

When we examine the Annals of the World from the beginning of Government unto this day we shall find the generality of Nations groaning under the Yoke of Despotism, the reason is plain, Man in his own nature is ever aiming at Despotie power, & tis founded on the love of pleasure, every one wishes to be as happy as possible, & therefore covets a sufficient power to force all all others to contribute to that happiness, for which purpose tis also natural to desire to govern them.

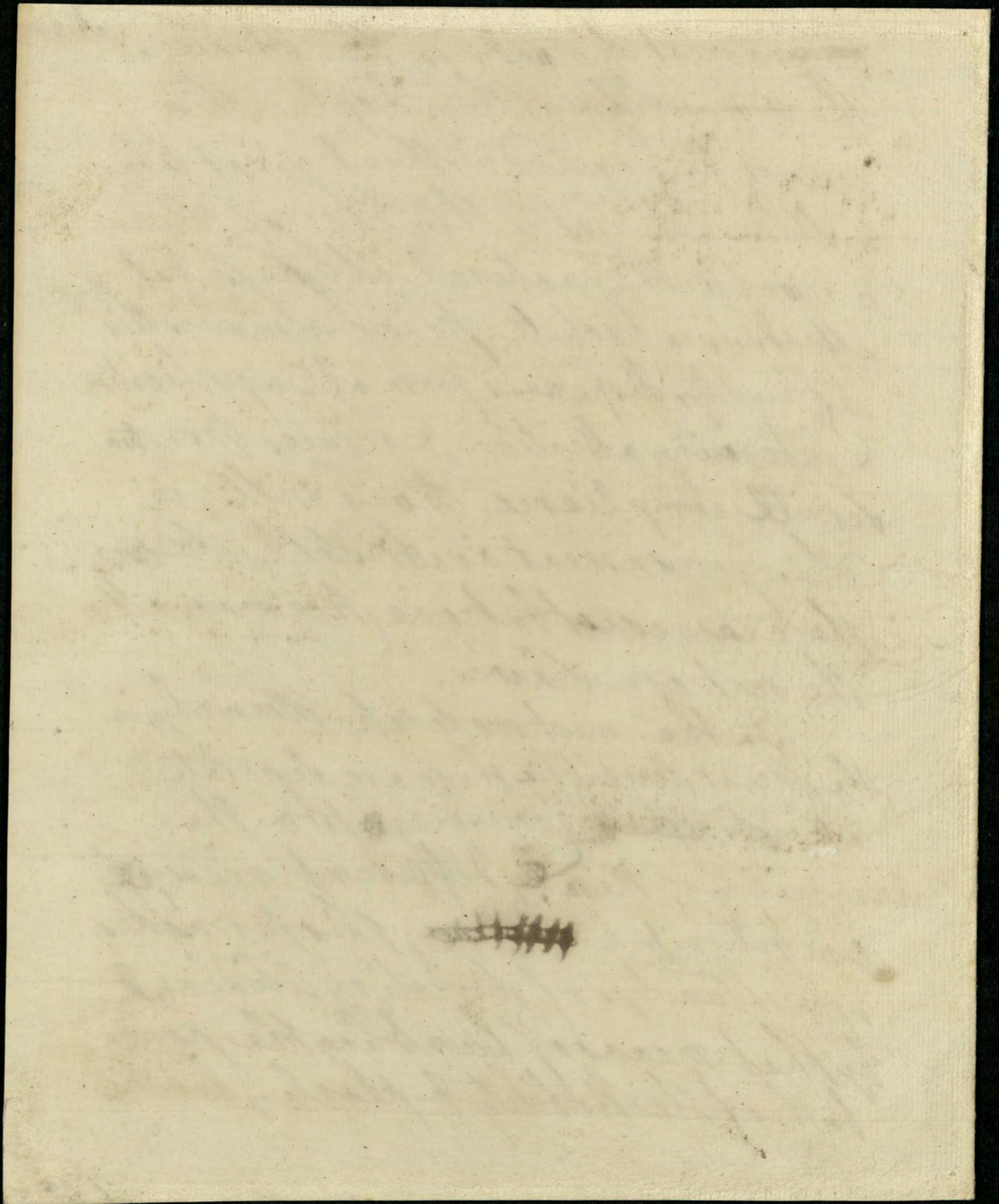
People are either governed by Laws established Constitution or by Arbitrary Will, in the first case our Dominion is not so absolute, nor does the Subject lie under such a necessity to please, besides a Regal



A. 2

Government demands in the Prince a  
thoro knowledge of the People, this  
cannot be acquired without great labour  
& study, but that is the base of pleasure  
& resort to the natural idleness that  
attends, absolute power removes this  
difficulty, dispenses from all application  
& fatiguing attention, & reduces Men to a  
servile compliance to our will; in  
this Government as Aristotle observes  
there can exist but one Freeman, all  
the rest are Slaves.

In the most moderate Monarchy, in  
the great Masses there are separate  
interests, ~~which~~ <sup>either</sup> proceeding ~~from~~ from the  
inequality of Men <sup>their</sup> ~~to~~ different views, of  
ambition &c. ~~which~~; this furnishes  
opportunities of dividing Citizens, &  
by that means of humbling the power  
both of the Nobility & people, besides



BEO ADDL MSS 32 (1049)

in a long tract of Years many occasions offer that Kings generally seize with avidity.

67  
Division one down among the People the sword of tyranny must forever glitter before their eyes, for to ~~debase~~ <sup>debase</sup> their Minds & depress them more & more. A Manly, Virtuous turn becomes highly Criminal, & a feeble effeminacy gets the name of Heroism; Tacitus tells us that under the Reign of Domitian Virtues were sentences of death & the Virtuous Man that did not counsel a Crime, was still forced to join in it. He must distinguish two sorts of Despotism, one established by force of Arms over a Virtuous Nation that suffers it impatiently, of which Greece gives us many examples, the other is the Work of time, Luxury & effeminacy, with regard to the first it cannot



last long, the free & independant spirit <sup>of a</sup>  
cannot be long without some opportunity  
of shaking it off, not as with the latter  
where in every Revolution, the Chains  
remain tho' another Master holds them.

Dreadful are the effects attending  
this enormous power not only for the  
People but for the Prince who covets  
it, fear & distrust are the common  
attendants of Tyranny, violence &  
an Arm'd force are the only methods  
to reduce every thing under the  
arbitrary Will of the Sovereign;  
but these methods grow habitual  
revolt in their Minds & excite them to  
vengeance & gradually banishes  
out of their Minds all other ideas of  
justice, except force itself.

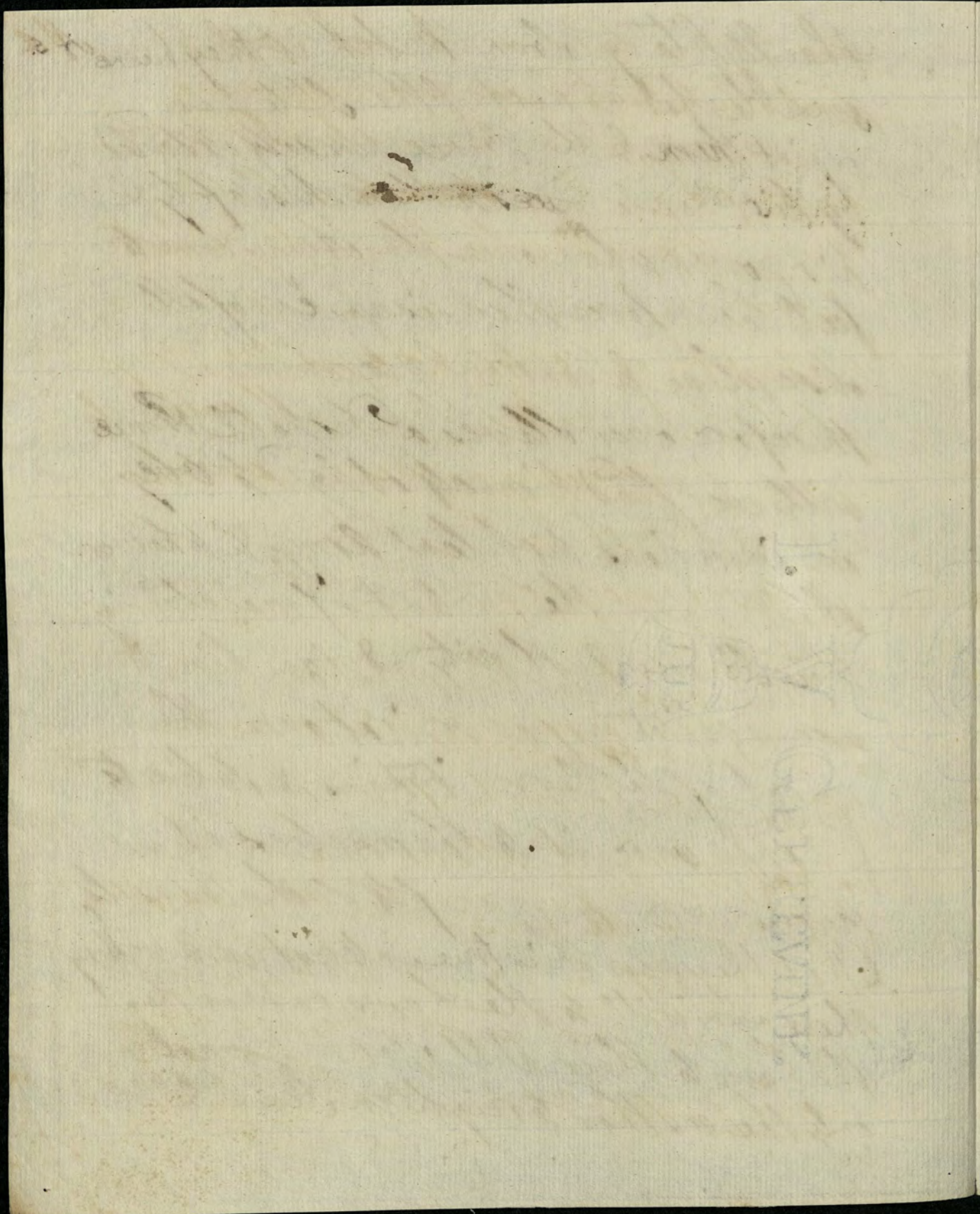
The people are not so quick  
in laying down this doctrine but

*[Faint, illegible handwriting on aged paper]*



The Military soon catch it, they become sensible that no part of the State can resist them, & the Prince himself detested by his People owes to them his safety & his power; when once the Army come to feel their force, there is an end of all discipline & controul; to command therefore over slaves a Despotick Prince will ever find himself oblig'd to obey an imperious, turbulent Army, & whoever shall under the pretext of maintaining their Princes Authority advise him to use Arbitrary power, is at once the worst of fathers, Citizens, & Subjects, & happy were it to themselves if Kings were ever deaf to such Counsels, & that they saw their true interest in submitting their own will to the Laws, rather than the Laws to their Will; for this is not only the method to reign in Peace &

A.5.



prosperity, but to transmit the Scepter to their <sup>A.C.</sup>  
posterity, which becomes otherwise a  
very precarious measure; few Princes  
however have ever <sup>seen or</sup> ~~known~~ will see  
this in its proper light, the false lustre  
of sovereign power, idleness, & pleasure,  
that screens from their eyes the many  
perils that surround them, will continually  
carry it over every other consideration,  
& the History of all times informs us that  
all governments sooner or later came to  
Despotism.

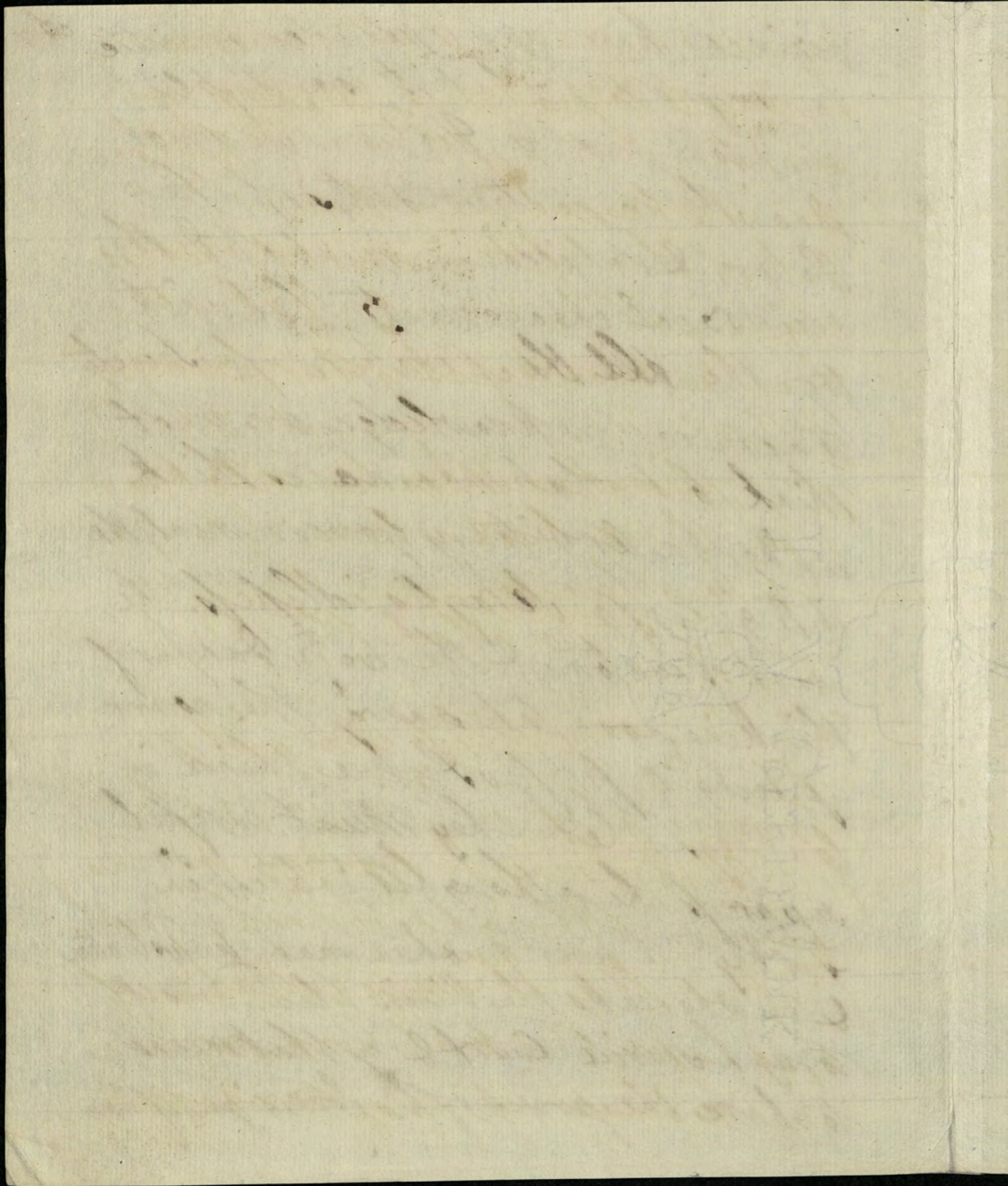
Thus much for the situation of the  
Tyrant himself, how dreadful are the  
effects of Despotism with regard to the  
unhappy People; let us run over some  
of the principal ones & take the Turkish  
Government, for an example; the first  
& consequence is extreme ignorance  
in all people in office, a Turkish

14

*[Faint, illegible cursive handwriting covering the majority of the page. A dark ink smudge is visible near the top center.]*

GEO ADDL MSS 82 (1051) 47

Vizir can have no proper idea of Justice,  
he is ignorant that it is a public  
good, to be just & virtuous we must  
know the respective duties of the  
Princ & Subject, we must study the  
reciprocal engagements that unite  
together ~~all~~ the Members of a Society,  
to acquire this knowledge we must  
think, but what man dares think  
under an arbitrary Government, the  
intrigues of a Seraglio, idleness, the  
want of custom, & the very danger of  
thinking, soon takes away the power  
of doing it, for few People think in  
countries where they must carefully  
suppress their thoughts, interest in  
Turkey will never push a man to application,  
& he who seeks the Vizir's place does it  
to pay a servile Court & by that means  
to share the power of his Sovereign, if he



A. 4.

Succeeds, he enters into Office without any View to do good, without any principle of Administration of Justice, without any idea of the public Welfare, or the Duty of the Citizen; most of what has been said of the Divan is applicable to the Sultan himself, quitting their prison for a Throne supremely ignorant, surrounded by people not much more enlightened than themselves & whose interest it is to keep them forever in the same infant State in which they first appear;

Can we quit this Subject without observing that a Prince even of a free Country may by supreme indolence & aversion to thought, business & trouble, find himself in the very situation of an unhappy Turkish Emperor, like him surrounded by people whose

*[Faint, illegible cursive handwriting on aged paper]*



business it is to keep him from every <sup>GEO ADDL MSS A.9.</sup>  
part of necessary knowledge, he is no <sup>32</sup>  
more apprized of what passes in the <sup>(1052)</sup>  
Nation over which providence has  
plac'd him, is ignorant of the  
principles of Government, of the  
happiness or misery of his subjects  
as a Turkish Sultan, or a Persian  
Sopha, but there is still a remarkable  
difference between them. The  
Despotick Prince can hardly find  
instruction, were he to desire it, but  
he who governs a free & generous  
people has but to open his doors &  
truth will enter, has but to shake  
off an indolence unworthy of a  
man, much more of a Prince &  
the Book of knowledge will be  
open before him; but to return

*[The page contains approximately 25 lines of extremely faint, illegible handwriting in cursive script. The ink is very light and the lines are closely spaced.]*

to our Subject.

A. 10

From what we have said one would imagine that tho a Turkish Vizier may have no temptation to instruct himself yet some virtuous Citizens may be pushed from motives of public good to advise him, but could ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>not</sup> exist amongst a Nation of Slaves, were he bold enough to offer advice, a Vizier far from hearing him, would probably condemn him to the severest punishment; besides in these unhappy Countries ignorance, vice, and luxury are as much the objects of praise, as Virtue is in others, while every thing that merits the name of noble, virtuous, or public spirited, is either ridicul'd or punish'd. The Persians no doubt in the midst of all their luxury treat the Spartan frugality with contempt, call

*[Faint, illegible cursive handwriting on aged paper]*

their courage fierceness, & their noble love  
of Liberty brutal pride, even in Europe  
the Country of freedom, we admire the  
generous actions of the Antients, because  
of the concurring testimony of all post  
ages, were it not for that many of the  
Greatest efforts of the human mind would  
pass with us for mere folly, our very  
admiration proceeds from prejudice,  
were it otherwise, we should endeavour  
to imitate those actions we admire,  
we are struck with the sentiments of  
a Lacedaemonian who passing by  
the Walls of Corinth asked what women  
inhabited that town, he was answered  
Corinthians, ~~they~~ replied those cowards  
don't know that the only ramparts  
invincible against an Enemy, are  
Citizens determined to dye; where  
have we a General will like Antiochus

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*

about a Victory got by chance, & not owing <sup>A. 12.</sup>  
to his own valour; he shed tears on defeating  
the Galatians, whose rout was owing to  
their fear of the Elephants, & dressed  
Trophy in the field of battle to those  
conquering animals not to himself;  
we cannot read of this without praising  
it, but we certainly do without feeling the  
sensations in us necessary to produce  
the same effects.

We have mentioned several terrible  
consequences of Despotism, we now  
come to the last which is the short  
duration of such an Empire, for such a  
Government not only renders the Citizens  
Vilainous to one another, but certainly  
deprives them of all courage to resist  
an Enemy, to this was owing the rapid  
progress made by the Greeks &  
Romans in Asia, two or three good

3

*[Faint, illegible handwriting covering the majority of the page]*



Princes may indeed raise a Nation to a great pitch of grandeur, but many such cannot be expected, & therefore such glory is of short duration, & sooner or later an Empire of Slaves will certainly undergo the yoke of a bold, free people; but supposing that from particular circumstances there is no such powerful Enemy to apprehend, bad Government is sufficient to destroy it, to depopulate & change it into a desert, a lethargic languor runs through every part, the Citizens sunk with luxury, idleness, & effeminacy, prognosticate approaching ruin & tho' everything appears calm, the State is in a deep consumption, & the present quiet is the forerunner of certain ruin.

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When we examine the Annals of the World from the beginning of Government unto this day, we shall find the generality of Nations groaning under the Yoke of Despotism; the reason is evident, Man in his own Nature is ever aiming at Despotic Power, from the love of pleasure, & therefore covets a sufficient authority to force all others to contribute to that happiness he wishes to arrive at; this of course makes the desire of governing them natural.

Men are either govern'd by Laws & establish'd Constitutions, or by Arbitrary Will; in the first case our Dominion is not so absolute, nor does the Subject lye under such a necessity to please; besides a Regal Government demands in the Prince a thorough knowledge of the People, this cannot be acquir'd without great labour & Study, but that is the bane of pleasure & revolts the natural idleness

that attends us; Absolute Power removes this Difficulty,  
dispenses from all application & fatiguing attention,  
& reduces Men to a servile compliance to our Will;  
in this Government as Aristotle observes there can  
exist but one freeman all the rest are Slaves.

In the most moderate Monarchy, in the free-est  
Republic, there are separate interests either proceeding  
from the inequality of Men, their different Views,  
ambition &c. this furnishes opportunitys of  
dividing Citizens, & by that means of humbling  
the power both of the Nobility & People; besides  
in a long tract of Years many occasions offer that  
Kings generally seize with avidity.

Division once among the People, the Sword  
of Tyranny must forever glitter before their Eyes,  
to debase their minds & depress them more &  
more; a manly virtuous turn becomes highly  
criminal, & a feeble effeminacy gets the name

of Heroism; Tacitus tells us that under the Reign of Domitian, Virtues were sentences of Death, & the Virtuous Man that did not Counsel a crime, was still forc'd to join in it.

We must distinguish two sorts of Despotism, one establish'd by the force of Arms over a Virtuous Nation that suffers it impatiently, of which Greece gives us many examples; the other is the work of time, Luxury & effeminacy, with regard to the first it cannot last long, the free & independant Spirit cannot be long without some opportunity of shaking it off; not so with the latter where in every Revolution the Chains remain, tho another Master holds them.

Dreadful are the effects attending this enormous power not only for the People, but for the Prince who covets it, fear & distrust are the common attendants of Tyranny, violence & an arm'd force are the only methods to reduce every thing

under the Arbitrary Will of the Sovereign; but these methods  
grown habitual, revolt mankind, & excite them to  
vengeance, & gradually banishes from their minds all  
other ideas of justice, except force itself.

The People are not so quick in laying down this  
doctrine, but the Military catch it, they become  
sensible that no part of the State can resist them, &  
the Prince himself detested by his Subjects, owes to  
them his safety & power; when once the Army feel  
their own consequence, discipline & control is at  
an end, therefore to command over Slaves a Despotick  
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imperious, turbulent Army, & whoever shall advise  
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Authority to use Arbitrary power, is at once the  
worst of Fathers, Citizens, & Subjects, & happy were  
it to themselves if Kings were ever deaf to such  
counsels, & that they saw their true interest in

submitting their own will; for this is not only the method to reign in Peace & Prosperity, but to transmit the Scepter to their posterity, which becomes otherwise a very precarious measure; few Princes however have ever seen or will see this in its proper light, the false lustre of sovereign power, idleness, & pleasure screens from their eyes the many perils that surround them, will continually carry it over every other consideration, & the History of all times informs us that all Governments sooner or later come to Despotism.

Thus much for the situation of the Tyrant himself, how dreadful are the effects of Despotism with regard to the unhappy People; let us run over some of the principal ones, & take the Turkish Government for an example; the first and consequence is the extreme ignorance of all in Office, a Turkish Vizir can have no proper idea of Justice, he is ignorant of its public utility, for to be just & virtuous

one must know the respective duties of Prince & Subject,  
& also the reciprocal engagements that unite the  
Members of a Society; to acquire this knowledge there  
must be thought, but who dares think under an arbitrary  
Government, the intrigues of a Seraglio, idleness, want of  
custom & the very danger of thinking, soon drive away  
the power of doing it, for few People reflect in Countries  
where they must carefully suppress their thoughts,  
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application; he who seeks the post of Vizier does  
it to pay servile Court, & thus to share the power  
of his Sovereign, if He succeeds he enters into  
Office without any principle of Administration,  
or Justice, without any idea of the public  
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has been said of the Viziers is applicable also  
to the Sultans; quitting prison for the Diadem



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enlighten'd than themselves, whose interest it is to keep  
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One observation naturally arises here in our mind, that  
the Prince of ever so free a Country may by supreme  
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find himself in the very situation of an unhappy  
Turkish Emperor, like him surrounded by Persons  
whose private interests must make it desirable that  
every part of necessary knowledge be kept from him,  
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over which Providence has plac'd him; such a  
Prince is as ignorant of the principles of Government,  
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desire it, but he who governs a Free & generous People has but to open his doors & truth will enter, has but to shake off an indolence unworthy of a Man much more of a Prince, & the Book of Knowledge will be open before him; but to return to our Subject.

From what we have said it might be imagin'd that tho a Turkish Vizir may have no temptation to instruct himself, yet some Virtuous Citizens may be push'd from motives of public good to advise him; could such a Man exist amongst a Nation of Slaves, were he bold enough to offer advice, a Vizir far from hearing him, would probably condemn him to the severest punishment; besides in these unhappy Regions ignorance, Vice & Vilany are as much the objects of praise, as Virtue is in others, while whatever merits the epithets of Noble, Virtuous, or public spirited

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the sentiments of a Lacedaemonian who passing  
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inhabited that Town, he was answer'd the  
Corinthians, he reply'd those Cowards don't know  
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Enemy are Citizens determin'd to die; where have we a General like Antiochus who blush'd at a Victory got by chance, & not owing to his own Valour; he shed tears on defeating the Galatians whose rout was owing to their fear of the Elephants, & dress'd a Trophy in the field of battle to those Conquering Animals not to himself; we cannot read of this without praising him, but we certainly do not feel the sensation in us necessary to produce the same effects.

We have mention'd several terrible consequences of Despotism, we now come to the last which is the short duration of such an Empire; for such a Government not only renders the Citizens villainous to one another, but certainly deprives them of all Courage to resist an Enemy; to this was owing the rapid progress made by the Greeks & Romans in Asia, two or three good Princes may indeed raise a Nation to a great pitch of grandeur, but

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Men are either govern'd by Law & established Constitutions, or by Arbitrary Will; in the first case the Dominion is not absolute nor does the subject lie under such a necessity to please, besides a Regal Government demands in the Prince a thorough knowledge of the People, this cannot be acquired without great labour & study, but these are the bones of pleasure, & revolt the natural idleness that attends man, absolute power removes this difficulty, dispenses from all application & fatiguing attention, & reduces Men to a servile compliance to the will of the sovereign;

in this Government as Aristotle observes there can exist but one Freeman, all the rest are Slaves.

In the most moderate Monarchy, in the most free Republic there are separate interests either proceeding, from the inequality of Men, their different views, ambition &c. This furnishes opportunities of dividing Citizens, & by that means of humbling the power both of the Nobility & People, besides in a long tract of Years many occasions offer that Kings generally seize with avidity.

Division once sow'd among the People, the sword of Tyranny must forever glitter before their eyes, to debase their minds, & depress them more & more, a manly, virtuous turn becomes highly criminal, & a feeble effeminacy gets the name of Heroism; Tacitus tells us that under the Reign of Domitian's Virtues were sentence of death, & the virtuous Man that did not counsel a crime, was still forc'd to join in it;

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Treadful are the effects attending this enormous power not only for the People but for the Prince who covets it, fear & distrust are the common attendants of Tyranny, violence & armed force are the only methods to reduce every thing under the Arbitrary Will of the Sovereign, but these methods grown habitual & scold mankind, & excite them to vengeance, & gradually banishes out of their minds all other ideas of justice, except force itself.

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Plus

Thus much for the situation of the Tyrant himself, how dreadful are the effects of it with regard to the unhappy people; let us run over some of the principal ones & take the Turkish Government for an example, the first and consequence is extreme ignorance in all the instruments of Government, a Turkish Vizir can have no proper idea of Justice, he is ignorant that it is a public good; to be just & virtuous we must know the respective Dutys of the Prince & Subject, we must study the reciprocal engagements that unite together all the Members of a Society, to acquire this knowledge we must think, but what Max Jares thinks under an Arbitrary Government, the intrigues of a Seraglio, idleness, the want of custom, & the danger of thinking soon takes away the power of doing it, for few people think in Countries where they must carefully suppress

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When we examine the Annals of the World from the beginning of Government unto this day, we find the generality of Nations groaning under the Yoke of Despotism; the reason is self-evident Man naturally covets an unbounded gratification of his desires, to obtain which he must have sufficient power to force his fellow creatures to an implicit obedience.

Men are either governed by Laws established Constitutions, or by Arbitrary Will; in the first case the Dominion is not absolute, nor is the Subject necessitated to please; besides a Regal Government demands a thorough knowledge in the Prince of his People; this not to be acquired without great labour & Study, which are the bane of pleasure, & revolt the natural idleness that attends

Man;

Max; absolute power removes these difficulties, dispenses from all application & reduces the subjects to a servile compliance to the Will of their Sovereign, Aristotle rightly observes that there can exist but one freeman in this form of Government all the rest are slaves.

In the most moderate Monarchy in the most free Republic, the individuals have separate interests either proceeding from their inequality, different views, or passions, these furnish opportunities of dividing Citizens that Sovereigns rarely omit turning to their increase of power; divisions once sown the sword of Tyranny may forever glitter before the eyes of the People, & their minds be more & more debas'd; a manly virtuous turn may become highly criminal, & a feeble effeminacy get  
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The people no sooner adopt this  
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Children

Citizens, & Subjects, & happy were it to  
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 to application, He who seeks the  
 Viziers place does it to pay a second  
 court & by that means to share the  
 Power of his Sovereign, if He succeeds,  
 He enters into office without any views

7  
to do good, without any principle of  
administration of Justice, without  
any idea of the Public welfare, or the  
duty of the Citizen; most of what has  
been said of the Vizier is applicable  
to the Sultan himself, quitting a  
Prison for a Throne, supremely  
ignorant, surrounded by people  
not more enlightened than himself,  
whose interest it is to keep him  
forever in the same infant state  
wherein he first appears.

It may not be amiss to observe  
here that a Prince of ever so free  
a Country may by supreme indolence  
& aversion to thought, business &  
trouble, find himself in the very  
situation of an unhappy Turkish  
Emperor, like him surrounded by  
people whose business it is to keep  
him from every part of necessary  
knowledge, unapprised of what passes  
in the Nation over which Providence  
has

6  
has plac'd him, ignorant of the principles  
of Government, of the happiness or misery  
of his Subjects; but there is still a  
remarkable difference between them,  
the Despotick Prince can hardly find  
instruction were he to desire it, but  
he who governs a free & generous  
People has but to open his doors  
& truth will enter, has but to  
shake off an indolence unworthy of a  
Man much more of a Prince, &  
the book of knowledge will be  
open before him, but to return to our  
subject.

From what we have said one would  
imagine that tho a Turkish Vizier  
may have no temptation to instruct  
himself yet some Vertuous Citizens  
may be push'd from motives of  
public good to advise him, but  
could such a Man exist amongst  
a Nation of Slaves were he bold enough  
to offer advice, a Vizier far from hearing

him would probably condemn him to  
 the severest punishment; besides in  
 these unhappy Countries ignorance,  
 vice, Dilary, are as much the objects  
 of praise as Virtue is in others,  
 while every thing that merits the  
 name of noble, virtuous, or public  
 spirited is either ridicul'd or punish'd;  
 the Persians no doubt in the midst  
 of all their luxury treated the  
 Spartan frugality with contempt,  
 call'd their courage fierceness, &  
 their noble love of liberty brutal  
 pride; even in Europe, we admire  
 the generos actions of the Antients  
 because of the concurring testimony  
 of all past ages, were it not for that  
 many of the noblest efforts of the  
 human mind would pass with us  
 for mere folly; our very admiration  
 proceeds from prejudice, were it  
 otherwise

otherwise we should endeavour to imitate them; we are struck with the sentiments of a Lacedaemonian who passing by the Walls of Corinth ask'd what Women inhabited that Town, on being answer'd Corinthians, He reply'd those Cowards do not know that the only Ramparts invincible against an Enemy, are Citizens determin'd to die; what General will now like Antiochus blush at a Victory got by chance, & not owing to his own talents & valour, He shed tears on defeating the Galatians as it was owing to their fear of the Elephants, & dress'd a Trophy in the field of Battle, to those conquering Animals not to himself; we cannot hear this without praising it, yet do not feel sensations that would make us copy it.

Having nam'd several terrible consequences of Despotism, we now

come



come to the last that is the short  
duration of such an Empire, for such  
a Government not only renders the  
Citizens villainous to one another, but  
certainly deprives them of all courage  
to resist an Enemy, to this warowing  
the rapid progress made by the  
Greeks & Romans in Asia; two  
or three good Princes may indeed  
raise a Nation to a great pitch of  
grandeur, but many such cannot be  
expected, & therefore such glory is  
of short duration, & sooner or later  
an Empire of Slaves will certainly  
undergo the Yoke of a bold & free  
People; but supposing that from  
particular circumstances there is  
no such powerful Enemy to  
apprehend, bad Government is  
sufficient to destroy it, to depopulate  
& change it into a Desert, a  
Lethargic languour runs through  
every

every part, the Citizens sunk with  
Luxury, idleness, & effeminacy,  
prognosticate approaching ruin, &  
tho every thing appears calm, the  
state is in a deep consumption, &  
the present quiet is the forerunner  
of certain annihilation.