

the prime agent, gave them to understand that an election, which should be displeasing to the temporal powers, would probably render the pope a simple bishop of Rome. The Spanish faction elected cardinal Ganganelli; a man of low origin, but of extraordinary learning, great simplicity of manners, and the purest intentions.

Clement XIV. endeavoured to save the jesuits: he alleged that the council of Trent had confirmed their institution; and that the authority of the councils was superior to that of the pope. He represented the reigning pontiff as merely the administrator of the ecclesiastical dominions; and that (in allusion to Avignon and Benevento, which had been taken from his predecessor) he had not the right to alienate any of the possessions of the holy see.

While he was calmly awaiting the result of these representations, he pursued his duties as a sovereign with the most scrupulous attention. The debt of the state had arisen to the sum of seventy-four millions of scudi: he introduced a system of rigid economy, and endeavoured to reanimate the neglected arts of agriculture and commerce.

At length, Maria Theresa also desired the suppression of the jesuits; and Clement having maturely considered the signs of the times, perceived that the period fixed by destiny to the hitherto existing order of things, had now arrived; and without even consulting the cardinals, issued the bull for the dissolution of the order, 1773. Benevento and Avignon were restored, and the pope's enlightened understanding was the subject of great praise. But he had in reality only yielded to the power of irresistible circumstances—for on no other ground is it easy to believe that he would have sacrificed the tried and principal support of his dominion.

LETTER X.

A View of Holland, or the Dutch Republic—its Constitution and Government—with a View of the Germanic Circles. A. D. 1763—1781.

At the mouths of the Rhine, which takes its rise among the mountains of Switzerland, lies Holland; a country in which the Protestant interest for a century past had determined the public resolutions in favour of the policy of England; but where a powerful party now began to return to the ancient policy of the state, which was more favourable to the interests of France. This change of system was greatly promoted by commercial jealousy, by the haughtiness of the British government, and by the hatred generally entertained against the family of the stadtholder: and Joseph rendered it an almost indispensable measure by the destruction of the frontier fortifications which had formerly protected Holland.

The constitution of the greater part of the cities of Holland had for a long time been tending towards aristocracy. The council of Amsterdam was formerly chosen by the community of citizens, who afterward allowed the members of that body to usurp their elective privileges: a permanent college was thus established, which perpetuated a system of political maxims, and preserved freedom, peace, and order, by the temperate employment of its powers. The council of Amsterdam consisted of twenty-six members, with twelve burgomasters at their head; four were continually in office, three of whom were annually changed, while the fourth remained two years in his post, in order to assist his colleagues, in cases of sudden emergency, by his experience in the current business of the state. The burgomasters had the supreme direction of the financial department, and the disposal of certain offices: and the manner in which they discharged their offices qualified them in a greater or less degree for the higher dignities of the state. Next to them sat the nine syndics, seven of whom were chosen from among a number of fourteen annually proposed by the senate. This election belonged, at different periods of the republic, sometimes to the stadtholder, and sometimes to the burgomasters. The syndics exercised the office of judges; and, in

civil affairs, an appeal lay from their decisions to the court of Holland, and from thence to the land-council. The court of Holland, which had formerly been the tribunal of the counts of that province, and which now consisted of eight deputies from Holland and three from Zealand, took cognizance of feudal causes, the law processes of the nobility, and appeals: and the great land-council of both these provinces had succeeded to the post of the supreme tribunal, which, under the dukes of Burgundy, had held its sittings at Mecklen. In this country, as in the towns of Switzerland, appeals related only to petty disputes concerning property, and not to cases affecting the life of an accused person, which could only be forfeited under circumstances of great importance, and upon the clearest evidence. The states of Holland and West Friesland consisted of about ten deputies of the nobility; and of the representatives of eighteen towns, twelve of whom received their seats and votes from the first William of Orange, who wished to attach those bodies by their interests to his cause, and to that of the revolution. The prevalent disposition among the nobility was an attachment to the house of Orange; but they possessed conjointly only one vote: they were the least wealthy class; and hence the administration of the confiscated ecclesiastical estates, and other offices, were to them objects of desire. These states elected a pensionary counsellor, who exercised the functions of president, and could prevent the execution of their resolutions by his veto. In the intervals of the annual assemblies of the states, a commission held two sessions; and in extraordinary contingencies its sittings were permanent. This body was divided into two chambers: that of South Holland consisted of a deputy of the nobility, whose office was triennial, of eight triennial representatives of the great cities, and of one annual representative of the smaller towns: that of North Holland, of seven deputies from the cities. All matters were so arranged, that every district of the whole country was provided with a representative well instructed in its own interest.

In Zealand the whole body of the nobility was represented by the prince of Orange: six of the cities sent deputies to the states-general; and in two of these places the magistracy was nominated by the prince.

Guelders, which was a small federal republic forming a single member of the great union, contained the towns of Arnheim, Zutphen, and Nimuegen; the deputies of which held an assembly of the states twice in the year. This province contained a numerous and powerful nobility.

In the states of Utrecht, the nobility consisted of temporal and those denominated spiritual lords; but the latter were in reality laymen, although they represented the estates belonging to the cathedral chapter. Five cities sent deputies to the assembly of these states; and those of Utrecht, which was the most considerable town of the province, had the power of opposing the resolutions of all the rest.

Friesland consisted of three districts, which were subdivided into thirty bailiwicks: the land proprietors of the confederate villages assembled in all parts of the country, and elected one nobleman, and one opulent and respectable free commoner; and the eleven cities, which together constitute the fourth district of the province, made a similar appointment. The plenipotentiaries thus elected, disposed of all the offices of the state: they appointed three persons out of each district as the members of a court of justice, which had the absolute decision of all criminal causes, and decided the appeals from the courts of the bailiffs in civil causes.

A similar constitution existed in Groningen, which was also a part of ancient Friesland.

In Overijssel, the states consisted of the deputies of the three cities, and of the possessors of all such noble estates as were worth not less than twenty-five thousand florins.

All the seven provinces formed the assembly of the states-general and the council of state. The states-general possessed the dignity of representation and the duty of superintendence; although, as it could deliberate, but could not resolve, it possessed, properly so called, no power; and the supreme

for the penury of nature. Since the absence of the reigning family, the states of the country maintain an authority which, in the most important particulars, is beneficially exerted; and the degree of freedom which is enjoyed, preserves among the inhabitants an attachment to their country. The troops, which are sufficiently paid, courageous, and well commanded, amount to twenty thousand; a number which is not unreasonably great in proportion to a population of seven hundred thousand. The inhabitants are more numerous than could be expected in a country of which extensive districts consist of irreclaimable heath; and which, if it were not for the annual million produced by the mines in the Hartz, would with great difficulty furnish a revenue of four millions eight hundred thousand florins.

The electorate of Mayence, comprising a surface of one hundred and twenty-five square miles, contains three hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, and possesses a revenue, arising from customs and from territorial imposts, of one million five hundred thousand florins. It maintains some thousands of troops; and, as is usual in the armies of such states, a great number of generals.

The income of the elector of Treves is scarcely one-third as large as that of the last-mentioned prince; and about two hundred and ten thousand florins of his revenue are furnished by Augsburg and Ellwangen.

The electorate of Cologne is so situated, with respect to Holland and Westphalia, that it is capable of becoming a state of political importance. Its revenue, including its receipts from Münster, is estimated at one million two hundred thousand florins.

The subjects of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who is also count of Hanau, may amount to nearly five hundred thousand; and his revenue to three millions. Waldeck is his fief, and is still subject to a number of mortgages for pecuniary loans. He has also the prospect of inheriting, at some future time, that part of the county of Schaumberg which still belongs to the counts and noble lords of the Lippe.

The last-mentioned prince, if it had not been for the division of territory made by Philip the Magnanimous, in the spirit of the sixteenth century, would still have possessed the income derived from Hesse Homberg, amounting to one hundred thousand rix-dollars, as well as that of Hesse Darmstadt. The landgrave of this territory has a revenue of one million one hundred and fifty thousand florins, with which he maintains his court, and six thousand well-disciplined troops. But the landgrave Maurice still farther weakened the Cassel branch of the family, in order to furnish a younger son with a court and government at Rheinfels and Rothenburg. Philip, the brother of the landgrave Charles, augmented the family of Hesse with a very fruitful branch which has the title of Philipsthal.

The dominions of Wurtemberg are extremely fertile, and inhabited by a people of uncommon industry: the duke governs according to the laws, by which the ancestors of his subjects and the venerable states of the country endeavoured to limit or prevent the exercise of arbitrary power. The population of this state amounts to five hundred and sixty or six hundred thousand; and the revenue to about three millions of florins.

The two dukes of Mecklenburg have about two millions two hundred thousand subjects. The income of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin amounts to about three hundred thousand rix-dollars, and that of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz to one hundred thousand. The states of these dominions maintain, with the utmost solicitude, those rights which in other parts of the empire are so much neglected; and complain that the claims of their sovereign on the Bavarian succession have been satisfied at their expense, by the impediments thrown in the way of appeals from his tribunals.

The archbishop of Salzburg, the only person of his dignity who is not also an elector, must lament that the pious weakness of his predecessor, misled by the artifices of selfish agents, should have deprived his delightful hills of a valuable part of their population, amounting to twenty-five or thirty thousand industrious individuals, who have been compelled to abandon their

native country, in order to preserve the privilege of worshipping God according to their consciences. The archbishop now governs about two hundred thousand persons, and his revenue is estimated at about one million of florins.

His neighbour, the provost of Berchtholdsgaden, has about five thousand subjects, who inhabit the shores of a picturesque lake: some of them are employed in the preparation of salt, and others in the manufacture of some elegant trifles which find a market in the East Indies.

But the circle of Swabia alone contains four spiritual and thirteen temporal princes; nineteen imperial prelates, twenty-six independent counts and lords, and thirty-one imperial cities: it would be impossible even to name them all in the course of so brief a survey.

The imperial cities enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, as long as the commerce between Venice and the North was carried on by way of Augsburg and Nuremberg; but the alteration which has taken place since Venice and Egypt yielded to the maritime powers, in consequence of the discovery of the passage by the cape of Good Hope; together with the oligarchal oppressions which have in many instances destroyed the spirit of the citizens, the injurious effects of Catholic and Protestant intolerance; and all the petty policy of the numerous municipal governments, have destroyed their importance. Those communities of citizens so proud of their independence; those vigilant and undaunted defenders of the municipal rights; those members of the empire who were so zealously engaged in efforts to ennoble their condition and to increase their opulence; are lost amid the crowd of powerful and warlike princes, and scarcely to be noticed in Frankfort, Hamburg, and other towns of inferior importance.

Frankfort has been said to hold the same place with regard to Germany, as Dantzic to Poland; she enriches herself at the expense of those nobles and people whose luxuries demand a supply of foreign commodities; by which means millions are accumulated in a town containing only thirty thousand inhabitants; the people of Germany, however, sell scarcely a-tenth part so much to foreigners as they purchase from them. Hamburg is more than three times as large as Frankfort; and, as it is a seaport, its speculations are bolder and more extensive. Denmark contended against its freedom. Holland envied its commerce; and its internal tranquillity was frequently disturbed by contests for power between the senate and the people: but all these difficulties were overcome by the perseverance, industry, and intelligence of its inhabitants. Of the three cities which still recall the memory of the great Hanseatic league, Hamburg is by far the most important. Lübeck, the second of these towns, which maintained a long struggle with the northern crowns for the dominion of the Baltic, and was frequently obliged to contend for the preservation of its independence, was not more than half as powerful as Hamburg: and Bremen, the third in importance, by its active and successful industry, maintained and enriched a population nearly equal to that of Geneva.

If these considerable cities and countries, together with all those which we have not mentioned, had directed the whole influence of their population and opulence to the attainment of one common object, what an empire and people would Germany exhibit! External influence has however succeeded, by means of the most strenuous exertions, in preventing such a union from taking place, and in bestowing, on an impotent aristocracy, the name of German freedom. Both the political importance of the empire, and the liberty of its inhabitants, have suffered in consequence of this abuse: yet the multiplicity of capitals has been favourable to the pursuits of industry; and so long as the only question continues to be, whether the people shall be governed by hereditary princes or by deputies, the preference will be found to be due to the former; because the latter are only intent upon employing their transitory power for their private interests.

Denmark, a kingdom which formerly gave laws to all Scandinavia, and which, including Norway and Holstein, is superior in extent to the monarchy of Austria, has lost a great part of its power during a long period of peace,

under the sway of a succession of weak though benevolent princes. The preservation of the national reputation, and the foundation of its prosperity, are to be ascribed to the excellent administrations of the elder and younger counts Bernstorff. The former conferred a most essential benefit on his country; inasmuch as, after the death of the czar Peter III., who as duke of Holstein had threatened the independence of Denmark, he managed by negotiation, to extirpate this root of perpetual contention and destructive wars, just at the moment when the ducal family succeeded to the supreme power in the greatest monarchy of the earth: the whole of Holstein was transferred to the court of Denmark; which, in return, gave up Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. These last hereditary estates of the kings of Scandinavia and of the future czars, are inhabited by about seventy-five thousand individuals, and yield an annual produce of scarcely four hundred thousand florins: the court of Petersburg bestowed them on a younger branch of that family which resides at Eutin, and administers the secularized bishoprick of Lubeck.

But even including Holstein, the population of Denmark scarcely exceeds two millions, and its revenues nine millions of florins: and hence the forty thousand troops and the twenty ships of the line which constitute its military and naval force, cannot be kept in activity during a few campaigns without subsidiary aids.

Most nations have failed to reach an elevation commensurate with their resources: but Sweden, on the contrary, has sunk into a state of torpor, the effect of exertions disproportionate to her strength. While other nations appear scarcely worthy of the good fortune which has attended them, Sweden, by her spirit and intelligence, raised herself to a pitch of political greatness, far beyond the power of her resources to maintain: even when fortune at length deserted the arms of this nation, she strove, during a long course of years and amid the turbulence of faction, to heal the wounds inflicted by her own heroic spirit; and when at length she had lost every thing of which it was in the power of adversity to deprive her, she retained the esteem of Europe, the remembrance of her former greatness, and an internal conviction of the possibility of recovering her lost importance.

The population of Sweden, amounting to about three millions, is capable, under a prudent administration, of supporting an army of fifty thousand men; and of providing effectual means for the prosecution of such wars as may be necessary to maintain the independence of the worthy successors of the Gustavuses. This country is deficient only in that commodity of which merit is so frequently destitute, namely, in money; but even this instrument is attainable by the pursuits of industry and commerce, and by an able and assiduous attention to the political circumstances of foreign courts.

LETTER XI.

View of the Affairs of Great Britain—Commencement and Progress of the American War. A. D. 1775—1778.

AFTER the peace of 1763, France paid to Great Britain ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, as a compensation for the islands in the West Indies, which had been wrested from her during the late war, and which were now restored to her; and the farther sum of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds, as a ransom for the prisoners of war. The king devoted his share of the captures, amounting to six hundred and ninety thousand pounds, to the public funds. In a few days afterward, the bank of England paid for the renewal of its charter, one hundred and ten thousand pounds, and the East India company engaged to pay an annual contribution of four hundred thousand pounds from the produce of its conquests. The national debt was diminished about ten millions in the space of twelve years; and of the remaining one hundred and twenty-nine millions, a funded stock was created to the amount of one hundred and twenty-four, paying interest. The sources of public

prosperity were now husbanded, and incalculably increased by new manufactures, the progress of the colonies, and the dominion of the sea. Labour rose in value, and became a premium for the increase of population, by which the numbers of those who had emigrated or fallen in war were soon repaired.

From this period we may date a new era in the science of agriculture in England. Of forty-two millions of acres, which the country is computed to contain, eight millions and a half yielded as much corn, in productive seasons, as would suffice for the maintenance of five millions of its population during five years. All the soil of the country became more productive, in proportion as greater attention was paid to accommodate the mode of culture to the circumstances of each particular district. The incredible increase of pasturage in thirty years doubled the exportation. The ordinary annual produce of wool was estimated at one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and the manufacture of this commodity quintupled its value, and gave employment to one million and a half of persons. In the year 1736, Ireland sent four hundred and fifty thousand ells of linen to the fairs, stately held in July and October, in the city of Chester; and in the year 1771, the quantity was doubled: and this was only half the quantity manufactured. The high price of the necessaries of life, and the unequal distribution of certain taxes, having diminished the manufacture of cloth in England, those of Scotland, which, in the year 1720, amounted to only three millions of ells, in 1759 produced more than ten millions eight hundred thousand.

The newly acquired province of Canada yielded furs to the amount of three hundred thousand, and the colonies thus supplied the materials for the manufacture of hats. The various mines of iron, steel, copper, and tin afforded employment in various ways for four hundred thousand persons; and the exportation of these articles, after supplying the home consumption, amounted to the annual value of six hundred thousand pounds. Forty thousand persons worked in the mines of Cornwall; and as many more in the lead, copper, and coal works in other parts of the kingdom. A prodigious number of families are supported by the manufactures of Sheffield, Leeds, and other towns; in iron and steel. The coal mines of Newcastle extend more than half a mile under the sea, and a thousand vessels are employed in conveying their produce. The herring fishery, which had been encouraged by a premium, annually produced one hundred and fifty thousand barrels. The fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland were carried on by the labour of twenty thousand persons, and the produce in salt fish amounted to four hundred thousand pounds sterling. The whole export trade of England advanced from six millions and a half sterling, which was its amount in the reign of queen Anne, to sixteen millions in the year 1775, and at the latter period, the quantity of metallic specie in circulation, exclusive of the paper currency, was eighteen millions. Although the commerce with Europe was neglected for that with America, yet the trade carried on with Germany sometimes amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. The capital invested in the West Indies, consisting of estates, slaves, and buildings, was, at this time, estimated at thirty millions, and the annual produce in sugar, rum, coffee, &c. &c. was about four millions.

These statistical statements, my dear son, I have given with the view of enabling you to judge of the resources of the country at a moment when she was called upon by the impolicy of her rulers to plunge into an unnatural war with the members of her own empire—a war commenced in rashness and folly—persevered in through a spirit of infatuation—and terminating in discomfiture and disgrace. To this subject permit me now to direct your attention.

A skirmish with a body of troops whom general Gage had ordered to take possession of the magazines at Lexington, was the commencement of open war; and Gage proclaimed martial law, A. D. 1775. The beginning of the contest was animated. The Americans exerted themselves in every possible way to enlist Canada in their cause, either by persuasion or force; and in an attack upon Quebec, their general, Montgomery, fell; while, on the other hand, the English laid siege to Boston, and burned Charlestown. Perceiving that

authority resided in the magistracy of every province and city. The council of state, to which the executive power was confided, consisted of three deputies from Holland; the same number from Groningen, Overijssel, and Utrecht; two from Zealand, and as many from Guelders and Friesland.— This assembly had the superintendance of the military department, and administered the affairs of the Dutch Netherlands; but, on the other hand, the affairs of the barriers belonged to the states-general, because this was not so properly a possession, as a measure of precaution for the security of the commonwealth.

The most important affairs thus depended on the election of the magistracies of the towns; which, for this reason, was conferred in times of danger on the hereditary stadtholders.

The stadtholder must be a Protestant of the reformed religion; if that dignity should descend to a female, the choice of her husband shall be made by the states-general; but shall in no case fall on a king, or an electoral prince, or on any other than a Protestant of the reformed church. A widow who should hold the office of regent during the minority of her son, was not allowed to marry a second time.

The court of France, which was desirous of rendering its frontier on this side as secure as on that of Switzerland, and of making as good use of the Dutch fleet as of the Swiss peasants, was always opposed to the stadtholder: and England, for that very reason, was constantly attached to his interests. The republic was influenced sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, according to the alternate success of the different factions. Switzerland, from its situation, may remain for a long time without exciting much attention: but Holland lies on the ocean; it had accumulated great wealth; it domineered in both the Indies, and possessed the cape of Good Hope, the key of the East.

The barrier treaty, according to which the frontiers were to remain unalterable, seemed to promise a more tranquil state of affairs; hence the land-forces were reduced to a state barely sufficient for the occupation of the barrier; and the fleet was employed only in convoying the East India fleets.

The number and force of the ships to be equipped was determined by the states-general; the land-forces chiefly by the council of state: the admiralty college at Amsterdam contributed a third of the expense, and the remainder was defrayed by the other four admiralties. These colleges had the superintendance of the arsenals and docks: the armament and provisioning of the ships were managed by the captains. At the approach of the American war, in the course of which the republic became involved in a contest with England, she equipped fourteen ships of the line and eighteen frigates, which were manned by seven thousand nine hundred and twenty seamen, and carried twelve hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, and which in fourteen months occasioned an expenditure of about four hundred thousand florins.

But the chief reputation of Holland, like that of Switzerland, is to be found less in her external relations than in her internal arrangements. In a country not twice as extensive as the territory of Bern, which requires more labour of men for the preservation of the dikes, on which its existence depends, than its whole produce is able to support; none of whose harbours are excellent, and whose coasts, the Texel and the Zuyderzee, are dangerous of navigation: two millions of inhabitants gain their subsistence by persevering industry and good management, by which they rendered their country, for a long time, the richest district in Europe. This nation created the territory which it inhabits; rendered it flourishing, and embellished it with noble productions of art. Commerce, by giving rapidity to the circulation of money, afforded facilities to the enterprises of individuals; and the state was able to borrow as much money as it required, at an interest of two *per cent.*, and private persons at three *per cent.* The affairs of the East India company were regarded as the concern of the state, while their property was as scrupulously respected as if it had belonged to an individual citizen: this company, for a long time, made an income of twelve millions seven hundred

thousand florins, laid by two millions annually, and, after dividing the remainder, deposited two hundred and twenty-five thousand florins as a reserve against unforeseen contingencies.

All their prosperity was the effect of good morals, as all their laws were founded on the system of manners necessary among a commercial people, which regards the idle man as the only object of contempt, and endeavours, above all things, to maintain the reputation of the products of industry.— Each city devoted itself chiefly to the pursuit of one branch of commerce, which it conducted in the utmost perfection: the spices of Asia came to Holland, the ancient inhabitants of which subsisted on vegetables and fish: they sold the silks of Persia, and clothed themselves in woollen; they exported the beautiful productions of their looms, and used the cloths of England, which at that period were coarser than their own.

Censure has been bestowed on the distribution of the taxes; because an impost was laid, among other things, on bread, in consequence of which, several branches of manufacture were destroyed. Even the duty on tea has been blamed, because that article had been rendered a necessary of life by habit; and this tax has been supposed to have been in a considerable degree the cause of the enormous enhancement of the price of labour, which, however, in so rich a country, was inevitable. Turf and beer were also taxed. The theory of political economy has made little or no objection against the tax of the fortieth penny on the sale of estates and ships; against the house tax, the duty on collateral inheritances, the taxes on servants, horses, and carriages, and on legal compacts. The necessities of the state demanded incredible sums from this country; which, although its uncommonly crowded population is not a third part so great as that of England, paid taxes to the amount of five millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

This state of affairs, however, could not possibly subsist without the most injurious consequences to the commerce of the nation, which was at length almost entirely confined to the transfer of the productions of other countries: a kind of trade peculiarly exposed to contingencies, and especially to the hazards of war. The most wealthy of the merchants became discontented with an administration which involved them in such expensive contests: and nothing but the love of their country, in which they had the privilege of taking part in public affairs, prevented them from seeking a more prosperous place of residence. The great burden of taxation, and the multitude and expensiveness of their indispensable wants, compelled the Dutch to pay the closest attention even to the smallest profits: their expenditure in their wars, their excellent institutions for the poor, and their well-paid instructors, are sufficient proofs that they knew how to make a noble use of their gains.

In the naval engagement off the Doggerbank, A. D. 1781, the world saw with astonishment their display of national honour and patriotism: but it was altogether impossible that the Dutch, whose army now contained only twenty-eight thousand men who had never seen fire, together with nine thousand Swiss and Germans, and a fleet of only twenty ships, should prosecute a war against the power of Great Britain, with the same success as when they had ten ships of the line more than the English, and when the heroes of the house of Orange fought at the head of their armies, with the military prowess that distinguished them, in the cause of liberty.

A great ferment took place in the interior: the wealthy and republican citizens saw, with indignation, that the affairs of the state were conducted by the nobility, who were attached to the Orange party, and were, for the most part, involved in debt: and discontent loosened the ties of confidence, which had hitherto held together the inhabitants of the cities and those of the country in the different provinces, as well as the whole commonwealth of Holland. This dissatisfaction, however, proved, that the love of liberty was not extinguished; and rendered it probable, that if this nation were destined to fall under a foreign yoke, the most noble part of the community would follow the example given by the Phœceans (as their ancestors designed to do on the invasion of their country by Louis XIV.), and that their territory, the greatest monument of human labour, would become the prey of the waves.

GERMANY.

Having given you some account of the Dutch republic, allow me now to direct your attention, very briefly, to the circles of Germany—their population and resources.—There are few subjects less understood, in the present day, in England more especially; and as this department of Europe was destined to act a very conspicuous part, in after-times, in the great drama of European politics, you will find an attention to what I am about to say, very useful to you, in assisting you when you come to enter upon the history of the French revolution.

The ancient body of the German empire continues to be held together, in appearance, by the formularies of the golden bull, the regulations of the imperial elective compacts, the peace of Westphalia, the decrees of the diet, the ordinations of the imperial tribunals, and the relics of the feudal system.

All the princes of the empire who possess territories which were represented in the council of princes at the diet of 1582, have also at this day a seat and vote in that assembly, either in person or by their deputies. The counts, prelates, and cities do not vote individually, but by their benches. The electors, princes, and cities constitute three colleges; the Protestant states form a separate body, of which the elector of Saxony, although himself a Catholic, is the head; because that office is permanently attached to the governing family of the electorate. The directorship of the collective diet is vested in the archbishop of Mayence. The emperor appoints one of the princes as principal commissary, and nominates some jurist, well versed in the laws of the empire, as his colleague.

The diet is opened by an imperial proposition: decrees of the court which are within the province of the principal commission, representations, proposals, references of the states and notes from the powers, are laid before the imperial directors of the arch-chancery, who issue a *dictatur*, proceed to adopt a resolution, to open the protocol, to collect the votes, and to frame a corresponding decree, which is finally laid before the emperor for his acceptance. Each college assembles separately: the comital deputies have no discretionary vote or powers, but on all occasions receive positive instructions from their respective courts. All differences of opinion in the colleges are recorded in the judgment, in case the dissidents require it. The emperor may either ratify or reject this judgment as he thinks fit: but when the colleges are divided in their opinions, the states will not allow him to exercise the privilege of deciding between them.

Business of an important and complicated or secret nature may be conducted or prepared by a commission appointed by the empire: but there still exist a number of undecided judicial questions relating to its formation.

In affairs which can in any manner be construed to relate to religion, or in relation to which the states do not choose to be considered as a united body, either the parties separate themselves, or each individual insists upon his privileges; by which means the progress of the public business is totally impeded. Protests, counterpleas, interlocutions, secessions, and endless contests about forms complete the confusion; and if the states were as equal to each other in power as the nobles of Poland, the decency and order of the proceedings would be not greater than at Warsaw. The body politic of Germany owes its mode of existence to the abuses and irregularities which, for reasons of policy, come to the assistance of its imperfect legislation, and which might as easily dissolve the whole structure.

The constitution of the circles is a representation in miniature of that of the empire. This constitution originally prevailed in every sovereignty; where the concurrence of the states of the country, consisting of prelates, knights, and citizens, was necessary to the authority of the prince on all important occasions. But since the introduction of standing armies, the place of these members of the community has been generally filled by the more simple forms of military despotism: thus by the perpetual frustrating of references to the imperial tribunals and to the supreme head of the empire,

by the rejection of these applications, and by the execution of the decrees of the imperial courts, the people are becoming more and more helpless in every succeeding age; while against such of this hapless class as are stigmatized with the appellation of rebels, every petty tyrant is at full liberty to exercise his caprice and his power without control or question.

The dukedom of Bavaria is computed to contain one million one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants: the Palatinate of the Rhine, the most industrious of whose citizens have been compelled to emigrate to America by religious persecution, and by other errors in the policy of its completely despotic government, contains not more than two hundred and eighty thousand; and those of Juliers and Berg are estimated at two hundred and sixty thousand. The whole revenue of the elector may amount to nine or ten millions of florins: that of Bavaria is computed at five, or, including the salt works, at six; that of the Palatinate at one million seven hundred thousand; and that of the Westphalian territories at one million five hundred thousand. The surface of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate contains seven hundred and twenty-nine, that of the other territories two hundred and forty square miles. The example of the neighbouring Dutch, and the influence of political considerations (which prevented the exercise of so much oppression in a country to which Brandenburg had claims), permitted and excited the most active exertions of industry in the countries of Juliers and Berg. The Palatinates groaned under the keepers of the rolls; and Bavaria continued to suffer under all the prejudices of the middle ages. The treasuries of both countries were overwhelmed with debts incurred by prodigality and bad administration. Bavaria had to pay twenty-five millions of annual interest; and had in return the satisfaction of resounding the incessant praises of rich favourites, women, ministers and counsellors. This extraordinary expenditure was not occasioned by any disproportionate exertion of the powers of the country for the purpose of raising a formidable military force; for the army of the Palatinate consisted of not more than five thousand five hundred men, although that state had eleven generals in its pay: the Bavarian troops amounted to eighteen thousand men, who were distributed in thirty regiments, but this state had some field-marshal-general in commission, and the corps of officers constituted nearly a fourth of the whole army; and it was thought necessary, on account of a few vessels on the Rhine, to establish an admiralty. The income of the convents in Bavaria is estimated at two millions.

The electoral territories of Saxony are of nearly equal extent with those of Bavaria. But while the latter country contains only one great and thirty-nine smaller cities, the former contains eighteen of great or considerable magnitude, two hundred and six of moderate size, and two millions two hundred thousand inhabitants. The princes who bore the name of Frederick Augustus, left the country burdened with a debt of twenty-six millions of rix-dollars: but the excellent arrangements of the states, and the regularity of the ruling prince, enabled the electorate to diminish its debt by at least one million two hundred thousand annually; and with the remaining six millions two hundred thousand furnished by the revenue, to maintain a suitable court, a well-organized government, and a military force proportionate to the circumstances of the country. The army was high-spirited, and brilliant in its appearance, and was augmented in proportion to the gradual reduction of the debt, until its numbers amounted to twenty-five thousand. The soil of the electorate is not uniformly fertile, and its situation between Austria and Prussia, together with the profusion of Frederick Augustus the First and of Bruhl, had subjected the inhabitants to numerous miseries: but they surmounted all their difficulties, restored their country to prosperity by their admirable industry and good management, and distinguished themselves above all the other nations of Germany in the cultivation of the sciences, and the refinement of their language and manners.

The electoral territories of Brunswick are, generally speaking, of inferior quality with regard to natural fertility; but are among the number of those in which the paternal care of the government has done much to compensate