder then, that there ſhould be a juſt ſtandard in elegance and magnificence, and that there ſhould be a limit, beyond which the purſuit of beauty in ſenſible objects muſt become pernicious.

IN general, it muſt be confeſſed, that a taſte of beauty, and a deſire of grandeur in objects of this kind, muſt have been highly advantageous at firſt, and muſt have contributed greatly to render human life agreeable and commodious. But 'tis difficult to aſcertain the proper boundary within which it ought to be confined in theory; 'tis much more difficult not to tranſgreſs it in practice. Happy ſhould we be! happy ſhould be ſociety! could we find out and preſerve that golden mediocrity, which in a great meaſure conſtitutes the peace and tranquillity of human life.

As this taſte is natural to mankind, we can hardly ſuppoſe even the moſt wild and moſt uncultivated ſtate, without ſome ſort of refinement: for men can hardly be ſuppoſed to exiſt, and at the ſame time to have no more than what is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of life. Of courſe we cannot go back to any age ſo diſtant, in which we ſhall not find ſome traces of this kind.

HOWEVER, if elegance comes ſhort of the juſt ſtandard, and is not as yet arrived at its proper maturity, human life muſt neceſſarily be deprived of the enjoyment of many conveniencies of which it is

capable, and the manners of mankind muſt incline towards fierceneſs and ſuperſtition. If carried no farther than the juſt limit, it produces a more commodious method of living, gives riſe to the invention of many true refinements, heightens the ſplendor and magnificence of ſociety, tends to render mankind ſocial and humane, begets mildneſs and moderation in the tempers and actions of men, and helps to baniſh ignorance and ſuperſtition out of the world; and thus far it contributes to the perfection of human ſociety. But ſo ſoon as it o'erleaps the proper limit, it introduces effeminacy and ſoftneſs among mankind, creates too keen an appetite, as well as inſpires too conſtant a purſuit, and excites to an exceſſive enjoyment of ſenſual pleaſure; it enervates both the mind and the body, makes men leſs ſenſible of true glory, and leſs deſirous of true honour; it weakens their martial ſpirit; it renders them leſs capable of preſerving, or of defending the liberties of their country; it excites an inſatiable thirſt of gold; and, by inſpiring a ſlaviſh, dependent and venal diſpoſition, paves the way to much diſhoneſty, to debauchery, to bribery, to corruption; nay even to impiety. From whence, as it happened both in *Greece* and *Rome*, the citizens being ſeduced by ambitious leaders, prove the inſtruments of ſedition and of civil war, attended at laſt with the extinction of virtue, the loſs of liberty, and univerſal ruin.

IN ſhort, it inſenſibly weakens the reliſh of intellectual and moral beauty; it makes men leſs concerned about their conduct in life, and ſo they may enjoy what is courted and purſued by the bulk of a luxurious age, makes them more regardleſs of preſerving their integrity. It introduces numberleſs ſuperfluities and wants, the ſatisfaction of which is preferred to the diſcharge of the moſt important duties. It muſt of courſe prevent marriage, give check to the increaſe of mankind, and hinder millions from ever ſeeing the light.

FINIS.