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THE NATURAL BOUNDARIES

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EMPIRES;

AN ESSAY TO SHEW THE EFFECT OF THE GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE EARTH ON THE POLITICAL BOUNDARIES OF NATIONS.

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CONTENTS.

| Chapter | | | - | | | | | | | | | Page |
|----------|-------------|-------|-----|---------------|-----|------|------|------|-----|-----|----|-------------|
| I. | Introduct | ion | - | - | - | - | - | ٠ _ | - | - | - | 337 |
| II. | General | Ren | ark | ŝ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 338 |
| III. | Rivers | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 346 |
| IV. | Basin of | Rive | rs | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 353 |
| V. | Seas and | Oce | ans | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 453 |
| VI. | Lakes | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 358 |
| VII. | Mountain | Ra | nge | s | - | - | | - | - | | - | 3 59 |
| VIII. | Mountain | s in | Gr | oup | s | - | - | - | - | - | - | 366 |
| IX. | Mountain | s in | the | Int | eri | or | - | | - | - | _ | 368 |
| X. | Single mo | unta | ins | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 370 |
| ·XI. | Forests | | | | - | - | - | - | - | - | _ | 371 |
| XII. | Deserts | | | | | _ | - | - | - | - | - | 375 |
| XIII. | Natural K | ingo | lom | S 0 | r S | tat | es | - | - | - | - | 378 |
| XIV. | Large Na | tural | Ki | ingo | lor | ns | - | - | - | - | - | 3 80 |
| XV. | Small Na | tural | Ki | ngc | lon | ıs | - | - | - | - | - | 381 |
| XVI. | Oppression | a of | Sm | all : | Na | tur | al I | Žin; | gdo | ms | - | 384 |
| XVII. | Advantage | s of | Sm | all | Na | tui | al | Kin | gdo | ms | - | 387 |
| CVIII. (| On the In | flue | nce | \mathbf{of} | Ge | eog: | rapl | hica | l-S | hap |)e | |
| | on the | е Во | und | ari | es | of : | Em | pire | s | _ | - | 3 90 |
| XIX. | Uncertain | Bou | nda | rie | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 393 |
| XX. C | On Imagir | nary | Boı | und | ari | es. | _ | - | - | _ | - | 396 |
| XXI. (| On Fortifie | ed B | oun | dar | ies | | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | 402 |

CONTENTS.

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| XXII. Boundaries of Peninsulas | 403 |
| XXIII. On the Cause of Natural Boundaries | 407 |
| XXIV. Objections to Theory | 416 |
| XXV. Power of Man over Boundaries | 419 |
| XXVI. Boundaries of Savage or Civilized Races | |
| of Men | 421 |
| XXVII. Influence of Internal Communications - | 422 |
| XXVIII. Effect of Governments on Boundaries - | 425 |
| XXIX. Internal Divisions of a Country | 430 |
| XXX. Choice of Residence | 432 |
| XXXI. Power of Nations | 434 |
| XXXII. Boundaries of Great Britain | 435 |
| XXXIII. Boundaries of United States of America | 440 |
| XXXIV. On War | 443 |
| XXXV. Use of War | 450 |
| XXXVI. Conclusion | 454 |

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Let us ascertain for all nations the laws by which their political boundaries are governed.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL REMARKS.

THE limits of empires are controlled by two causes:—the physical geography of the soil, and the power of man; the first is eternal, the last variable; thus, in examining history, we find that the first produces the most permanent effect.

Nations often war against those eternal limits which are pointed out by nature.

The Turks and Persians have, in modern times, renewed the ancient contest between the Romans and Parthians, and have fought for several centuries without gaining one square mile of territory. The ancient Grecians fought for a thousand years, and their small republics, at the termination of the contest, retained their original boundaries.

England and France have amused themselves by wars which may continue till the end of time, without joining under one sceptre the vineyards of Burgundy and the merry valleys of England.

Alexander invaded the East, but he could not enlarge the political confines of Macedon.

Bonaparte subdued Europe, but France is not more extensive.

Tamerlane overcame Asia; but it was not in his power to unite the fire-worshipers of Persia with the sons of Confucius; nor could he join under one empire the shepherds of Tartary and the agriculturists of India.

When these phantoms of universal empire perish, nations resume their ancient limits: conquer, exterminate, destroy the memory of their existence as a people, still the new kingdom will have the same limits as the old.

A nation subduing those by whom it is surrounded, resembles a river overflowing its banks; the flood gradually subsides, and the stream returns to its ancient channel.

When successive hordes of barbarians invaded the dominions of imperial Rome, did they unite the frozen regions of the North with the olive-gardens of the South?

When England was conquered successively by the Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans! did they surround with one rampart Italy, Saxony, Denmark, Normandy, and England?

The decisions of nature soon cut asunder the artificial arrangements of man.

To acquire a true knowledge of the history of nations, we must study the physical structure of the soil; for this is the leading feature on which historical details are always dependent. Mountains, seas, rivers, lakes, deserts, form natural divisions on the surface of the earth which serve as boundaries to the several empires.

Not in the contest between nations as on the varied table of the chess-board, where there are no natural defences, and a plain field of battle lies before the friendly combatants. On the world, the natural barriers between nations restrain them when prosperous and inclined to invade their neighbors; and serve as a protecting shield in adverse fortune.

Of the various duties which devolve upon independent nations, two are very difficult to perform. First, to preserve their independence when attacked. Second, to abstain from conquest when the opportunity is apparently presented.

In the performance of these duties, the structure of the earth offers facilities to the virtue and the valor of nations.

To impress these facts on the mind, read an

account of the boundaries of any nation of ancient or modern time.

Let us take Cæsar's description of the limits of the Helvetii: "Undique loci naturâ Helvetii continentur; unâ ex parte, flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; alterâ ex parte, monte Jurâ altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertiâ, lacu Lemano et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit." Jul. Cæs. Com.

Examine a map of the kingdoms of the world, as they were arranged a thousand years ago, and one of the present time; you will find the great political divisions nearly alike.

In an historical chart, although the divisions do not correspond to the relative size of nations, they afford some guide as to their increase or decrease of dominion. We may there perceive how durable is the force of these barriers.

When we compare the duration of conquests with the existence of nations, we then view the decided effect of natural boundaries.

When extensive conquests are made, these boundaries appear to be extinct, but they still remain; although overpowered by force, they are never destroyed, and only wait the proper period to develop their power.

Fortunate for man they exist, or the world would exhibit one general scene of despotism.

Never was one of the race of conquerors a friend to the best interests of man. Seldom were victories gained from motives of humanity.

The consuls of Rome, after conquering Greece, declared it, for a single moment, free, but instantly recollected themselves, and pretended that the establishment of quæstors and lictors, and a few Roman legions, would contribute to the happiness of that people.

The splendor of conquests generally blinds us in regard to their permanent result. The conquests of Sesostris were scarcely recognized beyond the march of his army.

Twenty times, according to the assertion of Malte Brun, have the tribes of the elevated regions of Asia sallied down on the natives of the plains, and subverted the thrones over the whole continent—but the political divisions of Asia are very similar at the present day to those of its first colonization.

Nor of much importance, by what title nations hold possession of their foreign dominions—by purchase or conquest, by fraud or force, by peace or war, by succession or alliance. Nature compels their disunion.

Normandy was conferred on the brave Duke Rollo by the Frank King Charles; when England was conquered, the union of the two kingdoms continued a short time.

When we read an account of the conquests of Alexander the Great, we are apt to imagine that such mighty achievements, such splendid conquests, must have continued for ever—on turning over the following page of history, we ascertain that his successor reigned only two years. Then came the struggle of the nations to form separate States, which, after a war of thirty years in duration, was happily effected.

Conquerors, after traversing the earth, subduing nations, have often recognized the force of these natural boundaries, and have divided their empire among their sons, according to true natural lines of demarcation.

Charlemagne, after uniting France, Italy, Germany, under his temporary sway, established that division of his States which has remained to the present time.

Napoleon, the ambitious Napoleon, perceived the force of this law. When victory had placed at his disposal many of the finest regions of Europe, he did not attempt, except in a few instances, to unite them to France—he placed his relations and friends on the vacant thrones, trusting to their personal friendship, and to political reasons, for assistance in war.

At other periods, how often has the funeral cry which arose at the tomb of the warrior king been the signal for the dismemberment of his empire!

When victorious troops are poured into a country, they gradually coalesce with the original inhabitants. The scenes of nature impress them with irresistible force, and they soon begin to understand this sentiment.

The independence of nations should be the first law of the world.

How often have wars terminated in the "statu quo ante bellum." Look at the wars of the French Revolution! Europe was in arms from the Pillars of Hercules to the Uralian Mountains; from Cape Rover in the Hebrides to the shores of the Bosphorus! Twenty millions of soldiers marched to the battle-field! Ten millions perished in combat, or in the hospitals! Every monarch dethroned! Every capital seized by a foreign conqueror! A thousand fields of

battle stained with the blood of a hundred various nations! What result from so much noise, tumult, battles, sieges, skirmishes, truces, treaties? At the concluding treaty, each monarch retained his original dominions, with a few trivial exceptions.

There must be some cause for such a result!

That cause we proceed to investigate.

The barriers erected by nature between communities of men vary in strength. Let us examine them in the following order.

CHAPTER III.

RIVERS.

In the first ages of man, rivers are a true boundary; they prevent the passage of armies. They are now used as a boundary, chiefly because they afford a definite line, about which there can be no dispute.

Europe, Asia, Australia, Africa, America, present numerous examples. A singular fact takes place in regard to them.

A small stream is a better division between nations than a large river. The Rubicon, and not the Po, was the boundary of ancient Rome.

The Pruth would not form a line of demarcation between Russia and Turkey, but there is a scanty population on its banks.

France has fought to obtain the boundary of the Rhine. She must now either advance to the mountains beyond, or retire to the next range of hills in her present territory. The reason of this law is obvious. The fertile banks of large rivers are usually peopled by numerous tribes of men; the calm and tranquil surface of the river invites them to cross over; the interests of commerce keep up a continual intercourse; the river is easily passed, and both banks will speedily unite under one government.

Never have the Ganges, the Nile, the Danube or the Rhine seen hostile nations with firm possession of their opposite shores. The small stream which divides Spain and Portugal, is a more lasting boundary than the Tagus would be, if it flowed in the same direction.

"Where Lusitania and her sister meet,
Deem ye what bounds the rival realms divide?
Or ere the jealous queens of nations greet,
Doth Tayo interpose his mighty tide?
Or dark sierras rise in craggy pride?
Or fence of art, like China's vasty wall?—
No barrier-wall! no river deep and wide!
No horrid crags! nor mountains dark and tall!
Rise like the rocks that part Hispania's land from
Gaul.

"But there between a silver streamlet glides, And scarce a name distinguisheth the brook, Though rival kingdoms press its verdant sides."

There is no opinion more general, and more

erroneous, than that of large rivers forming a boundary to nations.

It is wrong to vex a peaceful river with armed garrisons upon its banks.

It is no less wrong in a political point of view. Numerous forces will be stationed on the shores by either party, and collisions must necessarily ensue.

They also afford so easy a communication, that numerous custom-officers must be engaged in active service. The river, instead of favoring commerce, becomes an annoyance to both parties.

The Nile never formed a boundary, even in the intestine wars which desolated Egypt. Hostile armies sometimes encamped on opposite shores, but the contest was always continued until one was defeated. When two powers, of nearly equal strength, have been in Egypt at the same time, the line of demarcation has generally been across the Nile; one possessing Upper, the other, Lower Egypt.

The late contest between the Emperor of Brazil and the Republic of Buenos Ayres, arose from an erroneous opinion on the part of the former, that the river La Plata was the true boundary.

Peru was formerly bounded on the south by a river.

Inca Yupanqui, sovereign of that country, sent his generals, with an army of fifty thousand men, to subdue the countries to the south. They were opposed by an army of eighteen thousand warlike Chilian Indians. Three battles ensued on three successive days, commencing very early on each morning, and leaving off late at night. Never did Chilian valor glow with more ardent fire! never did Peruvian courage shine with more resplendent light! During this time, more than half the soldiers of either army were killed, and nearly all the rest wounded. On the fourth day, those generals of the Inca who were left alive, called a council of war, and resolved on being content with the river Miauli as a boundary.

In ancient time, a contest took place between the Sicari and Albatians respecting a river which separated those nations.

Not being fully aware of the importance of preserving its channel, it had wandered in the fields, chosen a new path, and large sand-banks were formed. These were violently contested. One pleaded ancient jurisdiction; the other the gift of the river. A furious war arose, and

was only terminated by both parties being subdued by some neighboring power.

The uncertainty of jurisdiction over the river Delaware has given rise to a collision of interests which may continue as long as the waters shall flow, unless happily terminated by treaty. Some newly-formed islands in this river, though in a civilized country, have never had any government, because it was uncertain to which State they belonged.

In support of the general fact assumed, we will adduce the following quotation: "New Jersey is separated from the two adjoining States by rivers. However definite these may be as territorial limits, they operate, by their facilities of navigation, rather as bonds of union, than as divisions of the people in their vicinity from those of the adjoining States. Hence the citizens of East and West Jersey have different views and feelings on almost every question of public interest."

The State of New York claims not only the sovereignty of the Hudson, but also the shore of New Jersey, between high and low watermark. It is claimed as a monarchical gift. No monarch, however despotic, could confer a right so contrary to all natural limits. The Governor of New York, content with the

magnificent river, should forget to claim that amphibious tract of land, which has been subject to so many disputes.

The French are apparently partial to river boundaries. In the time of the Revolution, they claimed the Po as a boundary towards Italy.

Rivers are a bad military line in time of war. Thousands of instances may be adduced where they have been chosen as strong military positions, but they have generally deceived their possessors.

Taya was not so good a barrier against the Scots as the Roman Wall.

The Rhine was a military boundary against the ancient Germans, but could not have been against a civilized power.

The Romans defended the line of the Danube a few years against the savage tribes of the North, but at length retired to the true barrier of the Pannonian Alps, leaving the interval a desert.

Rivers are more an apparent than a real obstacle. This may be accounted for in the following manner: Men are accustomed to see fish in a river. But. When, instead of beautiful pike or sturgeon, they see armed men rise from the bosom of the waters, sur-

prise overcomes them, they throw down their arms and run away. Do not blame them. Rather blame fortune, or any thing rather than blame brave men. Place them in a favorable situation, and they will fight nobly and well.

CHAPTER IV.

BASIN OF RIVERS.

A STATE is powerful if she possesses the whole extent of the basin from whence the waters flow to supply her rivers.

New York has great national strength, because she claims the sovereignty of the river Hudson and nearly the whole country to the north, on both shores, without any interference.

Connecticut, in a similar mode, possesses the basin of her principal river for some distance.

CHAPTER V.

SEAS AND OCEANS.

HAPPY the country whose boundary is the ocean! Who is there that does not wish to say he has seen the magnificent sea? It forms an important period in the imaginative history of every man. He is not truly unfortunate who can say he has seen the ocean, and he not truly blest, though possessing every luxury of life, who has not yet beheld it. Besides, it is useful in a commercial point of view.

Happy would it be for all nations if the ocean would rise with storm and with tempest against ships of war; and tranquil seas and favoring gales were reserved for honest merchant-ships and gaily-painted pleasure yachts! Then. When the land was infested with war, each one, who was peacefully inclined, might advance to the shore and embark in his yacht, with a plentiful store of provisions and wine, sail about on the tranquil surface of the ocean, and return to the land

when the war was over. Less tyranny would be practised. The independence of nations would be much promoted.

Some nations dread the water. The ocean is a boundary they never attempt to pass. To others it presents a temptation to conquest.

The facility with which naval empires are founded is a most striking phenomenon, equalled only by the rapidity of their overthrow. The example of the Portuguese may be noticed. They visited India as merchants. Invaded as conquerors. Terror of their arms spread from Ganges to Mozambiqua. Armies brave. Cities strong. Allies appeared faithful. Faithful as Bavarians. Portuguese statesmen considered their Indian empire placed on a strong foundation. The appearance of the Hollanders with their fleets in the Indian ocean soon changed the face of affairs. They did not take the trouble to assault every castle, to besiege every town, to invade every province; but they captured the ships by which those were supplied, and the foreign Portuguese empire fell.

The Gods of the Hindoos once more assembled on the sacred banks of the Ganges. Fires of joy illumined every hill-top of Persia and Hindoostan, and the gloomy waves of the

river Alfara shone with unaccustomed light. This truth was proclaimed to all nations upon earth.

The laws under which any people choose to remain are far dearer to them than the finest political institutions conferred by the sword of the conqueror.

Should, however, any one imagine, during a single moment of time, that the Hollanders undertook their expeditions to India from compassion to the unfortunate natives, they would be greatly mistaken. They had warred with the Portuguese for many years in Europe, when, hearing that some of that people were in India, they went there to kill and capture as many as they could.

War! said the great captain of his age, War is the trade of barbarians. The whole art consists in assembling a force superior to your adversary. This can be accomplished by a great naval power. She is thus enabled to seize, to her own detriment, on small detached portions of the world, and on large empires which have not arrived at full power, or have become imbecile and weak from age.

This is easy to a maritime power, because most countries can be approached by sea.

Nature has made few impervious coasts. She intended that man should make use of the ocean. This produces the anomalous sight of countries the most distant under one sceptre.

England owes her immense power to the facility of transporting her force upon the ocean. With a moveable army of ten thousand soldiers, she has acquired dominion over one hundred millions of people.

CHAPTER VI.

LAKES.

"Lands, intersected by a narrow frith, Abhor each other."

LAKES vary in their power upon the boundaries of nations, according as, in size and shape, they resemble rivers or seas.

Lake Champlain has already created a State. It will in time create an empire.

The North American lakes form a good natural boundary between the United States and Canada.

Nations vie with each other in humanity.

Five times have the Americans passed the Lakes to free the Canadians from colonial bondage. Five times have the English passed the Lakes to free the Americans from their double government. All these expeditions have been unsuccessful. May all future similar expeditions of the two powers be attended with the same success!

CHAPTER VII.

MOUNTAIN-RANGES.

"Mountains interposed, Make enemies of nations which had else, Like kindred drops, been melted into one."

THEY form a permanent and frequent boundary.

They vary in power to restrain nations within proper limits, according to their breadth and altitude; but, on the whole surface of the earth, they form a real barrier.

An individual ascends a mountain, but he returns to dwell in the valley. The peasant of every country seldom ascends the hill which overlooks his native plain.

Of all who live within sight of the Blue Mountain, not one in a thousand has ever visited its summit. These were ambitious natives of the plains, but even they could not establish a permanent residence. We travelled a hundred miles to place our hand upon the summit of the mountain; having done so,

our curiosity was gratified, and we retired, leaving the mountain unscathed. Still does he proudly, nobly, rear his head toward the sky.

Mountains are, on several accounts, good boundaries between nations. Numerous bodies of troops cannot, without a great expense, be supported on their summits.

Nations, to whom they serve as barriers, are content with placing a few sentinels on the frontiers.

If mountains were always boundaries, wars would be less frequent. The difficulty of marching to combat would often compel ambitious men to pause.

The armies of France have not so often crossed the Pyrennees and Alps in search of conquests as they have invaded the valleys of the Rhine and the Netherlands.

The Andes form a natural barrier to the States on the western coast of South America. One of the most disastrous military expeditions perhaps ever recorded, was that under Gonzalo Pizarro, in which this circumstance was disregarded.

The range of highlands between the New-England States and Canada is a more certain boundary than the St. Lawrence.

A small territory in New Jersey exemplifies the difference between rivers and mountains. as boundaries of nations. It consists of a tract of land, about thirty miles long, and two or three miles wide. It forms the Ultima Thule of the State towards the north, and is situated between the Blue Mountains and the river Delaware. The natives of this section belong to New Jersey by political arrangement, but are completely excluded from it by the Blue Mountains, which are near a thousand feet high. The other part of the State would have been almost ignorant of their existence, but they have recently petitioned the legislature to open a road of communication with their fellow-citizens to the south. All the trade of the district is carried on, across the river, with Pennsylvania.

The most philosophical treaty of peace, in relation to boundaries, ever recorded in history, was that between North Carolina and Tennessee. Their boundary being undetermined, they agreed that the highest ridge of the Appalachian chain should form the boundary line. Commissioners were appointed to take the altitude of the several ranges; and, the highest being ascertained, both parties acquiesced in the result. In other parts of the

world, rather than have made such a treaty, they would have covered every hill with wounded, and have filled every valley with slain.

On viewing the map of Europe, we might suppose that ancient Scandinavia, from its compact figure, should form one kingdom. The range of mountains interposed between Norway and Sweden presents an insuperable obstacle.

Their present union will not continue.

A Norwegian will agree in opinion with the native of any other country upon earth, rather than with a Swede.

Fears have been entertained that France and Spain would be united under one empire! Europe was in arms many years to prevent it!

The Pyrenees have made it impossible.

The union of Russia and Siberia is dreaded!
When Siberia possesses a large population,
she will no longer be under the dominion of
Russia. The Uralian Mountains are interposed.

On the Influence of Mountain-Ranges.

The natives of the opposite sides of mountain-ranges seldom agree in opinion.

This may be accounted for in the following manner: the sun never shines equally on the two sides of a mountain at the same time.

A native of the north looks upon the mountain, and beholds it enveloped in shade.

A native of the south beholds it resplendent with light, and all the landscape enlivened with the rays of the sun.

How can two individuals who see the same object in such different points of view, ever think alike on any subject?

Again. The temperature of the air is always different. A native of the south, visiting the country to the north, shivers with cold, while all around him are gay, lively, and happy.

How can people, who feel so differently in the same climate, ever be friendly subjects of one government?

There is a shield placed on the summit of every mountain; one half is painted white, the other is painted black; the people on the opposite sides look upon the same shield, but cannot agree as to its color.

The effect of this has been perceived in the councils of the United States.

In Pennsylvania, we have been informed by a member of Legislature, that, on many questions, the opinions of the members are known from their residence on the east or west of the mountains. The same fact is confirmed as respects Virginia, by the author of "Letters from the South." "The mountain called the Blue Ridge forms not only the natural, but the political division of Virginia. That on the east is called Old Virginia; on the west, New Virginia. The natives of these several territories occasionally exhibit hostile feelings towards each other.

"All the large States, to the south of New York inclusive, have two distinct and separate local interests, or, rather, states of local feeling. The eastern and western sections of these States are continually at variance. The west is generally the most extensive as well as fruitful, and is gradually moving the seat of power further in the interior."

During a war with the Southern Indians, the Governor of a State issued an order for the militia to serve six months.

There is this difference between a regular army and the militia of all countries. Implicit obedience is the law of the first. With the militia, that part of the man which still remains a citizen, discusses the legality of the orders received, before he allows the other

part, which is a soldier, either to march or to fight. Previous to this excellent arrangement, the soldier, rushing to battle, involved his comrade, the peaceable citizen, in extreme tribulation and fear.

Accordingly, the militia, who were encamped, assembled to give their opinion of the proclamation. One part considered the order good, and were ready to obey on peril of their lives. The other considered it illegal, and refused obedience.

On inquiry, it was found that all who espoused one opinion lived to the south of the mountains. Those of the contrary opinion lived to the north. Here were individuals—of the same State—whose education was very similar—the order was plain, concise, free from ambiguity. The historian remarks that the mountains forming an extensive range in the centre of the State is unfavorable to unity of sentiment amongst the Tennesseans. The same remark may be applied to every State, Province, Kingdom, and Empire of the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOUNTAINS IN GROUPS.

WHERE mountains are placed together in groups, with intervening valleys that are susceptible of cultivation, a different rule obtains as to their boundary.

It will then be found not at the summit of the first chain, nor at its base, but extends into the surrounding country in every direction. The natives of these districts resemble the garrison of a fortress, who not only command the fortifications and the interior town, but also the resources of the country to a distance of several miles. Thus the mountaineers of Switzerland are not content with the rugged summits and the picturesque valleys of the Alps, but have conquered and retain Neufchatel, le Pays de Valais, the city and territory of Geneva.

The mountaineers of Caucasus compel the payment of tribute from their neighbors. The towns in their vicinity are fortified with gates

of iron, but they frighten the good citizens into most perfect submission.

No individual could formerly reside within twenty miles of the mountains of Scotland unless he would submit to contribution. The demands of the King at Holyrood might be evaded, but the Kings of the Highlands it was impossible to escape.

CHAPTER IX.

The state of the s

MOUNTAINS IN THE INTERIOR.

THE strength of a country, or its capability of defence, exercises great influence over the limits of nations.

In this view we may notice those elevations of ground, occurring in the interior of countries, which form natural fortresses, or are capable of being regularly garrisoned.

The stern defence maintained by the people of Scotland against the invasions of the English, may be chiefly attributed to the power of their mountain fortresses.

Ireland was conquered with rapidity, because the people, though equally brave, had no natural protection except marshes and morasses.

Ten times have the armies of France passed the barrier of the Italian Alps, conquered Piedmont and Savoy; ten times have declared them irrevocably united to the French empire. As often have the mountaineers declared their independence.

During the next fifty centuries, the same result will take place fifty different times. Once in every century the standards of France are planted in the valleys of Italy.

CHAPTER X.

SINGLE MOUNTAINS.

When a mountain occurs alone, not forming part of an extensive chain, especially if surrounded by a large extent of level country, it does not separate different states of opinion, but rather forms a bond of union to the people in the vicinity. It becomes a topic of conversation. Parties of pleasure are formed. They visit the summit. They feast. They dance. They sing and rejoice. While admiring the prospect around, and enjoying so much happiness, no feeling of ill-will can arise to any person within the sphere of their vision.

CHAPTER XI.

FORESTS.

"'Tis merry, 'tis merry in gay greene wood, When the mavis and merle are singing."

THESE should not be introduced in an Essay on the Natural Boundaries of Empires; but, as they have sometimes exercised much influence, we will permit a few remarks.

In the infancy of man, the gloom of a forest often deters him from entering within its shade.

The Hercynian Forest divided many ancient tribes of Germany, and its influence is still perceptible in that country.

The thickets and morasses of the Forest of Ardennes were a protection to the ancient kingdom of the Franks.

The divisions of many counties in England are derived from a similar source.

Many tribes of Indians are separated by thick woods.

In the progress of time, nations cut down

the woods, and this is one reason why civilized nations have larger boundaries than those which are savage.

Hindostan is separated from Burmah by impenetrable woods.

The Empire of Zunder Bunds in India, is protected by extensive forests. They are inhabited by a warlike race, who fight with such desperate valor, they have never been subdued. From the period of their earliest traditional history, they have preserved their wild independence, under a republican form of government. While the historian praises their unconquerable spirit, which renders them a model to all nations, their enemies, unable to conquer, have recourse to a very common expedient. They calumniate. They accuse them of making predatory excursions over the neighboring territory, and of being cannibals.

As these brave people cannot speak the English language, we will undertake their defence.

To the first accusation we reply. It is an act of retributive justice. They plunder alike the Tartar, the Mongol, the Persian, the Briton, the Russian, who, in rapid succession, conquer Hindostan, and govern those truly unfortunate people.

As to their being cannibals; they merely kill and eat their enemies.

Three of these brave people wandering, when young and defenceless, in a forest, were surrounded by overpowering numbers, and taken captives. They have been sent to England, and are now confined as prisoners of State in the Regent's Park. To soothe them in their melancholy confinement, and soften the rigor of their imprisonment, we have addressed to them the following lines.

To the Tigers of India.

Tiger! I adore thee! For valor in the fight, Skin of matchless beauty, And eyes so keen and bright.

Your empire! the jungle, You guard with jealous care, Your foes, though numerous, Inspire no coward fear.

The Turk comes with sabre, The Russ like savage bear, Briton with his musket, The Hindoo with his spear.

You breakfast on a Turk, You sandwich on a Jew, Dine on an English man, And sup on the Hindoo.

Feasting on dainty fare, Your dreams are light, I trow; You waken! the morning, And feel quite pleasant, now.

Tiger! I adore thee! For valor in the fight, Skin of matchless beauty, And eyes so keen and bright.

CHAPTER XII.

DESERTS

FORM a permanent barrier to nations.

The ancient Egyptians, surrounded nearly on every side by deserts, endeavoured in vain to pass the boundary which nature had interposed between them and the adjacent nations. They attempted the conquest of Palestine. More than once, when they saw the Jewish chieftains led into captivity, they supposed their triumph complete, but were still unable to unite the two countries.

Two foreign kings, who obtained possession of Egypt, tried to establish their dominion over the deserts of Africa by force. The result of both expeditions was similar, although the immediate fate of those engaged was different.

Cambyses the Persian took with him a numerous and flourishing army. After a few days' march, they met with powerful enemies. They had to combat the Sun, whose rays were too powerful—to fight with Thirst, and had no water to give him—the burning Sands of the

desert rose in rebellion, and there was no shelter for the troops—and grim Death entered the combat—and multitudes fell when they merely looked at him. The Persian monarch fled from such a terrible field of battle, and returned home alone. And many a Persian scimeter, and many a Persian bone, has told to a later age the scene and the event of the conflict.

Hosein, the son of Mohammed Ali Pacha, undertook a similar expedition. His army returned, leaving their commander in possession of as much dominion as his body, extended on the sand, could cover, or his lifeless hand could grasp.

Weep! Daughter of Egypt! shed bitter tears, your brave and youthful warrior has fallen. Rejoice! Daughter of Egypt! Rejoice! For. Should the Angel of Life pass over the desert of Afric, and restore the dead to life, the army of Persia would find a brave Arab chieftain, ready to lead them on to combat.

A desert forms a safe barrier to China.

Constantine the Great, and the monarch of Persepolis, were separated by immense deserts.

The Romans of the eastern Empire, under a warlike Emperor, were accustomed to make inroads on Persia, crossed the Tigris, captured

the principal fortresses, and imagined the country subdued. A single year generally witnessed their retreat.

The Persians, when their leaders were ambitious, invaded Asia Minor, gained victories and captured cities. The result was the same.

Louis Quatorze laid waste Lorraine and Franche Compté.

Though detestable in a moral point of view, it was correct policy to prevent the invasion of France.

The Desert of Atacama forms a natural barrier between the dominions of Chili and Peru.

A desert, a thousand miles long, forms a boundary to the United States of America on the west. The political fate of the nations, residing in future time beyond this boundary, will be fixed by their situation. It is not possible the natives on the coast of the Pacific, if true sons of America, will ever send their representatives to a distance of three thousand miles, over mountains ten thousand feet high, and a desert five hundred miles wide, to ascertain the mode in which they are to be governed, or to inquire with what foreign nations they may cultivate the arts of peace, or partake the luxury of war.

CHAPTER XIII.

NATURAL KINGDOMS OR STATES.

THE surface of the Earth is thus separated into certain natural divisions, which may be called Natural Kingdoms.

Every island is a Natural Kingdom. Every part of the world, surrounded by strong natural boundaries, is a Natural Kingdom.

It is impossible to conquer one half of these divisions. In waging war with them, you must complete a total conquest, or return.

No army could conquer half China. The Tartars and Chinese once made a treaty of partition. Nature declared its execution to be impossible.

Nor could the plains of England be divided between two kings. Canute and Edmond drew an imaginary line through the centre. The treaty could not be observed.

When nations occupy parts of natural kingdoms, they must advance or retire.

The kingdom of Prussia must be rounded

by new acquisitions, or she must recede. This is the reason why the Eagle of Prussia holds a sword in each arm. Why the nation is constantly armed.

If we examine attentively the map of Europe, we perceive that Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Bavaria, Denmark, Sweden, Austria, are natural kingdoms.

Norway has always been in vassalage, because her population is much scattered.

Turkey, Asia Minor, and Egypt, are joined by the power of a fleet, as they were under the Greek Empire.

Persia has its ancient limits.

China has had the same from time immemorial.

The Arabs conquered the world, but now cultivate the same quantity of sand originally given to their care.

Hindostan is a natural Empire, too weak to defend herself.

America is arranged almost in natural divisions.

Thus, on the surface of the world, man has done nothing to change the decrees of that Almighty Power whose flat governs the universe.

CHAPTER XIV.

LARGE NATURAL KINGDOMS.

WHEN natural kingdoms have a certain size, it is difficult to conquer them. Nothing but the fury of religious dissension could have subjected Bohemia, with her circular rampart of mountains, to a foreign power. We should like to see a King of Bohemia.

CHAPTER XV.

SMALL NATURAL KINGDOMS.

SMALL natural kingdoms in the vicinity of those which are larger, often lose their independence. Small islands are always subdued. No one could now unfurl the standard of Empire on the island of Ithaca, or become King of the Fortunate Islands. The properties of the atmosphere must have changed, for it now refuses to support the pennon of a small potentate.

It has been attempted. Without success.

Within the last thirty years, an individual tried to establish an Empire on the island of Fernando Noronha. He declared himself at peace with all nations. Not sufficient. He should have formed an alliance, or sent a few puffin feathers, or half a seal-skin, the produce of his island, as a present, and acknowledged fealty to some foreign power. For want of this precaution, the crew of the first merchant-

ship which sailed that way deposed the Sovevereign, and put an end to his dominion.

We see this rule exemplified in the history of Great Britain.

The British Isles contain five natural kingdoms; England, Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, Ireland.

Wars took place among the Saxon monarchs during four hundred years, until the valleys of England were united under one King. She then united to herself the smaller natural kingdoms, by which she is surrounded, in the order of their respective strength.

Central England now governs the Dukedoms of Cornwall, Wales, and Scotland—the Kingdoms of Man, Ireland, and Staffa.

France has conquered the smaller divisions of Navarre, Franche Compté, Lorraine.

Denmark Proper has usurped the islands of Funen, Zealand, and Fairstar.

The powerful empire of Austria has subdued the smaller divisions by which she is surrounded.

Florida is another example. The language of the American negociator sounded harsh to the monarch of Spain, when he asserted, that a small territorial division, like Florida, could not remain either as a colony or independent, in the immediate vicinity of the United States; but the sentiment was perfectly accordant to facts, which have occurred in the history of all times, of all nations, and of all political morality.

The powerful State of New York comprises within her dominion, Staten Island and Nassau.

The first would more properly come within the limits of New Jersey.

The latter should form an independent State. Whose people, devoted to their farms, to hunting, and fishing, might exclude all commerce from their shore.

Seas full of fish,
Woods full of game,
Orchards full of peaches,
Gardens full of roses,
They may enjoy,
The happiest life in the world.

and the second second second second second

CHAPTER XVI.

OPPRESSION OF SMALL NATURAL KINGDOMS.

Man in a small natural kingdom, has seldom his full political rights. It is scarcely possible he should rise to an equality of privilege with those who reside in the central, or larger division of territory, under the same sovereign. The noble of Castile considers himself more noble, than of any other province in Spain.

A native of the centre of France is esteemed superior to those on the borders, and, in former time, paid a smaller amount of taxes. The form of government in the central nation, makes no difference in the sufferings of the dependencies. The natives of the Pays de Vaud suffered as much under the Swiss Cantons, as the Greeks beneath the government of the Turks.

The oppression under which Ireland groans, is more owing to her size and position, than to any innate love in the people of England for

misrule, though some may have supposed the latter to be the case.

The oppression under which natives of small natural divisions of the earth labor, is great. Not so much the taxes they are compelled to pay, as the insult offered to their understandings, in asserting they cannot govern themselves! For although it may not always happen that a nation governs itself better than it can be governed by others, it always believes that it can.

Every nation that possesses colonies, offers as an excuse, the great advantage they confer, by ruling them.

Even the Sublime Porte considered the government conferred on the Grecians a great blessing, for which he demanded every para their purses could supply. And in addition expected to receive their most unbounded thanks.

This reproach cannot be applied to the conduct of England; for in the majority of her colonies, she carefully instructs the people in the bright path of constitutional freedom. The only difficulty that has ever arisen between Great Britain and her colonies, has been from this circumstance. She never thinks their education complete; they wish to be free

386 OPPRESSION OF SMALL NATURAL KINGDOMS.

before the light of heaven has visited their eyes.

An exception occurs to this rule when small kingdoms are situated between larger empires, unable to agree which shall possess them.

Armenia preserved its independence for several centuries, not so much by its actual strength, as because the mighty empires of Rome and Persia could not agree which should possess the dominion.

Savoy in the same way preserves its independence, from its situation between France and Austria.

CHAPTER XVII.

ADVANTAGES OF SMALL NATURAL KINGDOMS.

THERE are some advantages to a native of these smaller divisions, for his interest is identified in some degree with the larger empire. They deprive him of political rights, but they fight his battles on a magnificent scale.

In the present state of the world, small communities must receive protection from the great and powerful.

This may be exemplified by the following supposed case:

Don, one of the smaller Hebridean Islands, contains five male persons.

Let us they suppose they formed an empire having no political connexion with any other upon earth. An islander, disdaining the limits of his rocky home, and wishing to see the world, shall travel. And as he is the creature of our imagination, and is setting out alone and unfriended in the world, we will endow

him with the two best qualities of man, courage and generosity. He takes with him his sword to fight his way over the continent, and a few coins to give to the poor. He lands in France. The authorities of that country, informed of his arrival, and alarmed at the report of his valor, send two regiments of soldiers who surprise him at night, when asleep, take from him his sword and his money, and subject him to imprisonment. Acting in this respect, quite contrary to the usual politeness and urbanity with which that gallant and amiable people hail the arrival of strangers. Escaping from prison, he would return home, and call his countrymen to arms. From their scanty resources a very difficult task.

They might procure one old rusty musket, half a broad-sword, hacked with frequent use, two fish spears, one bow and arrow, and each would provide himself with a small club. Ha! How unlike that instrument of fun and of mischief, wielded by a native of Emerald Isle.

For a standard, they would use part of a ragged sail, bleached and torn by the dashing of the waves. They would be unable to procure either a drum or trumpet, and to make war without those instruments of music, might

subject them to military execution in these enlightened times.

They would equip their largest fishing-boat, and sail for the coast of France.

It is evident, when they attempted the conquest of that mighty kingdom, they would be unable to succeed.

They could neither obtain redress nor revenge.

In the most favorable circumstances, the utmost they would be able to accomplish, would be to capture a French fishing-boat, and put the crew to death.

Mark the contrast! Placed beneath the Ægis of British empire, should any wrong be done to one of these individuals, a thousand ships of war would sail, and a hundred thousand men would march, to avenge their quarrel.

The natives of the central districts always pay a large amount of taxes, merely for the pleasure of keeping so many dependencies in subjection.

The extra sums they pay, usually expended in war, may be of some advantage to the colonies.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL SHAPE ON THE BOUNDARIES OF EMPIRES.

THE Emperor observed the difficulty which arose in uniting Italy into one kingdom. He said, if the northern extremity had been placed by nature between Genoa, Sardinia, and Rome, Italy would have made a strong empire. In its present shape he was unable to accomplish their union.

The gigantic inhabitant of the Castle of Otranto can have no common interest with the native of Turin or Venice.

The northern shore of Africa, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the borders of Egypt, bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the south by the chain of Mount Atlas, is another instance of a country whose destiny is fixed by its shape. It could not be

united under one government, except by a superior naval power, situated in those seas.

This was accomplished.

First. By the Carthaginians.

Second. By the Romans.

Third. By the Saracens.

In the intervening periods, it has always presented small isolated sovereignties.

The western coast of South America is a narrow district of country extending between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean.

It resembles in shape the northern coast of Africa, and cannot be formed into one empire. The genius of Bolivar will not be able to unite the destinies of Peru and Colombia.

The central valley of Europe, bordering on the Danube, presents a district of country of great length in proportion to its breadth. Never has any conqueror, in ancient or modern time, been able to combine it under one government. It is now divided between the Emperors of Turkey, Austria, Bavaria.

The central valley of Africa, bordering on the Niger, bounded by the mountains of Kong and the desert of Zahara, resembles in its shape, the central valley of Europe. It is impossible to unite in one empire.

The difficulty of discoveries in Africa has arisen from this cause. The traveller incurs the risk of losing his life and property from forty robbers, each invested with sovereign power and separate dominion.

CHAPTER XIX.

UNCERTAIN BOUNDARIES.

It is extremely wrong, a most unpardonable offence, in any person, either in thinking, speaking, or writing, to deviate from the subject before him. Digression is a sin. Of this very serious offence we have to accuse the author of a delightful novel; Philip Augustus.

This novelist, who has recorded very agreeably some of the deeds of a French monarch, makes the following assertion.

Nothing is more uncertain in the world than the smiles of beauty, and the boundaries of empires.

The first proposition is undoubtedly true. Were we governor or king over a great, a free, and prosperous community, and over none other would we accept the office.

And a young gentleman should come to our court to complain that Isabel had smiled one moment and frowned the next.

We would present him a full goblet of Burgundy wine. And when, as he drank the good wine, all his anger, passion, malice, sorrow, indignation, and desire for vengeance subsided, we would then invite him to a magnificent banquet.

And when all the avenues to his heart were thrown wide open, by good wine and good cheer, we would explain to him, that it was the privilege of beauty to do, to say, and to smile as she pleased. He would then depart, determined to live.

With the second proposition we do not agree.

Yet still however perhaps indeed very possibly when the boundaries of empires are not very definite, the oscillation of dominion may be great.

The happy Valley of Abyssinia is the only territory whose natural defences are so strong, as to preserve the natives free from invasion, without the slightest effort of their own.

Happy country! Admit me to your peaceful shore!

In the smaller states of Germany, there appears no correct rule by which their boundaries can be determined.

They usually possess both sides of the rivers.

The cannon and kettledrum—the musket and trumpet—the bayonet and bullet—the fife and the drum—will sometimes determine the limits of empires during short periods of time.

CHAPTER XX.

ON IMAGINARY BOUNDARIES.

POETS say that, in former time, the world was peopled by a happy, peaceful race, to whom war was unknown, and for whom conquest had no charm. Should such a period of time again return, and that race of people revisit the earth, we might then advise a different rule for the boundaries of empires.

Nothing more would be necessary than to divide the surface into squares of nearly equal size, and place a nation in each.

If they were fond of mathematical studies, which is not very probable, a variety of geometrical figures might be made, and a choice allowed. One nation might prefer to live in a circle, another in a square, and a third in a pentagon.

Instead of fortresses mounted with cannon, the borders of nations might be traced by lines of rose trees—instead of garrisons breathing defiance, and threatening death—the hyacinth and lily might point with their delicate flowers to the separate estates of nations. Each would diligently cultivate the part allotted to them, and no one doing another harm, all would do well.

But. The nations who at present reside upon the earth, always attack their neighbors, and endeavour to wrest from them their possessions. They are perpetually employed, either resisting the strong or oppressing the weak. It is scarcely necessary to add, the latter is their more favorite employment. A species of instinct, that we cannot too much detest and abhor, induces them to attack those who are weaker than themselves.

Thus. Something more is necessary to restrain the ambition of man than a mere artificial line, even though it was ornamented with flowers. Some powerful obstacle is required to control the love of conquest and the love of plunder, which the human race, in their collective capacity, possess.

It has been ascertained by experience that nothing restrains nations so effectually within proper bounds as the difficulty or impossibility of passing beyond them.

You might as well attempt to stop the ad-

vance of the ocean by a line drawn on the sand, as to keep nations within certain limits by lines drawn upon the surface of their territory. If an individual is separated from us by a chain of mountains, a desert, or the ocean, we can understand why he may desire to live under a different system of laws, and form of government; or the danger of attempting to subdue him takes away the desire. But. If his possessions are separated from ours by a mere imaginary line, ambition is excited. It is true, by their means, a nation may be formed very compact, and that is one great element of national strength, but not sufficient to counterbalance their various evils and disadvantages.

For. As these artificial lines possess no inherent strength, they never stand the shock of war, and are speedily obliterated from the political map of the world.

The Medes and Persians, after several years of war, drew an imaginary line on the plains of Media, as a boundary between the two Empires. It performed its office during a very short period. Historians cannot now point out its locality.

The Wansdike was a similar line, between two Saxon Sovereigns of England. Now destroyed. After centuries of war, few artificial lines of demarcation appear in Europe. The longest imaginary line that we read of, was that drawn by Pope Gregory. It extended from the North to the South Pole, at a distance of one hundred miles to the west of the Azores. And was to separate the conquests of the King of Spain from those of the Sovereign of Portugal.

Not the infallible power of St. Peter's successor, invested with nearly omnipotent strength, could preserve this boundary line.

The ocean waves, indignant at an attempt to control their power, destroyed it so completely, that voyagers on the Atlantic have never been able to trace any signs of its existence.

A similar line upon land would have had a similar fate.

The difficulty concerning the boundary of the British Provinces and the State of Maine is about an imaginary line.

It may console the people of that State for the loss of their territory, if they reflect that the true natural line of demarcation is far south of that fixed by the King of the Netherlands.

The northern boundary of Delaware is part of the circumference of a circle, whose radius is twelve miles. Should the traveller be induced, by motives of curiosity, to visit this circular boundary of a State, he will be unable to distinguish the slightest elevation of ground—the soil on both sides is equally fertile—the air equally pleasant—he will be unable to discover what separates the descendants of Penn from the relatives of the Swedish King.

The only boundaries of a similar form, mentioned in history, are those of the free imperial cities of Germany.

Being strong and powerful, they extended their sway, and their power was acknowledged, to a distance of one, two, or five miles from their walls.

In time of war this usually happened. The citizens were forced into the train of one contending power, or were well pillaged by both parties.

Draw upon the surface of the world a circle of such exact proportion, that even the Spirit of Archimedes, as he passes over the surface of the Earth, examining the mathematicians of the present day, will be pleased with its appearance.

Fill it with the human race, either French, Spaniards, or Englishmen; Turks, Persians, or Arabians; Americans, Mexicans, or Children of the Sun. · Invest them with the right of peace and war, and, in a few years, this fair circle will only be preserved on some old geographical map.

The most clear, the best defined, the most regular parallelogrametrical Empire, ever made by the hand of a skilful mathematician, is not so likely to retain its boundary entire, as an Empire with irregular, but strongly marked limits, formed by the rude hand of Nature.

For all these reasons, in making future treaties of peace, or in fixing the boundaries of those Semi Sovereign States, called into existence by the fiat of the American Congress, not the mathematician, but the geographer, or the individual who has the greatest knowledge of the country in dispute, should be consulted.

CHAPTER XXI.

ON FORTIFIED BOUNDARIES.

An artificial line, strongly fortified, if drawn without reference to natural divisions, possesses little more inherent strength. Three Roman walls in the north of England, built at successive periods, and in different situations, did not answer the purpose of their founders.

A Roman wall, which extended from the sources of the Rhine to the Danube, was only defended a few years.

The Wall of China was built on a range of hills on the northern frontier of that celestial Empire. Of partial use. It increased the strength of the former natural boundary.

CHAPTER XXII.

BOUNDARIES OF PENINSULAS.

WHEN a peninsula affords room for a powerful nation, it should be under one government.

We have given one or two instances in the preceding part of this Essay, which prove they are not exempt from those general laws, which influence territories of a different shape. The range of mountains between Norway and Sweden has prevented the union of that peninsula. The extreme length of Italy has operated in a similar way.

The people residing on the coasts of a peninsula, have frequently more communication with foreign countries, than with the opposite shore of their own country.

Yet their happiness is promoted under one government.

They have then no domestic enemies to

fear. All their energies can be directed, in case of war, against exterior foes.

In the United States of America, are a sufficient number of instances to exemplify this part of the science of boundaries.

New Jersey, united under one government, is divided from her step-sisters, New York and Pennsylvania, by rivers.

The next peninsula to the south, is divided between Delaware, Maryland, Virginia.

The natives live under three distinct systems of laws.

Not of much consequence! The people near the southern cape, unhealthy during the autumnal season, resort at that period to the north.

The variance of law thus becomes a practical disadvantage.

Before we express an opinion that Delaware should be enlarged, and comprehend the whole peninsula, it is evident many other considerations would present themselves. We mention it as theory.

The empire of a peninsula should not exceed its natural limits.

To govern one large peninsula well, is as much as any people should be called on to perform.

The third territorial division of this shape, is Florida. Its boundary to the west is too extensive, and should not have passed the river Apalachicola.

Alabama would then have an extent of coast proportional to her interior provinces.

Florida, more compact, would have a better chance of good government.

Michigan presents a favorable specimen of territorial division.

Instead of an artificial line between her possessions and the continent, one or two small rivers would have been preferable.

Let us suppose that Kamtschatka was an independent empire. The natives of that country would then engage in three wars.

- 1. With the Bears.
- 2. With the Kurilese.
- 3. With the Chinese.

With the first, the pleasure of reposing on the soft fur of those who were slain, would more than compensate the danger of the combat.

The second would be easily defeated. And. If policy dictated, which it would not, possession might be taken of a few islands near the shore.

The war with the Chinese would occur

about once in seven years. But. As it takes a Chinese man a day to draw his sword, and a month to fire his matchlock, and recover from the fright it occasions him—they would not be very formidable enemies.

The time of the Kamtschatdale would thus be pleasantly spent.

He would fight two months of every year.

He would farm, fish, hunt, plant and collect his harvest, during six months. And during the four winter months he would dance and sing in his subterranean house.

Instead of this delightful life, he is unfortunately subject to an empire, which is three thousand miles long, and twelve hundred miles wide. When a rebellion occurs in Poland, or the Finns are in motion, the Kamtschatdale is compelled to march an immense distance from home; no one ever hears of his valor, and he is liable to be run through with a lance twenty feet long.

Unfortunate man! May you soon have a King of your own, and thus possess self-government.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ON THE CAUSE OF NATURAL BOUNDARIES.

In Upper Lusatia in Germany, is a tribe of people descended from the good Saxons, who resisted with such true valor the armies of Charlemagne.

They dress in skins. Dwell in tents. Lead a happy pastoral life. And cordially pity those unfortunate people who are compelled to reside in towns.

In the midst of Christian Europe, they retain their Pagan rites, and a grove of majestic oak trees, near the centre of their territory, is the object of religious adoration.

They were formerly under the Electors of Saxony, who allowed them to pursue their own course without interference; having perceived the folly of any attempt to control them.

In the exchanges of territory, during the year 1815, they were transferred to the jurisdiction of Prussia. The monarch of that

country, when informed of the circumstance, gave orders for them to pay taxes, and attend Christian worship. Officers were appointed to execute the decree.

It was speedily discovered that, unless they were caught and chained, it was impossible to procure their attendance in the Cathedral of Luckaw. Two companies of infantry were then detached to cut down the sacred grove, but the tribe threatened destruction to all who engaged in the attempt. The officers of Prussia, wishing to avoid bloodshed in a newly acquired territory, desisted from this part of the enterprise.

The project of converting them to Christianity having failed, it was thought desirable they should pay tribute. Demanded. The Chiefs of the tribe were willing to remain at peace, but refused to pay any tax or contribution. And immediately assembled in arms to defend their property.

The Prussian Authorities, finding they could do nothing with this inexorable race, were obliged to leave them in possession of their ancient freedom.

Like this tribe, the people of every country have certain habits, customs, feelings, opinions, and prejudices, by which they are distinguished from other nations. Customs powerful. Impossible to eradicate. Nor would it be desirable.

As medals are more valued for the variety of their impressions, so nations present a more pleasing aspect from the variety of their customs, the difference of their opinions, and the distinct character of their political institutions.

"The shudd'ring tenant of the frigid zone
Boldly proclaims the happiest spot his own;
Extols the treasures of his stormy seas,
And his long nights of revelry and ease.
The naked Negro, panting at the line,
Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine,
Basks in the glare, or stems the tepid wave,
And thanks his Gods for all the wealth they gave.
Such is the patriot's boast, where'er he roam,
His first, best country, ever is, at home."

This circumstance contributes much to the comfort and happiness of the human race. Each nation considers its own laws, customs, and institutions; soil, climate, and provisions; habits, manners, and government; as far superior to others. Each nation believes itself the most free, the most wise, the most brave, the most every thing.

The praise and the superiority of his native

land, is the pleasing theme of every orator in every country.

He who assures his audience they are the best and most enlightened people on the face of the earth, shall receive abundant applause. Were it otherwise, it would be a great want of gratitude. An orator and his audience thus mutually delighted with each other, presents a very pleasing spectacle.

Frequently, a community considers its own laws, government, and religion so excellent, it desires to enforce them on other nations.

Hence arises one cause of war.

The Peruvians, believing the religion of the Sun would contribute to the happiness of the surrounding nations, subdued many of them on that account.

The conquests of the followers of Mahomet had their origin in a similar cause.

The Athenians considering that man could not be happy, unless he enjoyed a democratic form of government, conferred it upon all whom they could subdue. And sometimes went to war for the express purpose. It is very singular, that the neighboring States, knowing the fate which awaited them, made a most desperate resistance.

The Spartans supposed happiness to be in-

separable from a monarchy, and overthrew the former whenever they had the power.

The wars between England and France have chiefly arisen from the variance of national customs, aided by local situation.

It is possible, in some of these instances, ambition was the ruling cause, and the reason assigned, merely an excuse.

If, however, a difference of habits and manners has been sometimes a source of war between nations, it is the great cause both of their independence, and of their recovering freedom, after their having been enslaved.

That portion of the human race who exercise sovereign power in every country, (whether chosen by the people themselves, or permitted to rule by their tacit consent) must govern nearly in accordance with the spirit and feelings of the nation over whom they are placed.

But. In an empire containing several distinct nations under its sway, the government cannot pay sufficient deference to their several opinions and prejudices.

Hence arises a constant struggle on the part of subject nations, until they acquire liberty.

This accounts for the short duration of what

are termed Universal Empires. Trampling on the common rights of mankind, they are, by general consent, overthrown.

As when snow falls in a country, and conceals the ancient landmarks—fields, valleys, and plains, are hidden from the sight, the farmer is unable to recognize his own possessions. Spring returns, the snow melts, and each views again his own sacred land.

Nations are seldom able to effect any permanent change in natural boundaries! They believe their conquests to be eternal. The voice of history proves them to be merely temporary.

To form a permanent Empire, there must be some common feeling to unite the people under its sway, as all governments are founded, more or less remotely, on the opinions of the people where they are established.

Every nation desires Self Government.

In what does this consist? The term has been sometimes misapplied.

The Self Government of a nation does not consist in any particular form of government!

Not in the time for which a nation choose their ruler! Whether.

Every minute; as in Utopia.

Every hour; French Revolution.

Every day; Athens in first Persian war.

Every month; Corinth.

Every six months; St. Marino.

Every year; Venice.

Every four years; United States of America.

Every ten years; Roman Emperors.

For life; Poland.

Hereditary succession; Europe.

Nor in the name given to the person who wields the executive power of a State, whether he is called President, King, Czar, Emperor, Sultan, Governor, Archon, Duke, Consul, or Dictator!

A nation may possess Self Government when any of these are at the head of affairs.

Nor in the quantity of power allowed to the Supreme Magistrate!

Nor in any particular combination of the preceding circumstances!

No. The Self Government of a nation is any form of government to which a nation submits, without armed foreign interference.

Various as the passion, judgment, prejudice, caprice, knowledge, want of knowledge, inclination, habit, custom, fashion of each distinct nation.

It may appear a singular assertion—yet we incline to this opinion.

The Self Government of a nation depends more on the size, the compactness, the unity of her territory, than upon the form of her government.

These distinct sets of opinions are bounded by the natural divisions of the world.

From this cause the same divisions form the natural boundaries of Empires.

The Liberty of a country depends very much on the same preceding circumstances.

A nation is as much deprived of liberty and of self government by extensive conquests as the people over whom it exercises an unjust sway.

Some may say; What is the use of this Liberty, whose acquisition demands so much toil, and whose preservation demands such constant care?

We reply. Liberty is invaluable. She is the parent of every good to man. Without liberty, Man is like a horse that is flogged, or an ox that is goaded.

With liberty he resembles a God. He looks upon his fellow-men and says, "I am their equal." He bows to none but his equals, he kneels to none but his God.

Liberty is a female and a Goddess. She is to be wooed and won, not in the carpeted drawing room, but on the battle field. Not with the soft sound of music, but with the loud roar of cannon. Not in the voluptuous movements of the dance, but by the bloody conflicts of armed men.

Though a female, she is neither fickle nor false, but full of truth and love. But. Unlike a female, she disdains inglorious ease.

To her the fierce alarms of war, and the high resolve of the Council Hall, give joy.

Soon, too soon, she flies to other realms, to joy their eyes with visions of true happiness.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OBJECTIONS TO THEORY.

It may be asserted that among nations where the people travel a great deal, it may change their feelings so much as to operate on many of the reasons assigned.

Let us consider.

The number of individuals who leave their parent State is comparatively few. The farmers who constitute the great mass of every nation do not travel. The manufacturers are nearly equally stationary. A few professional men, merchants and legislators and some rich men of all classes occasionally wander from their homes in pursuit of a delightful species of transitory happiness. But. This seldom produces a permanent change of opinion.

When an individual passes to another Kingdom to reside there, his opinions gradually change, and he acquires insensibly those of the country where he is situated.

It is not possible to breathe the air of a village, town, or city, without at the same time imbibing some of the local opinions which form a species of atmosphere for each particular place.

It is well.

An individual cannot be happy unless he partakes the feelings of those by whom he is surrounded. If they mourn, he should mourn—if they rejoice, he should rejoice—if they feast, he should partake of the banquet.

Ancient conquerors perceiving the force of this local attachment, and that it was unfavorable to their views, frequently removed all the people of a country to distant regions and replaced them by their own native subjects.

Mithridates performed this on a very extensive scale.

The Cappadocians were removed to the banks of Euphrates and the Grecians of Ionia were forced to the shores of the Caspian Sea.

Czar Peter removed thousands of Lithuanians to the interior provinces of Russia and their place was supplied by hordes of bearded Muscovites. The same policy has been pursued in the recent conquest of Poland.

In these instances no political effect was

produced equal to the misery endured by the unfortunate exiles.

The Empire of Rome may be cited as an instance against this theory, but, on examination, will be found to give its support.

It required all the ferocity of the Romans, aided by their naval power, and their permanent national council, to subdue the nations around; on the decline of their high fortunes, their Empire was broken into its original parts.

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CHAPTER XXV.

POWER OF MAN OVER BOUNDARIES.

Let us consider how the power of Man modifies these laws.

There is no law known between nations but force. The power of Empires ebbs and flows like the tide. The savage tribes of Britain were easily defeated by the cohorts of Rome. At a later period, their descendants under a brave General conquered the veteran troops of France, led on by their Emperor.

" Nations melt

From power's high pinnacle, when they have felt The sunshine for a while."

The legions of Rome, the peasants of Switzerland, the infantry of Spain, the crossbowmen of England, the battalions of Sweden, the cuirassiers of France, have in succession given law to Europe, and then retired to their native land.

Process of conquest. Nations become luxurious.

Invaded by a neighboring tribe. The vanquished fall in battle. Their place supplied by conqueror. Kingdom retains its ancient boundary. And has merely sustained a change of people, with the havoc and distress a state of war occasions.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BOUNDARIES OF SAVAGE OR CIVILIZED RACES OF MEN.

A RIVER is a boundary to a savage. A Lake more. The ocean is impassable. His bark canoe is not fitted for engagements on the water.

He reveres the mountains, and seldom attempts to pass them.

His empire is always small, and bounded by the more minute physical objects on the surface of the earth.

The effect of very small territorial divisions is unfavorable to the tribes of savages.

They fight continually.

Half-civilized nations have some intervals of peace between their combats. They have not war more than half their time.

Polished nations never fight.

Ascertain the number of wars in which a nation engage; it will tell their degree of civilization.

CHAPTER XXVII.

INFLUENCE OF INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS.

It has generally been supposed that roads and canals, forming extensive lines of communication, are favorable to the extension of territorial power. When these are within a natural Kingdom or State, they of course tend to unite the people of a country, but it is questionable whether they ever can be sufficiently numerous to join in one sentiment people of distinct national habits.

They only lessen or take away one cause of war, the variance of national custom, leaving all others in full operation.

The five roads and fifty passes across the Pyrennean mountains are not sufficient to join France and Spain.

The magnificent road of the Simplon, did not preserve to the Viceroy of France the submission of his Italian subjects.

Roads, however numerous, will not change the seasons, will not alter the geographical situation of a country. The ocean affords an easy channel of communication between England and France, but it does not combine in one sentiment the people of the two countries.

On this part of the subject we cannot do better than give the written opinion of an individual who, after occupying the Presidential chair of the United States, carries with him into retirement all the kind and amiable feelings of human life, united to the deep political sagacity of a statesman, and who exercises the rights of hospitality in the most courteous manner.

"On turning from the past to the future, speculation may be invited to the influence on those boundaries that may result from new modifications of government, and the operarations of art on the geographical features of Nature. The improvement in political science, more particularly the combination of the federal and representative principle, seem to favor a greater expansion of government in a free form than has been maintainable under the most despotic: whilst so many of the physical obstacles, hitherto determining the boundaries of States, are yielding to the means which now render mountains, rivers, lakes and seas arti-

ficially passable, with a facility and celerity, which bring distant regions within the compass required for the useful intercommunications. Nor should the Telegraph with its probable improvements, be overlooked as an auxiliary to the convenient exercise of power over an extended space.

(Signed) "JAMES MADISON."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EFFECT OF GOVERNMENTS ON BOUNDARIES.

Some may suppose the boundaries of nations depend on the nature of their governments! It does not affect them in the slightest degree. In the first place, there is a perpetual oscillation in all governments. Free to day. Despotic to morrow. Those which are the seats of tyranny now, gradually acquire liberty.

Never is a nation so happy as to be always free, nor so miserable as to be always enslaved.

Pile up the clouds of heaven in a heap, and bid them retain a particular shape, then attempt to restrain nations to one particular form of civil or uncivil polity.

In the wars that arise between monarchies and republics, the latter have the advantage. Kings sleep, republicans never. That which is called sleep in a republic is only a minor degree of excitement. Except among the

farmers, whose happy lives and useful occupation procure them tranquil sleep and pleasing dreams. But. A conquest over kings, introduces kings to a republic. Not only those who are captured on their thrones or taken prisoners in battle, for the pride of success, and the wealth that is seized, introduce that state of feeling which cannot be gratified without monarchical government.

The political happiness of nations depends very much on the observance of this rule.

One government for one people.

This may be offended against in two modes.

First. When there are too many Governments for one people.

Second. When there is one Government for several distinct nations.

First. View a natural Empire divided into small parts. There the science of government is in its infancy. Such was the ancient state of England under the Saxon Heptarchy, and such, the modern state of New England. In the one it did require, in the other it would require, the force of domestic conquest to fuse the petty States into one whole, and to extinguish their minor feuds.

Second. We have, in the introduction to this Essay, given many instances of Universal Empires, which always decompose, and resolve themselves into their constituent parts.

There is another mode in which it is believed this union of distant States may be accomplished, without a sacrifice of their freedom. The theory of the American government supposes that if States, of equal or unequal size, send representatives to one Common Hall, and have an equal vote, the result must be the public welfare.

There is the same limit to the beneficial exercise of this form of government as of all others, and that limit is marked by the physical structure of the soil.

If there assemble in one Council the deputies of nations whose real interests are totally distinct, and they are compelled to acquiesce in one common result-one of the parties must be oppressed.

It is true that party might, in its turn, have the miserable pleasure of exercising despotism against the other. But. Can the happiness of nations consist in an interchange of wrong?

Nations who reside in the Temperate and Torrid regions, have rules of foreign and domestic policy essentially different. Quite impossible to reduce their interests to one common standard.

Their pulse does not beat the same time.

Can any one believe that if the Confederacy of Switzerland, instead of being confined to the hills and fastnesses of the Alps, had comprised within its limits a great portion of the South of Germany, whose representatives had met at some central town and had an equal vote?

Can any one imagine it would have remained intact to the present time?

Can any one believe it would have been favorable to the happiness of that portion of the human race?

No.

It would have deprived them of the dearest privilege of freemen. It would have been a despotism, concealed within the mask, the cloak, the cap, and treading on the sandals of liberty.

There never has been a form of government devised, and there never can be one, which shall unite, permanently and happily, nations of distinct national habits.

The time will never arrive when the human race will cease to connect the idea of political happiness with extended dominion — yet an Empire too extensive is unfavorable to the happiness of those over whom it is exercised.

When Bonaparte was eating oranges in the Grand Master's gardens at Malta, he enjoyed perfect happiness, for his ambition was gratified, he was eating delicious fruit, and enjoying agreeable society—At the same time the plough of the peasant of France was dragged by a female! and that female was the peasant's wife!!!

While England has fifty millions sterling of revenue, a hundred millions of subjects, and territories that extend over one fifth part of the world, her agricultural laborers receive an allowance of two shillings a week.

The farmer on the Atlantic coast of North America, when rejoicing in the extension of the Confederacy to new States in the far West; forgets that it deprives him of that Self Government, for which his ancestors fought so bravely and so well.

The same laws apply to the Boundaries of Nations under whatever form of government they choose to remain.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INTERNAL DIVISIONS OF A COUNTRY.

FRANCE was anciently divided into provinces by strong natural lines.

The philosophers complained that the people were so absorbed by local feelings they forgot to be Frenchmen. To obviate this difficulty, at the period of the Revolution, new lines of departments were drawn. All the old territorial arrangements being overturned, and scarcely able to tell under what new divisions they were placed, Frenchmen rallied around the national standard.

In the older States of America, the divisions of counties, with a few exceptions, follow natural lines. In the Mississippi valley, a different rule has been adopted. The land is divided by artificial lines, into townships ten miles square.

In a plain, level country, this is certainly the best mode. In a country that has extensive subordinate ranges of mountains, or numerous rivers, a combination of natural and artificial lines would be preferable.

A general rule.

No individual should be obliged to cross a river five hundred feet wide, or travel over a mountain a thousand feet high, to attend his county court, or to vote at elections.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHOICE OF RESIDENCE.

Unfortunate is the man who resides near the boundary line of a large kingdom, for it is always a dangerous position, or in a small natural kingdom, unless endowed with such a firm disposition of mind that he would sooner die in battle than submit to oppression.

The example, though fatal to himself, would secure better terms to his countrymen.

An individual, who has the world before him, "where to choose his place of rest, and Providence his guide," would do well to avoid a residence on the borders of France, or an island that could be visited by the fleets of the English or Americans.

A thousand years hence, the defiles of the North American Andes, and the country between Mexico and the United States will certainly be a dangerous home.

In former time, no individual, who valued life or property, would have chosen a residence on the debateable land between England and Scotland, or in the Marches of Wales; where battles and skirmishes were the order of each day, for near five hundred years.

CHAPTER XXXI.

POWER OF NATIONS.

This view of the Boundaries of Nations will assist in an estimate of their real power. We must carefully distinguish between the parent State, and the distant continental or oceanic colonies, under the same government. Those are liable to be separated by political accidents, and must only be considered as temporary accessions of power.

A great difference exists between the native strength of Great Britain and that Empire assumed over so many distant colonies.

Her power over the last may be endangered by any nation, that could fire one cannon more on the ocean, or whose War Steam Boats should manœuvre with greater dexterity and skill.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BOUNDARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

"Toto orbe Brittannos divisos."

BRITAIN is separated from the rest of the World.

But.

The rest of the World is not separated from Britain!

By sending from time to time numerous fleets and armies, with cannon, and fine bands of music, she has conquered and retains in subjection one half of North America, the whole West Indian Archipelago, Demerara, Gibraltar, Malta, Ionian Islands, one third of Africa, Hindostan, Ceylon, and the continent of Austrasia.

Great Britain is the most conquering nation on the surface of the globe.

She governs Hottentots, Caffres, Canadians, Frenchmen, Hindoos, Negroes, Africans,

Boshmen, Greeks, South Americans, Ceylonese, Mahrattas, East and West Indians, Maltese, Moors, Arabs, Maroons, Spaniards, Nepaulese, Burmese.

The men of England have conquered a thousand tribes!

A thousand expeditions have left her shores in search of foreign conquests and have returned victorious!

A thousand rivers are tributary to them, and the waves of every ocean have seen their victorious flag!

A thousand lakes adorn their lands, and ten thousand islands own their sway!

In search of conquest they have ascended the mountains of Himalaya and trod upon the plains of Thibet—They have climbed the heights of Abraham and fought beneath the walls of Quebec.

The Niger, the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Oronoco, the Nile, the Ganges, the Burampooter, the Amazon, the La Plata, have seen their victorious legions disembark on their shores, and conquer in a thousand battles, and of many of these they still retain possession.

They have conquered the lion of Africa. They have saddled the elephant of India. The crocodile of Egypt has crouched beneath their sway. The wolf of Canada flies terrified at their approach. The tiger alone stands at bay.

Great Britain has thus obtained possession of one fifth part of the World and is the most powerful nation on the surface of the Earth

When the World was created, its Almighty Maker decreed that power and happiness should never be conferred, at the same time, either upon nations or individuals. If you wish to be happy never seek after power, and if you are powerful never attempt to be happy. They are incompatible.

These colonial possessions may be divided into three classes.

- 1. Those useful to her commerce.
- 2. Those useful to her policy as fortifications.
 - 3. Those of no use in either point of view.

The latter class is by far the most numerous. The conquest of foreign countries for the purpose of trading with them, is one of those illusions to which mankind, from age to age, are always subject.

The commerce, the liberty, the happiness, the independence, of England would be much promoted if she possessed fewer foreign colonies. A Colony is a slave who would be more valuable if free.

We hold this truth to be indisputable. That nation is the happiest, the wisest, and the best, which neither aspires to foreign domination nor submits to foreign rule.

Great Britain possesses one fifth part of the world. She pays taxes in the same proportion. One is the inevitable consequence of the other.

The twenty five millions of people inhabiting the British Isles have conquered one hundred millions living in other parts of the world. This is attended with an enormous expense, for one people never like to be held in subjection by another without constant efforts to recover their freedom. If they are weak they cry. If they are powerful they fight. Great Britain is put to an expense of twenty millions sterling per annum to retain her colonies in a due state of subjection, and to defend them from foreign attack, she is compelled to retain under arms three hundred thousand soldiers and a thousand ships of war.

A few centuries ago, before England had passed her ocean boundary, a monarch sat upon the throne who seems to have had a correct idea of the value of foreign conquests. His courtiers, as courtiers will often do, advised him to conquer some of the conti-

nental nations. He made, according to tradition, the following reply.

Happy in our Isle,
We seek not foreign conquest.
For what within the bound
Of Man's extremest wish
But may be obtained here!
Realms wide and spacious!
Cities rich and flourishing!
Towns fill'd with artisans!
Streams peopled with the finny tribe!
Fields luxuriant and fertile!
Men brave, intelligent and active!
Women fair, angelic, beautiful!
Old Play.

provided and other provided provided

CHAPTER XXXIII.

BOUNDARIES OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The boundaries of the United States of America present many phenomena worthy of being attentively studied. In examining these we must remember that the people have yielded to a central government the distinctive mark, the most important prerogative of Sovereign power, the right of making peace and war.

The limits of the several States must therefore, under their present form of government, be judged, rather as divisional lines of one territory, than as rival, jealous nations, ready to war with each other on the slightest pretext.

Happy country! where a native, on passing the boundary line of a State instead of meeting a bayonet or a custom officer, equally bad, travels free and without interruption.

It may however be observed, that, on most important questions brought before Congress,

only three Members are allowed to speak. These are the representatives of the South, the East, the West. All the artificial divisions of territory disappear before the powerful influence of natural boundaries. Whether these are minor divisions, such as occur in every nation, or indicate strong national differences, will be gradually unfolded by the great Arbiter of human affairs.

Time passes gently on, using his scythe with one hand, and holding up the mirror of Truth to nations with the other. We will not anticipate his decree.

With regard to the boundaries between the State governments it may be observed that many of them were fixed by accident. It was easier to declare lines of latitude than to point out accurate natural boundaries in a country the geography of which was totally unknown.

Between the separate States, some boundaries are in dispute, which ought not to be disputed, and some ought to be disputed, which are not in dispute. The line between New Hampshire and Maine should be remodelled for the advantage of both parties.

Massachusetts possesses a small circular portion of territory on the right bank of the Merrimac. She should be content with the left shore of the river.

Louisiana should comprise the territory on the western bank of the river Mississippi.

The State of Mississippi should comprise the eastern shore.

A territory between Maine and New Brunswick has been disputed between England and the United States.

The quantity of Self Government possessed by the people on either side of this extensive frontier of the two Empires is extremely equal and similar.

States must submit to a great deprivation of Self Government when not strong enough to assert their own independence.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ON WAR.

WAR is fashion — War is folly — War is crime — War is war — War sanctions every crime that man can commit.

Rise! Earth! and conquer armed men! Take from them their arms and implements of war and compel them to resume the pursuits of peace. Then shall the Earth be still, and the human race will carry the arts, the sciences, and their political combinations, to the highest possible degree of perfection.

Indians war with all but their own tribe.

In the Highlands of Scotland each savage clan was accustomed to combat all those who who lived in the neighboring valley.

All savage nations are alike. When not at war with their neighbors, they fight with one another.

When Bonaparte, the celebrated warrior, conquered Egypt, he conferred the command of a district of country on a Member of the French Institute, that he might observe how a

philosopher would govern a province. And lest the Arabs and Copts, not accustomed to so much happiness, should rebel, he was escorted by a regiment of infantry and a squadron of cuirassiers.

He rode gaily along the banks of the Nile, for, like all philosophers, he was fond of pomp, luxury, and power. And revolved in his mind a theory of government which should render his subjects the admiration of all nations.

He reasoned in something like the following manner.

"I am surely wiser than these Arabs. I will therefore govern them according to my good will and pleasure. But I will not kill any of them or banish them, except for atrocious offences. As their time will not be occupied with political affairs, they will have so much more time to cultivate their fields, and to be happy. My brave troops will defend them. I will govern them. And will merely take a portion of their cattle, their provisions, their furniture, their corn, their cotton, their sugar, their maize, and all their money, which they will cheerfully surrender. And of every orange tree I will have the fruit, and not a date tree shall flourish but I will have a share. This

will be some slight return for the fatigue which I shall undergo, and yet I will not fatigue myself too much, for that might endanger my health."

Whilst saying these words he arrived in his province and the first thing that met his view, were the natives of two rival villages drawn up in battle array, ready to engage.

They were armed with spears, matchlocks, daggers, swords, pistols, lances, sticks, stones, beams of wood, and other eastern implements of war. The philosopher, surprised that any people should fight when they could remain at peace, inquired the reason.

The Arabs, surprised that any people should remain at peace when they could fight, replied. Their ancestors had been accustomed to war, and it would be very wrong to break so good a custom.

As a mark of respect to their new Governor, they politely invited him to choose his own side, and partake of the combat. He resolutely refused.

At this moment, an arrow flew with great force and velocity. It was accidentally shot by an Arab who was extremely anxious to begin the combat, it struck the philosopher, and he fell, with a mortal wound. He died universally regretted. Even the Arabs lamented his death; and when a son of the desert sheds a tear, there must be cause for sorrow. His beautiful Constanza mourned for him during the space of six whole days. This remarkable fact we should scarcely have ventured to mention, but on authority of an officer who accompanied the expedition.

He was buried in the desert, and a tomb was erected near the place where the catastrophe happened, on which was placed this inscription.

"SACRED
to the memory
of a Philosopher,
who never wished harm
to any human being,
except to his enemies."

Thus was lost to the world the only opportunity they will perhaps ever possess of knowing what is good government.

In civilized countries the same hostile spirit is known.

Whenever two villages, of nearly equal size, are within ten miles of each other, rivalry takes place, and the natives would occasionally combat, but they are restrained by the laws.

Cities, within one hundred miles of each

other, have the same spirit of enmity. When under one government, the people are not allowed to march out with cannon and fire grape-shot at each other, the spirit of hostility evaporates through the gazettes, and is displayed in dull jests and very grave inuendoes.

Some nations profess peace! Yes. They do.

If a young lion, before his teeth were sharp or his claws were grown, and before he had gratified his carnivorous propensity, should say that he intended, when of age, to eat grass like a sheep, and when, on feast days and holidays, he invited his friends to dine, he should place before them only a few tender shrubs—we could not believe the assertion.

We would not contradict the young king of the forest, for that might be unpleasant to his feelings, but we should reason, in our own minds, thus.

All other lions devour every living thing within their reach.

It is probable that when he grows up, he will follow the customs of his ancestors!

Thus it is with nations.

There is no variety in the political history of man.

There can be none.

Nations! young in power, profess the utmost goodwill to the whole human race.

They never intend to commence any wars.

Their whole career will be one of peace, justice, happiness, or more—tranquillity!

They acquire strength and then attack, ravage, govern, oppress every nation which is near.

And sometimes wander over the whole Earth to find people to subdue.

After centuries of war, rapine, plunder, glory, success, victory, conquest, taxes, strife, defeat, terror, despair, commotion, rebellion—they at length discover this invincible truth.

God hath placed bound to the ambition of man.

There are certain limits beyond which he cannot pass with impunity.

This truth can only be learned by experience. For. Each nation believes itself exempt from those general laws which history proclaims to the whole human race.

The species of war which we would recommend between nations should be like the tournaments of olden time. The champions met on a beautiful plain when the sky was fair above and the grass was fresh beneath. The shock of mimic war was accompanied by in-

strumental music. Each victorious knight should be crowned by his favorite lady with a wreath of flowers, and a sumptuous feast conclude the labors of the day and restore all the combatants to good humor.

CHAPTER XXXV.

USE OF WAR.

WARS are frequent. The cry of the moralist and the smile of the philosopher are in vain. They will still continue. What is their use?

Some say that war is a scourge for the political crimes of nations.

It prevents them from falling asleep. As the pursuit of their prey compels wild animals to exertion, and is favorable to their health and longevity, furnishing them at the same time with food and appetite. The contests between nations prevent the moral and political lethargy into which they would otherwise fall.

The following is a more correct solution of that enigma which has perplexed some of the most wise of men.

The spirit of conquest, by which the human race are governed, is, in many instances, beneficial. Within certain limits, a most valuable quality.

Like every other passion to which man is subject, it is only when carried beyond its proper bounds, that it becomes noxious.

If man was not impelled by the love of power, there would be upon the surface of the world, ten thousand millions of separate communities. They would be found in every valley, and form spots on every hill. Each with its laws and regulations of civil policy. For. To form the smallest community, there must be some laws to govern the intercourse of its members.

In this state of affairs, supposing the other dispositions of man were in activity, one of these communities, the most enlightened, would treat a stranger with hospitality. They would give him as much fruit as he could eat, as much milk as he could drink, and would never disturb his afternoon siesta. A second might interdict his passage. The twentieth would surely put him to death. None of the benefits derived from the extended commerce of the human race could be obtained. Man would be comparatively a solitary animal, and his acquisitions of knowledge and art, being limited by such minute boundaries, would have little temptation, and no reward, for their development. By the establishment of large kingdoms, the stage of usefulness is increased, inventions are disseminated with rapidity, the sphere of human intellect is enlarged.

We are not of opinion with that French moralist, who said, "Il ne faut jamais songer à la guerre que pour defendre la liberté;" for all those wars may be considered as necessary, and tend to preserve human happiness, which are made for the consolidation of natural Empires. Those are to be approved which took place for the union of the British Isles, for the consolidation of France, for the establishment of the kingdom of Spain.

Switzerland contains a population of two millions of people, who live in a strong castle in the centre of Europe. They can arm a hundred thousand warriors. They are unfortunately divided into many petty cantonal governments, who sell the children of liberty to fight the battles of despotism in foreign lands, and in later years have allowed the soil of the republic to be trodden upon by foreign armies.

Happy will it be for Switzerland! when a native of that country is unable to tell whether he was born in the Valley of Berne, or in the mountainous region of Underwalden.

In the history of nations, we peruse an account of three States, whose political rela-

tions have been governed by maxims of sound philosophy.

China refuses to make conquests beyond her natural limits—Santo Marino, when invited by the Chief Consul of France to round the territories of her small republic, refused so tempting an offer—Massachusetts surrendered the right of sovereignty to an extensive dominion, when she could no longer exercise power without committing injustice.

Those which are undertaken to reduce large Empires to a natural size may also be considered wars for liberty.

All others are adverse to the real prosperity of States.

To some nations, the pomp and magnificence of preparation, and the hope of seizing with violence on the possessions of others, may lead to combat. Far happier are those, who, content with the dominion which Providence has assigned them, use every effort, consistent with true honor, to avoid the extremity of war.

They are saved from the dishonor of conquest, over nations inferior in strength—from the crime of exercising dominion over people who wish to be free—from the intoxication and false glitter of victory—from the deep shame and terror of defeat.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONCLUSION.

It is of some importance to nations who desire to live in peace that their territorial limits should be fixed and certain.

When there is any doubt respecting the possessions of a private individual it produces a state of excitement unfavorable to happiness.

Nations more.

Millions of persons will sometimes be thrown into a state of uneasiness, anxiety, war, for a very trivial circumstance relative to the boundaries of their Empire.

In this Essay an attempt has been made to point out certain natural lines of demarcation between States, and to shew that in the history of all nations, there is a constant tendency to approach them.

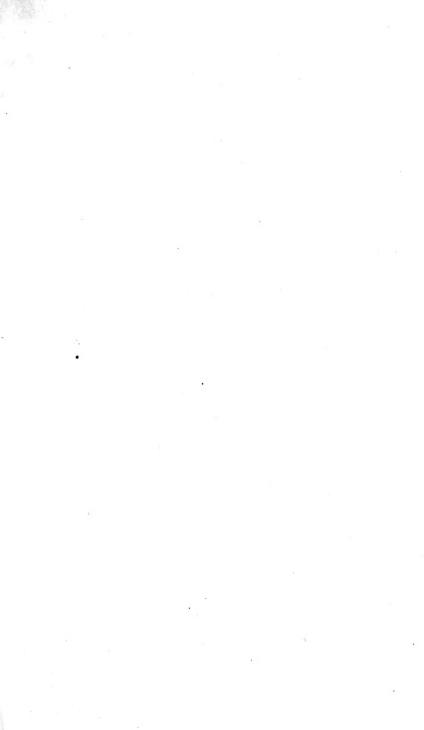
Like a pendulum vibrating freely in space while, to a common observer nothing can appear more regular than its motion, the philosopher knows where it will finally rest. Thus. The boundaries of nations which appear so fluctuating and irregular have a certain limit to which they irresistibly tend.

All the councils of statesmen, all the maneuvres of politicians, all the conflicts of armies, all the crime, the contest, the energy, of human political action, have this and no other final result.

How many wars would be prevented, what a triumph would humanity gain, if instead of that insatiable desire which all nations exhibit to extend their dominion over the most distant and dissimilar realms; they would remain content within the limits pointed out by reason and philosophy!

FINIS.







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