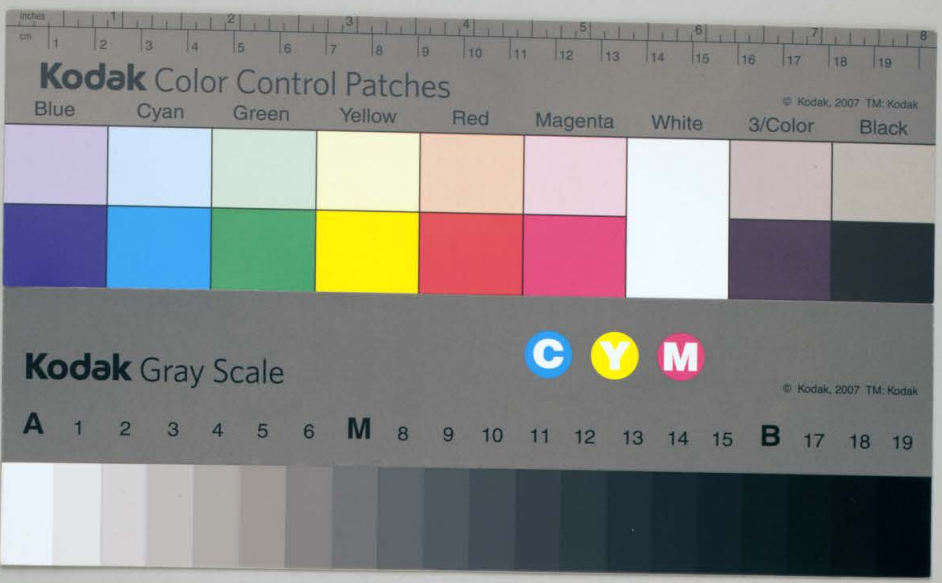
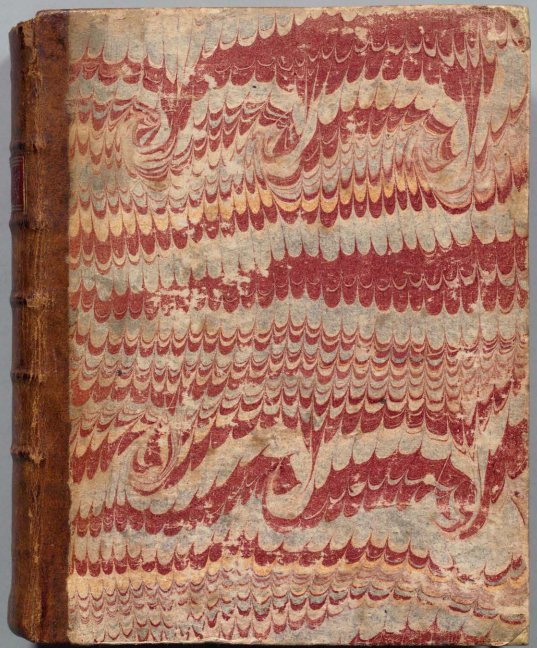
H. Mahdougall





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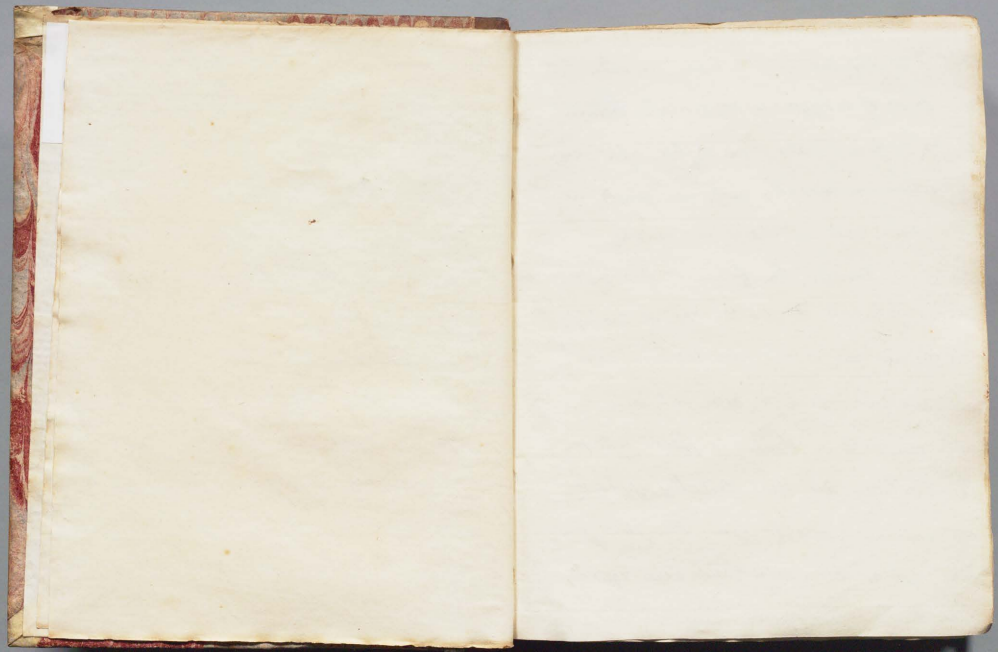

but if we suppose that a man actually in the gripe of a Tyger is accidentally wounded by a friend who runs to his assistance; the action is morally good, and the person who is rescued must entertain sentiments of gratitude towards his friend. If a man should fall into the water, and of two of his friends, one should run towards him and endeavour to pull him out, while the other runs to a House to fetch a rope; their actions are diametrically opposite the one run towards him, the other from him, yet as their intentions were equally good, their actions were likewise equally

morally good. If again we suppose a man to have fallen into the water, and of two of his enemies who stand by, one to have run towards him to keep him in, while the other in a more cowardly manner runs away, that it might not be said that he was witness to a mans death, although their actions are likewise diametrically opposite, yet as their intentions are equally bad, their actions are equally morally evil. From these and other such examples, we may be convinced that

intention alone constitutes the Morality or Immorality of an action. Many learned men however have been misled in their opinions with regard to this, as Mr Hobbes and Mr Locke. We ought to judge for ourselves, and be of that opinion which our own experience shews us to be just. If from India westward to the British Channel, covardice should be looked upon as virtue there is no reason why we should likewise be of that opinion. For I apprehend that

those who imagine that the sentiments of virtue depend upon the fashion of the times, and vulgar opinions, are mistaken.

Lecture 58th

I have last been shewing that intention alone constitutes the morality or immorality of an action. Thus though an action, where the intention was bad, turn out useful and of advantage to the person, against whom it was meant, yet it is morally evil in as

great a degree as if it had taken
place. The general Division of exter
nal condition and conduct is into Ethics
and Politicks. The first refers to the con
dition and conduct of individuals, the
second to those of collective Bodies. Et-
hics which fall most naturally to be
first considered, consist of two parts, viz.
Casuistry and Jurisprudence. Casuistry
recieved its name from a custom which
prevails in the Roman Catholick church
of unfolding to a confessor all doubts

and scruples of conscience; and from the vast variety of cases which came under his consideration, he was called the casuist. Although this institution may ~~might~~ be extremely political in the Church of Rome, yet it is not consistant with the good of Mankind, for it tends to fix their attention too much on external observances objects, and hinders them to form opinions and judge for themselves. Casuistry treats of the stations, duties, and manners of men. I have observed in your notes, that under the head of

To draw off the attention from the genuine feelings & sentiments of the heart which are the only safe guides of conduct, & to fix it on external observances alone.

station are included. Fortune and
Rank. Fortune implies Property, and re-
fers to the unequal measure of things
tending to animal enjoyment and safety.
By it we are enabled to relieve the wants
of others, and it is only so far useful, as
it is employed for this purpose. When
this is the case, we ought to look up-
on it as a means of Happiness to those
who are possessed of it. But where it
is misapplied, it becomes the source of
misery and Wretchedness. Thus une-
qual Fortune is connected with Hap-

pineſs or Misery only so far as it in-
fluences our Conduct.

Lecture 59th

I was last considering what
influence Fortune has upon the Happi-
neſs or Misery of Man, and found that
that influence depended on the use we
make of that share of property, which
hath fallen to us. I shall now proceed
to the second part of station, viz. Rank.
The circumstances which produce Rank
are, Character, Birth, Profession, and

Civil Power. These I shall consider as they stand in order. Character is a principal constituent of Rank, as by a brave and virtuous Conduct we acquire Honours which afterwards become Hereditary. Birth likewise has been look ed upon by all nations as a constituent of Rank. Among the Romans there was a great distinction between the Patricians and Plebeians. In Sparta where all other marks of Rank were abolished, that alone remained which arose from Birth. Among the

ancient Germans likewise, according to Tacitus, great deference was paid to the Descendants of their chiefs. It appears then to be natural that the Lustre of Ancestors should be inherited by their Sons. Profession too, I have observed, is a constituent of Rank. There are different kinds of professions, viz. Servile or Mechanical, and Liberal or Rational. Those who are born in a low condition are for the most part obliged to apply to the former, where they are dependant,

and where no genius or invention is required, the exercise of ~~the~~ the bodily Members being only necessary. But those who apply to the latter kind of Professions, viz. the Liberal or Rational, hold a very different Rank, for they do not look upon themselves as dependant on the will of others, and they must have steadiness of Mind, ingenuity, and the like No less than the three already treated of is Civil Power a constitu-

end of Rank. As in every body of men there must be laws to maintain order in it, so there must be some who are vested with Power, to see that these be put in execution. This Power is at first temporary and for the most part afterwards becomes Hereditary; and the Persons who are vested with it hold the principal Rank in their Country. I have now done with that part of Casuistry, which treats of the relations of men

Lecture 60th

We come now to consider the second part of casuistry, viz. the manners of men, which are the external expressions of characters that subsist in the mind, and the heart. Thus there are signs of probity, candour, and courage; and in the same manner of the contrary vices, which cannot be mistaken. In some cases however we may be mistaken, there may be ap-

pearances of virtue in the aspect, when
there is none in the conduct, and there
may be marks of vice in the counte-
nance, when the Tenor of the Life is ir-
reproachable. We are apt to assume
different looks in different companies,
according as we are pleased with them;
thus Cato who was cheerful and agreea-
ble among his friends, appeared rigid
and severe in public. This is highly
proper, for I apprehend that the man
who can smile equally in the presence
of a Caesar and of an Antoninus,

must either be a Fool, or a Villain.
We are not however to judge of characters by the aspect, but by the Tenor of the Life. Particular actions must not determine us in our opinion, but the general conduct which a man holds. Notwithstanding we cannot help forming a good or bad opinion of a man from circumstances in his conduct, though they be trivial in themselves. Manners have either an arbitrary or a natural connection with the Disposition signified. Those of

the first kind depend merely on custom
and fluctuate like languages or any other ar-
bitrary institution. Thus those things
which are marks of respect in Europe
are looked upon as affronts in China.
It is a mark of respect in Europe to
uncover the Head, whereas it is in China
to put on the Hat, and in Japan to
throw off the slipper. In Europe it is
thought the greatest affront to receive
a blow with the fist open, and to be
called a liar, so that the person affron-
ted seldom fails to challenge him who

gave the offence, whereas in other parts of the world no such custom prevails. It is said that in the neibourhood of Hudsons Bay it is looked upon as a Duty to put their parents to Death, when they arrive at a certain age; but this custom, with that which once took place in India of the wives sacrificing themselves on the funeral Pile of their deceased Husband, are unnatural in the highest degree, and cannot extend their influence to any considerable length. I have likewise heard that

in some parts of Russia, the wife re-
quires as her due the periodical ex-
cipla of the Rad. Since then we see that
such different customs prevail in dif-
ferent countries, we ought to be cauti-
ous what opinions we form of the pro-
ductions of foreign authors, otherwise
we may be like the common people
who laugh when they hear a lan-
guage spoken which differs from their
own, as if the true significations
of words were contained in it a-

Lecture 61st.

I was last considering the first kind of Manners, viz the arbitrary, which fluctuate and depend merely on custom. We are apt to imagine that that which is looked upon as vertue by some is not accounted so by others, from the disputes which have ~~been~~ been among them, relating to this. But if we examine into this we will find that mankind are not

so much divided with regard to ~~what~~ as we think, and that their Disputes arise rather from a misapprehension of terms, than from any differences in the subject. There never was a nation which looked upon cowardice as a virtue, and courage as a vice, or hatred preferable to affection. In no country was the pursuit of frivolous amusements ever held more eligible than that of the truly proper Business of man

viz. the good of his fellow creatures.
I shall now go on to treat of
the second kind of manners, viz the
natural, which are such appearan-
ces and conduct as men of certain
dispositions naturally assume. Al-
though there may be some circum-
stances regarding these, which may
appear to be arbitrary, and rather
to be considered under the former
head, yet I shall in this place ac

amine them. In the case of such manners as are innocent and attended with no bad consequences either to ourselves or to Mankind, we ought to concur with them, even though we condemn them in our Hearts. But where they are hurtful to ourselves or to society, we ought to show our disapprobation, by not concurring with them. Thus the customs of the people at Hudsons Bay killing their Parents at a certain age, and of

the wives in India sacrificing themselves on the funeral Piles of their Husbands, are unjust and unnatural and are not to be followed. There are likewise customs among ourselves, which are pernicious, and with which consequently we ought not to concur as for example the practice of duelling which hath taken place over all modern Europe. Although the intention of the challenger be good, viz to vindicate his honour,

the manner he takes is wrong; and
the person who receives the challenge
does it not that he may show his
Probity, but only that he has the
courage either to kile his antagonist
or lose his own Life. And there
have been men, who did not pretend
to the least degree of probity, found
willing to accept of a challenge. We
have rules within us, which let us
know when to approve or disapprove
of the manners which we see pre-

vail either in our own country, or
in those of foreign nations. Thus we
cannot but disapprove of a custom
which takes place at Kamschatchi;
when a stranger comes to a house,
the host immediately forces him to
eat and drink to excess, while he
himself stands and serves him, and
the country being cold, not only
moderately warms the Room, but
shutting up all the Doors and Windows
so that no air can enter, heats it

to such a degree that the stranger is obliged to go away. I apprehend that customs no less absurd took place some ages among our forefathers.

Lecture 62d.

I shall now go on to consider the Duties of men, which is the third and last part of Casuistry. They have been for the most part brought to consist in Hospitality, Liberality, Gratitude, and the like virtues. But these are relative and are subject to frequent change. Thus in those countries where

there is no accommodation for strangers, but where they are at the discretion of the natives, Hospitality is look'd upon as a principal Duty. But where there are inns and conveniences for strangers, that virtue is in less esteem. In the same manner Liberality is relative to property, for where there is no Property there can be no Liberality. All those who live in such a state as that to which we refer, being on a footing of equality cannot be dependant on one another.

In like manner we may shew that Gratitude, and the rest are relative. The Duties of man have been divided by some into Religious and Moral, with this distinction, that the Religious are such as are dictated by the Laws of God, and the moral such as are dictated by Humanity. But this Division is liable to a considerable objection, for a distinction is here made, where in reality there is none as our Duty to our fellow creatures is no small part of Religi

on. The four cardinal virtues, viz. Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude, have been looked upon as the Duties of Man, but this is rather with regard to their effects than the Dispositions from which they arise. I have said in your notes, that duties may be considered as terminating in the person acting, and are decent or proper; or as having influence on others, and are beneficent or innocent. Decency of conduct

may be defined its agreeableness to the opinion of others. I already observed that we ought to concur with the opinion of the many, or the fashion of the times where it is productive of no bad consequences either to ourselves or others; but when the contrary takes place we ought to strike out against it. Thus we ought to fall in with the fashion of Dress, which prevails at the time in which we live, when no harm is likely to arise from it, ei-

ther to ourselves or others. It may appear somewhat extraordinary, that the fashions of Dress should so often change. This may be in a great measure accounted for, by a desire of distinction. For the Inferiors imitating the modes of Dress in use among their Superiors, the latter are obliged to invent new fashions to distinguish them from the former. Thus we see that fashion fluctuates most in those nations, in which the

difference of station is greatest.
In barbarous nations where all
the natives are on a perfect footing
of Equality, fashions of Dress are like
wise liable to change, but not in
so great a degree as in more civi
lized countries. We ought not how
ever to conform with any fashion
which exceeds the bounds of Decor
cy, prescribed by nature. It is only
so far as modes of Dress are inno
cent, that we ought to concur with them

Lecture 63

I have observed that the Duties of Man consist in Decency, Propriety, Innocence, and Beneficence; having already considered Decency, I shall now proceed to treat of Propriety, which may be defined the suitableness of conduct to our nature, station, and fortune. In every age there is a propriety of conduct; we are pleased with the innocent trifling of children, which

is extremely proper in them. It is the propriety of youth to be ardent and even sometimes precipitant; and of manhood to correct that ardour and precipitancy. In old age it is proper to be grave and serious, and where there is no degree of peevishness, those who are so, merit our admiration and respect. With regard to fortune too there is a propriety. Oeconomy is proper in this case, for without this a fortune how ever large will soon be spent. The greatest ~~fortune~~ body of water may

in a very short time be drained, pro-
vided the ditches be deep enough.
Animal gratifications are a great e-
nemies to Oeconomy, but there is still
a greater one, viz. Gaming. Those
who are so unhappy as to be fond
of games of Hazard, are never sure
of their condition. But besides the
fortune, it likewise affects the mind;
It creates Suspicion, Jealousy, Anxiet
and the like uneasy passions in the
minds of those who are addicted

to it, and renders them altogether miserable. In the case of animal gratifications, there may be intervals, in which we may exercise our mind, but in the case of gaming, it is never free there is no place in it for laudable pursuits; so that men of the best natural parts, by addicting themselves to the practice of gaming, have passed through Life, without having done one action worth ~~their~~ living. We ought then to take the greatest care not to fall

into this most pernicious amusement.
There is likewise a propriety of sta
tion to which we ought to strive to
attain. Those who are born in an
exalted Station ought to be bold, cou
rageous, and elevated. It is their Du
ty to patronize and protect their
Inferiors, and it is the Duty of the
Inferiors to pay a proper deference
to their Superiors. With regard to
Professions, it is Propriety to strive

to excele in that to which we apply. I next proceed to the two last, viz Innocence and Beneficence.

Lecture 6th.

I have already considered the Duties of Decency and Propriety, and found them to consist in conforming with the fashion of the times, so far as it is attended with no bad consequences either to ourselves or others, in Decency, Oeconomy & Elevation of

mind. I shall now go on, as I before proposed to Innocence and Beneficence. Although their foundation, viz. a regard to the interest of mankind, is the same, yet their Effects are very different. Innocence is the consistency of our conduct with the welfare of others. As Innocence will more properly come in when we treat of Jurisprudence I shall only here observe that ~~[illegible]~~ is taken in a more exten-

ture sense than is commonly appre-
hended. It not only signifies abstain-
ing from what is evil, but likewise
doing that which is good. Beneficence
is the tendency of our conduct to
promote the welfare of others. It
includes Hospitality, Generosity, and
such like virtues, ~~the~~ which serve to pro-
duce the good of Mankind. The
same act of Beneficence may differ,
according to the different circumstan-

ces of the objects of it. Although the actions which we perform with a view to oblidge depend in a good measure on the will of the person who is obledged yet mankind are pretty nearly agreed with regard to them. And we ought to perform them not only to individuals but likewise to collective Bodies. For I apprehend that a man may be beneficent to his near relations, without being influenced by any sentiment of Love or of pity towards them; his Be

neficence may be merely mechanical,
and taught him by nature alone. Acti-
ons of Beneficence do not so much con-
sist in furnishing the external conveniences of
Life, as in endeavouring to make those
who are about us wise and good.
Thus Socrates and Epaminondas who
were in the utmost indigence did more
real service to their respective coun-
tries, than those who lavished away
the greatest fortunes in them.
In like manner the different con-

ducts of Cato and Cæsar had very dif
ferent effects upon their country; the
former, nihil largiundo, put off for a
while the ruin of his country, whereas
the latter, dando, sublevando, ignoscendo
corrupted the minds of his fellow citi
zens. John Hamden likewise to whom
in a great measure owe our present
happy constitution of government,
supported with the greatest spirit
the cause of Liberty. This was a

greater act of Beneficence, to his countrymen, than if he had bestowed upon them Riches, or any other external convenience. It is the disposition to Beneficence alone, which constitutes the Happiness arising from it. Thus if we were to be forced by Law to be beneficent, the effects might be the same to Society, but we ourselves would still be wretched, as we were not disposed to be benefic-

Lecture 65th

I have now considered the Duties, under the heads of Decency Propriety, Innocence and Beneficence, and shall now go on to treat of Merit and Demerit, the former of which occasions sentiments of Esteem Affection, and Love, and a disposition to reward, whereas the latter occasions sentiments of Aversion and

Hatred, and a Disposition to punish.
Let us enquire what is the source
of these sentiments of Esteem and
Affection, and of Hatred and Aversi
on, and of these Dispositions to re-
ward and punish. We ought here
to remember, that intention alone
constitutes the Morality or Immorali
ty of an action. In judging of eve
ry performance, whether of composi
tion or workmanship we consider the

ingenuity, force, and application of the author, and in proportion to these we pronounce it to have Merit or Demerit. We likewise measure the merit of an action ~~of~~ by the Danger which is incurred in performing it; not that any advantage can arise from the Danger, but only because it shews our vigour of mind, and ardour in our pursuits. Demerit depends wholly on the intention of

the person acting; It may however be
lessened in some cases by alleviating
circumstances. Thus if a man who had
done an injury to another, should plead
in his excuse that he was forced to it by
by the menaces of a third party, the
Demerit is here changed and alleviat-
ed in proportion as cowardice is a
less crime than real Malice. This
last mentioned crime is of so atroci
ous a nature that, I hope few of the

Human race are prompted by it alone to injure their fellow creatures. I am apt to believe that they are for the most part actuated by views of interest, by fear, or some such passion. Neglect likewise may procreate Demerit, where by a little attention we might have avoided the evils arising from our neglect. If for example, a man should throw a stone into the street, and hurt another the Demerit in this case is great, as by a little reflection he might have

thrown that somebody might probably
be passing by. But if by throwing the
stone into a remote corner he had like
wise hurt a man, the demerit is much
alleviated, as he had not so much rea
son to think that there would be a
ny one there. Ignorance likewise in
some cases tends to alleviate, and even
to remove the Demerit. Although in no
country a criminal is allowed to plea
ignorance of the Law, yet he may have
been ignorant of the fact. Thus though

Oedipus hopes that parricide and incest were crimes of the most heinous nature yet the demerit arising from the commission of these crimes was taken off by the ignorance of Laius being his father and Jocasta his mother. Although the sentiments of Love and Esteem, Aversion and Hatred have a happy effect upon Society, with regard to merit and Demerit, they would be highly improper in the distributi

on of justice; For if we suppose
a Judge influenced by sentiments
of Aversion and Hatred at the crime
which is to come under his consi-
deration, he no longer judges with
Impartiality, but becomes a party
in the cause; his detestation
of the crimes will be apt to pre-
judice him against the pannel, be-
fore he has examined whether the
accusation is well founded or not.

Lecture 66th

Having considered Casuistry which treats of the Dispositions which voluntarily arise in the mind of an honest man, I now shall proceed to Jurisprudence, which is the Theory of right, and wrong, founded on compulsory Laws. As Casuistry refers to what a man ought to do, so Jurisprudence refers to what a man ought not to suffer; so that the

ones may be called commanding, and the other prohibitory. Jurisprudence consists of two parts, the first relates to the manner in which the rights of men are constituted, and the second to the manner in which those rights are vindicated. The writers on morality and jurisprudence commonly call those obligations which we are bound to by law perfect, and such as are dictated by Gratitude, and the like sentiments, imperfect, but I appre

heard that there is a considerable mis take here. For in my opinion, the latter kind of obligations is far more binding than the former. Thus I shall illustrate by an example. Suppose a man prompted by Hunger were to steal from another; here is an evident encroachment of the man's property, from whom the other steals, but the obligation arising from sentiments of pity, and charity ought to out weigh the right which the

Law allows the Proprietor to avenge himself of the offender. There could indeed be no Liberality or Charity if we did not give away what the Law authorizes us to keep; for where in consists the merit of giving that which we are absolutely obliged to give. And, as I already observed, if the Law should require that we should be Liberal, and Charitable, we might be so, on every occasion which presented itself to us, without

entertaining one sentiment either of liberality or Gratitude. We shall now go on to consider the rights of men. With regard to their foundation, it will be necessary to look back to some observations which I made formerly relating to ultimate facts in our nature. As it is an ultimate fact of our nature that we view ourselves, and all other men under the predicaments of

perfection ~~and~~ or imperfection, so the notions of right are founded in our natures. No reason can be assigned for this, but that rights actually exist. No person can be said to have a right to what belongs to another; this last mentioned man alone has the right to it exclusive of every other Body. Thus no man had a right to the Strength of Hercules, it belonged to him alone, indepen-

dant of all the world besides. The
Term right like every other one, has
been taken in a variety of diffe
rent meanings. And Mr. Hobbes
following the common significati
on of the word, which is the right
which a man has to a thing from
agreement and contract, has made
many false and ridiculous suppo-
sitions. Thus he supposes that
originally all men agreed together

and signed a contract, whereby
every one had a right to claim
Gratitude, Charity, Generosity,
and Duties similar to these,
from another. But this Hypothesis
is chimarical and absurd in the
greatest degree. For the notion of
right is original, and prior to any
contract which could be made;
it is not acquired but constitutes
a part of our nature.

Lecture 67th.

I observed yesterday that Jurisprudence consists of two parts, the first of which relates to the manner in which the rights of men are constituted, the second, to the manner in which these rights are vindicated. I likewise observed that when a man has a right to any thing he has it exclusive of every other person whatever. There is an obligation upon us to perform that which is

good, and in proportion as a thing is more or less good, there is a greater or less obligation on us to perform it. Thus we are under an obligation to refrain from injuring another, as it is good in many respects. We ought to refrain from injuring others on the same principle, that we would not choose to provoke the Viper, and rouse the Tyger. For every sensitive being is desirous of preserving himself, and defending

his rights. We ought likewise to re-
frain from injuring others, that we
may be happy, for innocence is a
principal constituent of Happiness.
I before observed that as the con-
dition and conduct of individuals are
the subject of Ethics, so the conditi
on and conduct of collective Bodies
are the subjects of Politicks. I
shall however under the head of Ethi
consider the rights of collective Bo
dies, as they are made up of se-

perate and distinct individuals.
The rights of men are either constituted in the person or in the things, and are personal or real.
Personal rights include safety, freedom, and the use of Talents. These Rights every man has a Title to claim. Real rights include Commonty, Posession, Property, and Service. The Romans had a Division of rights analogous to

this, viz communia omnium, res nullius, res universitatis, et res singulorum. The communia omnium were Water, Air, Light, &c, the res nullius such things as were consecrated to the Gods, as Temples, Groves &c, the res universitatis, such things as every one had an equal right to, as Markets, High Roads, navigable Canals, and the like, and the res singulorum the Property of every particular man which he had independant of

all other men. By possession I do not here mean the holding of any particular things but mere occupancy, and this respects not only our property, but likewise the community; for suppose a man should lye down and drink of a stream of water, which is common, he has a right to remain there so long as he chuses, and if any attempts he made to force him from it, he ought to maintain this right even by Force. But as soon as

his Thirst is quenched, and he has quitted his place, the right immediately ceases. If again, before property is established, a man should lay down upon the ground to rest his wearied Limbs, so long as he lies there he has a right to so much ground as he covers, and as in the other instance, if any force be applied to drive him from it, he ought defend himself, and maintain his right. But this right is greatly

stranger, when the place which we occupy is our private property, it not only remains while we occupy it, but likewise after we have quitted it. As the Air and Light are common, every man has a right to them; but if a man should endeavour to breath the same air, and enjoy the same light that I do, he encroaches on my right, and does me an injury.

Lecture 68th.

The rights of men may be considered either with regard to their subject or their source. With regard to their subject I said that rights were personal or real, that the personal include safety, freedom, and the use of talents, and the real, commonly, possession, property, and service. With regard to their source, rights are original or adventitious. Safety, Freedom, the use of talents, Possession

and Commonty are original rights, where as Property and Service are adventitious. It is a fruitless attempt to seek for the source of rights of first kind, as they constitute a part of our nature. I formerly observed that by Possession I did not mean the holding of any particular thing, but mere occupancy, thus occupancy is an original right. Adventitious rights arise from Labour, Forfeiture, and convention. When a man has made

a certain work or invented any thing which will be for the good of Society, he is entitled to a reward from that society of which he is a member. Suppose he has discovered a new kind of Manufactory, which turnes out of the greatest advantage to his country, he has an undoubted right to be rewarded for his Labour. Rights likewise arise from Forfeiture. We ought how

ever to observe that Forfeiture is not the foundation of new rights, it only transfers rights from one to another. Suppose a man has injured another, the injured person acquires a right, which the other forfeits in reparation of the Damage which is sustained. Thus we see that forfeiture does not produce, but only transfer rights from one to another.

Lecture 69th

I yesterday observed that the adventitious rights of Mankind arise from Labour, Forfeiture, and Convention or Contract. As a man has a right to the use of his Talents, so he has a right to be rewarded for the Labour arising from them. Forfeiture, I said, is not the source of new rights, it only transfers rights from one to another. Contract is likewise a fountain

on of rights. There are two things ne-
cessary to every contract, viz. the promise
of one party and the acceptance of the
other. The law of contract, which is pro-
hibitory, that is, commands us to do no
injury, respects not only our Body and
external condition, but likewise our
Mind. For the mind is vulnerable as
well as the Body, and he who by mis-in-
formation wounds the former does as great
er injury than he who would lead us
to the brink of a precipice, or any o-
therwise would hurt the latter. The

circumstance which renders a contract binding is the expectation which arises in the mind from the promise; and to frustrate that expectation is an injury. In every Contract there must be more than one party concerned, one to promise, and another to accept. It is likewise necessary that the person with whom we contract be in the full possession of his reason, for what expectation can we form of children, Lunaticks or Idiots performing a promise, or

thinking themselves bound by any obligation. There is however an exception to this in the case of drunkenness, for as a man voluntarily deprives himself of reason, he must be accountable for what he does. There is another thing which is necessary to a contract ~~binding~~ viz the Language of it. This ought to be plain, and consists of certain forms and signs, particularly in those cases, which

comes under the consideration of a judge. There may likewise be contracts without any language employed at all. Thus when a guest comes to an inn, he is bound to pay for what he eats, although he enters into no bargain with the landlord. There is another kind of contract too which may be made in the absence of both the Parties. Thus when a man is commissioned and autho

vried by one of the Parties to enter
into a contract with the other in the
name of the former, the latter par-
ty may safely enter into the contract
with the commissioner, so long as he
continues in the service of the party
by whom he is sent. There are o-
ther particulars which are necessary
to a contract, but before I proceed
to these I shall mention the four dif-
ferent kinds of contracts. There are

the absolute, or conditional, and the single or reciprocal. In some cases there are exceptions which tend to remove the obligation of observing a contract. Thus when one of the parties has employed fraud in making the contract, he cannot reasonably expect that the other if he discover the fraud will think himself obliged to stand to the contract. If again the fraud be employed by a third party

with the knowledge however of one of
the contracting parties, no reasonable
hopes can be entertained in this
case likewise of the other party per-
forming. But if the third party be
guilty of the fraud, without the know-
ledge of either of the contracting par-
ties, the contract is binding as both
entered into it bona fide. In the
case of war however, all contracts
as capitulations, are binding, even

through fraud has been employed.
For if this were not so, a war once
begun would never end. The next
circumstance which in some cases
removes the obligation of observing
a contract is force. With regard to this
the same cases which we examined un-
der fraud, apply here. And the excep-
tion inherent to these cases, holds here.
viz. that of capitulations, and milita-
ry contracts. Another exception to
the obligation of a contract is

impossibility. When the promising party knew at the time that what he promised was impossible, he cannot be bound to perform his promise, but still he is bound to make reparation, for the expectation which he raised in the breast of the other party. But if both were ignorant of the impossibility, all hopes of performance must be broke off immediately upon the discovery of this impossibility. —

^ when the contract was entered into.

Lecture 70th

I yesterday observed that there were some circumstances which rendered a contract not binding, viz. Fraud, Force and Impossibility. These I have already considered, and shown the different cases in which they occur. I shall now proceed to the fourth and last circumstance which is Injustice. There are likewise here a variety of different cases which deserve our at-

tention. If we suppose that one of the parties knew that the contract would prove injurious to a third person, he cannot entertain any reasonable expectation that the other party will think himself obliged to stand to the contract And the party who knew of the injustice of the contract, is bound to make reparations for his villainy. But if both of them were ignorant of the injury, which would

have befallen the third party, in consequence of their contract, they ought immediately upon the discovery, to look upon it as no longer binding; and if they still insist upon it, they are guilty of as great a crime as if they had entered into the contract with the knowledge of the injury which the the third party would thereby receive. But as in the other

exceptions, in the case of war, an obligation, even though Injustice may have been employed, is binding; For, as I observed before, were it not so, a war once begun, would never come to a conclusion.

Lecture 71st

I shall now go on to consider the foundation of precedency and power. I have observed that no man

has a right to do any thing, which can prove detrimental to another, so a Magistrate has no right, to do any thing which may encroach upon the Liberties of those whom he rules. A magistrate can have no right to command any set of men without their consent, he may oblidge them to obey his orders, but he has no right in nature to their obedience, except they themselves were willing to pay it. The adventitious rights of men arise, as I have

said, from Labour, Forfeitures, and Convention; but chiefly from Labour, as Forfeiture and Convention are not the foundation of new rights, but imply rights to have existed prior to them. It is just that we should reap the fruits of our Labour, but we ought to take care wherein we bestow it, for if we bestow our Labour on the property of others, we have no right in most cases to enjoy the fruit of it. For suppose a man should plant a tree or build a House on my ground

his tra and house become mine, as he has bestowed his Labour on my property, and he deservedly loses his troubles for his imprudence. In the case of conquest, the conquerors may bestow their Labour on the property of the vanquished nation, but still they have no right to it, though they may have reaped the fruit of their Labour When however the Labour greatly exceeds the value of the thing on which it is bestowed, it is not look

to the person who bestows it. Thus if a man makes a piece of painting on my canvass, the value of the painting so far exceeds that of the canvass that the painter does not lose his labour. Another way in which property is acquired is by accession; that is when a man is in possession of the principal, he has a right to the appurtenances. Thus when a man is possessed of a flock of sheep by the right of accession he is entitled

likewise to the young, which are as it were ~~for~~ rewards of the labour which he went thro' in taking care of the Lamb. In like manner when the land which belongs to a man gains upon the sea, he has a right to this new land, as it was gained within his Property. Had the ground to which the new-won land is added been common, then the first occupier would have had a right to it. But as it was the property of a private person, the gained Land could belong to none but him. Property is

likewise acquires by Prescription.
That is when a man has been in posses-
sion of a thing for a certain number
of years without knowing the lawful
owner, although he has taken the pro-
per means to discover him, he has a
right to the real property of it. But
if it can be proved that the person
knew the real owner, no number of
years whatever can be sufficient to
make him proprietor of it. Property
may likewise be acquired by a person
giving up what he possesses to ano-

ther. But there is really no right in this case, for so long as the first possessor lives he alone can have the right though a man may likewise acquire property by succession, that is in consequence of the will of a deceased person, yet in the law of nature he has no right to it, for so long as the person lives he could not give up his right, and after he is dead he can have no will, so that the law in this case has rather had regard to the person to whom the property is left, than to the will of

the deceased

Lecture 72.

I was last considering the different manners in which property may be acquired, I now shall proceed to the next and last adventitious right viz. Service, which is a right to the aid and attendance of others. Convention alone, can constitute this right. It hath been thought by some that the relation of Master to Servant is the same as that of Magistrates to those over

whom he rules. But upon consideration there will be found a great difference; for the Magistrate exercises his authority over the subjects to promote their ~~own~~ good, whereas the Master commands the Servant to suit his own conveniency. Let us now enquire in what cases a Master has a right to demand the service of a Servant. A Parent has no right to Service from his Son further than that gratitude which is due from every Son to his fa-

ther. The Son, in my opinion is under no obligation to the father for the care which he takes of him in his infant state, as this care is dictated by nature merely. It is the care which the Father takes of the mind of his Son that entitles him to gratitude and respect. For I maintain that a Father who pays no attention to the cultivation of his Son's mind, but leaves him neglected and uninstructed, has no right to gratitude

or respect. A Master has a right to the service of his Apprentice, in consequence of a convention, the Master agrees to instruct the Apprentice in a certain art, and is to have his service in return. One man may likewise have a right to the service of another, in reparation of some injury which the latter hath done the former. And the offence may be so great as to entitle the person offended to the service of the offender during the whole of his Life

Service is likewise obtained by Slavery. There is however no right to enslave any one in the law of nature; there are certain rights which even he himself, has it not in his power to devest himself of. Were he not possessed of these rights he would become res, which however was the definition of a slave among the Romans, and not be any longer Persona. The master by the Roman Laws had an unlimited Power over the slave, he might cut off his

Limbs and even put him to death
with impunity. It is likewise thought
by some that those who are born of
slaves, are slaves too, but this is a
mistaken notion, for as every one is
born with the rights of a man, no one
is entitled to use him as a slave. It
was a custom among ancient nations
to enslave those who were taken cap-
tive in war, but it is exploded in mo-
dern Europe. As this custom which is
contrary to the Law of nature, took

place among the politest States among the ancients, who were arrived at the same degree of perfection with us in the arts and Sciences, we must attribute this happy explosion of it to the mild and benign influence of the Christian Religion. A Custom however no less contrary to y^e^ Law of nature takes place in modern Europe, viz. that of enslaving. This custom prevails among Commercial and Military nations. Those who practice it in Commercial states do not gain their end

For as it is certain that in order to Industry the person who labours must have some interest in that which is the subject of his labour, no Industry can be expected from slaves who are actuated by fear alone. When they have no motives to Industry within them, they will often find means to elude the vigilance of their Task masters. The plea of Military nations is better founded as the practice produces its end. They alledge that it

is expedient for them to have slaves in order that the minds of the natives may not be debased by going through mean and servile offices. What Right however have they to deprive any set of persons of the priveledges with which they were born and which they enjoy as Men?

Lecture 73

I have now finished the first part of Jurisprudence, viz the Question in what manner the Rights of men

are constituted. I have treated of the original and adventitious rights of man, and under Property have observed that when we have a right to any thing we have it exclusive of every other person whatever. We have however no right to the lands of foreign nations whom we have overcome in war. If upon conquering a foreign nation, we should erect a pillar, or leave an inscription in the country of the conquered nation, to show

that it is ours, we may some time
after claim the pillar or inscription
as they are the effects of our labour
but we have no right to the possession
of the country. We come now to the
Question which includes the second
part of Jurisprudence viz. In what man-
ner are the rights of men defended
and maintained. In the first periods
of society every man is left to de-
fend and maintain his own rights.
The injured party must avenge

himself by violent measures; the quarrel must be decided by the sword, and he who can use that weapon with greatest dexterity must gain the cause. If is in an advanced state of society that a third Party is admitted to judge impartially of the disputes which arise among individuals in it. And this circumstance constitutes a considerable distinction between rude and polished nations. This third par

ty must be possessed of power to
check the unreasonable pretensions
of the strong, and to redress the grie-
vances of the weak; and by this means
many bad consequences are avoided
which might have arisen from the
quarrel, had the contending parties been
left to decide it among themselves.
There are some cases however which
will not admit of a delay, but must
be determined by the contending parties
themselves, even in polished society,

where there is a Judge, or third Par
ty. Thus if a man be attacked by a
Robber on the road, he has no time
to appeal to the Judge in this case,
he must defend his rights himself,
and avenge the injury which is offe-
red. In the same manner if my house
be attacked by thieves in the night.
although the law hath made provision
for the punishment of Robbers and
Thieves, yet in this instance it would be
imprudent to attempt to bring the Thieves
to Justice, for in that time they may

have put me to death or done me
some irreparable injury. Since then
a man must in such cases necessa-
rily maintain and defend his own
rights, let us enquire in what man-
ner they must be maintained and de-
fended. This may be done by Per-
suasion, by stratagem, and by force.
Persuasion implies no false representa-
tion, but is the most gentle manner
in which we can maintain and de-
fend our rights. Where it takes ef-
fect and produces its end, it not

only saves the person who is about to be injured, but likewise is attended with no hurt to the person who was about to commit the Injury.

Stratagem again implies false representations which are in some cases necessary to defend and maintain the rights of mankind. Suppose for example that a Villain were pursuing an innocent person with an intention to kill him, it is the Duty of a third person, of whom the Villain enquires what road the innocent person

hath taken, to misinform him, and di
rect him another way. Force is the
most violent, and ought to be the last
resource to avert injury, and defend
and maintain the rights of Mankind.
Thus if a man is attacked by a
Robber, when Persuasion has no effect,
and there is no opportunity to employ
Stratagem, he must necessarily have
recourse to Force.

Lecture 71st.

I have observed that the rights

of men may be defended and maintained by Persuasion, by Stratagem, and by force. I have likewise shown the different cases in which they ought to be used. The condition in which parties are reduced to the use of stratagem and force is the state of war. War may be undertaken either upon receiving, or apprehending an Injury. The Desire of Victory, which arises from the desire of avenging Injuries may be obtained by Stratagem, and

Force. The Laws of war may be di
vided into two parts, viz those which
regard the time preceeding the victory
and those which regard the time fol
lowing the victory. If it be asked
how a nation which has been guilty of
injustice, a title to defend itself in
war; upon the least reflection we will
find that it has no right in the laws
of nature. For if it has been guilty
of an injury, it ought not to persist
in the injustice, as this is only aggra

vating it, but it ought to make re-
paration. Another question occurs, viz.
whether ought a good citizen to join
with his country in carrying on an
unjust war. This Question I apprehend
ought to be answered in the follow-
ing manner. If his nation has ac-
tually engaged in the war, he ought
to join it, as he is no longer to re-
gard the injustice of the war, but
the Interest of his Country. But
upon the conclusion of the war, if

we suppose that his nation is victori
ous, he ought to use his utmost en-
deavour to bring it to make repara
tions. The laws of war are as follow
1st A wrong apprehended may be preven
ted by Stratagem or by Force.
2d An Assault may be repelled.
3d A Damage sustained give a right
to Reparation.
4th Reparation is in Justice proportion
ed the Damage which is sustained.
According to these rules ought a just
war to be carried on: If one nation
injure another, and refuse to make Re

paration, the injured nation is entitled in the Law of nature to declare war against the other. It is the custom of modern nations to make a formal declaration of war, in which they shew forth the injuries they have received. I do not recollect whether this custom prevailed among the Greeks, but it was most religiously observed by the Romans. They had certain ceremonies, as that of the Herald throwing the spear into the enemies country, without the performance of which the war was looked upon

^first to remonstrate, and if that will not do

as illegal; they called the Gods to witness the justice of the war on their side. There is another circumstance, which is greatly milder among the Moderns, than it was among the Ancients and that is the manner of treating Prisoners of war. We find that in a war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, the chiefs of the Athenians entered into an agreement together to maim all the prisoners they should take, in such a manner that they could be of no farther service to the enemy. On which

account the Lacedæmonians when they gained the Victory, put to death all prisoners they took from the Athenians. But among the moderns if one of the enemy should lay down his arms and ask Quarter, he is entitled to be saved. The exchange of Prisoners is likewise attended with the happiest consequences. It saves many useful Lives from being lost. There is likewise another custom of setting Prisoners at Liberty upon their Parole or word

of Honour that they will not after take up arms against those who set them at Liberty. But if they will not give their Parolee, the nation which took them prisoners is in the law of nature entitled to put them to death.

Lecture 75th.

I yesterday made some observations relating to war, particularly with regard to the declaration

of it, and the treatment of those who are taken prisoners in it, and endeavoured to shew how far the modern method of treating them excells the ancient. I shall go on to make some still farther remarks upon War. If we imagine that when once a war is declared, we are at liberty to commit all manner of injuries, we are greatly mistaken, for we may be guilty of Injustice in war as well as in Peace. And Injustice in the one is

as culpable as injustice in the other.
Puffendorf, and some other writers on war
have confused the expediency of it with
the justice, but here we have nothing
to do with the expediency of it, but
are to confine ourselves to the justice
which ought to be observed in it.
I said before that the Laws of war may
be divided into two parts, viz those
which respect the Time preceding the
Victory and those which respect the time
following after the victory. It ought

always to be looked upon as a law of war
not to employ more severe methods to
obtain our ends, than are necessary.
Thus in a siege, when the besiegers
have discovered the springs which supply
the garrison with water, it would be
unjust in them to poison the springs,
when cutting off the communication
of the water with the besieged, would
be sufficient to make them surren-
der, on such terms as the besiegers
should think proper to name. Stra-

tagem and Forces are only to be em
ployed so far as they are absolutely ne
cessary to victory, which is the imme-
diate obj[ct] they have in view. It is
to be observed that I do not here mean
by victory, any success on a particular
occasion, as overcoming in a Battle
or Skirmish, but the accomplishment
of the end we have in view by the
war, as the subduing of a ~~haughty~~
neighbouring Nation. The question
whether it[s] Ancient or Modern method

of carrying on war is a good deal Problematical. Although the ancient manner was more cruel, yet it inspired more noble sentiments, it taught them to burn with an ardent desire to promote the good of their Country. One method of obtaining Security which modern nations employ, is an agreement not to injure one another, which they call a Guarantee; but this stipulation is apt to be broke through, as it is not sufficient to restrain the effects of

the Jealousy, which naturally subsists between two independant and equally powerful nations. But the common method which a nation employs to render itself secure against another, whose power it dreads is to attempt to bring it to subjection. this however, if carried too far is attended with the most fatal consequences to the nation which subdues the other. The Roman state gradually decayed after that fatal Sentence, Delenda est Carthago, pronounced by Cato in the Senate,

was put in execution. Where there are two rival states, the Jealousy which is between them, keeps up their attention, and hinders Corruption and Debauchery to creep in among them. War appears to be natural to man, in that it gives exercise to his active faculties, and we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of Providence in making that very thing an instrument of displaying courage and the like virtues, which is seemingly of such fatal consequences to Mankind. I have now done with

Jurisprudence, in which we have been treating of the conduct of men in its reference to the rights of others. I shall now go on to treat of nations and collective Bodies under the title of Politicks.

Lecture 76th

I observed at our last meeting that we were now to treat of nations and collective Bodies. I have all along had the fact in view that man is social, and having considered him already as an individual, we are

now to consider numbers acting together
to one common end; this I said is the
subject of politicks. A nation is any
independant company or society of men
acting by concert, or under a common
direction. It is necessary that it be in
dependant, for if this were not the case
every petty corporation might be called
a nation, as the members of it act in
concert, and under a common direcți
on. The united force and direction
of numbers is termed the State, which
may be considered either with regard to

its resources or its form. The first is the subject of publick Oeconomy, the second of government, which last is commonly looked upon as comprehending the whole of Politicks. Publick Oeconomy refers to national wealth and revenue. By national wealth whatever tends to render a nation rich is here meant. This may be divided into what is necessary, convenient and ornamental. Such things as meat, drink, & the like, as necessary to the existence of society; clothes, houses, &c though not absolutely necessary are in a

high degree convenient, and Beads, Gems of all kinds, and the precious Metals so far as they are employed merely for ornament, are ornamental. It is to be observed that a nation cannot exist with the ornamental part of wealth alone; though it were possessed of all the Gold that Peru ever afforded or all the Diamonds that ever were in Golconda, they could be of no use, except it likewise had those things which are necessary. In the same manner those things which are convenient are not sufficient to make

a nation subsist without those which are necessary. If however it be possessed of such things as are necessary, it may dispense with those which are ornamental and convenient. I have observed in your notes, that nations are rich by possessing in abundance the means of subsistance, or what may be exchanged for such means. In this manner, it is that the ornamental part of wealth becomes useful, for where a nation possesses it in great abundance, it gives it in ex

change for the conveniences and necef
saries of Life. Riches depend on the
profefion of Lands, Materials, Indus-
try, Skill, and Numbers of People.
Nations acquire Land or Territory by
Conquest, carnal coalitions, or colo-
nies. The first of these manners
requires no explanation, we have innume-
rable instances of it in the Hiftory
of every country. When small states
are joined together by the marriage of those
who govern them, or by such like acci

dents, they are said to be joined by casual coalitions. The acquisition of Lands by colonies is likewise found in the History of every nation. Materials are likewise requisite to render a nation rich, and are discovered by continued observation and trials. But the mere profession of them will be of no use to us, except we have industry to enable us to turn them to our advantage, and except we have skill to direct our industry. The Riches of nations likewise depend on numbers of people, without which all the rest would go for nothing.

Lecture 77th

Having observed that the wealth of a nation depends on possession of Land, Materials, Industry, Skill, and Numbers of People, I shall go on to consider these articles more particularly. In the rude state of society, prior to the establishment of property, Nations are possessed of little or no wealth. According as they begin to settle, and to cultivate their Land, they begin to

grow richer. The mere possession of Lands does not tend to enrich a nation it is only the proper cultivation of them. Thus we see tribes in America possessed of immense tracts of country, who are not a bit the richer for them. The nature of the Land over which a nation travels, has a great influence on the settling of it. Thus when a nation falls upon a rich and fertile soil, it will more probably set tle there, than if it had been poor

and barren. Let us now examine the ways in which Lands are acquired. It would be needless, to illustrate the first, or Conquest by any particular example, since as I before observed, we meet with instances of it in the History of every country. Casual coalitions I said may arise from marriage, or such like accidents. The Roman state, at first consisting of a few individuals, partly by casual coalitions, arrived at that pitch of Grandeur to which it af-

terwards attained. The present Austrian Family acquired Hungary, Bohemia, and other considerable Possessions by Marriage. Spain formerly divided into three seperate Kingdoms, was united into one. But we need not go so far from home to find examples of this. England and Scotland after many fruitless attempts were made to unite them by conquest, were at last joined together without the least opposition, in consequence of a marriage between the

ding of one nation and a prince of the other. The sending out of colonies is likewise, as I said before, another means of acquiring Lands. The Greeks sent out colonies, but they could scarcely by that means be said to make any acquisition; for their colonies had no further connection with their Mother Country, than that they spoke the same Language, and entertained a Greek with Hospitality when he came among them. They were rather

to be looked upon as a seperate nation and independant ally, than a part of the State from whence they originally sprung. The Romans had likewise colonies which were free and independant they enjoyed all the priviledges of their mother Country, and had particular Laws and Customs of their own. They were on that account called *Municipia*, from whence comes the Term Municipal Law. This was the footing on which Colonies ought to be; no extraordinary taxes ought to be laid upon them, they should be treated

as the Allies and not as the Slaves of their Mother Country. The Possession of Materials no less than that of Lands is necessary to render a nation wealthy. As the possession of Lands tends to promote agriculture, so the possession of Materials tends to promote Manufactures which two comprehend all the arts, and constitute the wealth of a nation. The mere possession of Lands and Materials can serve no end, except there be Industry to make a proper use of them. A Habit of Industry is not acquired at once, and it

is a sense of some want or defect which produces it. Thus among Rude nations the consciousness of wants rouses them to Industry, when in the intervals they are lazy and indolent. The ~~[illegible]~~ security &c. of property is the circumstance which tends most to promote Industry. Disadvantages of situation too instead of stoping the progress of Agriculture, have quite the contrary effect. Thus in Egypt, the lower part of which is annually at a certain season overflown, Agriculture has arrived at the great-

est perfection. In those countries where Scholars are held in so great esteem as to render the practice of the arts contemptible, Industry is likely to make but little progress. In order to obviate this inconvenience, the Government has appointed ~~certain~~ Premiums for the encouragement of certain arts, and granted immunities to those who practice them. We are told that the Emperour of China goes annually with great pomp, and encourages his subjects

to Industry, by holding the Plow himself. Industry however has the best chance to make the greatest progress under a good form of Government. But Industry itself is not sufficient to render a nation wealthy; Skill is likewise necessary to this.

Lecture 78th.

I have observed that the wealth of a nation depends on Possession of Lands, Materials, Industry, Skill, and

Numbers of People. We shall now treat of the improvement of the Arts under the Article of Skill. When the Arts have arrived at a certain degree of perfection they make very little progress after that. There are several circumstances which tend to the improvment of the Arts. Thus the invention of Tools and Machines, which tend to facilitate labour, is a real Improvement of the arts, though the Skill be the same. Although the Indian in making his Canoe employs as much

Skill as an Artist, yet the method
of the former is not so easy or expedi
tious as that of the latter. Instead of
the Ax and Chisel, the Indian is oblid-
ged to employ Fire and a sharp Stone.
By Fire he fells the Tree and hollows
the Trunk, and with a sharp Stone
he polishes the sides of his Vessel.
But the circumstance which of all o
thers tends most to improve the Arts
is the seperation of them. Wherever
this prevails most, the arts have come
to the greatest perfection. Among rude

nations, where one man practices all the
Arts at once, they cannot arrive at any
great Height. All the Arts may be divid-
ed into two parts, viz such as come under the
two general Heads of Agriculture and Ma-
nufacture. The first includes not only
the producing of corn, but likewise the feeding
of cattle, and whatever other thing depends
upon the ground. The second includes
those arts which fit Materials for the
use of Man. Agriculture is of the great-
est importance as by it we procure the
necessaries of Life, whereas by Manufac-

tures we only procure what is convenient and ornamental. It is true indeed that those who never applied to agriculture may become rich, but this is in consequence of the Labours of the Husbandman; for they give the conveniencies and ornaments of Life in exchange for the necessaries. We have found then that the degree of perfection to which the Arts can be brought depends on the variety of branches into which they can be subdivided. And when an art is

separated into the greatest possible num
ber of subdivisions, it is arrived at the
highest pitch of perfection. I have ob
served in your notes that Commerce be
ing the exchange of Commodities is
necessary to the subdivision of the
arts. Commerce is natural to man.
When for example the Husbandman
has produced a greater Quantity of
Corn than he can consume, he is
naturally led to give the overplus to
the Manufacturer in exchange for

cloathes, and other conveniencies and ornaments of Life. When again the Manufacturer has furnished himself with a sufficient Quantity of Tools, Cloathes, and other conveniencies and ornaments, he gives such as are superfluous to the Husbandman in exchange for corn, cattle, and other necessaries. Commerce likewise takes place prior to the improvement and even the establishment of the Arts. Where there are different productions, the Savage will give such as he has no use for

in exchange for others which he imagines will be of greater service to him. In treating of Commerce, we shall first consider the different ways of carrying it on, and secondly the profits arising from it. But as some confusion has arisen from affixing the Idea of Profit to particular things, I shall make some observations with regard to this, before I proceed to the first thing which I have proposed. If we suppose a Husbandman who has produced 1000 Bolls of corn, to give it in exchange to a Manufacturer for a like number of

Yards of cloath, when the value of a Bell of corn is equall to that of a Yard of Cloth, the national wealth is not encreased by this exchange. In like manner if the Consumption of twelve men be equal to their Labour, the national wealth is not encreased, or diminished. But if their labour exceed their consumption, in this case, the nation hav made an acquisition, whereas if the consumption exceed the Labour, a contrary effect is necessarily produced. Commerce is necessary to the separation of the arts, and is on that

account highly useful. For if all men were both Husbandmen and Manufacturers they could have no occasion for Commerce. Commerce gives rise to a third department viz that of the Merchant. By means of him likewise the national wealth is encreased by the profit which he makes in buying from the Husbandman and selling to the Manufacturer, or in buying from the Manufacturer and selling again to the Husbandman. It is alledged by some that the national wealth is not encreased by any exchange, for what is gained by one

is lost by another. But this reasoning is false, for the exchange may be such as to be of advantage to all parties. It is likewise a vulgar Mistake, to imagine that that nation is losing in commerce, which is giving its Money in exchange for the necessaries and conveniencies of Life. But in reality the Balance of Trade is not against it, for if it has the necessaries and conveniencies of life in great abundance, it will easily be able to procure Money, wherever it thinks.

Lecture 79th

We have been last considering states with a view to their Publick Oeconomy, which refers to national wealth and revenues. That which belongs to the private persons in a state, no less than that which belongs to the Government constitutes national wealth. That which is collected to defray the necessary publick expences of the state is called its revenue. The Riches of a nation I observed depend upon the Possession of

Lands, Materials, Industry, Skill, and numbers of People. We have already treated of the three first, and at our last meeting, we begun to consider Commerce under the article of Skill. I am sensible that this is opening a much larger field than we will be able to go through, I shall only make some of the principle observations, and leave the rest to your ~~####~~ own reflection. Commerce, I have said in your notes, consists of barter or of purchase and sale. When a Husband-

man has an overplus of Corn, and wants a certain Quantity of Cloth, if he meet with a Manufacturer who wants as much Corn as he has to spare, and has as much Cloth to dispose of as he wants, an exchange will immediately ensue, and this is what is called Barter of Commodities But as there is a chance that the Husbandman or Manufacturer will not immediately find a person who wants what he has to dispose of, and who

can supply him with what he himself wants, much precious time will be misemployed; and on that account it is necessary that there should be a staple commodity or medium of exchange, on which certain values are set, and which will be taken in exchange for every other commodity. It is to be observed that that for which there is the greatest demand is commonly the staple commodity. Accordingly among those nations

whose Riches consists in Herds and Flocks, Cattle is the medium of exchange. On the coast of the Baltic where the Linen Manufactory hath been brought to great perfection, Linen is the Medium of Exchange. In some of our American colonies in their infant state, it was Tobacco, Sugar, and the like, and in other parts of the world Salt &c. Thus in Tartary a Cow is worth so many Horses,

in the Island of Rugen worth so ma
ny Yards of Linen, in some parts
of America worth so many Pounds
of Tobacco or Sugar, and in other
parts of the world worth so many
measures of Salt. But of all other
Mediums of Exchange that of money
is the most convenient, in several
respects. It is of the greatest con
sequence that the Medium of Exchange
be not liable to perish; When it is
Cattle, there are many accidents by

Death or Disease, which may occa-
sion great loss. A Shower of Rain
may melt Sugar or Salt. But the
precious Metals are not subject to a
ny such inconvenience, even Rust
which in time destroys the coarser
Metals of Iron, Copper, Lead, and Tin
has little effect upon Silver, and
none at all on Gold. It is likewise
of great importance, that the Medium
of exchange be attended with little
expence; when it is Cattle a man-

must have fields and Stalls, Linen he must have ware houses, when Corn, Granaries. But the posession of Money is attended with no expence. Money likewise has a considerable advantage over other Mediums of Exchange in respect to its Bulk. It can easily be removed from one place to another, and in case of any surprise is highly convenient on that account. Were Bulk the only thing which ought to be considered, Diamonds and other

precious stones would be a much better Medium of Exchange. But these would not at all serve this purpose for the value of them is so great, that they could not purchase the smaller commodities which are necessary or convenient. One if they be broke down into less parts, their value is much diminished, whereas this is not the case with Silver or Gold. Precious Stones likewise when once broke can never be joined again, but Metals may by an easy process. It is proper too that the Medi-

um of Exchange should be homogeneous in all its parts, as Gold and Silver are for all that has been found in America, Africa, India, and Europe is exactly the same.

Lecture 80th

In treating of Commerce I yesterday observed that a Medium of Exchange was a great improvement upon it. I likewise showed what are the requisites to a good Medium of Exchange. In the first place it must be the commodity for which there is the greatest demand, it must be

durable & attended with no expence, and must take up as little Room as possible, so that it may be easily transported from one place to another. It ought likewise to be of such a nature that it loses none of its value by being divided into seperate parts, and when divided may be joined again together. All its parts too ought to be homogeneous; and in this respect the precious Metals are more proper than any other commodity. There is another circumstance in which Money itself is

defectives, which is necessary to a per-
fect Medium of Exchange, and that is
that its Value should not be either en-
creased or dimished, but should always
continue the same. When we hear of cer-
tain commodities rising and falling in
their price, it is often not the price of
the commodities, but the value of the
Money which is changed. The precious
Metals however are the most perfect Me-
dium of Exchange. If they were to circu-
late in Bullion, much time would be
lost; a man who is to give his commodi-

ties in exchange for it must always go
armed with # Scales and Balances. In
order to obviate this inconveniences, the
government of each country hath coined
their precious Metals, reduced them to
a certain Standard, and impressed the
coin with the publick Stamp. The pub-
lick Honour is concerned, that the coin
be of the proper weight, and fineness,
for if the People were not perfectly satisfied
with respect to this, their distrust and
suspicion would make them have

recourse to the Scales and Balances and to spend as much time as they would have done had Bullion circulated instead of Coin. It is received by one man without hesitation upon the Belief that in the same manner it will be taken of his hand by another. No Coin is perfectly pure, but has a certain Quantity of baser Metal mixed with it. Thus Gold has a twelfth part of Silver and Silver near a twelfth part of copper mixed with it. The reasons which

they give for debasing the precious metals are as follow. One reason for mixing a certain Quantity of Allay is, to render the Coin harder and more durable; as the pure Metal would be too soft of itself to stand the test of Time. Another reason is, that as it would take vast Labour and Expence perfectly to refine the Metal, it is better to debase it in a certain proportion, so that it may all be of the same value and of the same

Timonofs. The value of Money as I before observed, alters greatly, so that by some means, a pound of Silver is found to have been on by what is now a pound Sterling. This change however is attended with bad consequences. Suppose one man is owing another a sum of money, while the value of it is ~~changed~~ encreased one half, the ~~Gentle~~ Debtor loses ~~greatly~~ by it, as he will have one half more to pay, but if the value be diminished, he will be a gainer, as he will have but one half to pay. The value of Money hath likewise often

altered in foreign countries as well as in our own. Thus the attempts which Princes and Governments have made to produce this change have frequently succeeded, and have arisen either from fraudulent designs or from their being the Dupes of their own Invention. Where two different Metals are employed as the Medium of Exchange, the change of the value of Money is more troublesome than if one only was used, as it becomes a difficult matter to ascertain the proportion between them. It is however ne

cessary that there should be different Metals. For if all the different values were to be expressed in the same metal, it would be highly inconvenient, as the coins would be too great or too small. Accordingly in Sweden where they express a great value in Copper, that coin is cumbersome and as inconvenient as other Mediums of Exchange. In Holland again where they have a silver Coin of the value of little more than our Penny, this is as inconvenient, as these are very ~~apt~~ apt to be lost. There have been often frauds employed to debase the publick coin

One was that of clipping it round the edges, but this practice was in a good measure prevented by putting a certain stamp around it. X But there is still a manner which is practiced as yet and for which no remedy can be found, and that is impairing the value of the Coin uniformly over the surface, by means of a menstruum. As this fraudulent means of becoming rich, is highly prejudicial, the Law inflicts the severest punishment upon it.

Lecture 81st

I was yesterday treating of the improvement which is made upon Silver and Gold as a medium of Exchange, viz. by working it up into Coin. And I hope that the observations which I have made will be sufficient to lead you to think upon the subject, and to form opinions with regard to it. Money, I observed, is not a perfect Medium of Exchange, as it is apt to change its Va-

lue. The loss however which arises from its being encreased or diminished is felt only by those who are Debtors or Creditors at the time that the change takes place. It indeed occasions some embarrassment, as a late ingenious author, I mean Sir James Stewart, hath observed in his Treatise on Political Oconomy, till the difference which is made be fully understood. I am inclined to believe, that this alteration is not of-

ten made by Princes with a fraudulent intention as the deceit would be so palpable, that it would not be submitted to. Besides I dont know if it would be for their Interest; if they should diminish the value of Money with an intention to diminish their Debts, then their revenue would likewise be less, and if they should encrease the value of money with an intention to encrease their Revenues, then their Debts would likewise be greater. As the changes which the value

of money has undergone, have rather tend
ed to encrease than to diminish it, I am
apt to imagine that they have arisen from
coin being looked upon as a mere Counter
by means of which great value is expres
sed in small Bulk. There is likewise
another improvement upon Commerce, that is the
invention of Bills of Exchange, or Paper
Circulation; as there are Sums stated
between Dealers, which if paid in Mo
ney, would load whole Waggons. But be
fore we can proceed to this we must first
consider the professions by which this

manner of Exchange is employed, viz. that of the Merchant, as well as that of the Banker. I have already had occasion to observe that the first and simplest kind of Commerce is barter. When two persons meet with mutual wants and mutual redundancies, an exchange must necessarily ensue. But as it is difficult to find a man who wants and has to dispose of what the other could with, much time and labour is thereby lost. This difficulty gave rise to the profession of the merchant, who buys from one party, and sells again to ano-

ther, so that all may have a reasona-
ble profit. The Merchant however may take
exorbitant profits in some cases, by mis-
representing the prices of different commo-
dities. Thus if in buying a Quantity of
Cloth, he make those from whom he buys
it, believe that the Market is in a man-
ner overstocked with that commodity, he
may have it at a very low price. If a-
gain we suppose that after he has car-
ried this cloth to a foreign Market, he
persuades those who are to purchase
it from him that there is a great de-

make for it elsewhere, he may get a very high price for it. There is a circumstance however which tends to secure both the sellers and purchasers from such impositions and that is the competition of Merchants they strive ~~also~~ to take the lowest price in selling, and to give ~~the~~ the highest price in buying, so as to preserve a reasonable profit to themselves. There is a species of Merchandise which is prejudicial to Society, viz that which is carried on by Monopoly. It may indeed be said that a person who has made an inven-

tion should meet with some encouragement, but as soon as he is recompensed for his trouble and expence, the Monopoly ought to be taken off, and the trade thrown open. There is likewise another species of Merchandise highly prejudicial, and on that account subjecting him who practices it to the pains of Law, that is forestalling the Market. And if some precaution were not taken to prevent this practice, it would be productives of the worst consequences. For as it is both trouble and expence to a Husbandman

or Manufacturer to bring their commodities to Market, they will willingly give them even at a lower price to one who will purchase them at the place where they were produced. In this manner a man may buy up all the corn for example and sell it out again at what price he pleases. The Law inflicts a severer punishment upon him who forestalls the necessaries, than on him who only forestalls the conveniencies of Life, for the following reason; if

a Merchant were to forestall all the Cloth which is coming to Market, and offer it to sale again at an exorbitant price, a man who wants a coat can easily ~~put~~ delay ~~it~~ the purchase of it till next Market day. But this is not the case with corn, as the poorer sort of people can not often delay the purchase of it one hour. Thus then the Law hath wisely made a distinction, as the one fraud is more pernicious than the other.

Lecture 82d

I yesterday observed that as in great Sums it would be inconvenient to employ coin, the invention of Bills of Exchange, or Paper Circulation has taken place. For I* have heard that according to the Books of Great Britain, £4,000,000 Sterling, is annually due to the Creditors of the Government, in this case if it were paid in

Gold it would load 4000 Waggons, allowing one ton to each Waggon, and if it were paid in Silver, it would load upwards of 60,000 Waggons. This Paper Circulation is employed by the Merchant and Banker, on the profession of the first of which I yesterday made some observations. As it would be troublesome and inconvenient for the Merchant to be at the same time a Banker, it is proper that there should be a set of men whose whole

Business it is to give Bills of Exchange. But before we can consider this it will be proper to compare the value of Money in different countries. When the fineness of the coin of two different countries is the same, that is when there is a like Quantity of Alloy to a like Quantity of pure Metal, the Values are to one another as the weights. Thus as the same proportion of Alloy is given to the same proportion of pure Metal in Germany and in Holland

as in Great Britain, the coins are to one another as their weights, that is eleven Guilders of Holland, and six Dollars of Germany are equal to one Pound Sterling of Great Britain. Suppose a English Merchant were to import from Holland to the amount of £ 1000, Ster. and the Dutch Merchant from whom he buys his goods, to import from him in England to the amount of 11000 Guilders, the sums which are due are in this case equal. Instead however of paying them in cash

each of them draws a bill upon the other, and thus their debts are cancelled by one another. Suppose of two English Merchants, the one imports a certain Quantity of Goods from Holland but exports none from England, the other exports from England an equal quantity of goods, but imports none from Holland, the Dutch Merchant with whom the former deals, draws a bill upon him for as much Money as the Goods are worth, and the other English Merchant draws a bill for a like Sum upon the Dutch Merchant with whom he

deale, how then will the accounts be ba-
lanced? The English Merchant on whom
the Dutch Merchant has the Bill must de-
sire the other English Merchant to give a bill
this Dutch Merchant in his name, and
must become bound to pay the sum for
which the bill was given to this English
Merchant who gave it. And in the
same manner must the other Dutch
merchant balance his accounts. Bills
of exhange are not only necessary to those
who trade with one another in ~~foreign~~ different

countries, but in the same country and within the same walls. Thus in London there are Bankers, or as they are sometimes called Goldsmiths, who receive the money of particular persons, and give them a bill for it, so that they may have the whole, or seperate parts when they please to demand it. The money is here secured in the Vaults and Cellars of the Banker, as it is insured against fire, and other such accidents, than it is in the House of the proprietor. The Banker takes care not only of Coin

but likewise of Bullion, and he is
bound to deliver it again to the pro
prietor in the same state in which he
received it. The Profit which a Bar
ker has, arises from a discount upon
Bills. Thus if a Merchant has occ
casion for a sum of money before
the day appointed for payment, he gives
some discount to the Banker who
gives him the Bill, to have the money
immediately. In this case, the payment
is profitable to both parties, to the Mer
chant because he had occasion for the

Money before the time appointed to pay it and to the Banker, as he has some discount upon the Bill.

Lecture 83d

I was last making some observations upon bills of exchange, and on the profession of him who gives them, viz. that of the Banker. The government I apprehend was the first who gave Bills of Exchange. The Person who receives them, shows that he gives credit to those on whom he draws them. Next to the government, trading compa

nies, when they find that they have sufficient credit, give Bills of Exchange. Where-ever a man can find credit he may give a bill of Exchange. If a Merchand has a bill upon another, this bill may be transferred from one hand to another, so long as he has Credit. We shall now proceed to the Question relating to the advantages and disadvantages which attend Bills of Exchange. Like every other external means, Bills of Exchange are of themselves perfectly indifferent; they only become good or evil as they are em-

ployed. As a Sword is good when it is employed to defend an innocent man, and bad when employed to kill him, so Bills of Exchange are good or bad according as they are employed. It appears to be a strong presumption argument in favour of Bills of Exchange, that they facilitate Commerce, and consequently save both Trouble and Expence. In this respect surely they are highly advantageous. Those who want to prove that they are disadvantageous offer the following arguments against them. The first is that they tend to

carry Money out of the country. This however upon consideration we will find to be no objection. It is a vulgar mistake to look upon Money as the principal constituent of national wealth, and to imagine that the exportation of it is a real loss to a country. According to this, the Jews must have been at a very low ebb, when they were in the most flourishing state. For as they could not take interest for their Money from any of their Countrymen by their Law, they lent it out in foreign nations to receive

Interest. Money may be exported to the greatest advantage. Thus when it is sent to the Baltick in exchange for flax, timber, and other useful commodities, we cannot be lovers by it. It would be as absurd to say that we are always lossers by the exportation of Corn and the like commodities which are constituents of national wealth, as by the exportation of Corn. Where indeed the Merchant does not make a reasonable profit in the importation of commodities there sure

by is a national loss, but where he does, the exportation of money is of advantage; and where there is abundance of the necessaries and conveniencies of Life, Money is easily recalled. Another Argument which is used against Bills of Exchange, is that they tend to raise the prices of Provisions. Some Persons have foolishly imagined that there is Coin for all the Bills that ever have been given; but this is a grose mistake. For we will find that there is only coin suf

ficient to pay small sums, for which no
Bills are given. Thus in London there
are Bills from £25 Ster. to a great amount
and there are Bills in this part of the island
from 10 or 20 l. upwards. And the Coin
which is current is found only sufficient
to pay such Sums as are under those
mentioned. Those who imagine that
Bills of Exchange are disadvantage-
ous because they raise the price of
provisions, are mistaken. We must here
keep in view the Proposition, which I laid
down at first that Bills of Exchange, like

every other external means, are of themselves perfectly indifferent. It is only as this effect of raising the prices of provisions is employed to right or wrong purposes, that it can be of advantage or disadvantage.

Lecture 84th

I was last considering the question relating to the advantages and disadvantages which may arise from Bills of exchange, and was endeavouring to obviate ~~two~~ ~~some~~ objections which are made by some against them. The first was that they tended to carry the Money out of a

Country. This argument however I shou-
ld to have a false foundation, for it sup-
posed that Money was the sole constituent
of national wealth, and that the exportati-
on of it was in every instance ~~was~~ a
loss to a country. The other objection to
Bills of Exchange was, that they tended
to raise the price of provisions. It is worth
while to observe the inconsistency of these
two arguments. The first is against the ex-
portation of Money; the other is for it, that
the Quantity of it, and consequently the
price of provisions may not be encreased
But without taking advantage of this in-

consistency, I shall consider this objection apart, as I did the former. Suppose a man who could get credit for a Bill, were in consequence of this to set many hands to work, which before were lying idle, this Bill surely has a very happy effect. But if a man who could get credit for a Bill, were on that account to lavish away his money, and become profligate, then the Bill has a very bad effect. If in Harry the sevenths time, a Cow cost 40 Shillings, which now cannot be bought under £4 ~~Pound~~, the price indeed is raised one half

but by the discovery of the Mines of Peru, and other places of America, one half more money is brought into the country, so that a person may afford to give £4 as well now, as 5s. 4d. in Harry the seventhe time. The price of labour may likewise be raised, without producing any bad effect. Thus if the wages of a labouring man at the time to which we refer was sixpence, and is now raised to 5 shillings, the greater deal of work that he who gains the 5 shillings does, may more than compensate for

the vast rise of the Wages. We have now done with the first part of Commerce viz the Method in which it is carried on; and it would have been vain to have attempted to go through so extensive a Subject, all that I proposed was to make some general observations, which might lead you afterwards to reflect upon it. We shall next proceed to consider the other branch of Commerce, viz the Profits which arise from it. These Profits may be divided into two different Heads viz the Absolute, and the

Comparatives. The absolute profit is that which is gained by one party independant of the other. The Comparative again is that which one party gains in respect of the other. The absolute profit which a nation makes, does not depend upon the quantity of Money which is imported into it, but upon the Value of which it is possessed, whatever the commodities be. It is a false, though a common opinion, that in trade whatever is gained by one party, is lost to the other. All the parties concerned, the producer, the Merchant, and the con

sumer may be gainers. The terms expor
tation and importation are employed on-
ly when a trade is carried on between
two foreign nations. Thus before the uni
on of the two Kingdoms of England and
Scotland, if a Merchant had sent a Quan
tity of Goods from Newcastle to Edin-
burgh, he would have been said to have
exported them, and the Merchant at E-
dinburgh to whom they were sent, would
have been said to import them. But
if we suppose that the two Kingdoms
were united, as really afterwards was

the case, the trade is carried on no longer between the two places already mentioned by exportation and importation. These Terms ceased to be employed, so soon as the Island was comprehended under the general name of Great Britain.

Lecture 85th

I observed yesterday that we were now come to treat of the Profits arising from Commerce, and said that they may be divided into the Abso-

lute and comparative. When the produce of a nation exceeds the consumption, then that nation is likely to make profit, and to be in a flourishing condition; when the produce is exactly equal to the consumption, the nation may be said to be in a state of quiescence; and when the consumption exceeds the produce, the nation is in a state of decay, and is likely rather to lose, than to gain. Of all commodities, those which are necessary are the most profitable, and next to those

the conveniencies of life; the orna-
mental part of wealth is only so far
profitable, as it procures from foreign
nations the things which are necessa-
ry and convenient. We see then that
foreign trade is necessary to render the
ornamental part of wealth profitable.
This exchange has a very different effect
upon the two parties, by it the one gains
and consumes nothing, the other consumes
and gains nothing. I have observed in
your notes, that that party gains most
by Commerce who receives the most useful

commodity, and who, to carry on his trade, is employed in the most healthy and least corrupting occupations. Thus ceteris paribus, those who are employed in Agriculture gain more than those who are employed in any sort of Manufacture. We find that among the ancient Romans Agriculture was held in the highest esteem, and there have been instances of persons taken from the plough, and vested with the chief administration of affairs. Different Manufactures differ much in their Healthiness. Those which

are carried on in the open air are preferable in this respect to those which are in confined places, and those which are carried on, on the Surface of the earth, to those which are in Mines. In short those which tend to debase the mind and enervate the Body, are to give place to ~~such~~ those which ~~are~~ have no such bad effects. France, England, and Holland, have greatly the advantage of Spain and Portugal for the three nations first mentioned receive in exchange for other commodities, the Gold and Silver from the two last.

for which they are obliged to labour in the Mines. The arts which are practised in a country should tend to secure it. Thus in an inland country, those which tend to fortify its frontiers against the encroachments of troublesome neighbours, ought to take place. In maritime Countries, those ought to be practised, which may serve to hinder the descent of an enemy, upon the coasts. According to this, arts of the latter kind ought to be principally practised in Great Britain. I have said very little all along on the Balance of

Trade; it is a subject which requires such accuracy, that it would have taken up too much of our time to have thoroughly considered it. A merchant who has been engaged in trade, upon looking at his Books finds whether or not the balance has fallen in his favour or not; if it has, he either lays it out to produce more, or turns it into Money, on the interest of which he may live. The profit though it is expressed in Money; consists of the commodities. If a farmer bestows the corn which is superfluous, on Labourers, he

will make more Profit, than if he turns it immediately into Money; by the former method he may easily make 20 p^r Cent, where as by the latter he can at most make 5 p^r Cent. Thus we see things which are perishable may go on to enrich. We come now to consider the last article on which the riches of a nation depend, viz. numbers of people. Nations become populous in proportion to the means of subsistence they offer and secure to their People. This observation holds with respect all other kinds of animals. Thus small animals which

live upon particles floating every where in the air, are found in greatest numbers; and those animals which feed upon pasture are more numerous than those which are carnivorous. I observed towards the Beginning of our course, when I was treating of the History of the Species, that nature delights rather in a continued succession than in the length of the Life of any individual. The increase or decrease of a nation depends upon the means of subsistence offered, and secured as I before observed. We are here however principally to consider

the encrease. For this purpose it will be necessary to attend to the Laws of propagation which relate to Man.

Lecture 86th

We came yesterday to the last circumstance on which the riches of a nation depends, viz. numbers of People. In order to make a calculation with any tolerable degree of accuracy, of the number of People who live upon the earth we must consider how long it is before man arrives at Maturity, the common

Period of his Days, and the numbers which die before they reach that Period. It is very difficult to discover a general Law, by which we may make any such Calculation. I shall however mention one which was made a few years ago by Mr Wallace in his Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind. He supposes that the earth is peopled from a single Pair; each pair marries when arrived at maturity, and produces six children, viz three males, and three females, two of whom viz a male and a female die before

they are fit for marriage. He likewise supposes that in 33⅓ years the original pair had their six children. after they began to propagate. that in the succeeding period of 33⅓, those pairs had each of them six children, two of whom in like manner die, and so on continually, so that according to this calculation, allowing those who have produced their children to die at an advanced age; in the space of 1233 years, from the single pair, there will be alive no less than £12316,860,216 persons. This calculation however is far from being

first; for if the increase were so great as that, the world would have been overstock ed, long before the deluge. The misfortunes and miseries which to men are liable, have a great in fluence in retarding propagation; a nation which enjoys peace and plenty will en crease in a much greater proportion, that that which is harrassed with war, famine, and pestilence. Our Colonies in North America encreased most of any people of which we have heard, for it is a known fact that the number of their peo ple was doubled in the space of twen

ty two years. According to a calculation made by Mr Davenant, it would take 3.5 Years for the People in England to double. It is probable that Mr Wallace's calculation would be right, that Mankind would encrease in that proportion, were it not owing to the discouragement with which they meet from external inconveniencies. And in order to obviate these, and encourage population, a wise government will make such Laws as will tend to promote Marriage, and prevent Celibacy. X ~~War, Famine, and Pestilence, if it seemed have a great effect in stopping~~

X When we talk of the decrease of mankind we are apt to attribute it to war, famine, and pestilence, but these only hasten the fate of man. There are other circumstances, as Tyranny and Oppression which tend more to produce this fatal effect.

~~propagation, and it is to these principally~~
~~and to the evils which arise from them, that~~
~~the small increase of the human species is~~
~~to be attributed.~~ A Nation becomes populous
in proportion as the means of subsistence
are offered and secured, but we must likewise
take into the account the Idea which the na-
tion forms of what are the means of Subsi-
sistence. In barbarous ages, as the means
of subsistences are scanty, so they are eas-
ly supplyed. The wants and desires of those
who live in such a period, are extremely
small, and consequently the gratifications

of them are easily obtained. In the more advanced periods of Society, when Luxury begins to creep into it, men form higher Ideas of the means of Subsistence. Also as apt they were likewise encreased, the number of mankind would decrease apace. There are others things which tend to render a nation populous, and there are Security and Liberty, In order to this a good form of government is necessary. The encroachments of our fellow creatures, are very much to be dreaded, and on that account are most to be guarded against. From which

we may infer that that state in which men live upon a footing of equality is the most favourable to the encrease of mankind. The severe usage of a Tyrannical Master banishes the thoughts of Marriage. For a person who is obliged to submit to it, will never think of bringing a family into the like miserable and distressed situation. Independance and the practice of those arts which encrease the means of subsistence, tend most to encrease likewise the numbers of Mankind.

Lecture 87th

Having finished the fourd part of Publick Oeconomy, viz national wealth, I shall next proceed to the second, viz Publick revenue. In order to defray the publick expences there must be some fund to which the government may have recourse. This is for the most part taxes laid upon individuals, to which the government has a right, for the defence and security which it affords. I might now go on to shew the manner in which a Revenue is constituted

and that which is the most perfect, not what is most in use. But I will detain you a little by shewing the different ways which are employed in levying a revenue. Among savage nations where there is no private property, the expences of the community and of the state is the same. There is no subordination, and consequently all the individuals in the Tribe are upon a footing of equality. In the more advanced state of Society, after the establishment of property, the revenue is at first only the estate or possession of the Leader, as

we are informed by Tacitus and Homer.
The Revenue afterwards begins to be extended by conquest; tributes are exacted from the vanquished nations, or their Lands are appropriated to the Prince or Leader. Thus Strabo and Herodotus tell us that the Emperour of Persia received a vast annual revenue from the nations conquered by him in Asia, which was paid in Horses, Cattle and Money. We have but very imperfect accounts of the Roman revenue before ~~that~~ the City was taken by the Gauls. We may however conjecture that it was pretty considerable

as we hear of the government in the time of the Kings, farming out a Monopoly of Salt. I formerly observed that ~~they~~ Monopolies are oppressive, particularly of those things which are of universal demand; although the same Monopoly to which we allude among the Romans takes place at present in a neighbouring Kingdom. The Census likewise prevailed at Rome which was instituted ~~[illegible]~~ that the value of the estates of all the Citizens might be known, in order that they might pay the Taxes in proportion. In a Respublick the revenue is like to that in the savage state; the exactors and payers

are the same. No contribution is made except in the greatest exigency. On any pressing occasion, as a sudden invasion; the members of a Republick will voluntarily lend their assistance for a short time Thus we find that the Roman Soldiers served upwards of three hundred Years without pay. When the Greek States were to enter into a confederacy, they first determined what each was to contribute but they endeavoured to lay the Burthen of the Tax on Strangers who were tri

butary to them. As Sparta was extreme-
ly poor, the services of its Citizens was
all it could give. Athens employed vari-
ous means to raise money viz. by laying
Taxes upon Strangers who entered the Ci-
ty, upon the Manumission of slaves, and
upon the Grecian Islands which belonged
to it, and by employing fines which were
imposed, to the publick use. In short,
they attempted to save themselves as
much as possible. But when they had
immediate occasion for Money, 120 were

appointed out of each Tribe, which num
ber consisted of 60 of the richer sort,
60 of the poorer, who were to pay in pro
portion. The Taxes in Athens were
laid on those who were most distinguish
ed for wealth. And if a poorer man
could prove that a richer was exempt from
a Tax which he himself paid, he might
either oblidge the richer man to pay
the tax for him, or to change estates.
The Taxes among the Romans were di
vided into the Vectigal and the Tri-

Britum; the former that which was laid upon trade, the latter that which was imposed upon conquered nations. Immediately the establishment of property, the lands which belong to the Leader, or as they are called Crown Lands, constitute all the Revenue. But after the feudal System was introduced into those nations which were founded upon the ruins of Roman Empire, great addition were made to the revenue.