Sorbonne Royale 1808

SEQUEL

TO

STUDIES OF NATURE;

2710

BY

James-Henry-Bernardin

DE SAINT-PIERRE.

.....MISERIS SUCCURRERE DISCO.

TRANSLATED BY

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

London:

PRINTED FOR C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

MDCCXCIX.

PREFACE.

A NEW Edition of my Tranſlation o STUDIES OF NATURE being called for and expected by the Public, I have been induced to improve and enlarge it by the addition of ſeveral Pieces from the pen of the ſame ingenious Author, moſt of which have not yet appeared in Engliſh. In doing this I felt it as an indiſpenſable act of juſtice to the purchaſers of the firſt Impreſſion, to put it in their power to acquire the new matter ſeparately, to complete their ſets of SAINT-PIERRE's Works. It forms indeed a Volume rather ſmaller in ſize than any of the preceding five, yet not ſo diminutive as materially to affect uniformity, and I have entitled it Vol. VI. that, when bound, it may preſent a *whole* on the ſhelf.

The Reader is too candid to ſuppoſe I have adopted all the ſentiments of my Original, whether in Phyſics or in Politics. The character and conduct of his Countrymen but ill accord with his fond wiſhes and too partial prognoſtics. Happy had it been for them, and for the World, if his moderate, wiſe, and virtuous ſuggeſtions had received the attention which they merit, and produced the effect at which they aim. But,

like *Caſſandra*, in the Iliad, he has had the pleaſing conſciouſneſs of having ſpoken truth, and the painful mortification of ſeeing it entirely diſregarded. We muſt however reſpect the Man even while we ſmile at the Viſionary, and ſympathize with a ſenſibility and benevolence conſtantly directed to the inſtruction of the ignorant, the reformation of the vicious and the relief of the miſerable.

The rapid ſale of a very large impreſſion, the demand made for a ſecond, and the appearance of more than one pirated Tranſlation, ſervilely ſtolen from mine, are a proof that I was not miſtaken in thinking that STUDIES OF NATURE would become a favourite Book with the Engliſh Nation, as it is all over the Continent. The Author's firſt Work, his Voyage to the Iſle of France, not having as yet appeared in our language, though it contains much intereſting and important matter, I mean likewiſe to tranſlate and publiſh, as ſoon as it has obtained his promiſed additions and improvements; aiming with him at enlarging the ſtock of human knowledge and happineſs, and at diminiſhing the ſum of human wo.

HENRY HUNTER.

Hoxton, Jan. 1, 1799.

PREAMBLE

CONTENTS.

VOL. VI.

	Page
PREAMBLE to the Wiſhes of a Recluſe	5
Wiſhes of a Recluſe	22
Wiſhes for the King	56
Wiſhes for the Clergy	63
Wiſhes for the Nobility	70
Wiſhes for the People	84
Wiſhes for the Nation	93
Wiſhes for a National Education	147
Wiſhes for the Nations	164
Sequel to the Wiſhes of a Recluſe	187
Of Miniſters and of the National Aſſembly	210
Of the Nobility and the National Guards	244
Of the Clergy and the Municipalities	256
The [illegible] Houſe of Surat	285
The Indian Cottage	297

PREAMBLE

TO THE

WISHES OF A RECLUSE.

IN my Studies of Nature, publiſhed for the firſt time in December 1784, I formed moſt of the Wiſhes which I this day preſent to the Public, in September 1789. I muſt undoubtedly have fallen into frequent repetitions: but the objects of theſe Wiſhes, which, ſince the aſſembling of the Eſtates-General, have become intereſting to the whole Nation, are ſo important that they cannot be preſented too often, and ſo extenſive that it is always poſſible to add ſomething new.

I am well aware that the illuſtrious Members of our National Aſſembly are purſuing them with ſignal ſucceſs. I poſſeſs not their talents; but, like them, I love my Country. Notwithſtanding my incapacity, had health permitted, I would have aſpired after the glory of defending with them the cauſe of Public Liberty: but I have a ſentiment of perſonal liberty ſo exquiſite and ſo tormenting, that it is abſolutely impoſſible for me to remain in an aſſembly, if the doors are ſhut, and unleſs the avenues are ſo clear as to admit of my going away the inſtant I deſire it. This impulſe to exerciſe my liberty never fails to ſeize me the moment I think I have loſt it,

and becomes so impetuous, that it throws me into both a physical and moral malady which I am incapable of supporting. It extends farther than to the walls of an apartment. During the commotions at Paris, (which commenced on the departure of Mr. Necker, July 13th, the same day of the month which in the preceding year had desolated the kingdom by a hail-storm); when they were burning the buildings at the barriers round the city, when the air resounded through every street with the alarming noise of the tocsin ringing night and day from all the church towers at once, and with the clamours of the multitude crying aloud that the huſſars were already in the suburbs coming to put all to the fire and sword, God, in whom I had reposed my confidence, graciously preserved my mind in tranquillity. I composed myself for the event be what it might, though solitary in a lone house and in a detached street, at the extremity of one of the Fauxbourgs. But when the day after, on the capture of the Bastile, the withdrawing of the foreign troops whose vicinity had excited such dreadful apprehensions, and the establishment of patrols of citizens, I was informed that the gates of Paris were shut, and that no one was permitted to pass, I was instantly seized with a violent inclination to get out myself. While all it's inhabitants were congratulating themselves on the recovery of their liberty, I considered myself as having lost mine; I reckoned myself a prisoner in that vast capital; I felt myself in confinement. My imagination could not regain it's former calmness, till I found, as I was walking on the boulevard of the Hospital, a grated

grated iron gate, the lock and bars of which had been burst open, and which was not yet guarded: in a moment I flew into the fields, and made a hundred steps forward to assure myself that I had not lost my natural rights, and that I was at liberty to go wherever I pleased. Having thus ascertained my freedom, I found myself perfectly tranquil, and quietly returned to my tumultuous neighbourhood without feeling the least anxiety afterwards to go out again.

Some days after, when heads cut off at the Place de Grève without any form of process, and lists placarded proscribing a great many more, filled all thinking persons with apprehension that wicked men were going to employ popular vengeance in gratifying their private animosities, and that Paris, abandoned to anarchy, was on the point of becoming a theatre of carnage and horror; certain friends offered me peaceful and agreeable rural retreats, both within the limits of the kingdom and beyond them, where I might enjoy the repose so necessary to the prosecution of my studies; I begged to be excused. I chose rather to remain in that great vessel of the capital, battered on every side by the tempest, though totally useless in conducting the manœuvres, but in the hope of contributing to the general tranquillity. I endeavoured accordingly to compose perturbed spirits, or to animate the dejected, as opportunity served; to co-operate in person or by my purse to the support of guards so necessary to the preservation of the police; to assist from time to time at the Committee of my District, one of the smallest and the most intelligent in Paris, to throw in my word

when I could; and especially to arrange these WISHES for the public felicity, which have employed me for six months past. I have relinquished, in favour of this darling object, labours more easy, more agreeable, and more conducive to my private fortune; I have kept in view only that of the State.

In an undertaking so far above my ability, I have frequently trodden in the footsteps of the National Assembly, and sometimes I have deviated: but if I had in every instance adopted their ideas it would have been totally unnecessary to publish mine. They pursue the public good marching along the high roads like an embodied army, the columns of which afford mutual assistance, and sometimes unfortunately oppose each other; while I, remote from the crowd, without support, but without interruption, proceed through bye-paths which lead to the same destination. They reap, and I glean. I carry then to the common heap a few ears picked behind their steps, and some out of their track, in the hope that they will condescend to bind them up among their sheaves.

I have, however, to justify myself in having presumed to deviate from the route of the National Assembly, and even from their modes of expression. They admit, for example, only two primitive powers in the Monarchy, the Legislative and the Executive. The assign the former to the Nation and the latter to the King. But I conceive in Monarchy, as well as in every other species of Government, a third power necessary to the support of it's harmony, which I call the moderating. With respect to this power, which I consider as essential to Monarchy, by it alone I conceive

ceive the King has the ſanctioning of the Laws; for the Executive Power ſeems to me to comport only with the *veto*, which at this moment excites remonſtrances ſo violent.

The *veto* is ſo cloſely attached to the Executive Power, that it is veſted even in a military Commander in Chief, reſtricted as he is to the execution of inhuman orders, or in a tribunal charged with the promulgation of unjuſt edicts. *Turenne* had the right of refuſing obedience to the mandate of *Louis* XIV. when commanded to burn the Palatinate; and every Magiſtrate, under *Charles* IX. of refuſing to publiſh the edict of the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew, as every Frenchman to execute it. Every man poſſeſſes the right of refuſing to execute a political law, when it flies in the face of a Law of Nature. Now the King, intruſted with the power of executing laws which he has not ſanctioned, has a right to employ, as well as a ſubject, the *veto* in caſes where ſome of thoſe laws may appear to him contrary to the public good, which is the natural law of a State.

"The National Aſſembly," I ſhall be told, "has "decided what was requiſite to the happineſs of the "Nation, and it alone can know what is requiſite." But is it not poſſible for an Aſſembly to be miſled? Whole nations have been led aſtray. Look into the hiſtory of our own nation; conſult that of the world.

I acknowledge at the ſame time that the royal *veto* has ſomething extremely harſh in it; and although in England, the King, to ſoften it, may ſay; "I will "take it into conſideration," *le Roi s'aviſera*, the words plainly amount to "I will not." It is undoubtedly alarming

alarming for a nation to reflect that a law conducive to their intereſts, paſſed after much diſcuſſion by a plurality of voices, in an aſſembly of their deputies brought together not without much difficulty, ſhould be all at once reduced to a ſtate of non-exiſtence by the *veto* of the Sovereign, under the influence of the oppoſition party, which will look to this as a laſt reſource. Thus the intereſts of a whole people may be ſacrificed to thoſe of a ſingle aſſociation, and frequently of a few courtiers, who have more immediate acceſs to the Prince; and all national efforts, for ages together, may be arreſted in an inſtant by the ſimple inert force of the Crown. I am not in the leaſt ſurprized that the apprehenſion merely of the royal *veto* ſhould have excited in the *Palais-Royal* a plebeian *veto*, at leaſt equally formidable.

It is preciſely in the view of preventing the *veto* of the executive power in the Sovereign, that I aſſign to him the ſanction of the moderating power. Theſe two effects differ as much as the cauſes which produce them, of which I have demonſtrated in this Work both the difference and the neceſſity. The *veto* is a negative power which appertains to a ſlave who feels the authority of conſcience, as to a deſpot who has no ſuch feeling: but ſanction is an approbative power which appertains only to the Monarch. A General poſſeſſes his *veto*, becauſe he will not ſanction the orders which he has received: a King, as Chief of the State, poſſeſſes the right of ſanction, becauſe he cannot oppoſe the *veto* to laws of which he is ſuppoſed to have acknowledged the utility and the neceſſity. Should the King with-hold his ſanction

tion to a new Law, it muſt be becauſe he believes it to be injurious to the State; in that caſe he will of courſe point out the miſchief likely to enſue; and it will be amended and modified. Sanction is the quiet diſcuſſion of a point between a father and his children.

"But," it will be replied, "ſhould the King "with-hold his ſanction, or the Aſſembly their "amendments, the law will be rendered null and "void: refuſal to approve a law is to oppoſe the "execution of it; the ſanction accordingly involves "the ſame difficulties as the *veto*." To this I reply that the law will not in this caſe be annulled, as it would be by the *veto*, but it would remain unſanctioned.

"Here then is a new ſource of contention be-"tween the People and their Sovereign, ſtrengthen-"ed by the party in Oppoſition." I admit it, but every thing in the World is in a ſtate of mutual oppoſition: elements to elements, opinions to opinions. From their colliſion all harmony is produced. Every virtue is ſuſpended *in equilibrio* between two contraries. Let us maintain then a juſt medium, as juſtice is the point in queſtion. Let us be on our guard leſt in ſhunning deſpotiſm we ruſh into anarchy. If the chariot inclines too much to one ſide, let us not overſet it altogether on the other; let us re-ſettle it on it's monarchical axis and it's plebeian wheels, in order to reſtore both it's equilibrium and the power of motion. Let it not be imagined that the Royal ſanction itſelf could leave, like the *veto*, legiſlative queſtions not ſuſceptible of ſolution. It cannot hap-

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pen but that ſooner or later the King ſhould give way to the reaſons which determined the judgment of the Aſſembly, or the Aſſembly to thoſe which directed the King, as the only object of both is the public intereſt. The thing which perpetuates lawſuits among men is pertinacious adherence to individual intereſts. They agree inſtantly where a common intereſt is concerned. Now, the public intereſt being common to the Deputies of the Nation and to the Monarch, the diſcuſſion which the Royal ſanction may produce cannot but conduce to the benefit of the legiſlation.

But in this balance of opinions reſpecting the ſame intereſt, ſee that the probabilities be found in favour of the deciſions of the Aſſembly. Is it probable, in the firſt place, that a few ariſtocrats after having conſented to ſubmit their intereſts to the majority of voices in the National Aſſembly, which has in like manner ſubmitted their own to a ſimilar iſſue, will go to intrigue with the King, to prevent the effect of the national deliberations, becauſe theſe were unfavourable to them? Is it probable that the King, out of regard to the intereſts of thoſe ariſtocrats, faithleſs to their engagements, will refuſe to ſanction laws beneficial to the Nation, called for by a majority of it's Deputies, and by a whole united people, capable, in ſupport of them, of raiſing a general inſurrection? Beſides, the King being obliged to give his aſſent to the laws before the Aſſembly conſents to the taxes, ſhould he with hold his ſanction from laws voted by a majority of the Aſſembly, is it not more than probable that this majority will in their turn with-hold

from

from him their ſanction of the taxes? I conſider with pain, as a civilian, in common with the Aſſembly itſelf, the effects of the Royal ſanction, as thoſe of a law-ſuit between the Monarch and the Nation; the event of it may be doubtful; but it will not be ſo provided the people, in ſecuring it to their Prince, ſhall have been juſt and loyal toward him. The people may have done very well in confiding the diſcuſſion of it's laws to the ariſtocratical powers, hitherto the oppoſers of their intereſt; why might they not confide the power of ſanction to a friendly power, now that theſe laws are favourable to them? There is no occaſion for the people to be diſtruſtful of their King. Their intereſts are invariably the ſame. In a word, the National Aſſembly having proclaimed *Louis* XVI. the Reſtorer of French Liberty, could it refuſe to him the power of ſanctioning thoſe very laws which inſure that liberty?

The Royal ſanction is neceſſary to all the powers of the State. 1. It is a matter of right, as far as the King is concerned in his perſonal capacity. If the King were not permitted to ſanction the laws, he would have a more circumſcribed prerogative than the meaneſt of his ſubjects: for every individual has the right not only of giving his vote for the eſtabliſhment of a law, by his deputies; if he finds them bear hard upon him, it is in his power to renounce them altogether by abandoning his country, without waiting for the conſent of any one whatever; but this the King cannot do without the conſent of the Nation, becauſe his abſence may involve the ruin of the State. 2. The ſanction is a matter of juſtice, relatively

latively to the King as Monarch. The King being intrufted with the execution of the laws, he is fuppofed, as I have already faid, to acknowledge, in fanctioning them, their utility and neceffity. 3. The royal fanction is neceffary to the tranquillity of the Monarchy. Many ariftocrats delegated to expreſs the wiſhes of their body, and members of the National Aſſembly, having declared from it's firſt opening, that they would acknowledge no other authority but that of the King, and being now conſtrained, by a majority of voices of their Aſſembly and the declared ſenſe of the Nation, to ſacrifice their privileges, might alledge that the law which obliges them to this is not monarchical, and under that pretext refuſe ſubmiſſion to it, which might become the ſource of many future troubles. 4. The Royal fanction is neceſſary to the permanency of the laws, and to the reſpect which is due to them, eſpecially on the part of the people. This merits very ſerious conſideration. Though nothing be more reſpectable in the eyes of a Monarch himſelf than the decrees of a Nation aſſembled in the perſons of it's Deputies, the people however ſcarcely ſee any thing more than men like themſelves in their own repreſentatives, and enemies in thoſe of the ſuperior orders. Beſides, on account of their periodical rotation, they will ſoon ceaſe to ſee their legiſlators in their delegates. A river which renovates it's waters is always the ſame river, becauſe the form of it's banks undergoes no change; but an Aſſembly which from time to time renews it's members, is no longer the ſame Aſſembly, becauſe the greateſt part of the men who compoſe it may entertain

different

different opinions, and purſue by and by new plans. The people reſt their attention and their reſpect only on immovable projects, or what they deem to be ſuch, and which have an impoſing influence upon them, from their magnitude or their diſtance. *Major e longinquo reverentia*; reverence increaſes as the object becomes remote. It is neceſſary therefore to fix the reſpect of the people on the Throne, to which they have not a near acceſs, as on a centre permanent and worthy of all their homage. Republican nations have given to their laws the name of a ſingle legiſlator; ſuch were thoſe of *Zaleucus* among the Locrians, of *Lycurgus* at Sparta, of *Solon* at Athens; and monarchical States, the name of the Monarch who had promulgated theirs, and conſequently ſanctioned them; ſuch were thoſe of *Cyrus* in Perſia; of *Zoroaſter*, king of the Bactrians in Aſia; of *Moſes*, the leader of the Hebrews; of *Numa* and afterwards *Juſtinian* at Rome; of *Charlemagne* in the Weſtern Empire; of *Saint Louis* in France; of *Peter the Great* in Ruſſia; of *Frederic* II. in Pruſſia: ſuch are the laws of England, firſt promulgated in 1040 under the title of the Laws of King *Edward*, and afterwards eſtabliſhed by the Nation in 1215, under the name of the Great Charter. The ancients were ſo ſenſible of the importance of an auguſt ſanction, to render the laws venerable in the eyes of the people, that they frequently derived their ſanction from the Divinity himſelf. Thus thoſe of *Numa* were ſanctioned by the nymph *Egeria*; thoſe of *Zaleucus* by *Minerva*; thoſe of *Mahomet* by GOD himſelf, through the mediation of Angels: but thoſe legiſlators, aiming at the

the acquisition of great advantages to themselves, fell into very considerable inconveniences; for every species of deception carries it's punishment in it's bosom. When those laws came to be inapplicable to the condition of a people, or when it was expedient to apply them to other countries, they could not be changed, because the Deity who had sanctioned them was immutable. For this reason the Turks abstained from effecting the conquest of several countries, because they contained no running waters for their legal ablutions. The case was still worse when nations, on becoming enlightened, came to know that the Divinity had not interfered in their legislation; the transition was then easy from contempt of the legislator who had imposed upon them, to contempt of the law itself. This has befallen several States and Religions, the ruin of which can be ascribed to no other cause. Laws sanctioned by a Monarch are not exposed to the same danger, for he changes them in concert with his people, as occasion requires, and renders them permanent simply by demonstrating their utility. But as no political law can be good, unless it is founded on the Laws of Nature, and as nothing is permanent without the support of it's Author, it is necessary that the King should sanction our code of laws by a religious invocation, which may consecrate it for ever to the feelings of the heart as well as to the light of the understanding. The term *sanction* itself is evidently derived from *sanctus*, sacred. This solemn preamble, which would call for the style of an *Orpheus* or of a *Plato*, ought to precede, like an antique peristyle, the august temple of our laws, reared for the felicity of Man,

Man, and dedicated to the Eternal, by the Monarch officiating in character of High-prieſt.

This is what my conſcience obliges me to ſay reſpecting the intereſts of the King, which I conſider as inſeparable from thoſe of the People. With regard to the People, toward them all my wiſhes are directed, becauſe I look on them as the principal part of the State. Perhaps the affection which I bear them in this point of view may have led me to practiſe illuſion on myſelf. I ſhall be perhaps reproached with having reckoned too confidently on their moderation or their ſteadineſs. It will undoubtedly be objected to me, that their Repreſentatives, whoſe number I would wiſh to have increaſed in the National Aſſembly, are already but too powerful, ſeeing they have effected in the State a revolution ſo great and ſo important. I have ſpoken of that revolution, which has juſt taken place, as a neceſſary conſequence of the inſufficiency of the people's Repreſentatives; and I am perſuaded that had they balanced, by their number, the weight of thoſe of the other two orders, no popular inſurrection would have taken place. Their deſpair produced it. It is beſides a queſtion ſtill to be reſolved, whether of the two, the army which was called in to overawe the capital, or the people ſhut up in it, firſt diſturbed the equilibrium of powers among the Deputies of the three Orders. It would be a farther queſtion of difficult diſcuſſion, whether the Clergy and Nobility would not have departed more widely from the ſpirit of moderation than the People, if, like them, they had poſſeſſed the plenitude of power. The war of the line and that of the

Fronde, (the country party, in opposition to the court) which had nothing in view but the interests of privileged Orders or of Princes, have wasted incomparably more blood, and in a manner much more illegal, than the insurrection of the people which has the public interest for it's object. It would be unjust to charge to their account the commotions excited by the dearth of corn, or the highway robberies committed in several of the provinces. Most of those disturbances have been stirred up by their enemies, in the view of dividing them, and of arming them against each other. One thing is certain, they have every where, with all their might, opposed those disorders.

Now that the People of France have recovered their liberty by their courage, they must shew themselves worthy of it by their wisdom. They ought to reject with horror those illegal proscriptions which would precipitate themselves into the crimes of high-treason which they mean to punish: they ought to be on their guard against the zeal which transports them, and for the sake of their own interest call in the prudence of the Laws; for nothing more is wanting than a calumny infused by an enemy into their minds, inspired by the love of the public good, to induce them with their own hands to lay low the head of the most valuable citizen.

O People of Paris, who serve as an example to the inhabitants of the Provinces; People ingenious, easy, good, generous, who draw into your bosom the men of all nations by the urbanity of your manners, reflect that to this urbanity you have at all times been indebted

indebted for your moral liberty, preferred by republicans to their civil liberty itſelf. You have juſt burſt aſunder the chains of deſpotiſm; take care that you forge not for yourſelves others ſtill more inſupportable, thoſe of anarchy. The former gall only on one ſide, the latter in every direction at once. It is your union which has conſtituted your force, which nothing could reſiſt. But it is not to force that GOD gives a durable empire, it is to harmony. By their harmony little things adhere and become great; and it is frequently by means of their force that great things ſeparate, claſh, break in pieces, and become ſmall. Whence ariſe ſo many pretenſions of individuals, of aſſociations, of diſtricts, of motions and emotions? Would you make threeſcore cities of one city; and after your example will not the provinces make threeſcore republics in the kingdom? What in that caſe would become of the Capital? Commons of Paris, in multiplying your laws, you will multiply your bonds; by dividing you will enfeeble yourſelves; by running every one to liberty in his own way, you may fall one after another into ſlavery, or, what is ſtill worſe, into tyranny. What have you at this day to fear, yourſelves excepted? Your principal enemies are diſperſed; your great Miniſter of the Finances has been reſtored to your wiſhes, and together with him co-operate in perfect concert the other Miniſters of the Crown, animated with the ſame zeal to promote your happineſs; the two firſt orders of the State have made you ſacrifices even beyond your deſires; the royal troops have taken the oath of fidelity to you, and you have national troops

entirely under your own command; your King merits your complete confidence, not only as having directed or prepared these diſpoſitions, but as having unreſervedly given himſelf up to your diſpoſal, in coming without guards, and without protection, into the midſt of your Capital when in a ſtate of confuſion, to implore the return of your affection, as a father who had never withdrawn his from you, and who, beholding you armed with hoſtile weapons of every ſort, might well doubt whether he were again to find in you the children whom he ſought. For the love of harmony, without which there is no ſalvation for a people, repoſe the care of your intereſts on the vigilance of your diſtricts, compoſed of your committees; let your diſtricts, on their part, rely, for the unity of their operations, on the wiſdom of your Municipal Aſſembly, formed of your Deputies, whoſe foreſight, zeal and courage, ſo well directed by the two virtuous Chiefs whom you have yourſelves choſen, have preſerved you from the pillage and famine with which you were threatened. Let your Municipal Aſſembly confide, in it's turn, in the intelligence and juſtice of the National Aſſembly, which you have, conjointly with the other Communes of the Kingdom, entruſted with the redreſs of your grievances, and inveſted with legiſlative power. On this auguſt Aſſembly above all you ought to eſtabliſh your ſecurity, for it's ſublime employment is to promote the happineſs of the kingdom at large, by connecting with your intereſts thoſe of Aſſociations, of Provinces and of Nations, by a Conſtitution ſanctioned by the King, the auguſt and eſſential Chief of

of the Monarchy. Finally, you ought to repoſe entire confidence in the providence of the Author of Nature, who frequently paves the way, through the midſt of calamity, to the attainment of great national felicity, as the fecundity of Autumn is prepared by the rigours of Winter; and who, in beſtowing on you, after a year ſingularly calamitous, the moſt abundant harveſt ever known, is already pouring down his benediction on a Conſtitution to be founded on his Laws. Happy if from the boſom of my ſolitude, and the ſtorms which have diſturbed it, I could furniſh toward this veſſel to which our deſtiny is committed, already on the ſtocks, and on the point of launching for a voyage of ages, I preſume not to ſay a ſail or a maſt, but the ſimpleſt utenſil that the ſhip needs.

WISHES OF A RECLUSE.

ON the firſt of May of this year 1789, I went down at Sun-riſe into my garden, to ſee in what ſtate it was after ſuch a dreadful Winter, in which the Thermometer fell, December 31ſt, to 19 degrees under the freezing point. I called to remembrance, as I deſcended, the deſtructive hail-ſtorm of July 13th, which had ſpread over the whole Kingdom, but which through the kindneſs of Providence had paſſed over the ſuburb where I reſide, without doing any miſchief. I ſaid to myſelf: "This "time nothing in my little garden can have eſcaped "a Winter ſevere as thoſe of Peterſburg."

As I entered no cole-wort was to be ſeen, no artichoke, no white-jaſmine, no narciſſus: almoſt all my pinks and hyacinths had periſhed; my fig-trees were dead, as well as my ſweet-ſcented laurels, which uſed to flower in the month of January. As to my young ivies, the branches of moſt of them were dried up, and their foliage of the colour of ruſt.

The reſt of my plants however were in good health, though their vegetation was retarded more than three weeks. My beds of ſtrawberries, violets, thymes, primroſes, were all over diapered with green, white, blue and crimſon; and my hedges of honey-ſuckles, raſpberries, gooſeberries, roſe-buſhes and lilachs, were all

all verdant with leaves and flower-buds. My alleys of vines, apple-trees, pears, peaches, plumbs, cherries and apricots, were all in bloſſom. The vines indeed were only beginning to ſhew the parts of fructification, but the fruit of the apricot-tree was already formed.

At this ſight I thus reflected: "Calamity is good "for ſomething. The diſaſters which befal one "Country may prove benefits to another. If all the "plants of ſouthern Europe are unable to ſtand the "Winters of France, it is evident that many of the "fruit-trees of France are able to reſiſt the Winters "of the North. In the gardens of Peterſburg it is "poſſible to cultivate the cherry, the early peach, "the green-gage, the apricot, the apricot-peach, and "all the fruits capable of ripening in the courſe of a "Summer; for the Summer is ſtill warmer there "than at Paris." This reflection afforded me ſo much the more pleaſure, that I had ſeen at Peterſburg, in 1765, no other trees but the pine, the ſervice, the maple, and the birch.

Though I have on the face of the Globe no other landed property except a ſmall houſe, with the little garden of the eighth part of an acre belonging to it, in the Fauxbourg-Saint-Marceau, I take pleaſure in employing my thoughts there about the intereſts of the Human Race; for Mankind has at all ſeaſons, and in all places, paid attention to mine. It is certain that my cherry-trees came originally from the Kingdom of Pontus, whence *Lucullus* tranſported them to Rome after the defeat of *Mithridates*. I have no doubt that my apricot-trees, the fruit of which is

called in Latin *malum armeniacum*, are deſcended graft after graft, from a tree of that ſpecies brought by the Romans from Armenia. If the teſtimony of *Pliny* is to be relied on, my vines derive their origin from the Archipelago, my pear-trees from Mount Ida, and my peaches from Perſia, after thoſe countries had been ſubjugated by the Romans, whoſe cuſtom it was to carry not only the Kings but the Trees of their enemies in triumph into their own Country. As to the articles which I more habitually uſe, I certainly am indebted for my tobacco, my ſugar and my coffee, to the poor negroes of Africa, who cultivate them in America, under the whips of Europeans. My muſlin ruffles come from the banks of the Ganges, which our wars have ſo frequently deſolated. With reſpect to my books, my moſt delicious enjoyment, I lie under obligation for them to the men of all Nations, and undoubtedly likewiſe to their misfortunes. I am bound therefore to intereſt myſelf in all mankind, ſeeing they are labouring for me, all over the Earth, and as I have reaſon to hope that thoſe who preceded me may have contributed to my felicity principally by their own miſeries, I in like manner may contribute by mine toward the happineſs of thoſe who are to ſurvive me.

It cannot be made a queſtion that I owe the firſt expreſſions of my gratitude, to the perſons to whom I ſtand indebted for the firſt great ſupplies of life, ſuch as thoſe who prepare for me my bread and my wine, who ſpin and weave my linen and other clothing, who defend my poſſeſſions, &c.....I mean the men of my own Nation.

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In meditating therefore on the revolutions of Nature which had desolated France last year, I turned my thoughts to those of the State which had accompanied them, as if every human calamity were following in a train. I called to memory the imprudent Edict which had permitted the exportation of grain, at a time when we had not made sufficient provision for home consumption; that public bankruptcy which had hung lowering over our fortunes, while the tremendous hail-cloud was ravaging our plains; the total exhaustion of our finances, which had given a death-wound to many branches of our Commerce, as that dreadful Winter had to many of our fruit-trees; finally, that infinite number of poor workmen whom the concurrence of so many disasters must have destroyed by cold, by famine, and every other species of wretchedness, but for the relief administered by their compatriots.

The Minister of the Finances then occurred to my mind, whose return has re-established the Public Credit, and has proved to us like that of the morning star after a stormy night: from him my thoughts turned to the States-General, who were going with the Spring to renovate the face of things, and I said to myself: "Kingdoms have their seasons, as the "Plains have theirs; they have their Winter and "their Summer, their hail-storms and their refresh-"ing dews: the Winter of France is past, her Spring "is returning." On this, animated with hope, I sat down at the extremity of my garden, on a little bank of turf and trefoil, under the shade of an apple-tree in blossom, opposite to a hive, the bees of which were

were fluttering about on all ſides with a humming noiſe.

At ſight of thoſe bees ſo induſtrious, whoſe hive had no other ſhelter during the Winter but the hollow of a rock, I recollected that they had not ſwarmed in the month of June, and that this had been the caſe with moſt of thoſe of the kingdom, as if they had foreſeen that they would have need to be aſſembled in great numbers, in order to keep themſelves warm during the rigour of an extraordinary Winter. On the other hand, as I had withdrawn from mine no part of their honey, and as they never export any themſelves, they had paſſed in an abundance of proviſions a ſeaſon in which multitudes of my countrymen had been pinched with want. On obſerving that the inſtinct of thoſe little animals had ſurpaſſed the intelligence of man, I ſaid within myſelf: "Happy were it for the Societies of the Human Race, did they poſſeſs the wiſdom of thoſe of "bees!" and I began to form Wiſhes in behalf of my Country.

I repreſented to myſelf the twenty-four millions of men which are ſaid to conſtitute the population of France, not as the ſage bees which come into the World in full poſſeſſion of all their inſtinct, but as a ſimple individual, who has exiſted for more than three thouſand years paſt, and who, as being Man, acquires experience only by paſſing through a long ſeries of woes, of errors and of infirmities.

At firſt a child during the time of the ancient Gauls, he was for many ages in ſwaddling clothes, begirt by the Druids with the bands of ſuperſtition; then

then a ſtripling under the Romans, who ſubdued and poliſhed him, he acquired the knowledge, under the heavy yoke of his maſters, of the Arts, of the Sciences, of the Language and of the Laws which continue to govern him to this day: afterwards, become a young man under the undiſciplined Franks, who confounded themſelves with him, he abandoned himſelf, during their anarchy, to all the violence of youth, and paſſed a great many years in the madneſs of civil war. Finally, from the days of *Charlemagne*, illuminated with ſome rays of light, by the revival of letters which began to be naturalized under *Francis* I. like a young man who is forming himſelf for the commerce of the world, he purſued the pleaſures of love and glory. His taſte for gallantry and heroiſm refined under *Henry* IV. and arrived at perfection under *Louis* XIV. At this laſt era, the love of advantageous conqueſt ſeemed principally to engage his attention; he became ambitious like a man with whom the fervor of youth is over, and who is looking about for a ſolid eſtabliſhment. But ſoon convinced by experience that a man cannot find his own happineſs by doing miſchief to another, he began to apply himſelf to the purſuit of his true intereſts, to his Agriculture, his Manufactures, his Commerce, his High Roads, his Colonial Eſtabliſhments, &c.... He then found the neceſſity of ſhaking off the prejudices of infancy, the falſe views of childhood, the vanities of youth, and thus entered into the age of maturity. His reaſon made new progreſs from year to year. He is become ſenſible at this day, under *Louis* XVI. that the glory of his Kings conſiſts only in his felicity.

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For his own part, he is more concerned about the means of leading a calm than a ſplendid, a comfortable than a vain-glorious life.

One might purſue through every age the periods of his character in thoſe of his manners and dreſs. In the time of the ancient Gauls, almoſt naked like an infant, and without any covering to his head but the hair, he wore only a girdle. Under the Romans, he dreſſed himſelf in a gown and ſhort veſt like a ſtudent. Continually in armour under the Franks, he clad himſelf in arm-pieces, thigh-pieces, a coat of mail and a helmet. From *Francis* I. to *Henry* IV. and even to *Louis* XIV. he arrayed himſelf in a trimmed doublet, in ruffs, in feathers, in trunk-hoſe, in ribbands, without however laying aſide his ſword, like a young man who is making love. Under *Louis* XIV. become more grave he added to his dreſs large rolling ſtockings, and an enormous periwig. At preſent, like a man arrived at the ſtaid period of life who ſtudies his convenience, he prefers a hat upon his head to one under his arm, a cane to a ſword, and a cloke to a ſuit of armour.

Whilſt the French Nation was diſpoſing itſelf by manners and philoſophy for a life of greater happineſs, and for a national conſolidation, Adminiſtration, ſubjected to ancient forms, always followed it's ancient courſe. On every revolution of the public mind, it had adopted new laws without abrogating the old, had incurred the preſſure of new wants without retrenching ſuperfluities, and beſtowed more attention on the fortune of courtiers than on that of ſubjects. Thus, from incoherency to incoherency, from

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impoſt to impoſt, from debt to debt, Government found itſelf without money and without credit, with a people deſtitute of means. It then felt itſelf under the neceſſity of aſſembling the States-General, to preſerve from univerſal ruin the nation at large, of which the People is every where the fundamental baſis.

This People, nevertheleſs, arrived at majority through ſo many ages of experience and of misfortune, ſtill drags after it the leading-ſtrings of childhood. Different corps have preſented themſelves, alleging that the charge of the public pupillage was committed to them, and have pretended to bring it back to the ancient forms of the monarchy, that is, to replace it, with it's illumination, it's extent, and it's power, in the ſame cradle in which it was ſo long feeble, impoſed upon and miſerable.

But what corps of the monarchy could at this day be brought back to it's ancient forms? To begin with him who is the auguſt chief of it, Could the King be brought back to the time when the People in conjunction with the army elected him in the field of Mars, raiſing him aloft on a buckler? And ſuppoſing *Louis* XVI. himſelf were diſpoſed to deſcend from the throne in order to re-eſtabliſh the People in their ancient rights, muſt he not throw himſelf at their feet, to beſeech them not to drive him into the horrors of thoſe civil wars which polluted with blood the early ages of the Monarchy, in ſettling the election of their Kings? Would the Clergy be diſpoſed to return to the ancient times when they preached the Goſpel to the Gauls, in the attire of Apoſtles, bare-footed, in a ſimple robe, with a traveller's ſtaff in their hand, become

come through the munificence of that very People a pontifical crofier? Would the Nobility wiſh to ſee thoſe ancient times return, when they put themſelves into the ſervice of the great for the ſake of protection and bread, ready at all times to ſhed their blood in quarrels that did not concern them? Let them form a judgment of the ſtate of their anceſtors under the feudal Government, by that of the Poliſh Nobility of modern times. In a word would the Parliament itſelf wiſh to return to thoſe times, not ſo very ancient, when the greateſt part of it's members were merely the ſecretaries and agents of the Grandees, who then could not ſo much as write, and valued themſelves upon it.

Feeble Man is univerſally ſearching for repoſe. If he wants laws, he reſts the care of his legiſlation on a Legiſlator. If he needs inſtruction, he caſts the care of it on a Teacher. Every where he is eſtabliſhing a baſis whereon to ſupport his weakneſs; but Nature every where ſubverts it, and forces him, after her own example, to get up and combat. She herſelf has compoſed this Globe and it's inhabitants only of contraries, which are maintaining an inceſſant ſtruggle. Our ſoil is formed of earth and water; our temperament of hot and cold; our day of light and darkneſs; the exiſtence of vegetables and animals of their youth and of their old-age, of their loves and of their ſtrifes, of their life and of their death. The equilibrium of beings is eſtabliſhed only on their colliſions. Nothing is durable but their lapſe, nothing immutable but their mobility, nothing permanent but their combination; and Nature, who is every inſtant varying

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ing their forms, has no conſtant laws but thoſe of their happineſs.

As for ourſelves, already ſo far removed from the ancient Laws of Nature, by the very laws of our ſocial union, in which the ancient rights of man are miſunderſtood, our opinions, our manners, our uſages are varying from year to year. Ages carry us along, and change our form to the worſe without interruption, by hurrying us forward to futurity. To recal to the ancient forms of it's original a People illuminated, powerful, immenſe, is like forcing back an oak into the acorn from which it ſprung.

How is it poſſible then that our Kings ſhould wiſh to recal the People of France to their ancient forms, that is, to their ancient errors and their ancient ignorance? Is it not to what they have produced in later ages, in other words, to the laſt fruits of their induſtry, that our Kings, who formerly drank from an elk's horn, wandered up and down through the foreſts of the Gauls, traverſing from time to time their unpaved capital in a car drawn by oxen, that they are indebted at this day for the elegant delights of their *chateaux* and the magnificence of their equipages? Is it not by the tardy leſſons of their experience, that they are no longer under apprehenſion of being dethroned by the Mayors of their Palaces, and that they and their ſucceſſors owe their firm eſtabliſhment on the throne, conformably to laws unchangeable as the love of that enlightened People! O *Henry* IV! What muſt have become of your rights, attacked at once by Rome, by Spain, and by the ambitious Grandees of your own Kingdom, without the love of your People, who,

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in face of the ancient forms which would have placed you in oppofition to yourſelf, called upon you to deliver them from their tyrants? How could the Clergy, the Miniſters of a Religion breathing good-will to Mankind, wiſh to ſubject to the ancient forms of Druidiſm, the French nation under the reign of *Louis* XVI? It is that ſame people who, ranging themſelves in crowds around the firſt Miſſionaries of the Gauls, made their barbarous Chiefs to bend under the yoke of Chriſtianity. It was the People who, by the all-powerful influence of their opinions elevated the abbey in oppoſition to the caſtle, and the ſteeple to the tower. They oppoſed the croſier to the lance, the bell to the trumpet, and the legends of the Saints to the archives of the Barons; monument againſt monument, bronze againſt bronze, tradition againſt tradition. How could the Nobility of our days look upon the People as blighted from the earlieſt antiquity by the feudal power of their anceſtors, when they themſelves reckon in their own order ſo few families which count pedigree beyond the fourteenth century? But were it true that their anceſtors had of old time reduced the people to ſervitude, how durſt they at this day exerciſe their ancient privileges upon that ſame people, not for having formerly defended or protected them, as the Nobles of every nation ought to do, but for having conquered and oppreſſed them; not for having ſerved but enſlaved them; not as the deſcendants of their Patricians, but of their Tyrants? Were theſe the titles which gave diſtinction in their eyes to the *Bayards*, the *Dugueſclins*, the *Crillons*, the *Montmorencis*, who performed ſo many gallant actions for the

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ſake of living in their memory down to the preſent day? What do I ſay! Could our Nobleſſe, now ſo replete with humanity, and with real honour, in an enlightened age, deſpiſe that multitude of good and peaceable men who devote themſelves to miniſter to their pleaſures after having provided for all their neceſſities, and from the maſs of which iſſue thoſe brave grenadiers, who, after having opened to them the path which leads to honours at the price of their own blood, return to their plough, to ſerve in obſcurity that ſame Country which diſpenſes her rewards with ſuch partiality? Finally, How could the Parliament reduce to the ancient forms of ſervitude, a people which has conferred upon them in ſome ſort the tribunitial power, and from whoſe boſom they themſelves have ſprung?

Is it really true, after all, that the People of France have been always under the feudal tutelage of their Chiefs? Certain writers have advanced that they were originally ſlaves. But whether their origin be referred to the time of the Gauls, of the Romans, or of the Franks, which are the three grand epochs of their hiſtory, it will be found that they were always free.

The Gauls, who under *Brennus* invaded Italy, and burned the city of Rome, had a great reſemblance to the Savages of America, who certainly do not make war as ſlaves. Slavery fixes itſelf only among rich and policed Nations, as thoſe of Aſia, and it is the fruit of their deſpotiſm which is ever in proportion to their riches. Poor and Savage Nations are always free, and when they make priſoners of war, they incorporate them with themſelves, unleſs they ſell them,

eat them, or offer them in ſacrifice to their Gods. Opulence makes of the ſame citizens both deſpots and ſlaves; but poverty renders them all equal. We ſee examples of it in the ſtate of Society among ourſelves. The domeſtics of a rich man, and even his friends, when they are poor, come no farther than the antechamber, and never appear in his preſence but with profound reſpect; but the domeſtics of our peaſants are familiar with their maſters; ſit down at table with them, and even obtain their daughters in marriage.

When the Gauls began to become civilized, and to hunt after fortune, they enliſted in the Roman armies as free men. Nay I believe it is a remark of *Ceſar's*, that there were no armies which did not conſiſt in part of Gauliſh ſoldiers. We ſee from *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, that the Greeks, ſo enamoured of their liberty, entered into the ſervice even of the Kings of Perſia, though the natural enemies of their country. We find a ſimilar practice prevailing among the modern Swiſs. Such cuſtoms are common to every free people, and they have no exiſtence in Nations governed by a deſpotiſm, or even by an ariſtocracy. You will not ſee in the pay of any of the Powers of Europe regiments formed of Ruſſians, of Polanders, or of Venetians. The political conſtitution of the Gauls, it is admitted, granted ſeveral unjuſt prerogatives to the Gauliſh Chieftains, and to their Druids, as has been remarked by *Ceſar*; and it was undoubtedly owing to it's anti-popular defects, that it was eaſily ſubverted by that of the Romans. This much is certain, that the Gauls adopted from the Romans,

Romans, their religion, their laws, their cuſtoms, nay their very dreſs. We are partly governed at this day by the *Jus Romanum*, and our Magiſtrates, as well as the Profeſſors in our Univerſities continue to wear the Roman *toga*. The French language is derived from the Latin. Theſe revolutions are by no means the natural effects of conqueſt and of the power of conquering Nations, but proofs that the conquered are diſcontent with their ancient Conſtitution. The Romans were jealous of power, but indifferent to every other object. The Greeks preſerved, under their empire, their own Language, their Religion, their Laws and their Manners, of which we ſtill perceive ſome traces under the Empire of the Turks. In a word, a conquered People remains attached to it's Conſtitution, provided they are ſatisfied with it, to ſuch a degree, that they ſometimes make their conquerors ſubmit to it. This appears from the inſtance of the Tartars, who have always adopted the laws and the cuſtoms of China, after having made themſelves maſters of that Empire. On the other hand, thoſe moral revolutions do not take place in Nations which are enſlaved. It is very remarkable that the Weſtern Nations of Aſia have adopted nothing from the Greeks or from Romans who reduced them under the yoke, not even the language. The People of Aſia ſpeak neither Greek nor Latin. An enſlaved People cleave to their conſtitution from a ſpirit of ſervitude, as a free People from the ſentiment of liberty, but theſe laſt change it when it ceaſes to give ſatisfaction.

Whatever be in this, the Romans granted the rights

of Roman Citizens to the inhabitants of feveral Cities and even of fome Provinces of the Gauls; which they never would have done had they been peopled with flaves. Great numbers of Romans afterwards fettled in the Gauls. The Emperor *Julian* loved to refide at Paris, "on account," as he faid, "of the "grave character of it's inhabitants, which had a re-"femblance to his own." The Parifian character has greatly changed fince the days of *Julian*, though the climate of Paris remains the fame. But it is not climate which forms the character of a People, as fo many Authors after *Monteſquieu* have affirmed; it is the Political Conſtitution. The Gauls, fimple and ferocious under the Druids, were ſerious under the grave Romans always governed by Law, and gay under the Franks the paſſionate admirers of independence, becauſe, having never enjoyed a good Conſtitution, they changed it at theſe three epochs. Independently of the gaiety of the Gauls, which is to be dated no higher than the Franks, and which is a moral proof of their liberty, I find another no leſs concluſive in this, that the two Nations no longer bare different names, which is never the caſe when the conquering Nation does not become confounded with the conquered: witneſs, in modern times, the Turks and the Greeks, the Moguls and the Nations of Indoſtan, the Spaniards and the Indians of America and Peru, the Engliſh and the Indians of the Eaſt, the inhabitants of our Colonies and the Negroes. The Tartars on the contrary who have conquered China, confounded themſelves with the Chineſe, and now form only one Nation with them, as well as the Nations

tions of the North and of the Eaſt, ſuch as the Vandals, the Goths, the Normans and others, who amalgamated themſelves with the Nations of Europe whom they invaded. Beſides it is proved by hiſtory that the Gauliſh tribes were free under the firſt race of the Franc Kings, for they elected them in conjunction with the Army.

At the time of *Charlemagne* there were great numbers of freemen in France. Could it have been with ſlaves neceſſarily condemned to ignorance in an age of barbariſm, that this great Prince was enabled to form his Schools, his Academies and his Courts of Juſtice, the members of which, on the other hand, could not poſſibly iſſue from that military Nobleſſe which then valued nothing but the glory of arms? An evident proof of the exiſtence of thoſe freemen is, that *Charlemagne* convoked them by name to the Aſſemblies of his States-General, together with the Barons and Biſhops. Nay more; in the Aſſembly of 806, in which, a few years before his death, he divided his domains among his three children, by a will confirmed by the great Lords of France, and by Pope Leo, "He leaves to his People the liberty of chooſing "their own Maſter after the death of the Princes, "provided he were of the Blood Royal;" a liberty which the Preſident *Hénault* deems worthy of being remarked.

A part of the country people, it is granted, was ſubjected to bondage with the ſoil which they cultivated, by Chieftains who uſurped rights that belonged not to them. Hear what the Preſident *Hénault*

ſays on the ſubject in his particular remarks on the Kings of France of the ſecond race:

"The lands poſſeſſed by the Francs, from their "irruption into the Gauls, may be diſtinguiſhed into "ſalique lands, and military benefices."

"The ſalique lands were thoſe which fell to them by "right of conqueſt, and theſe were hereditary. The "military benefices, inſtituted by the Romans prior "to the conqueſt of the Francs, were a grant from "the Prince, and this grant was only for life: it has "communicated it's name to the benefices conferred "on Eccleſiaſtics. The Gauls on their part, united "under the ſame denomination, continued to enjoy, "as in the time of the Romans, their poſſeſſions in "full and perfect liberty, the ſalique lands excepted, "of which the French had taken poſſeſſion, but theſe "muſt have been inconſiderable, conſidering how "few in number the French were, and the Monarchy "how extenſive. Both the one and the other, what-"ever their birth might be, had a right to aſpire "after employments and Governments, and were "actually employed in War, under the authority of "the Prince who governed them. The Conſtitution "of France is ſo excellent, that it never has ex-"cluded, and never will exclude Citizens born of the "meaneſt parentage, from dignities the moſt exalt-"ed." *(Matharel,* reply to *Hotman's* book entitled *Franco-Gallia.)*

"Toward the termination of the ſecond race, a "new ſpecies of poſſeſſion eſtabliſhed itſelf under the "denomination of Fiefs. The Dukes or Governors

of

" of Provinces, the Counts or Governors of Cities,
" the Officers of an inferior order, availing them-
" ſelves of the diminution of the Royal authority,
" rendered hereditary in their families the titles
" which till then they had poſſeſſed only for life, and
" having uſurped equally both the lands and the
" rights, erected themſelves into ſeignorial proprietors
" of the places where they were only the magiſtrates
" whether military or civil, or both at once. By this
" was introduced a new kind of authority into the
" State, to which was given the name of *Suzeraineté*,
" Sovereignty, a word, ſays *Loiſeau*, as ſtrange, as
" this ſpecies of ſuperiority is abſurd."

" Nobility, unknown in France till the time of
" Fiefs, began with this new kind of Lordſhip; ſo
" that it was the poſſeſſion of the lands which made
" the Nobles, becauſe it conveyed to them a ſpecies
" of ſubjects denominated vaſſals, which were tranſ-
" ferred in their turn by ſub-inſeudations; and this
" right of ſeignory was ſuch, that the vaſſals were
" obliged, in certain caſes, to attend them in War
" even againſt the King himſelf."

Theſe facts are ſo well known that they have been quoted in a Work publiſhed in favour of the Liberty of the People, by a Deputy himſelf of the Nobleſſe of Vivarais to the States-General now ſitting. I have ſtated them for the purpoſe of making two reflections of high importance: the firſt is, that men loaded with marks of Royal favour, conſtituting themſelves into an ariſtocratical Aſſociation, were able to oblige the King's ſubjects to attend them in War againſt himſelf: the ſecond, that nothing is ſo eaſy and ſo com-

mon as for ariſtocratical confederacies to encroach on the Rights of a People who have no repreſentative with their Prince, and on the intereſts of a Prince who has no connection with the People. France has no need to go back to the uſurpations of the Dukes, Counts and their ſurrogates during the times of the ſecond race of our Kings; we have ſeen uſurpation ſtill more groſs in our own day. The Gauls, under the Francs their conquerors, could riſe to the firſt dignities of the State, be their birth what it might; but an ordonnance of the War-department declared, May 22, 1781, under a King who loves his People, that no perſon not noble could become a Military Officer, and thus has excluded twenty-four millions of ſubjects from the honour of attaining ſo much as the rank of Lieutenant in the Militia.

What becomes then at this day of *Mathareſ*'s axiom on the excellence of our Conſtitution, "which "never has excluded and never will exclude Citizens "born of the meaneſt parentage from dignities the "moſt exalted." Nevertheleſs no one of the corps who pretend to have it in truſt to ſupport our ancient Conſtitution, and who wiſh to bring us back to it, remonſtrated againſt this laſt act of injuſtice, becauſe it affected only the ancient Rights of the People, and the People have never been able to defend their rights, becauſe they have no Repreſentatives with their Sovereign.

Be it as it may, what noble family of our days could prove its deſcent from the uſurpers of Nobility toward the termination of the ſecond race of our Kings, and what concluſion could be deduced from it to militate againſt

againſt the liberty of the People? A family of national Princes of the times of the Gauls, may have been reduced to ſlavery under the Romans; and a family of ſlaves under the Romans riſen to Nobility under the Francs; for conquering Nations, in the view of keeping down the People they have ſubdued, frequently adopt the policy of abaſing that which is exalted, and of exalting that which is low. Where is the man capable of proving at this day ſo much as whether he is deſcended from the Gauls, the Romans, or the Francs? Certain political ſpeculators have imagined that they could recognize the Gauls in our peaſantry, the Romans in our burgeſſes, and the Francs in the Nobility. But the Goths, the Alains, the Normans, did not they break into the country with incurſion on incurſion, conqueſt on conqueſt, and again confound theſe three orders of Citizens? Have not the Engliſh done as much, when they made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of the kingdom? To the overturnings of war ſucceeded thoſe of commerce. Swarms of Italians, Spaniards, Germans, Engliſh, ſettled in our country, and are ſtill every day carrying on their eſtabliſhments. All theſe nations have blended themſelves, by alliances, with every claſs of our countrymen, the races of whom have been beſides croſſed, from the moſt illuſtrious down to the moſt humble, by marriages of finance: Our people is formed of the ruins of all thoſe nations, juſt as the ſoil which produces our harveſts is compoſed of the wreck of the oaks and firs of our ancient foreſts. There may be perhaps ſome miſerable carman rolling all the year round from the bottom of Auvergne up to Paris, and from

from Paris down to the bottom of Auvergne, whose fore-fathers gave festivals to the Roman People, and figured in the Circus in chariots drawn by four horses; and some poor boy who scrambles up our chimneys to sweep them, is descended perhaps from those haughty Gauls who set Rome on fire, and scaled the Capital. We extract with avidity out of the bosom of the earth mutilated urns, effaced inscriptions, bronzes corroded by verdigrise, to trace on them the names of those ancient families; but their descendants are still in life, and we should present living medals of them, did we know how to decipher the impressions. One city of Italy values itself on knowing them, and while the whole of that country carries on a commerce in its monuments of stone, Milan furnishes for a very little money letters of nobility, and ancient armorial bearings, to the most obscure families of Europe, on no other foundation than their names. But to what purpose this vanity? Our Nobility no less than our plebeians is the work of time which dissolves and re-composes every thing with the same elements. If the sands on the sea-shore are a wreck of the rocks, these rocks in their turn are only an amalgama of the sands.

Not only is the People composed originally of the same families with their Clergy and Nobility, but it is the people which in particular constitutes the alone cause of the splendour of these two bodies; from it's bosom it is that the men issue who are entrusted with their education, and with the sacred trust of inspiring them with sentiments of honour and virtue. The People is the principal source of intelligence, of industry

duſtry and power, even military power: the People alone makes agriculture and commerce flouriſh. What do I ſay? the People is all; it is the national body, of which the two other orders are nothing more than acceſſary members: it can exiſt without them, but without it they are nothing. Never was there ſeen a Nation formed entirely of Prieſts or of Nobles, but there have been many flouriſhing Nations formed ſimply of the People. The Romans ſubſiſted long without a clerical order. Their Magiſtrates were their Pontiffs. The greateſt part of the Grecian Republics, with the ſame Government, had no body of Nobility; and though certain Writers may have advanced that Nobility is the firmeſt ſupport of Monarchy, it is moſt undoubtedly certain that the moſt ancient Monarchy in the world, namely China, never knew what the word *Gentleman* meant. No one in China is noble except the family of Confucius; and their Nobility is founded, not on the ſubjugation of his fellow-citizens to Confucius by force of arms, by intrigue or by money, but on his having illuminated them by his talents and virtues. His deſcendants, diſtinguiſhed by certain honours, have in no other reſpect any right to the employments and dignities of the empire; to theſe they riſe like other ſubjects by perſonal merit only. There is no Nobility in the deſpotic States of Turkey and Perſia, where the abſolute power of their Monarchs has need however of the ſupport of men devoted to them.

The People on the contrary is to ſuch a degree the baſis of public power, even in Monarchies, that the State is ruined as ſoon as the Clergy and Nobility have

have separated their intereſts from thoſe of the people. This is proved by the lower Empire of the Greeks, in which theſe two orders having engroſſed every thing, under weak Princes, the People, deſtitute of patriotiſm and of property, permitted the Turks to ſubvert the Throne. We behold at this day a ſimilar example in the Mogul Empire, where the People, ſeparated from it's Bramins and it's Naïrs, ſees with indifference handfuls of Europeans ſeize the Government and the Country. We ought to recollect ourſelves, or rather we ought for ever to forget who the perſons were that kindled the civil wars which ſo long deſolated our Monarchy, and who did their utmoſt to ſubvert it, by inviting even foreign troops into it's boſom: aſſuredly it was not the people. But nothing is ſuch a ſtriking proof of the fact, as the events which have recently taken place in Poland. In the firſt place the ariſtocratical Nobleſſe of that Country has in all ages undergone an uninterrupted ſeries of misfortune, merely from being diſunited from their Commonalty; and if in former times they gained ſome advantages over the Ruſſians, the Pruſſians, and the States of Auſtria, it was becauſe the Feudal Government of thoſe Countries was then worſe than that of Poland. But when the Nobility of thoſe Nations was conſtrained to approach toward their Commonalty, not by raiſing them to their own level by equitable Laws, but by ſinking themſelves to the level of the People under the preſſure of a deſpotic Government, which renders all ſubjects equal, they formed in conjunction a national whole, which the Poliſh Nobleſſe, abandoned to itſelf, was unable to reſiſt. Theſe

laſt

laſt then have ſeen within theſe few years their Monarchy divided among the three neighbouring Powers, who employed againſt their Patrician Diets, only a very few regiments of plebeian ſoldiers; and notwithſtanding the favourable circumſtances of the moment, from the Turkiſh War in which Ruſſia and Auſtria are embroiled, and from the particular kind diſpoſition of the King of Pruſſia, they make fruitleſs efforts to recover their independence, becauſe they do not call the People of their Country to liberty.

The People then is all in all, even under Monarchies. "The People are not made for Kings, but "Kings are made for the People" ſays *Fenelon*, after the laws of univerſal juſtice; by a ſtill greater force of reaſoning, the Clergy and the Nobility are ſo. To the People every thing ought ultimately to be referred, Prieſts, Nobles, Officers, Soldiers, Magiſtrates, Miniſters, Kings; as the feet, the hands, the head, and all the ſenſes are referable to the trunk in the human body. The felicity of the People is the Supreme Law, ſaid the Ancients: *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.*

From the time of the three Perſian Potentates, *Othanes*, *Megabyſes* and *Darius*, who reduced to the Democratic, Ariſtocratic and Monarchic State, the forms of Government which each of them wiſhed to eſtabliſh in Perſia, the queſtion has been frequently agitated, which of the three is beſt; as if it were impoſſible for any other to exiſt. For my own part, conſidering how many different forms of Government have ſince that time been ſettled in every country, not comprehended in this enumeration, I believe that a Nation may ſubſiſt under every kind of form, provided

vided the People be happy, juſt as a man may live any where, under every ſpecies of regimen, provided his body be in perfect health.

In fact, the manners of Nations are not leſs varied than thoſe of individuals. There are nations which live in an erratic ſtate in deſerts, ſuch as the Arabians and Tartars; and others who never go out of their own country, as the Chineſe: there are ſome who diſperſe themſelves over the whole earth, as the Jews and Armenians; and others who keep up no intercourſe with any ſtranger, as the Japaneze: ſome collect in ſwarms and inhabit cities, as is the caſe of policed nations; and others ſcatter themſelves about in ſolitary families and live in hippas, as the Iſlanders of New Zealand.

The Governments of men are no leſs different than their manners. To begin with the ſtate of Monarchy, if there be many Countries governed by one Prince only, ſome have exiſted in a very flouriſhing condition where there were two at once, as at Lacedemon: nay, I believe it would not be impoſſible to find ſome who may have been excellently governed by a triumvirate. As to the nature of Monarchies, ſome are hereditary in the male line, from father to ſon, as our own; others are ſo in favour of females, and from uncle to nephew, as in certain Kingdoms of Africa and of Aſia; in others the Sovereign can nominate his ſucceſſor in his own family, as in Turkey, in China and in Ruſſia; others are elective in a corps of Nobility, by the Nobles alone, as in Poland; others are balanced by a Senate of Prieſts as among the Jews, or by a corps of ſoldiery, as at Algiers. With reſpect

ſpect to Ariſtocracies, there are ſome who have choſen their Rulers in a corps of Religious Nobles and Warriors, as at Malta; others in a corps of enſlaved ſoldiers, as the twelve Beys of Egypt, choſen from among the Mamelucs; others in a Senate of Civilians as at Genoa and Venice. As to Democracies, they elect their Chiefs in corps of Merchants, as in Holland; or of huſbandmen, as in Switzerland; or from among ſtrangers who happen to paſs by, as the ſmall Republic of Saint-Marin. Others have been compoſed of a mixture of Ariſtocracy and Democracy, as the Republic of Rome; others of the three Governments at once, as in England.

I obſerve that all theſe Governments have equally had feeble originals; that thoſe which have never attained increaſe, or which loſt it after being acquired, have had no other object in view but the power of a ſingle corps: ſuch have been thoſe of Poland, of Genoa, of Venice, of Malta, which have ſacrificed the intereſts of their Commonalty to thoſe of their Nobleſſe. I remark, on the contrary, that thoſe which have proſpered are ſuch as have propoſed as their only object the power or the happineſs of the People: thus *Lacedemon* gave Laws to Greece and to a part of Aſia. She would have, like Rome, given law to the univerſe, had ſhe comprehended in the number of her citizens her huſbandmen, the Helotes. It is from the influence of the People that Turkey has obtained celebrity by her conqueſts, China by her duration, Holland by her commerce, England by her maritime power and her ſuperior illumination, and

and Switzerland, ſtill more happy, by her liberty and her repoſe.

I farther remark two things of material importance toward the proſperity of Nations:

1. That all thoſe which have flouriſhed are ſuch as were governed by two oppoſite powers; and that thoſe which crumbled into ruins have been governed by one only; becauſe Nature forms harmonies only by means of contraries.

2. That there has exiſted no one Government, of what nature ſoever, but what has had a Chief, under the denomination of Doge, of Bey, of King, of Pope, of Sultan, of Emir, of Daïri, of Emperor, of Stadtholder, of Grand-Maſter, of Conſul, of Avoyer, &c. becauſe every ſociety ſtands in need of a moderator.

At Lacedemon, the power of the Ephori was oppoſed to that of the two Kings: but for this counterpoiſe, the two Kings would have deſtroyed themſelves from the jealouſy of the Government, as was the caſe in the decline of the Roman Empire, when two Emperors on the Throne at once accelerated it's ruin. Among the Chineſe, the Sovereign is deſpotic only by the Law of the Empire which he cauſes to be put in execution; but his individual will is ſo balanced and circumſcribed by the tribunals conſtituted as conſervators of the ancient rites, that without their concurrence he cannot change the moſt trivial cuſtom, even to the faſhion of a garment. On the other hand, reſpect for thoſe tribunals is inſpired into the people from the tendereſt infancy, with ſuch a religious awe, that each of them might become maſter

maſter of the Empire, did they not balance one another, and unleſs they had the Emperor as Moderator. The caſe is nearly the ſame among the Turks, with whom the power of the Mufti always balances that of the Sultan; no one military edict, no ſentence of death, can be promulgated by command of the Sultan, without a religious *fetſa*, or permiſſion of the Mufti.

Among the Romans, the power of the Tribunes was oppoſed to that of the Conſuls: but as theſe two powers which repreſented, the one that of the People, the other that of the Nobleſſe, had no Moderator to maintain the equilibrium between them, the State was inceſſantly agitated by their contentions. The Romans perceived ſo ſenſibly, from the earlieſt periods of their Republic, the neceſſity of calling in a moderating power, that in critical ſituations they created a Dictator. The Dictator was a deſpot of a moment, who reduced every thing to order. He frequently ſaved the Republic when threatened only by foreign wars, but deſtroyed it when civil war broke out. In truth, it was poſſible to chooſe him only in one of the two contrary powers, and then they terminated in diſturbing the equilibrium between them inſtead of re-eſtabliſhing it. This was verified in the horrible proſcriptions of Sylla and of Marius. Sylla, at the head of the party of the Nobility, rendered himſelf omnipotent by the Dictatorſhip. Monteſquieu celebrates him for having abdicated it, as diſplaying a wonderful effort of courage: he repreſents him as confounded in the multitude; like a ſimple individual whom any one citi-

zen could call to account for the blood which he had shed. As the judgment of Montesquieu is of high authority, I must take the liberty to refute it, because it gives currency to a very gross mistake. We cannot be too much on our guard against the preponderancy of great names. Sylla did not abdicate his office from greatness of mind but from weakness, that he might not present in his own person a central point to the public vengeance. To whom could a Roman citizen have addressed himself to obtain justice of Sylla brought back to the level of a simple individual? Were not the Senate, the Consuls, the Tribunes, the Soldiery, the whole Magistracy of Rome the creatures of Sylla, accomplices in his proscriptions, and interested in quashing all prosecution on that account? What do I say? Sylla a simple individual, exercised his tyranny up to the very moment of his death; and we are furnished with the proof of it in his history. "The day previous to that on which he died, being informed "that *Granius*, who was in debt to the Public Treasury, deferred payment in expectation of his death, "he sent for him, and had him introduced into his "chamber, where the moment he entered, he gave "orders to his ministers to seize him and to strangle "him in his presence, but by the exertion of his "voice and the heat into which he threw himself, "he burst the inward imposthume which was preying on his life, and discharged a great quantity of "blood; by which he was so exhausted that after "passing the night in great agony, he expired next "morning." *(Plutarch.)* Who then would have

dared

dared to call Sylla to an account, who exacted one ſo rigorouſly the very laſt day of his life? Finally his credit was ſtill ſo great, even after his death, that the Roman ladies to do honour to his funeral obſequies, expended ſums far beyond what had ever been done before, or has been done ſince from reſpect to any one Roman. "Among other things," ſays *Plutarch*, "they contributed ſuch an enormous "quantity of rich ſpicery and perfumes, that beſides "thoſe which were carried in two hundred and ten "veſſels, there was ſufficient to form a large image "reſembling Sylla himſelf, and another of a Lictor "bearing the faſces before him, conſiſting entirely "of the moſt exquiſite incenſe and cinnamon."

Thus the power of the People was oppreſſed by that of the Nobility, re-inforced by Sylla with that of the Dictatorſhip. But when Ceſar, inveſted likewiſe with the office of Dictator, threw himſelf into the ſcale of the People, then the party of the Nobility was oppreſſed in it's turn. At laſt, when the Emperors his ſucceſſors, inſtead of being moderators of the Empire, had united in their own perſons both the conſular and tribunitial power, the Empire fell, becauſe the two powers which ſerved to balance each other, fixed at their centre, produced motion no longer. Thus it is that the functions of the human body are reduced to a paralytic ſtate, when the blood, inſtead of circulating through the members, ſtagnates at the region of the heart.

We fall therefore into a very great error, when we attempt, from the ſentiment of our weakneſs, to give immoveable foundations to a government which is

perpetually in motion. Nature derives conſtant harmonies only from moveable powers. The type of ſocieties, like that of juſtice, may be repreſented by a balance, the uſe of which conſiſts entirely in the counterpoiſe of it's two beams: the reſt of bodies in motion is in their equilibrium.

I conclude therefore that every Government is flouriſhing and durable, when it is formed of two powers which balance each other, when it has a head to act as Moderator, and has for it's centre the happineſs of the People. Theſe are, in my opinion, the only means and the only end which confer proſperity and duration on States, whether they be monarchical, ariſtocratic or republican: and this is demonſtrated by the hiſtory of every Country in the World; for it is not ſufficient to produce inſtances of certain brilliant periods of a Country, to juſtify political principles thrown out at random, as moſt writers have done; it is neceſſary to ſee a whole State flouriſh and laſt a long time together, in order to form a judgment of the goodneſs of it's Conſtitution, as we judge of that of a man, not from ſome particular exertion of ſtrength, but from a ſound and uniform ſtate of health.

There may be ſtarted as an objection the caſe of certain ſocieties of men, living according to the Laws of Nature, who have ſubſiſted without thoſe internal convulſions, and without a Chief, diſpoſed to promote the happineſs of their State, like bees to the labours of their hive, by the ſentiment of their common intereſt. But if their political counterpoiſes were not in their ſociety, they were from without. I

doubt

doubt whether even the bees, whose instinct is so sage, would take so much pains to amass provisions, to deposit them in the trunks of trees, to build their houses of wax, and to live together in unity, unless they had to contend with the winds, with the rain, the winter, and many other different enemies: external wars ensure their internal concord. What is very remarkable, each swarm has a Moderator in their Queen. The same thing takes place in the habitations of ants, and I believe of all animals which live in Republics. Happy would it be for human societies, if they had to encounter in like manner only the obstacles presented by the hand of Nature! Their enjoyments would extend over the face of the whole Earth, the productions of which they are destined to reap; the human race would form but one family, whereof every individual would stand in need of no other Moderator but God and his own conscience. But in our badly constituted States, we find all valuable property of every kind accumulated on a small number of individuals; thus, unable to demand them at the hand of Nature, we are obliged to dispute possession with men, and to direct our powers against ourselves.

These principles being laid down, I find our French Government constituted like all those which, from their origin, have deviated from the Laws of Nature. It is divided into two powers which serve as a mutual counterbalance. The one consists of the Clerical Order and that of the Nobility, who have for several ages past united their interests; the other, of the order of the People, who are beginning to ac-

quire illumination reſpecting their own. But they are very far from being counterbalanced. Some of our Kings have indeed attempted to eſtabliſh the equilibrium, by throwing ſome weight into the ſcale of the People, from the erection of Communes, of Municipal Offices, and of Parliaments; but the members of theſe bodies having moſt of them a tendency toward the privileges of the Nobility, and the benefices of the Clergy, the intereſts of the People have remained without a defender. A few iſolated writers alone who, animated with zeal for thoſe of Mankind, have been the only Repreſentatives of the People, and have ſet up ſecret tribunes for them even in the conſcience of the great. The King however is as much intereſted as the People, in the maintenance of the political equilibrium, as he is the Moderator of it, and as one of the powers which ought to be balanced cannot exceed the other, without his finding himſelf deranged, and rendered incapable of putting any one in motion.

Not only ought all the members of the political body to be in equilibrium for the intereſt of the People; but to the People alſo, and to them alone, ought to be referred every particular intereſt. But the Clergy and Nobility are preciſely the contrary of what they ought to be, and from what they originally have been; for they are formed into a coalition of particular intereſts entirely ſeparated from the cauſe of the People.

When the King, the Clergy and the Nobility of a State form one body with their People, they reſemble the branches of a great tree which, notwithſtanding the violence of the tempeſt, are reſtored to their

equilibrium

equilibrium by the trunk which bears and unites them. But when these powers have centres different from the People, they are like those trees which grow by chance on the summit of an old tower: they for some time decorate it's battlements; but with the lapse of ages, their roots force a passage between the layers of stones, separate their joinings, and terminate in the subversion of the monument which once supported them.

The King, the Clergy and the Nobility have a relation so necessary with the People, that it is by means of it alone they have themselves common relations with each other. But for the People they would be separated in interests as in functions. They resemble the branches of a tree which all have a tendency to diverge, and which have no principle of union among themselves except the trunk which combines them. Though this comparison may be very proper to render intelligible the popular inter-connections to which I wish to lead our political powers, yet as these mutual connections have hitherto no existence among us, and as we must distinguish into corps which have separate centres, the members of the same whole, I shall employ an image better adapted to represent the existing whole of our Estates-General, and to flatter the pretensions of the superior Orders. I consider then the King as the sun, the emblem of which is that of his illustrious ancestors; the Clergy and Nobility as two planetary bodies revolving round the sun, and reflecting his light; and the People as the obscure globe of the earth which we trample under our feet, but which nevertheless supports and feeds

us. Let the powers of the Nation conſider themſelves therefore as powers of Heaven, which in ſome other reſpects they pretend to be; but let them recollect at the ſame time, that notwithſtanding the privileges which they enjoy of moving in their particular ſphere, and of approaching that of the ſun, they are not the leſs on that account adapted to the ſphere of the People, ſeeing the ſun himſelf, with all his ſplendour, exiſts in the Heavens only for the harmonies of the Earth and of the ſmalleſt plants on her ſurface.

I ſhall put up prayers therefore for the harmony of the four Orders which at this day compoſe the Nation, beginning with him who is the prime mover in it.

WISHES FOR THE KING.

MANY writers of high reputation conſider the national power in a Monarchy, as divided into two; into a legiſlative power and an executive power; they aſſign the former to the Nation, and the latter to the King.

This diviſion appears to me defective, for it omits a third power eſſential to every good Government, the moderating power, which in Monarchy belongs excluſively to the Sovereign. Here the King is not the ſimple Commiſſioner of the Nation merely, a Doge or a Stadtholder; he is a Monarch inveſted with the charge of directing the public operations. The Clergy, the Nobility, and even the People, only ſee and regulate each, one in particular, detached parts of

of the Monarchy, of which they are members only; the King is the heart of it, and is alone capable of knowing and of putting in motion the combined whole. The three bodies of which Monarchy is compoſed are continually re-acting one againſt another, ſo that left to themſelves it would ſpeedily come to paſs that one of them muſt oppreſs the other two, or be oppreſſed by them, without it's being poſſible for the King, who would have the executive power only, to do any thing elſe but become the agent of the ſtrongeſt party, that is of oppreſſion. The Sovereign muſt therefore have beſides the moderating power, that is to ſay, the power of maintaining the equilibrium, not only between thoſe bodies, but to unite their force externally in oppoſition to foreign powers, whoſe enterprizes he alone is in a condition to know. It is the moderating power which conſtitutes the Monarch.

The writers to whom I alluded, have had a perception of the neceſſity of this power in the King, and have made it a queſtion whether it ought to conſiſt in a ſimple *veto*, as in England, or in a certain number of deliberative voices, to be reſerved to him as his royal prerogative.

The *veto* is an inert power capable of defeating the beſt concerted projects. The King on the contrary ought to be veſted with a power of activity capable of giving them energy and ſucceſs. The heart, in the human frame, is never in a ſtate of inaction: the ſame ought to be the caſe of the Sovereign in a Monarchy.

As to deliberative voices to be reſerved to the King,

King, it is extremely difficult to determine their number. I will take the liberty to ſuggeſt a few reflections on the ſubject. The number of voices in the National-Aſſembly is about twelve hundred, of which ſix hundred belong to the Clergy and Nobility, and ſix hundred to the Commonalty. Now, if the ſix hundred votes of the two firſt Orders were equal in weight to the ſix hundred of the Commons, as they are in number, there would be an exact equilibrium between them, and nothing more would be neceſſary to the Sovereign but his own ſingle voice to make the balance incline which way he pleaſed: What do I ſay? The voice of the King which diſpoſes of all employments, poſſeſſes of it's own Nature ſuch a preponderancy, that it alone would bear down all the reſt, as happens in deſpotic States, unleſs it too had a counterbalance.

It is uſeleſs therefore to multiply the voice of the King in the National Aſſembly, in order to give him weight; it is ſufficient that it be reſerved to him: but it is highly neceſſary to reform the national balance itſelf, to render it ſuſceptible of equilibrium. Though it's arms may be equal in length, it's ſcales are by no means ſo in reſpect of weight. It may be affirmed that the ſcale of the Clergy and Nobility is of gold, whereas that of the People is of ſtraw. The former is ſo filled with mitres, ribbands, dignities, governments, magiſtracies, ſurvivancies already given away, though they originally belong to the Royal authority or even to the People, that the balance has always leaned to that ſide, in defiance of the efforts made by ſome of our Kings to re-adjuſt it.

it. This ſcale accordingly preponderates not only by it's proper weight, but by that of the royal power, which it has attracted to itſelf; ſo that in order to reſtore the ſcale of the People to an equilibrium, it would be neceſſary that the King ſhould either render it heavier by transferring to it a certain proportion of dignities and employments, or by increaſing the length of it's arm, in multiplying the voices of the Repreſentatives of the People in the National Aſſemblies. The plebeian lever thus becoming the longer of the two, it will require very little effort on the part of the Prince to give it inclination, and the moderating power will act in the Monarchy in the ſame manner as the moveable weight along the greater lever of the Roman balance. It was only by the number of their own voices that the People of Rome balanced the weight of the ſenatorial voices. In the Britiſh Parliament, the number of the members of the Upper Houſe does not exceed two hundred and forty-five, whereas that of the members of the Houſe of Commons amounts to five hundred and fifty-eight, that is to more than double. Without an equivalent proportion, the plebeian ſcale will never be able to acquire it's equilibrium, till the ſix hundred voices which compoſe it ſhall be ſupported by the voices of the twenty-four millions of men whom they repreſent: in that caſe, though it's ſcale may be light, it's arm becoming infinitely long, it's re-action will be rendered infinitely powerful. This moment of revolution will be the proper one for the King to reſume his moderating power, in order to the re-eſtabliſhment of the monarchical balance.

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The royal influence will then reſemble that of the Sun, who balances in the Heavens the Globes which revolve around him.

I have oftener than once expreſſed a deſire that the King would make a progreſs once every year over the eſtates of his Kingdom from one extremity to the other, as the Sun viſits by turns every year the two poles of the world. My wiſhes ſeem to be on the point of accompliſhment. The movement will indeed be different, but the effect will be the ſame. It will not be the motion of the King toward the People; but that of the People toward their King. This political ſyſtem is ſimplified like the aſtronomical, in which it is ſuppoſed, with a high degree of probability, that it is not the Sun which revolves round the Earth, but the Earth which revolves on her axis and in her orbit round the Sun, preſenting to him by turns her icy poles.

This order ſeems to me ſtill better adapted to the functions of a King, who after all is only a man, and who ought not only to diffuſe his light over his People, but who in his turn ſtands in need of receiving illumination from them. The King will accordingly derive information from the National Aſſembly, of what is paſſing in the provincial aſſemblies, of what is tranſacting in the aſſemblies of the cities; and from thoſe of the cities, of what is going on in the villages.

The men like the affairs of the State will circulate under his eyes; for the meaneſt peaſant may be eligible as deputy from the aſſembly of his village to that of the city in whoſe diſtrict it is ſituated, from

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the assembly of such city to that of the province, and from that of the province to the National Assembly. Thus by this mode of rotation, the Deputies of the National Assembly may exhibit to the Sovereign all his subjects in succession, just as the Earth presents to the Sun all the parts of her circumference.

I here proceed on the supposition that the assemblies of the villages, of the cities and of the provinces, shall take place all over the kingdom, that they shall be at once permanent and periodical, in other words, that they shall be every year renovated in a third part of their members, and that the same rule shall be applied to the National Assembly, which ought to be the centre of all those assemblies; for there should exist complete harmony in all the parts of the State. To grant permanency to the assemblies of villages, of cities and provinces, and to withhold it from the National Assembly, would be the same thing as in a watch whose minute, middling and great wheels are all in motion, to withdraw the main spring.

From this permanency of the National Assembly the result will be, that no one aristocratical body will have it in it's power henceforward to interpose itself between the King and the Nation; and that from the periodical rotation of it's members, it will not be possible for itself to degenerate into an aristocratic junto. As the King possesses of right the executive power, no law could pass in it but what had received the sanction of his authority; and as he has likewise the moderating power, this Assembly being composed of two powers which have opposite interests, he will always possess the power of maintaining the equilibrium

brium of it. Neither therefore by it's operations, nor by it's duration, would it be able to make any encroachment whatever on the Royal authority.

It may be farther alleged, that it alone can facilitate the operations of a good Government; and by it alone the intereſts of the King and of the People, which are one and the ſame, can be found in perfect union. The King, in committing to the Deputies of the Commons the power of defending the intereſts of the People, commits to them at the ſame time that of defending the intereſts of royalty, which differ in nothing from the proſperity of the People themſelves, and ſhould there happen, as in times paſt, any diſorder in Adminiſtration, the People could not accuſe the King of it, who has given them the perpetual power of watching it's motions, and of propoſing to him the proper remedies.

May this order ſo ſimple, ſo natural and ſo juſt, be admitted into all the Governments in the World, for the happineſs of the Nations and of their Princes! The taſtes, the manners, the faſhions, the diſcords and the wars of one kingdom communicate themſelves to another, Wherefore might there not be a mutual intercommunication of concord and good Laws? May *Louis* XVI. then receive for ever the applauſe which he ſhall merit for it from his own People! May he obtain it from the gratitude of all Nations, and fulfil the glorious device tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, but which he alone ſhall have deſerved to wear; a Sun illuminating various Worlds, with this inſcription: "Sufficient for many," *Nec pluribus impar.*

WISHES

WISHES FOR THE CLERGY.

IT were moſt devoutly to be wiſhed that the Clergy had never ſeparated their intereſts from thoſe of the People. However well endowed the Clergy of a State may be, the ruin of the People ſpeedily involves theirs likewiſe. The example of the Greeks of Conſtantinople is a proof of this, whoſe Patriarchs intermeddled in the functions of the Emperors, and the Emperors in thoſe of the Patriarchs. The People, drained by their Clergy and by their Princes, who had ſeized every ſpecies of property, even that of opinion, loſt all ſenſe of patriotiſm: What do I ſay? During the ſiege which terminated in giving the Turks poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, this was the general cry, "We would rather ſee turbans among "us than a Cardinal's hat." I muſt here obſerve that the religion of a State is not always it's firmeſt ſupport, as has been ſo frequently advanced; for the Greek Empire of Conſtantinople fell, and it's Religion remained. The ſame thing happened to the Kingdom of Jeruſalem. On the other hand, many religions have changed in different States, the Governments of which have continued to ſubſiſt: Such were the ancient religions of ſeveral Kingdoms of Europe, of Aſia and of Africa, to which have ſucceeded the Chriſtian and Mahometan Religions, whereas many of thoſe States have not ſo much as changed a dynaſty. The happineſs of the People is the only immovable baſis of the happineſs of Empires, it is likewiſe that of the happineſs of their Clergy.

Clergy. The Greek Clergy of Conſtantinople is reduced, under the Turks, to live on alms, in the very places where they once had the power, under their national Princes, to rear the ſuperb Temples in which at this day the religion of an enemy triumphs. An ambitious Clergy impoveriſhes it's People, and an impoveriſhed People ſooner or later renders it's Clergy miſerable.

Not only is the Clergyman united to the People by the bond of intereſt, but by that of duty. He is the national advocate of the miſerable, and obliged to relieve them out of his own ſuperfluity. Moſt part of the property of the Church has been bequeathed expreſsly under thoſe conditions. I could have wiſhed therefore that the ſuperior Clergy had been at the head of their flocks to defend their intereſts, as in the ancient times of our Monarchy, during which the People themſelves elected their own Paſtors expreſsly for this purpoſe. But ſince thoſe ancient forms ſo reſpectable in themſelves have changed, even in a body of men ſo tenacious of their conſervation, I wiſh at leaſt that the Clergy would inſtil into the National Aſſembly the evangelical maxims which it is their buſineſs to announce in our Churches. I do not ſpeak of the penny paid to *Cæſar* by St. *Peter*, in obedience to Jesus Christ himſelf; for I will obſerve on this occaſion, from the queſtion put by Jesus to *Peter*, and his anſwer, that it was not cuſtomary among the Romans to exact tribute of citizens but of ſtrangers. It is clear indeed from Hiſtory that the Roman People, ſo far from paying impoſts, was frequently ſupported by largeſſes of corn, and the tribute

bute of the conquered Provinces. Among the Turks, the *carach* or tribute is paid only by the Greeks. This cuſtom appears to me to have been generally prevalent over Aſia. JESUS CHRIST ſeems to extend it to all the Kingdoms of the World, as founded on natural juſtice. The queſtion after all perhaps referred to perſonal, and not to territorial impoſts. Be this as it may, ſeeing that from one abuſe to another the financial Government has with us ſucceeded to the feudal, it is now impoſſible to meet the exigences of the State without levying contributions on all it's members. The greateſt part of our Clergy has ſacrificed in this reſpect their ancient prerogatives in a very generous manner: nevertheleſs the intereſt of truth obliges me to add, that they have likewiſe in this only done an act of juſtice, as a great deal of property was formerly conferred on them by the State, as well as on the Nobility, to the burthening of even the military ſervice.

But the People at this day demands of them other contributions, to a conſiderable extent, of property bequeathed to them by individuals, for the benefit of the ſtill more ſacred ſervice, that of the miſerable. In this undoubtedly muſt be comprehended many of the rich Eccleſiaſtical Commendams, once deſtined to the relief of the leprous, and of wretches ſhut up in hoſpitals. Let the Clergy then transfuſe themſelves into this Law of Nature, which is the baſis, and the ultimate object of the Goſpel; of that Law which is the ſource of every virtue, of juſtice, charity, humanity, patriotiſm, concord, beneficence, politeneſs, and of every thing which renders man amiable, even in

the eyes of the men of the World: "Do not to "another what you would not another ſhould do "unto you." Let them conſider that this People who in times paſt ſo liberally endowed them, is now ſinking under a load of impoſitions; that the vices againſt which they have been ſo long preaching are not infuſed into Man by Nature, but that they are the neceſſary reſults of our political Inſtitutions; that they ſpring out of the extreme opulence of a ſmall number of citizens who have ſwallowed up every thing, and out of the abſolute indigence of an inconceivable number of others who no longer poſſeſs any thing; that on the one part, opulence produces voluptuouſneſs, avarice, monopolies, ambition, which of themſelves occaſion ſo many woes to Mankind; and that on the other, poverty reduces young women to the neceſſity of proſtituting themſelves, mothers to expoſe their own children, and that it generates ſedition, theft, quackery, ſuperſtition, and that innumerable multitude of miſerable beings, who, ſtripped of every thing by the firſt, are reduced to the neceſſity of finding a livelihood at their expenſe.

I could wiſh therefore that the Clergy would ſtep forth to the relief of the wretched, and firſt of all make proviſion for the neceſſities of the poor members of their own body; that there may not be a ſingle Eccleſiaſtic deſtitute of the decent means of ſupport. Not a ſimple village Vicar ought to be without the actual neceſſaries of life ſo long as his Biſhop enjoyed a ſuperfluity. It accordingly appears reaſonable to me, that the National Aſſembly ſhould employ the revenues of the rich Abbeys, founded of

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old by the Nation, in diſtributions, diffuſed over the whole Kingdom, by the provincial Aſſemblies, to the indigent of all countries, and of every communion, known and unknown, after the example of the good Samaritan; for the charity of the Goſpel ſhould extend to men of every Religion, and French hoſpitality to the men of all Nations.

It is of eſſential importance that the Clergy ſhould aboliſh in their own order thoſe ſtrange and ſhameful eſtabliſhments, totally unknown to the Greeks, the Romans, and even to the Barbarians, I mean Convents, which in France are merely houſes of confinement and correction. Thoſe dolorous abodes, in which Monks undertake, for pay, the infliction of domeſtic and public vindictive puniſhment, are ſcattered in ſuch numbers over the Kingdom, and have become ſo deteſtable as to tarniſh the very names of the Saints whom they have preſumed to adopt as patrons. In ſome of them are ſtill to be ſeen cages of iron, the cruel invention of *Louis* XI. Moſt of them labour under a reputation ſo diſgraceful, from the penances which they inflict, that a young man, or young woman, derives more infamy from having been an inmate, than from having been ſhut up in a common priſon. Hence Monks and Nuns refuſe to bluſh at executing the abominable functions of gaolers and executioners for the ſake of a paltry emolument. Is it not wonderfully ſtrange that perſons conſecrated to GOD, who profeſſionally preach up humanity, conſolation, and the forgiveneſs of injuries, ſhould have ſuffered themſelves to be made the inſtruments of cruelty, of infamy and of vengeance,

ance, to acquire a little wealth; and that on the other hand, the people ſhould have ſeen the creation of ſuch houſes, more cruel and more degrading than the Baſtille, without perceiving the manifeſt contradiction between the doctrine and the practice of the perſons who eſtabliſhed them? It belongs to the State, and not to Monks, to puniſh offenders againſt the State.

I could farther wiſh that the Clergy, having contributed from their ſuperfluity a ſupply for indigence, the ſource of ſo many private vices; would thunder their eloquence againſt ambition, that fertile ſource of public and private vice: that they would proſcribe the firſt leſſons of it in our ſchools, into which it has found admiſſion under the name of emulation, and from infancy arms fellow citizens againſt each other, by inſtilling into every child this pernicious maxim, "be the firſt:" let the preachers of the Goſpel inveigh vehemently, in the name of GOD, againſt the ambition of the Potentates of Europe, which reſults from the ambitious education they procure for their ſubjects, and which, after having brought an accumulation of miſery on their own People, communicates that miſery to the Human Race: let thoſe ſacred Miniſters of Peace attack the ſacrilegious Laws of War; let themſelves deſiſt from the practice of decorating our Temples dedicated to Charity, with banners won by ſhedding the blood of Nations; let them ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the ſlavery of the Negroes, who are our brethren by the Laws of Nature and of Religion; let them with-hold their benediction from veſſels employed in this infamous traffic,

traffic, as well as from the ſtandards around which our ſanguinary ſoldiers aſſemble; let them refuſe their miniſtrations to every one who contributes toward the increaſe of human wretchedneſs; let them make the reply to the Powers who would engage them to conſecrate the inſtruments of their Politics, which the prieſteſs *Theano* made to the People of Athens when they tried to perſuade her to pronounce a malediction upon *Alcibiades*, though convicted of having profaned the myſteries of *Ceres*: "I am a "Prieſteſs to offer up prayers and implore bleſſings, "not to execrate and devote to deſtruction."

Let our Prieſts then ſay to ambitious Potentates: "We are not ſent to excite men to the furies of war, "but to concord, love and peace; not to pronounce "a bleſſing on ſhips of war, on veſſels engaged in "the Slave-trade, on regiments; but, after the ex- "ample of the bleſſed JESUS, on little children, on "marriages and on harmleſs feſtivity."

Thus the French Clergy, by taking a lively intereſt in the condition of ſuffering humanity, will render themſelves dear to the men of all Nations. They will have the ſatisfaction of beholding their religious Empire revive in the hearts of the People, as in the early ages when the Goſpel was firſt preached, and when, ſpeaking in the name of the GOD of Peace, they made tyrants tremble.

WISHES FOR THE NOBILITY.

MAY that Nobility, who in barbarous ages presented to the People models of heroism in times of War, and of urbanity in times of Peace, exhibit to them a pattern of every patriotic virtue in an age of illumination! It is my earnest wish that they should not only march, as heretofore, at the head of their warriors, to defend them against external enemies, or to protect the weaker of them from the oppression of domestic foes, as in the days of ancient chivalry, but that, rising to the patrician greatness of old Rome, they would adopt into their bosom the plebeian families who may render themselves illustrious by virtue. Thus were the *Catos* and the *Scipios* adopted into noble families. May they farther, after the example of the Roman Nobility, ally themselves with the people by the bonds of marriage! *Augustus*, in the zenith of his glory, gave his only daughter *Julia* in marriage to the plebeian *Agrippa*; and *Tiberius* on the throne, married his grand-daughter *Drusilla*, and daughter of *Germanicus*, to *Lucius Cassius*, "of an ancient and ho-"nourable plebeian extraction," to use the expression of *Tacitus*. Our own Kings themselves have often contracted similar marriages. *Henry* IV. who valued himself on being the first Gentleman in his kingdom, took to wife *Mary de Medicis*, who descended from a family who were once merchants at Florence. The Nobility in our days, it is true, are coming nearer to the people by forming plebeian alliances, but if they were more frequent, and had not fortune merely for their

their object, we ſhould not ſee ſo many females of noble birth languiſhing in a ſtate of celibacy.

Wherever the People is deſpiſed the Nobility is unhappy. It is the reſentment of the People which foſters among the higher orders the ſpirit of civil war and of duelling. Look at the eternal diſcords of the Poliſh Nobility: look at the ancient feuds of the Barons of England, before liberty had raiſed the people nearer to their level; and at thoſe of our own Princes and Dukes prior to *Louis* XIV. who by the exerciſe of his deſpotiſm reduced all his ſubjects to nearly the ſame ſtandard.

Wherever the People is undervalued, the Nobility is of inferior conſideration. Where the former is in a ſtate of vaſſalage, the latter ſinks into a menial condition. Look at Poland, where the lackeys and domeſtics of the meaneſt ſtation in great houſes are of the Order of Nobility. What Frenchman of Noble birth would not at this day prefer the ſervice of the People in our Monarchical Government, to the ſervice of a Grandee, as in the time of the feudal deſpotiſm? Who would not a thouſand times rather be a Peer of Great Britain, living with his farmers, and balancing in the Houſe of Lords, or even in that of Commons, the intereſts of his Country and the deſtiny of the Globe, than an Indian Naïr, whom one of the commonalty dares not ſo much as touch, under pain of death, but who is himſelf obliged to ſacrifice his conſcience and his life to the caprices of the deſpot who keeps him in pay?

O ye Nobles, would you wiſh to exalt your own order, raiſe the order of the People! It was the great-

neſs of the Roman People which conſtituted the Majeſty of the Roman Senate. The higher a pedeſtal is, the loftier is the column reared upon it: the cloſer the union between the column and it's pedeſtal, the greater is it's ſolidity.

It is very remarkable that the Romans conferred the moſt illuſtrious marks of diſtinction only on thoſe of their citizens who had merited well of the People. "The Civic Crown," ſays *Pliny*, "was deemed more "honourable, and communicated higher privileges "than the Mural, the Obſidional and Naval Crowns, "becauſe there is more glory in ſaving a ſingle citi-"zen than in ſtorming cities and gaining battles."

Thoſe marks of diſtinction, kept in reſerve for the ſervants of the people alone, were, in the times of the Republic, the real cauſes of the grandeur of the Roman Senate, becauſe a People is to be ſerved by virtues alone, but they became the cauſes of her decline, when, under the Emperors, they were beſtowed on thoſe only who had deſerved well of the Court, becauſe Courtiers are to be ſerved only by vices.

As we live in an age in which the members of the political body are ſtill ſound parts, under a Chief reſembling *Marcus Aurelius*, I feel myſelf drawn into a train of wiſhing that we might in ſome meaſure acquire a reſemblance to the ancient Romans. I could wiſh then, in order to unite the Nobility with the People, and the People with the Nobility, that an order of Chivalry might be inſtituted, in imitation of the Civic Crown. This order ſhould be conferred on every citizen who might have deſerved well of the people, be the ſervice of whatever nature it may. It

ſhould

ſhould communicate honourable privileges, ſuch as the rights of ſitting in the Aſſemblies of the Villages, of the Cities, of the Provinces, and even in the National Aſſembly. The perſons raiſed to this diſtinction ſhould, on certain days of the year, have the privilege of admiſſion to the King's preſence, and at all ſeaſons to his Majeſty's Miniſters, with the right of preſenting requeſts for all men who by their virtues had rendered themſelves worthy of the attention of Government. The badge of the order might be a crown of oak embroidered on the breaſt, with this motto: *For the People.* The National Aſſembly alone ſhould have the power of preſenting to the Sovereign, citizens whom they reckoned worthy of this diſtinction, and it ſhould be granted and conferred only by his Majeſty himſelf in perſon.

This order of the People ſhould be perſonal Nobility to men not noble by birth; for in future there ought to be no hereditary ennoblement, the experience of all ages and of all countries having aſſured us that virtue and vice are not tranſmiſſive through blood.

With reſpect to perſons originally noble, they would preſerve for their poſterity the ancient prerogatives of rank; but they would acquire, by means of this new diſtinctive order, the power of adopting a plebeian decorated with it; and in this caſe only nobility ſhould become hereditary in the perſon adopted. Thus the Nobility would be rendered dear to the People, from finding in them the only means of giving perpetuity to their own elevation; and the People would become dear to the Nobility from finding

ing in them the means of illuſtrating and ſupporting great names threatened with extinction. If to theſe are added alliances contracted by marriage, our patricians and plebeians would feel an approximation, not produced by bonds of ſilver and gold, but by thoſe of Nature and Virtue. Such are the wiſhes I form that the People may riſe toward the Nobility without pride, and that the Nobility may deſcend toward the People without ſuffering degradation.

On the other hand, as this very Nobility has relatives innumerable whom poverty confounds with the loweſt claſſes of the People, as I have frequently ſeen in our Provinces, particularly in Brittany, it is neceſſary to provide the means of ſubſiſtence for them. I am perſuaded that in this view was dictated a few years ago that article of the ordinance of the Military Department which reſerves to Men of Family excluſively the rank of Officers in the Army. But Gentlemen born and brought up in the boſom of indigence, are never capable of diſcharging the functions of an Officer, for this rank requires with us, eſpecially in theſe times, an education and a degree of intelligence not to be attained without the advantage of fortune.

I recollect my having ſeen one day in Lower Normandy a poor man of birth who earned his livelihood by making lions of clay. Thoſe lions, to ſay the truth, had no great reſemblance to lions; but they at leaſt indicated a noble ſentiment in the manufacturer, which poverty had not been able to extinguiſh. Nay this ſentiment propagated itſelf extenſively through the medium of the manufacture. When a Country Gentleman

Gentleman a little at his eaſe had placed a pair of thoſe lions on two pilaſters of earth and flint on the right and left of his avenue, he could, in imitation of Princes, call his Court-yard a Court of Honour.

I love to ſee a man, and particularly a man of family, find in himſelf reſources againſt the injuſtice of fortune, and like a fir on a rock maintain an erect poſition in ſpite of the buffetings of the tempeſt.

An art, however inſignificant, is in a ſtate of opulence a refuge from the tyranny of the paſſions and from languor; but in a ſtate of indigence it is a reſource againſt want. Religion among the Turks impoſes it as a duty, even on the Sultans, to learn a trade, and to practiſe it. I know well that it is not inconſiſtent with the character of a Gentleman to practiſe a liberal art, but why not a mechanical one? A liberal art miniſters chiefly to luxury, and requires talents which are the progeny of the paſſions; a mechanical art is neceſſary to the demands of human life, and calls only for the exerciſe of patience, the inſeparable companion of virtue. A man of birth it is true may with us manufacture glaſs without diſcredit to his rank; but why not pottery? This, as far as I can judge, is the reaſon: as we have been long accuſtomed to reſpect fortune only, we have ennobled every condition that leads to it, or which is ſubſervient only to luxury: now as glaſs was originally very ſcarce, it was an enjoyment confined entirely to the rich: a Gentleman might therefore conſiſtently be a dealer in glaſs. For the ſame reaſon likewiſe it is competent for him to have a ſhare in the Eaſt-India Company, to be a Farmer-general, an

Opera

Opera Performer, as if a Gentleman in wooden ſhoes could attain thoſe brilliant ſituations! He is at liberty I grant to place his children in the military ſchool; but that inſtitution of *Louis* XV. deſtined excluſively to the relief of decayed Nobility, is now hardly a reſource for perſons of this deſcription, becauſe it is frequently intercepted by the rich families of their own order, or even of the commonalty, and is beſides inſufficient.

It ſeems to me then neceſſary to permit to poor men of birth the exerciſe of all profeſſions whatever; for if Nobility conſiſts in a man's being uſeful to his Country, every profeſſion, eſpecially the moſt ordinary, promotes this object. A man cannot ſuffer degradation by practiſing an art, or carrying on a trade, but by vice only. Every age has produced characters rendered illuſtrious by patriotic virtues from all conditions of life. *Agathocles*, the conqueror of Sicily, was the ſon of a potter; the Chancellor *Olivier*, of a Phyſician; the Mareſchal *Fabert*, of a Bookſeller; *Franklin*, the aſſerter of American liberty, of a Printer, and himſelf a Printer. *Chriſtopher Columbus*, before embarking on the diſcovery of the new World, earned his bread by conſtructing geographical charts. There is no condition ſo mean as to be incapable of producing a great man.

By permitting the Nobility without derogating from their dignity, to exerciſe all the arts of peace, a Kingdom will not be ſuffered to fall into a lethargy through the idleneſs of it's Nobles, when they are rich, as is the caſe at this day in Spain, Portugal and Italy; nor into violent convulſions from their military

ſpirit,

ſpirit, when they are poor, as formerly was the caſe with ourſelves as well as with moſt of the Nations of Europe.

Hiſtorians never diſcern any thing but the reſults of our calamities, becauſe they aſcribe them ſolely to political cauſes; the moral cauſes which occaſion them always eſcape their attention: becauſe, concerned only in the fortune of Kings, the intereſts of mankind are a matter of indifference to them. They impute the perpetual Wars which ravage Europe to the ambition of it's Princes, and they are in the right: but it is of high importance to remark that the ambition of Princes, and the Wars both foreign and domeſtic which are the effects of it, originate, in every ſtate, in the ambition of the Nobility, who being many in number, and having no other means of ſubſiſtence but the military profeſſion, inſtigate their Sovereigns to War and Conqueſt, for the ſake of getting to themſelves commiſſions, penſions and governments. The opinion of Kings is formed entirely on the opinions of their Courtiers. Thus in countries where the Clergy is numerous and poor, there have ariſen, from the ſpirit of controverſy, ſpiritual Wars without end, equally ruinous to the Nations, but which procured for the perſons who fomented and maintained them doctors' ſquare-caps, benefices, biſhoprics and cardinals' hats. In our days, when the Potentates of Europe, illumined to the diſcernment of their pecuniary intereſts, direct their ambition toward commerce, it is not the Clergy or Nobility who involve us in national quarrels, but commercial aſſociations. How many Wars have been kindled,

kindled, and propagated to the extremities of the earth, by the European trading Companies, the East-India, the Affiento, the Molucca, the Philippine, the Guinea, the Senegal, the South-Sea, the Hudſon's-bay, &c. The laſt War which embroiled England, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, the Cape of Good Hope, the Eaſt Indies, the two Americas, and which terminated in the ruin of our finances, and bears hard to this day upon the Eſtates-General of the kingdom, originated in the Engliſh India-Company, who wanted to extort a tax upon tea from the inhabitants of Boſton. Thus the late ſtorms which deſolated the whole Globe, iſſued from a tea-warehouſe.

What renders us Europeans ſo fickle and inconſtant is the formation of aſſociations, whoſe ambition blends itſelf with that of our education. By the ſelfiſhneſs of corps Countries are ruined by referring Country excluſively to themſelves, and by depriving the People of their Natural relations. That which ſtifles the Sciences in a Country is the interpoſition of companies of Doctors between the People and light, as has happened in Spain, in Italy and among ourſelves. That which ruins Agriculture and Commerce is the intervention of monopolizing companies between the People and the crops or the manufactures. What deſtroys the Finances is the intervention of companies of Stock-Jobbers between the People and the Public Treaſury. What ruins a Monarchy is a corps of Nobility interpoſing between a People and their Prince, as in Poland. What ruins a Religion is a corps of Prieſts thruſting themſelves between the People and God, as among the Greeks of the Lower

Empire

Empire and elſewhere. Finally that which involves the Human Race in deſtruction, is when a Country itſelf intolerant, like the corps which compoſe it, interpoſes between other Countries, and attempts to appropriate to itſelf excluſively the Science, the Commerce, the Power and the Reaſon of the whole Univerſe.

It is abſolutely neceſſary therefore to unite with the intereſts of the People the intereſts of Aſſociations which ought to be only members of it, as they involve general ruin when they purſue ſeparate intereſts, and inſtead of being public vehicles transform themſelves into barriers. It is no leſs neceſſary to reform the Public Education, as corps entirely owe their ambitious ſpirit to the European mode of Education, which ſays to every man from infancy upward: "Be the firſt;" and to every corps: "Be maſter."

The means of acquiring diſtinction and Nobility being henceforward reſerved for ſuch citizens only as ſhall have deſerved well of the People, the Nobleſſe and the People will feel themſelves united by the bonds of mutual benevolence, which ought to bring all men into contact, thoſe eſpecially of the ſame Nation.

Menenius Agrippa reconciled the Roman People and their Senate, by the allegory of the members which fell into decay by refuſing to labour for the ſtomach: but what would he have ſaid, if the Roman Senate had itſelf formed a ſeparation from the People, and refuſed to have any thing in common with them? In his ingenious apologue, the Senate which governed the Empire might be compared to the *precordial* parts of the human body; but with us the

the authority being monarchical, the Nobility can in many respects be considered only as the armed hands of the Nation. The people, from whose bosom issues the soldiery, share this service with them, and by their labours, their art and industry, ought to consider themselves besides as the working hands of the body politic; they are likewise it's eyes, the voice and the head, because from them proceed the greatest part of the men of letters, of the orators and philosophers who illuminate as well as of the magistrates who govern it; in a word they constitute the body properly so called, as other bodies owe their existence wholly to it, exist not themselves but for it, and are, relatively to it, only what the members are relatively to the human body. In our monarchical State it is not the Nobility which is to be compared to the heart and the stomach of the body politic, it is Royalty which possesses this station. The judicious *La Fontaine* was abundantly sensible of this, in applying to us the apologue of *Menenius*. This is the manner in which he depicts the Royal functions and those of the People, in his Fable of the Belly and the Members.

"With Royalty my work should have commenced; "taken in a certain point of view it is typified by "Monsieur *Gaster* *: if he feels any want the whole "body has a fellow feeling. The members however "growing tired of labouring for his benefit, resolved "every one to live like a gentleman, that is in idle- "ness, pleading the example of *Gaster* himself. But "for us, said they, he must live on air: we sweat, we

* The Greek word signifying belly. The adjective gastric is derived from it; gastric moisture, that is nutricious.

"toil

" toil like beaſts of burden; and for whom? for him " only, without any profit to ourſelves. The end of " all our exertions is forſooth to find him a dinner. " Let us make holiday, it is a leſſon which he him- " ſelf has taught us. No ſooner ſaid than done: " the hands and arms ceaſe from their functions; " the legs and feet refuſe to ſtir; with one voice they " told Mr. *Gaſter* he might look out for himſelf. Of " this error however they had ſpeedily cauſe to repent; " the poor creatures fell into a ſtate of languor: no " new blood now circulated round the heart; every " member ſuffered, and loſt all ſtrength. The mu- " tineers became ſenſible that he whom they had ac- " cuſed of idleneſs, contributed more to the general " welfare than any one of them. This fiction is ap- " plicable to the Royal dignity. It receives and gives, " and the benefit is mutual. For it every one la- " bours, and every one in return derives aliment from " it. The artiſan by it draws ſubſiſtence from the " ſweat of his brow; it enriches the merchant, ſup- " ports the magiſtrate, maintains the huſbandman, " pays the ſoldier, diffuſes it's ſovereign beneficence " in a thouſand different channels, and alone pre- " ſerves the whole State in health and vigour. It " was a happy invention of *Menenius*. The Com- " monalty was on the point of coming to a rupture " with the Senate: the malcontents alleged that the " Patricians had engroſſed the whole power of the " empire, it's treaſures, honours, dignities, while the " whole burden lay on their ſhoulders, tributes, " taxes, the fatigues and dangers of war. The peo- " ple had already deſerted the city, diſpoſed to go in

" queſt of another country, when *Menenius* unfolded " to them their miſtake by the Fable of the Belly and " Members, and thereby brought them back to their " duty."

I who poſſeſs not *La Fontaine*'s talent of putting into ſimple and charming verſes the profound leſſons of politics, ſhall content myſelf with preſenting in plain proſe an Indian Fable, better adapted ſtill than the Roman Apologue to exhibit the relations which our Nobility, and even our Clergy have with the People.

THE BRANCHES AND TRUNK OF THE PALM-TREE.

The palm, loftieſt of fruit trees, formerly bare, like other trees, it's fruit on it's boughs. One day the branches, proud of their elevation and of their riches, ſaid to their trunk: " Our fruits are the delight of " the deſert, and our ever verdant foliage the glory " of it. It is by us that caravans in the plains, and " ſhips along the ſhores regulate their courſes. We " riſe to ſuch a height that the Sun illuminates us " before the dawning of Aurora, and after he is ſunk " in the ocean. We are the daughters of Heaven; " by day we are fed with it's light and by night " with it's refreſhing dews. As for you, dark child " of earth, you drink of waters under the earth, " and breathe under the ſhade which we ſupply; " your foot is for ever concealed in the ſand; your " ſtem is clothed with a coarſe bark only, and if your " head can pretend to any honour it is that of bear- " ing us aloft." The trunk replied: " Ungrateful " daughters, it is I who gave you birth, and it is from " the boſom of the ſands that my ſap nouriſhes you,

" generates

" generates your fruits to re-produce me, and exalts " you to the Heavens to preſerve them: it is my " ſtrength which ſupports, at that height, your weak- " neſs againſt the fury of the winds." Scarcely had he ſpoken, when a hurricane iſſuing from the Indian Ocean ſpread devaſtation over the country. The palm-branches are toſſed down to the ground, are toſſed upward again, are daſhed againſt each other, and ſtripped by the noiſy tempeſt of their fruits. The trunk meanwhile maintains it's ground; not one of it's roots but what attracts and ſuſtains from the boſom of the earth, the branches agitated in the higher region of the air. Tranquillity being reſtored, the branches reduced to a fruitleſs foliage, offered to their trunk to place their fruits henceforth as a common depoſit on his head, and to preſerve them to their utmoſt by covering them with their leaves. To this the palm-tree conſented, and ever ſince this agreement, the ſtately plant bears aloft on it's ſtem it's long rows of fruit up to the region of the winds, without fearing the violence of the ſtorm: it's trunk is become the ſymbol of ſtrength and it's branches that of glory and virtue.

The palm-tree is the State; it's trunk and fruits are the People and their productive labours; the hurricanes are it's enemies; the palm-branches of the State are the Nairs and the Bramins, when transformed into the friends of the People.

WISHES FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE term *Tiers Etat* (Third Eſtate) is a very ſtrange one, the appellation given in France to the People, that is to more than twenty millions of men, by the Clergy and Nobility, who taken together do not conſtitute at moſt the fortieth part of the Nation. I do not believe that ſuch a denomination exiſts in any other country of the world. What would the Roman people have ſaid, a Nation divided like ours into three orders under the Emperors, had their Senators and Knights preſumed to give them the name of Tiers-Etat? What would the People of England ſay if ſuch a definition were given of them by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the upper Houſe of Parliament? Is the French People leſs reſpectable in the eyes of the orders which they ſupport as the means of promoting national proſperity and glory?

In every country the People is all in all: but if it is conſidered as an iſolated body, relatively to the other bodies which in conjunction with it conſtitute the State, it is, as has been demonſtrated, the firſt in point of antiquity, of utility, in number and power, as the power of the other bodies emanates from them, and exiſts only for them.

It ſeems to me reaſonable therefore that the body of the People ſhould preſerve its proper name, as the bodies of the Clergy and Nobility have done, and that it ſhould be denominated the order of the People. In place of the name of Tiers-Etat might be ſubſtituted if you will that of Commons, as is the

caſe in England, and which has frequently been adopted among ourſelves. This term *commons* characterizes in particular the people of every Province of the Kingdom, in all ages denominated by the appellation of the *communes* of Dauphiné, of Brittany, of Normandy, &c. who united form the *communes* of the Kingdom. This name of Commons has never been given to any but the People, as might be proved by the authority of Writers who beſt underſtood the meaning of expreſſions, eſpecially that of *La Fontaine*. In truth, the intereſts of the People are common not only to each Province, but to the other orders of the Nation, becauſe their felicity conſtitutes the general felicity. This does not hold good as to the intereſts of the other orders, which are peculiar to themſelves. On the other hand, the name of Tiers-Etat given to the People, ſuppoſes, as *J. J. Rouſſeau* has very well remarked, that it's intereſt is only the third, though it be in it's own nature the firſt. Now as men form at the long-run their ideas, not on things, but on words, juſtice demands that the ſurname of Tiers-Etat, impoſed on the People for ſome ages paſt by the privileged bodies, becauſe it reminded them of their privileges, ſhould be replaced by that of commons, which it has at all times enjoyed, that it may remind all of the common intereſt. *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto:* Let the ſafety of the People be the ſupreme Law.

Well-meaning patriots, commiſerating the wretched condition of the country people, have propoſed to form them into a body different from thoſe of the cities; but this muſt be guarded againſt with extreme

caution. Diviſion into corps involves diviſion of intereſts. The peaſantry ought to be ſufficiently repreſented in the Provincial Aſſemblies, and in the National Aſſembly; their demands ought in theſe to have a preferable conſideration: but it appears to me extremely dangerous to make any diſtinction in the Aſſemblies between the commons of the Country and thoſe of the Cities, for their intereſts are inſeparable. The commerce of the Cities can proſper only by the labours of agriculture, and the labours of agriculture only by the commerce of the Cities.

The power of a Nation depends entirely on the union of it's parts. The higher branches of a tree may diverge, but not the fibres of it's trunk, which ought to be compacted under the ſame bark. Were it poſſible to divide the trunk of a tree into branches, an oak would be reduced to a buſh; but were all the branches of a buſh compacted into a ſingle trunk, of a buſh you might form an oak. This preſents a very lively image of what has actually taken place in ſeveral States. How many Kingdoms have been reduced to buſhes in a vaſt extent of territory, becauſe their trunk ramified only into Nobles and Prieſts! Look at Spain and Italy. How many Monarchies and Republics have riſen into oaks, cedars and palm-trees in ſmall territories, becauſe the Nobility and Clergy are conglomerated into one maſs with the People, and have but one common intereſt with them! Look at England and Holland. Call to remembrance the force of the Roman Empire, in which the Nobles knew no glory but that of the People.

The power of a Nation, I repeat it, depends entirely

tirely on the union of it's parts. The miſeries of our own People have ariſen from this, that the Clergy and Nobility have among us formed two orders ſeparated from their intereſts; thoſe miſeries never began to diminiſh till deſpotiſm, manners, and above all philoſophy, brought them to a ſtate of approximation. It is no leſs true that counter-balancing powers are as neceſſary to the harmony of a State as they are to that of Europe, but there will ever be but too many intereſts to divide men in the ſame Society, were there no other but thoſe of fortune. The corps of the Nobility and Clergy in our political order, ought to be the reverſe of what they are: inſtead of uniting together againſt the People, they ought to ſtruggle againſt each other in favour of the popular intereſt, as the Nations of Europe contend for the freedom of their commerce, of their navigation, of their fiſheries, or for any other pretext which may intereſt the natural rights of mankind: it is this right which they inceſſantly invoke. The commons of France ought to govern themſelves, at leaſt as to form, by the ſame laws which regulate the community of the Human Race.

In pointing out the means of bringing the Clergy and Nobility into contact with the People, I have likewiſe indicated thoſe of drawing the People cloſer to theſe two orders, not by the ſentiment of ambition, which is calculated only to ſeparate the members of a State, but that of virtue which unites them. Our people have a propenſity but too powerful to riſe; education and example are continually puſhing them upward. They ought to be invited neither to mount nor to

deſcend, but to keep in their place: it ſuits them neither to be a tyrant nor a ſlave; let it ſuffice them to be free. Virtue in every caſe keeps the middle ſtation; there likewiſe is to be found ſecurity, tranquillity, happineſs. I could wiſh therefore that no Burgher ſhould ever deſire to get out of the order of the People; but ſhould he feel the reſtleſs ſtimulus of glory, let him ſtill remain in his ſtation; for there is no condition of life but what preſents a career capable of gratifying even the moſt unbounded ambition.

O Plebeian, who diſcerneſt no glory comparable to that which high birth beſtows, and who bluſheſt at being a man becauſe thou art not noble, Art thou a lawyer? Be the defender of virtue and the terror of the guilty. Like another *Dupaty*, reſcue from our barbarous codes their innocent victims; declare war againſt our *Verreſes* and our *Catilines*; undertake and plead the cauſe of Nations; conſider how *Cicero* with the thunders of eloquence, protected Kings, and *Demoſthenes* made them tremble. Art thou but a ſimple tradeſman? It is Commerce which vivifies Empires; to Commerce the two wealthieſt States of Europe, England and Holland, are indebted for their power; it is by means of Commerce that their Merchants behold in their pay, not only Gentlemen innumerable, but Princes and Sovereigns. Commerce exalts even to the Throne. Call to mind thoſe ancient traders of Florence who have ſwayed the ſceptre in their own Country, and given two Queens to your's. Art thou only a wretched mariner, wandering like *Ulyſſes* from ſea to ſea, far remote from thy native

native ſhores? Thou art the agent of Nations; thou provideſt not only a ſupply for their neceſſities, but communicateſt to them what is moſt precious among mankind, next to virtue, Arts, Sciences, Knowledge. By men of your condition it was that iſlands were made known to iſlands, nations to nations, and the two worlds to each other: but for them the Globe, with it's rareſt productions, would be unknown to us. Reflect on the glory of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, to which no glory, even that of Royalty, is once to be compared, as he alone, by the diſcovery of America, has effected a change in the wants, the enjoyments, the empires, the religions, and the deſtiny of the greateſt part of the inhabitants of the Globe. Art thou, on the contrary, an artiſt continually ſedentary, as *Theſeus* in the regions below? O how many paths are opened to thee, from the boſom of repoſe, that lead to a glory ſullied by no guilt! How many of theſe are preſented to you in painting, ſculpture, engraving, muſic, the productions of which tranſport with admiration and delight! Nay how many artiſts are there, whoſe names ſhall be renowned to all generations, though their works no longer exiſt; ſo eager are men to purſue the celeſtial traces of their genius, and to pick up the minuteſt particles of gold which the brilliant current of their reputation rolls down the tide of ages! Is there a Nobleman in all Europe whoſe name is to endure, and to be celebrated, like thoſe of the *Phidiaſes* and the *Apelleſes*, who have for two thouſand years enjoyed the homage of poſterity, and who reckoned the *Alexanders* of their day in the number of their courtiers? Art thou a philoſopher

ſimply,

ſimply, to whom no one pays court? Conſider that you in your turn pay court to no one. The Nobility depend on Kings, the Philoſopher holds of God only: the Nobility live as Gentlemen, thou liveſt as a Man, which is far more dignified. But for Philoſophers, the nations, miſled by vain illuſions, would know neither the laws nor the combinations of Nature. They are the original ſources of the Arts, the Commerce and the Wealth of Nations. Call to remembrance the wonderful diſcoveries of *Galileo*, who firſt found out the gravity of the Air, and demonſtrated the motion of the Earth round the Sun; and that multitude of illuſtrious men who have enlarged the ſphere of the human mind, in Aſtronomy, Chemiſtry, Botany, &c. They are the moſt memorable epochas of ages, and their glory will laſt as long as that of Nature whoſe children they are. Art thou a man of letters? The diſtribution of glory to other men is in thy hands. Illuſtrious Authors! Like the *Venus* of *Lucretius*, without you nothing agreeable is produced in the ſphere of intelligence, and nothing is permanent in the fields of memory. Whether your attention is directed to Poetry, to Philoſophy, or to Hiſtory, you are the firmeſt ſupports of Virtue. By your means Nations unite themſelves in bonds of intereſt and of friendſhip, from one extremity of the Earth to the other, and ages paſt with ages yet to come. But for you, kings and the tribes which they governed would paſs away without leaving a trace of their exiſtence. Whatever is renowned among men owes to you it's celebrity, and your own names ſurpaſs in ſplendour the names of thoſe whom you have

have rendered illuſtrious. What glory ever equalled that of *Homer*, whoſe poëſy ſerved to regulate the ancient Republics of Greece, and whoſe genius, after a lapſe of twenty-ſix centuries, ſtill continues to preſide among us over Literature, over the fine Arts, over Theatres and over Academies.

Art thou, after all, but an obſcure peaſant doomed to the culture of the ground? O! reflect that thou exerciſeſt the moſt noble, the moſt lovely, the moſt neceſſary, the moſt ſacred of all Arts, ſeeing it is the Art of GOD himſelf. But if that poiſon of glory, inſtilled from infancy into all conditions of men among us, by the principle of emulation, is fermenting in thy veins; if the vain applauſe of men is neceſſary to thee, in the midſt of thy peaceful orchards; meditate on the endleſs ſucceſſion of woes which follow in the train of glory, the envy of the little, the jealouſy of equals, the perfidy of the great, the intolerance of corps, the neglect and indifference of Kings. Meditate on the fate of thoſe men whom I have produced as inſtances of perſons who have merited the beſt of their country and of poſterity; on the head of *Cicero*, cut off by his own client *Popinius Lena*, and nailed to that very pulpit which he had dignified by his eloquence; on *Demoſthenes*, purſued by order of the Athenians whom he had defended againſt *Philip*, as far as the Temple of *Neptune* in the Iſland of Calauria, and haſtening to ſwallow poiſon, to find in death a refuge more certain than altars could afford. Think on the poniard which ſtabbed to death one of the Medicis in that very City which they had loaded with benefits; on the

irons

irons which bound *Chriſtopher Columbus* on returning from his ſecond voyage to the New World, and which in his dying moments he ordered to be put into the tomb with him as a monument of the ingratitude of the Princes to whom he had rendered a ſervice ſo magnificent; on *Galileo* in the priſons of the inquiſition, obliged to retract on his knees the ſublime truth which he had demonſtrated; on *Homer* blind and a mendicant, ſinging from door to door his ſublime Poems, among thoſe very Greeks who were one day to trace up to them the origin of their Laws, and of their moſt illuſtrious Republics. Look at *Pouſſin* in his country France, crowned with glory all over Europe, his own country excepted, forced to ſeek in a foreign land conſideration and bread; at *Deſcartes* a fugitive in Sweden, after having illumined his Country with the firſt rays of Philoſophy; at *Fenelon* exiled into his Diocefe, for having loved GOD more than his Miniſters, and Nations more than Kings. In a word, repreſent to thyſelf that innumerable multitude of illuſtrious and unfortunate men who, torn in ſecret by the very calumnies of their own profeſſed friends, languiſhed in poverty and contempt, and without having ſo much as the conſolation to be pitied, had the mortification of beholding the honours and rewards due to themſelves, beſtowed on moſt unworthy rivals. Then thou wilt bleſs thy obſcurity which permitteth thee at leaſt to reap the fruit of thy labours with the eſteem of the vicinity; to rear a guiltleſs offspring under the ſhade of thy orchards, and to attain, in a life ſo tempeſtuous, the only portion of happineſs which Nature has allotted

to Man. While the ſtorm breaks in pieces the cedar on the ſummit of the mountain, the herbage eſcapes the fury of the winds, and flouriſhes in peace at the bottom of the valley.

WISHES FOR THE NATION.

THE Nation is formed of the harmony of the three Orders, of the Clergy, of the Nobility and of the People, under the influence of the King, who is the Moderator of it. The deputies of theſe three Orders are now met in the National Aſſembly, in the proportion nearly of 300 for the Clergy, of 300 for the Nobility, and of 600 for the People.

As the firſt two Orders have for ſeveral ages united their intereſts, they may be conſidered as forming a ſingle body which balances that of the People: from this therefore reſult two powers which re-act againſt each other, and whoſe counterpoiſe is neceſſary, as has been ſaid, to the harmony of every modern Government. The King then is enabled to hold the monarchical balance in equilibrium, by caſting his power into the popular ſcale, in caſe the Clergy and Nobility ſhould diſcover a tendency toward Ariſtocracy; or into that of the two firſt Orders, ſhould the People incline toward Democracy. On this hypotheſis, I have compared the State to a Roman balance; the two powers, to two levers of unequal magnitude; and Royalty to the moveable weight on the longer lever, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the quantity weighed.

We

We have considered the People, from superiority in point of number, as representing the longer arm of the balance, and the Clergy with the Nobility the shorter; but this small arm possesses a weight so powerful that the effect of the greater is reduced to nothing, unless the King press on that side. On the side of the Clergy and Nobility are the ecclesiastical and military dignities and benefices, the better part of the lands of the kingdom, the disposal of all employments, and even the influence of Parliaments, those ancient fathers of the people, as well as the inclinations of multitudes of plebeians, who aspire after approximation to the first by the acquisition of Nobility, or who suffer themselves to be enthralled by the hope of protection, and by the respect simply which high birth commands.

If the power of the People, whose number is at least forty times as considerable as that of the Clergy and Nobility, has been diminishing from age to age, so as to lose all it's prerogatives, and it's equilibrium against their united power, I conclude that the Deputies of the People are not sufficiently numerous in the National Assembly, in which they are only equal in number to those of the other Orders.

It is indeed computed that in the body of the Clergy, the parochial incumbents will incline towards the Deputies of the Commons, from the ties of blood; but will they not rather be disposed to incline toward their Bishops, from the ties of interest? Does not the spirit of corps generally absorb that of family? The Deputies of the Commons then have nothing to oppose to the Deputies of the two first Orders

ders, except the misery of twenty millions of men, or the despair which results from it.

They can balance the sentiment of interest in those corps only by the sentiment of the interest of the People, on which the public safety depends. Thus whether they vote as an order or individually, the struggle is unequal on their part; for they have reason to fear on the part of the other two Orders, the loss of votes from the attractions of fortune, whereas they have no hopes of gaining any but by those of virtue.

We have compared the State to a tree, of which the particular corps diverged into branches, and of which the People constituted the trunk. We have seen that the more the branches are multiplied, the more the trunk is enfeebled: but if, by a monstrosity of which Nature exhibits no example, the branches were more powerful than the trunk itself, the fall of that tree must be very easily effected.

In order to render still more sensible the harmony necessary to the different members of the State, I shall employ an image now of very ancient standing. The Nation may be represented as a ship; the People, with their labours, their arts and their commerce, is the hull of it, loaded with the naval stores, the provisions and the merchandize, of which the cargo constitutes the object of the voyage. To the hull must be proportioned all the other parts of the ship. The Nobility may be considered as the batteries which defend it; the Clergy as the masts and sails which put and keep it in motion; the opinions political, moral and religious as the winds which drive it, sometimes

ſometimes to the right, ſometimes to the left; Adminiſtration as the cordage and pullies which vary the ſeveral manœuvres; Royalty as the helm which regulates it's courſe, and the King as the pilot. To the intereſts of the People therefore the King is bound principally to attend, as a pilot pays his chief attention to the hull of the veſſel; for if the upper parts are overloaded by maſts too lofty, or by an artillery too ponderous, the veſſel runs a riſk of being overſet. She is equally in danger of ſinking, if the worms ſilently corrode her bottom, and open a paſſage for admitting the water.

In following out this allegory, the power of the People ought to exceed in ponderoſity that of the other two bodies, that the veſſel of the State may be always brought back to it's equilibrium. Now it happens with the lapſe of time in a ſtate, as in the courſe of a voyage, in a veſſel whoſe hull becomes lighter and lighter from the conſumption of proviſions and ſhip's-ſtores, which are removed from the lower parts of the ſhip to the higher. Thus the People has a conſtant tendency to riſe towards the clerical and noble orders, by the attraction of benefices and patents of Nobility. The King therefore ought to oppoſe the power of the helm, to the united preponderating force of the Clergy and Nobility, in favour of that of the People, which needs the counterpoiſe of the Royal power to keep the balance even. Hence reſults the neceſſity then of increaſing the number of the Deputies of the Commons in the National Aſſembly, in order to give the King himſelf the facility of exerciſing his proper power, which conſiſts entirely

entirely in maintaining the political equilibrium. It is the preponderancy in number of the Repreſentatives of the Commons over thoſe of the Upper Houſe, which ſecures in England the Conſtitution of the State. This is the reaſon that in their political contentions, it is very eaſily reſtored to an equilibrium, becauſe the intereſt of the People, which is the national intereſt, ever predominates there from the ſuperior number of their Repreſentatives. We may on the contrary compare ſeveral States of Europe, ſingularly remarkable for their feebleneſs, becauſe the Clergy, or the Nobility, or both in concert, domineer without the concurrence of the People, to veſſels overſet, from being top-heavy, which are totally incapable of manœuvring, but ſtill keep floating, becauſe the ſurrounding ſea is in a ſtate of tranquillity, but which, the moment the ſtorm ariſes, are in danger of going to the bottom.

In the mean time, till experience ſhall have inſtructed us in what proportion the Clergy and Nobleſſe on one part, and the Commons on the other, ought to have Deputies in the National Aſſembly, to preſerve in it an equilibrium of power, it ſeems to me neceſſary to regulate it conformably to certain principles, without which it is impoſſible to frame any ſage project, ſtill more to execute it.

1. The firſt principle which ought to be laid down is, That no propoſition be there received or rejected by acclamation, but that at leaſt one day be allowed for every Deputy to deliberate upon it at leiſure; his opinion ought to be delivered in writing, that he may

be enabled to preſerve, by examination, the liberty of his judgment, and by ſcrutiny, that of his ſuffrage.

One of the irregularities which have given me moſt offence in the conduct of our Aſſemblies, even the graveſt, is the haſtineſs of their judgments, and the tardineſs of my own. I have never heard any one queſtion propoſed in them, but it has been driven to a deciſion before I had time ſo much as to look into it. Nor am I the only one who has been placed in this aukward ſituation. A celebrated Navigator, who made the tour of the Globe, found himſelf at firſt very much embarraſſed on his return to Paris. His compatriots and friends, men of intelligence, queſtioned him all in a breath about what he had ſeen in foreign countries. He was at a loſs how to ſatisfy them; but ſoon felt himſelf very much at his eaſe, for he perceived that the queſtioners on his right hand immediately replied, and definitively, to thoſe on his left, and thoſe on his left to the enquiries of thoſe on his right, ſo that all he had to do was to hold his tongue. For my own part, I acknowledge, I am incapable of deciding at the moment whether I ſhould accept a ſimple invitation to dine in the country, of which I am very fond, till I have turned it over in my mind for ſome time, and by myſelf. I muſt firſt conſider, not what kind of weather it is likely to be, but the character of the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe, that of their friends, of their couſins, of their wits, of their hangers-on, of their interlopers; leſt inſtead of going to a party of pleaſure, I ſhould fall into a party of an oppoſite deſcription, as has frequently happened

to

to me, for want of having exercised a little reflection.

To return to our public Assemblies, What member of them would choose to decide instantly on a proposition which affected his private fortune? How much more powerful reasons has he to act with deliberation when the fortune of the Nation is at stake? It is fit then that each of them should have an opportunity of examining at leisure what he is going to determine for the whole community, and irrevocably; it is farther proper that he should deliver his decision not *viva voce*, after the French manner, but in writing, after the manner of the Romans. Nothing can be more inconsistent with the gravity and wisdom of a deliberative Assembly than acclamation. If the person who brings forward a motion has a commanding voice, a good stock of impudence and partisans to support him, as all the ambitious have, he carries the multitude along with him, who are seldom much disposed to resist those who make a great deal of noise; he will on the spur of the moment induce a whole Assembly to adopt projects the most dangerous, and immediately bind it down by the obligation of an oath, and thereby deprive it even of the miserable resource of repentance. A man of sense who foresees the consequences will not have the courage singly to brave a powerful party, for fear of creating to himself personal enemies, or he will himself require time to digest his own opinion in private; or he may be deficient in facility of expression to deliver it in public. Besides where are the means of leading persons to form a judgment of their own who never exist but in

the opinion of another, and of engaging a multitude to retract a measure of which they have expressed their approbation by an applause so boisterous? Deliberate judgments formed in retirement, and declared in writing, are liable to none of these inconveniences; and if proofs of this were requisite, we should find them in the Assemblies of all intelligent Nations, ancient and modern.

In the National Assembly, Ought the votes to be collected by orders or individually? This question, which has been the subject of much discussion, seems to me to carry it's solution in it's bosom. As every particular Deputy is a member of the National Assembly, he ought to lose sight in it of the interest of his order, and devote his whole attention to that of the Nation. He ought therefore to vote as an individual, like a citizen who has no other object but the public interest, and not by his order, because every order has a particular interest. Certain patriots have proposed to admit voting by poll when the question concerned the national interest, and by orders when the particular interest of an order was under discussion. But when a motion which particularly interests any order is introduced into the National Assembly, it must be because it is likewise interesting to the Nation at large, otherwise it would not be proposed there. Do not the greatest part of public abuses affect some one order in particular? To permit them to be decided by orders, of which each has it's *veto*, is the same thing as leaving them undecided.

Voting by poll has likewise it's inconveniences; but,

but, I repeat it, they are ſuch only to the People; for, in order to the maintenance of their equilibrium, they muſt reckon on the virtue of their Deputies, expoſed as it is to very dangerous ſeduction, and on the ſtill greater virtue of the Deputies of the other two orders, of whom the Nation demands a ſacrifice of many privileges no leſs ſeductive.

Other political Writers have propoſed to ſubmit certain difficult caſes to the judgment of a Committee formed of the members of all the three orders. When Rome and Alba wiſhed finally to terminate their contentions, Rome committed the management of her cauſe to the three Horatii, and Alba of her's to the three Curiatii: but I am perſuaded that had the deciſion been left to the pen, as in many other caſes, it would never have come to a termination. The ſword cut it ſhort, becauſe the contending parties were two hoſtile cities: but the corps which compoſe our Aſſembly are members of the ſame Nation; they ought to have a conſtant tendency to unite, and never to fight. Many Deputies of the Clergy and Nobility have exhibited, by ſubmitting to ſacrifices of every kind, the moſt reſpectable proofs of generoſity and patriotiſm. In order to heighten the ſentiment in all the three orders, and to eſtabliſh mutual confidence among them, I could wiſh that any one order, in embarraſſing caſes, inſtead of appointing champions of their intereſts from among their own members, would chooſe them on the contrary from among thoſe whom they eſteemed perſons of the greateſt worth in the oppoſite order.

By ſimply changing the intereſts of the parties, very difficult caſes have ſometimes been reſolved. Let us recollect, as *La Fontaine* has given it, the teſtament explained by *Eſop*.

" A certain man had three daughters, all of them " of a character extremely different, a tippler, a co- " quet, a complete miſer. By his will, conformably " to the municipal laws, he left them his whole " property in equal proportions, giving ſo much to " their mother, payable when each of the daughters " ſhould no longer poſſeſs the portion allotted to " her."

The Court of Areopagus at firſt divided the inheritance agreeably to their ſeveral inclinations.

" Three lots were made up: the one containing " drinking country-ſeats, buffets well ſtored under " verdant arbours, plate, bottle-cifterns, wine-flagons, " cellars filled with malmſey, all the apparatus of the " kitchen, in a word, the whole provocatives to ſen- " ſual conviviality. The ſecond contained all the " ſupplies of coquetry, the town-houſe elegantly " furniſhed, valets de chambre, hair-dreſſers, em- " broiderers, ſilks and ſattins, jewels; and the third " lot comprehended the farms, the ſtock, the cattle, " the arable, the paſture, the men and the beaſts of " agriculture."

But on this allotment, each daughter ſatisfied with the portion aſſigned her, the old lady ſoon found herſelf penny-leſs; becauſe ſhe was entitled to nothing till each of her daughters, " ſhould no longer poſſeſs " the portion allotted to her."

Eſop diſtributed their lots very differently from the deciſion

decision of the Areopagites. He gave, "To the "coquet, the instruments of loose and luxurious "dissipation; to the tippling lady the farm-yard, and "the economist got the frippery." Upon this each of the young ladies, dissatisfied with her legacy, presently disposed of it, and the mother got her dowery. The three fifters, without making invidious applications, are our three orders; and their mother is the Nation, who reclaims her dower out of their part of the inheritance when they have disposed of it.

If a permutation of interest simply may sometimes accommodate matters, I imagine that a permutation of the interested might likewise bring the parties to agree, which is still more difficult. Of this at least I am certain, that every thing is to be obtained of a Frenchman by applying to the sentiment of honour. The Clergy and Nobility have sacrificed their pecuniary privileges, and have resisted the deprivation of their honorary rights only. But if some of those rights lay heavy on agriculture, and if the people, in order to oppose to them those of humanity, were to choose their advocates from among the most respectable of the Clergy and Nobility, I have no doubt that they would be abolished. On the other hand, I am equally convinced that if the Clergy and Nobility were to select from the House of Commons the champions of the honorary rights granted to the dignity of their places, or to the virtue of their ancestors, those rights would be preserved to them; and that if they were found to be incompatible with the dignity of man and with national liberty, they would receive a magnificent indemnification, such as by those of

adoptions, which would render them in future the alone fources of hereditary Nobility: befides could twenty millions of men poffibly be deftitute of the means of conferring honour upon their Nobles, when thofe Nobles made a voluntary approximation towards them?

I fhould imagine therefore that a committee of confidence, formed reciprocally of arbiters felected in each order, by the order oppofite to it in point of intereft, would fubftitute in place of political intrigue, which embarraffes the fimpleft affairs, the frankneſs of generofity, which fimplifies the moſt embarraffed. Would the orders of our National Aſſembly have leſs magnanimity than the ancient Gauls our anceſtors, and would they have leſs confidence in each other than foreign Nations have mutually expreſſed? When *Annibal* paſſed through the Gauls, the People of that Country ſtipulated with him, that if they ſhould have any ground of complaint againſt the Carthaginians, they would refer it to the deciſion of the Carthaginian Chiefs; but that if the Carthaginians in their turn ſhould have reaſon to complain of the Gauls, the women of the People laſt named ſhould decide on the juſtneſs of ſuch complaints. Theſe two Nations muſt have lived in perfectly good underſtanding with each other, thus mutually to confide in the principle of generofity, and to chooſe the umpires of their differences in that which was moſt worthy of reſpect and confidence in the oppoſite party. There is reaſon to believe that in certain caſes reference might have been ſafely made to the juſtice of *Annibal* himſelf, equally intereſted to give ſatisfaction

satisfaction to both parties; and who, among other great talents, had the art of conciliating the affections of the various nations of which his army was composed. Wherefore should not the three orders of our Nation repose equal confidence in the equity of the King, who is their natural Mediator, and who has so often sacrificed his personal to the public interest?

2. The second principle on which the future Constitution of the State ought to rest, is the permanency of the National Assembly, and the periodical rotation of it's Members.

By means of the permanency of the Assembly, there will be a unity of all the parts of the Administration already constituted in a great part of the Kingdom, in Assemblies of Villages, of Cities and of Provinces. The National Assembly which forms their centre, ought to place continually under the King's eye the men and the affairs of the Nation, and establish between him and the lowest of his subjects a perpetual communication of intelligence, of services, of protection and of support, which it shall not be in the power of any intermediate body to intercept; which would not fail to happen, were the National Assembly only periodical, as some had proposed.

On the other hand, by means of the periodical rotation of the Members of the National Assembly, no one of them will be allowed time to identify himself with his place, and to become an agent of despotism, by suffering himself to be corrupted by ministerial influence, or that of aristocracy, still more dangerous than despotism.

It appears to me that the Members of this Assembly

bly ought to be renewed every three, or every five years, as may be found moſt expedient, but not all at once, as in England, but only the third or fifth part every year, that the major part of it's members may be always in the habit of tranſacting public buſineſs.

It will never be in the power of the National Aſſembly to encroach on the prerogatives of the Crown, becauſe it's Members will be undergoing an inceſſant change, becauſe it will be compoſed of two powers which balance each other under the influence of Royalty, and becauſe it will be a fundamental law of the future Conſtitution, as it is of the Monarchy, that no propoſition ſhall receive under it the force of a law, till ſanctioned by the King.

3. A third principle eſſential to the future Conſtitution of France, and to the unity of it's parts, is the eſtabliſhment of Aſſemblies at once permanent and periodical in all the Villages, Cities and Provinces of the Kingdom, after the model of the National Aſſembly, with which they ought to correſpond.

Such Aſſemblies ought to be formed in every quarter of Paris, and from them ſhould be ſelected Deputies to compoſe the Municipal Aſſembly, that this immenſe City with it's quarters, may be aſſimilated to a Province with it's diſtricts.

Theſe diſpoſitions ought to be extended to our Colonies; but if it be a matter of juſtice to admit their white Deputies into the National Aſſembly, it is no leſs ſo to call into it their black Deputies, in the claſs of free blacks; as being employed in the culture and the defence of our colonies, they are not leſs intereſted

tereſted than other citizens to deliberate on the intereſts of the Mother Country. Farther, the introduction of free blacks into the National Aſſembly will pave the way for the abolition of Slavery in the Colonies, juſt as the admiſſion of freemen into our ancient States-General prepared the way for the abolition of feudal ſervitude which had invaded a part of the Gauls. Finally, thoſe men born under another ſky, repelled by their own country, and partaking in the bleſſings of ours, will add to the majeſty of an Aſſembly which takes all the unfortunate under it's protection, and they will concur perhaps in ſecuring one day to it's humanity, a glory which conquerors never derived from their victories, that of ſeeing in it's boſom the Deputies of all Nations voting the proſperity of France.

As to the qualifications neceſſary to an Elector in the Rural, Municipal, Provincial and National Aſſemblies, it appears to me eſſential to poſſeſs a portion of arable land, as in England, in order to put reſpect on agriculture and to prevent the plurality of Electors from being compoſed of indigent perſons, whom neceſſity might compel to ſell their votes; but on the other hand, I deem it uſeleſs and unjuſt to require, as in England, a territorial property ſtill greater of each Deputy of the National Aſſembly; for it is certain that the Electors being above abſolute want, will never be expoſed to the danger of corruption by Deputies without fortune, and that Deputies without fortune, choſen by Electors whom they had not the means of corrupting, muſt poſſeſs perſonal qualifications highly reſpectable. It is poſſible without doubt,

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in that class of men of all descriptions so very numerous, who have no property, there may be found citizens superiorly enlightened and truly patriotic, whose very poverty is to be ascribed to their virtues; a *Socrates*, an *Aristides*, an *Epaminondas*, a *Belisarius*, a *John James Rousseau*.

The Deputies ought to have all their expenses honourably defrayed. On this subject I have heard some persons maintain a false point of honour, under a pretence that the Deputies of their Country ought to serve her gratuitously. But as all those who serve her in corps which are not always engaged in the public service, receive payment from her, from Cardinals down to Vergers, from Marechals of France down to Sentinels, and from the Chancellor down to the petty Clerk, wherefore should it not be so likewise with the Members of the National Assembly? It is as just that those who directly serve their Country should live by their Country, as that those who minister at the Altar should live by the Altar. It is besides the only means of opening the doors of those Assemblies to men of merit who happen to be poor. Every Deputy of the National Assembly ought therefore to receive an honourable maintenance, not from the Order or the Province which he represents, but from the Nation for the express purpose of impressing upon his mind that he has ceased to be the Deputy of his Order and of his Province, that he may become a Member of the Nation. This maintenance ought to be equal for the Deputies of all the Orders, because their services are equal; and however slender it may be, it ought to be considered by each of them

as equally honourable with that which Kings grant to their Ambaſſadors, as they receive it from the People whoſe penſioners Kings themſelves are.

Theſe general diſpoſitions being made or rectified on the beſt plans, there is no ſpecies of abuſe but what, in time, the permanent and periodical Aſſemblies of Villages, of Cities and of Provinces, might reform, and no ſpecies of good but what they might effect. Moſt certainly in places where they are eſtabliſhed, it has not been perceived that they have trenched upon the Liberty of the People, or on the Royal Authority, both of which they elucidate and ſupport: it will apply equally to the National Aſſembly, which ought to be their centre.

This being laid down, the Aſſembly thus conſtituted under the eyes of the King, as the Nation itſelf which it repreſents, ever permanent, and inceſſantly renovating itſelf, will devote it's attention to the abolition of evil, prior to making efforts to do good.

It will begin with aboliſhing every thing that bears hard on agriculture, that nurſing mother of the State, ſuch as captainries, game-laws, gabels, corvées, militia-draughts, and tollage; thoſe burdens which oppreſs commerce, ſuch as exceſſive and diſproportionate duties, tolls on the navigation of rivers, the tax on wines on entering into cities, which ought to pay in proportion to their value; thoſe which diſtreſs the body politic, ſuch as the ſale of employments, reverſions, unmerited penſions; finally, thoſe which attack the liberty of Man in his opinions, in his conſcience, and even in his perſon, ſuch as the ſervitude of

of the inhabitants of Mount Jura, and the ſlavery of the Negroes in our Colonies. It will proceed to reform our Code of Civil and Criminal Juſtice; our mode of Education, without which no plan of Legiſlation can be laſting; and after having remedied the evils in which our poſterity is intereſted, the Aſſembly will extend it's views to thoſe which reſpect other Nations, and communicate themſelves to us by means of the correſpondencies which Nature has eſtabliſhed among all the families of the human race.

The provincial reports ſhew that moſt of theſe objects have actually been taken into conſideration; but I queſtion whether the National Aſſembly, with whom the work of reformation lies, have the power of providing for them by preciſe and invariable Laws; for, as has been ſaid, men can lay hold only of harmonies, that is, of thoſe truths which are always between two contraries: hence it comes to paſs that the Laws in every Country are variable, and change with manners and the lapſe of time. From theſe muſt be excepted the Laws of Nature, which never vary, becauſe they are the baſes of the general harmony, which alone is ſtedfaſt. By theſe all the others muſt be regulated. It belongs therefore to the wiſdom of the National Aſſembly to lay hold, on every point of Legiſlation, of a harmonic *medium*, and to ſupport it; this renders the permanency of the Aſſembly a matter of neceſſity, as has been oftener than once repeated. As to what remains, many excellent memorials having appeared on moſt of thoſe ſubjects, I ſhall only ſuggeſt a few conſiderations which may perhaps have been

been overlooked, but which I deem to be of high importance, becauſe they affect the People, whoſe intereſt is the intereſt of the Nation.

The King has already declared his paternal intentions on the ſubject of his captainries, which deſtroy, for the ſake of the game, the crops of the peaſants, and ſend to the galleys the peaſants who deſtroy the game. We may flatter ourſelves with the hope that, after his Majeſty's example, the great Lords will of themſelves regulate and reſtrict their rights of chaſe, which are likewiſe petty captainries.

The gabel, that other nurſery of galley-birds, has likewiſe attracted the paternal regards of the King: there is reaſon to hope that this impoſt will be done away; that the farms of our plains will enjoy in abundance the uſe of ſalt, an article ſo neceſſary to the cattle; and that the ſea, the fourth element, will be rendered as free to Frenchmen, as the other three elements of the globe.

May his Majeſty, to draw down the benediction of Heaven on the operations of his National Aſſembly, liberate from priſons and from galleys thoſe of his ſubjects who are the victims of diſaſtrous Laws, of captainries and of gabels!

The peaſantry ought farther to be relieved of the burden of ſervice on the highways, or of the money which they pay to redeem it, by levying a contribution for their repair, not only on the abbeys and caſtles of their diſtricts, but on the trading towns to whoſe benefit the great roads are principally ſubſervient, as well as on travellers who injure them by riding on horſeback or in carriages. There ought to

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be eſtabliſhed, for this purpoſe, from poſt to poſt, gates and tolls, as in England, in Holland, and over a conſiderable part of Germany.

As to the Militia, the Nobility ſeems to be afraid of bearing the burden of it, whether in perſon, or in money: the defence of the State however appears to devolve principally on them, ſeeing that this order has hitherto been altogether military. On this conſideration alone were their titles in former times conferred, with their fiefs and their prerogatives, which they contrived to render hereditary. They have reſerved the benefit to themſelves, and left the burden of it on the People. But my wiſh being to eaſe the peaſantry of the heavy load of the Militia Service, and, which is worſe to Frenchmen, from it's ſtigma, for it is become a mark of villanage, it muſt undoubtedly be my deſire to have it laid on the Nobility. Far from wiſhing to degrade Nobility to a ſtate of villanage, my object is to raiſe meanneſs of birth into Nobility, or rather my object is to ennoble virtue, and that vice only ſhould be deemed a degradation. We ought therefore to reſcue from every diſhonourable ſtain agriculture, the moſt noble of all arts, and the only one all whoſe functions are compatible with virtue.

It is likewiſe devoutly to be wiſhed that the induſtry, the commerce, the urbanity and the opulence of our cities, might be diffuſed over our plains, the inhabitants of which are ſo poor and ſo miſerable. It is a certain fact that the greater part of our burghers concentrate themſelves in cities merely to evade the payment of the ruſtic impoſt of tollage, and to prevent

vent the draughting of their children into the Militia. On the other hand, though our peaſants, who have not the ſame ideas of honour reſpecting the moral nature of impoſitions, are ſenſible only to their fiſcal preſſure, nothing has hitherto been able to reconcile them to the ſcourge of the Militia, becauſe it attacks the ſweeteſt feelings of Nature, by depriving them of their children. It is the terror of the Militia which induces them to ſend off their children into the Cities, preferring to make lackeys of them rather than ſoldiers. From the tollage therefore, and the Militia-draughts, this evil reſults, that the Country is depopulated, and our Cities overſtocked with inhabitants. As the fiſcal impoſt of tollage will be ſupplied by a territorial aſſeſſment, to be levied equally on proprietors of every rank, here will be at once one great obſtacle removed out of the way of agriculture. As to the perſonal impoſt of the Militia, it does not appear ſo eaſy to find a ſubſtitute. It ſeems very ſtrange that with us it ſhould be eſteemed an honour to ſerve the King in a military capacity, and a ſpecies of diſgrace to be draughted into the Militia. I perceive two reaſons for this contradiction: the firſt is that the Militia Service is impoſed by force; the ſecond, as I have already ſuggeſted, becauſe it is a proof of villanage, for perſons of birth are not draughted into it. The former of theſe reaſons operates moſt powerfully on freemen; the ſecond is no leſs forcible with trades people, whoſe children are trained to ambition by the public education; thus the Militia is not leſs contrary to national prejudices, than to the ſentiments of Nature.

The fear of the Militia is likewiſe one of the great reaſons which render it an object of averſion to our young peaſantry. The human heart is ſo jealous of it's liberty, that though the rank of Officer be honourable, and the pay liberal, I am convinced that not a ſingle man of family would ſubmit to accept it, were it to be forced upon him. Keep the gate of a public garden continually open, and very few will find themſelves diſpoſed to exerciſe the privilege of walking in it: place ſoldiers at the entry to force paſſengers in, and every body will flee far from it: keep it cloſe locked, barred and bolted, with a guard to keep the curious at a diſtance, and every one will make an effort to get in, and eagerly produce his ticket of admiſſion.

In order to infuſe into our village young men a taſte for the ſervice, I would begin with forbidding it to them. So far from making the condition of a militia-man a ſubject of terror, of ſhame, and ſometimes of puniſhment, I would make it one of hope, of honour and of reward. I would begin with inſtructing our young ruſtics, that it is only on the courage of it's moſt virtuous ſubjects, that our Country reſts it's defence, and I would allow only to the moſt reſpectable among them the privilege of handling arms on holidays, of ſhooting at a mark, of learning the military exerciſe, and the like. We ſhould then ſpeedily perceive among them as much zeal to get into the Militia, as they now diſcover reluctance. Should war take place, they would always be ready to march, not under the command of our ſimple Country Gentlemen, or of our purſe-proud

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City Burgeſſes, like our Provincial Militias, but under that of Officers grown gray in the ſervice, who would find in ſuch employment a retreat more agreeable than the Hôtel des Invalides.

It would be neceſſary likewiſe to ameliorate the condition of our ſoldiery, whoſe pay is only five ſols (2½d) a day. In the time of *Henry* IV. it was likewiſe five ſols; but the five ſols of that period amount to more than twenty ſols of to-day, the price of proviſions being taken into the account. All that is requiſite to have as many men as you pleaſe is to increaſe the pay of our ſoldiery, as in the caſe of every other profeſſion. This increaſe of pay might be granted them, by employing them in the labours of the high-ways, of the ſea-ports, of the public monuments, &c. juſt as the Roman ſoldiers were employed. On the other hand, the military funds will find a pecuniary increaſe produced by the impoſts on the high-roads; by a part of the ſums expended on the Royal edifices, by the rents of fiefs both noble and eccleſiaſtic, formerly burthened with military ſervice, by contributions to be ſtill furniſhed by the Corporations of Cities, in a word by ſavings to be made on the penſions by far too numerous and too conſiderable of the ſtaff of the Army. Theſe reſources ſeem to me ſufficient for the maintenance, and to keep alive the emulation, of our ſoldiers, eſpecially if they have the farther encouragement, as retreats and expectancies, of becoming city-guards, high way patroles, not to mention a great number of petty civil employments, as in Pruſſia; and if there be preſented to them in the ſervice itſelf, a clear road to the attainment of every

military rank, as is the caſe in all the countries of the World.

Military ſervitude being removed from the necks of our ruſtics, the rivers and ſea-ports muſt be purged of nautic bondage. No ſeaman ſhould be forced to ſerve on board his Majeſty's ſhips of war, though the proviſion made for mariners in the Navy is more liberal than that of our ſoldiery. We muſt take care how we imitate the Engliſh, who, in order to obtain ſeamen to man the Navy in time of war, preſs them into the ſervice, a practice ſtill more unjuſt than that of our Militia-draughts. How comes it that our merchant ſhips find more hands than they have occaſion for? It is becauſe they give good pay. Wherefore then ſhould the State be leſs equitable towards ſeamen than merchants are? It poſſeſſes means incomparably more abundant. It may increaſe the revenue of the Marine, by employing in time of peace both it's ſhips and men in the carrying trade, and in a variety of nautical ſervices: it can hold out to the ſeamen retreats innumerable in our arſenals, in our ports, on our rivers, and even in our Colonies.

Every Frenchman ought to have beſides the hope of riſing, by merit, to the very higheſt rank in the line of his profeſſion, without birth, without money and without intrigue. To this liberty, and to thoſe proſpects it is that France owed her greatneſs under deſpotiſm itſelf, and particularly under that of *Louis* XIV. the moſt abſolute of all our deſpots. It is obſervable that ſince the days of this Prince, talents have made a leſs ſhining figure in France, precisely in the parts of Adminiſtration the corps of which have become

become ariſtocratic. It is infinitely better aſſuredly that the State ſhould be honoured, enriched, ſaved by the ſon of a peaſant, than diſgraced, impoveriſhed, ruined by the ſon of a Prince. Thus, as from what the paſt has produced, a man in the ranks ſhall have it in his power to become Mareſchal of France; a common Sailor, Commodore, and even Admiral; a private Tutor in a College, Grand Almoner; an Advocate, Chancellor: that we may ſee revived among us the *Fabers*, the *John Barts*, the *Amiots*, the *l'Hopitals* of other times. Rome was indebted, at all periods, for her unity, her power and her duration, only to her granting to all her Citizens the capability of riſing to every thing. Modern Rome, as ancient Rome, has held out to all dignities, triumphs, empire, nay deification itſelf.

The civil liberty of riſing in France to her higheſt employments, ought therefore to be extended to all her Citizens, becauſe it is a Frenchman's right. As to individual or perſonal Liberty, it appertains to natural right; every Frenchman has the right of quitting his City, his Province, and the Kingdom, juſt as he goes when he pleaſes out of his own houſe. This liberty can be reſtrained by paſſports only in times of trouble. It is the ſafety of the People which ought to be the rule of the exceptions made, as it ought to be that of every political law whatever.

Liberty of thought has been a ſubject of much diſcuſſion. It is ſelf-evident that no Government can deprive any perſon of it. I may be, in my own mind, as republican as a Spartan at Conſtantinople, or a Jew at Goa. Conſcience is accountable to GOD only:

it is a ſtate out of the juriſdiction of every tyrant. It is penetrable by perſuaſion alone and not by force. It is a flower which expands to the rays of the Sun, but which ſhuts itſelf againſt the ſtormy blaſt. Thus paſſive liberty of thought is a right derived from Nature. As to active Liberty, or that of publiſhing a man's thoughts, it is reduced to liberty of ſpeech; now liberty of ſpeech ought to be regulated in a State, as the liberty of action. Moſt certainly permiſſion cannot be given to any perſon to act in a manner that is injurious to ſociety, or to it's members, neither therefore ought it to be allowed to publiſh thoughts which have this tendency. I am even of opinion that the National Aſſembly ought to enact laws more rigorous than any yet exiſting, againſt calumniators, the moſt deteſtable of all mankind, as the miſchief done by their words is greater and more laſting than that which highwaymen commit by their actions. The liberty of publiſhing one's thoughts, or the Liberty of the Preſs, ought therefore to be regulated by the liberty of acting, and as this laſt ought not to be ſubjected to any conſtraint when the public happineſs is concerned, public good ought to be the rule of the Liberty of the Preſs.

Religious liberty, or liberty of conſcience properly ſo called, is, like liberty of thought, not only a branch of natural right, but of the Law of Nations: it flows from that maxim of univerſal juſtice: "Do not to "another what you would not wiſh done to yourſelf." Now as we demand in foreign Countries the liberty of exerciſing our Religion, we ought to grant ſtrangers, in our turn, the ſame liberty in our Country. Moſt

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of the Nations of Asia grant this to men of every description, with even the liberty of preaching in their own way. Without this mutual toleration there could be no communication of intelligence, nor even of commerce, among mankind. All nations of men would be sequestrated from each other as the Japanese are from Europeans. If by means of intolerance the door is shut in States against error, it is likewise shut against truth; the Nation is deprived of the natural right of which our ancestors availed themselves, when they freely received the Religion which we profess, and they besides with-hold the liberty of diffusing it among other Nations to whom we do not grant reciprocal rights. In order to entitle Europeans to arrogate to themselves the prerogative of sending Missionaries to Japan, the Japanese should likewise have perfect liberty to send Missionaries to Europe. Nevertheless, as the glory of GOD and the good of Mankind ought to be the basis of all Legislation, it is proper not to tolerate superstitious Religions, which subject Man to Man, and not Man to GOD, or such as are themselves intolerant, which disturb the communication between Man and Man, which damn each other, without any mutual knowledge of what they are, which teach them to torment their fellow-creatures, or themselves, in the view of pleasing GOD, who is notwithstanding the father and the friend of Mankind.

As it is not reasonable that the Frenchman who wishes himself to be free in France should be a tyrant in other parts of the World, it is necessary to abolish the slavery of the Negroes, in our African

and American Colonies; here is committed not only the intereſt of the Nation, but that of the Human Race. Maladies phyſical and moral without number flow from this violation of the Law of Nature. To ſay nothing of the wars originating in the Slave-Trade, and which, like all thoſe of Europe, extend to the extremities of the Earth, the phyſical maladies of the climate of Negroes, ſuch as the fevers on the Guinea-coaſt, have carried off multitudes of our ſeamen and ſoldiers: others, ſuch as the venereal, have become naturalized in our Colonies. But moral maladies are more dangerous, more durable, and more expanſive.

It were poſſible to prove that moſt of the opinions which at different times have embroiled Europe, are an importation from diſtant Countries. Janſeniſm, for example, appears to have been introduced from the Eaſt by the Croiſades, together with the Plague and the Leproſy: we find at leaſt the maxims of Janſeniſm in the Mahometan Theologians quoted by *Chardin*. The Plague and the Leproſy ſubſiſt no longer among us, but Janſeniſm maintains it's ground, and is making way, it is ſaid, even in Spain. It cannot be doubted that our opinions in their turn may have troubled the repoſe of other Nations, witneſs our religious quarrels, which have put the people of China on their guard againſt us, and have procured our expulſion from Japan. The Inquiſition, which commenced at Rome, in 1204, during the firſt Croiſades, ſpread at firſt over part of Italy, and thence over Spain and Portugal; it laid waſte, by the general inter-communication with theſe Nations, a part

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of the Coaſts of Aſia and Africa, and more than the half of America. In 1566, it conſtrained the Dutch to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke. About the ſame time nearly, it obliged the Nations of the North of Europe to ſeparate from the Church of Rome; and thoſe to the South who remained Catholics, to oppoſe the moſt powerful barriers to it; afterwards, like a ferocious wild beaſt, turning upon it's keepers for want of other prey, it ceaſed not to diffuſe terror over the countries which had given it birth; it being the will of GOD, by an act of his univerſal juſtice, that intolerant Nations ſhould find their puniſhment in the very tribunals of their intolerance.

The ſlavery of the Negroes, which we have eſtabliſhed in our Colonies, in imitation of the Portugueze and Spaniards, has produced re-actions nearly ſimilar; for the inhabitants of the Colonies forming now a-days, by means of their wealth, alliances with our high Nobility, accuſtom them inſenſibly to conſider the white people who nouriſh them in France, as deſtined to ſlavery, as well as the blacks who cultivate their poſſeſſions in America. It is to the influence of this tyrannical ſpirit, which has infected even our Adminiſtration, that we are to impute the ſtrange ordonnance of the War Department already quoted, by which it was ſome years ago declared, that no perſon under the rank of Nobility could ſerve his Majeſty in the rank of an officer in the army; an ordonnance highly injurious to the French Nation, and of which I do not believe there is an example to be found in any Nation on the face of the Earth, and at no period of the Hiſtory of our Monarchy

Monarchy previous to that of the eſtabliſhment of ſlavery in the Colonies. The motive indeed is excuſable, and I have made the apology, namely, the neceſſity of reſerving honourable employments for poor men of family: but the Nobility cannot be honoured when the People is debaſed; for the higheſt degree of diſtinction to which Nobility itſelf can riſe is to be like that of ancient Rome, at the head of a diſtinguiſhed People.

Regulations ſimilar to that of the War Department have inſinuated themſelves into every other corps. The Clergy muſt have no Biſhops but ſuch as are of noble extraction; they have forgotten that the Apoſtles were ſimple fiſhermen; What do I ſay? The greateſt part of our Eccleſiaſtics, though of ignoble birth, pay little reſpect to their Chiefs, unleſs they are actually men of family. For ſome years paſt, the Parliaments make a point of having ſeveral degrees of Nobility as a qualification for being counſellor of the firſt Bench, and thus detach their intereſts from thoſe of the People, whoſe children they are by birth, and whoſe fathers they ought to be by their functions. The ſame thing takes place in our municipal, financial and trading companies, who reſerve their poſts of honour for the Nobility. In a word, down to our corps of literati, men of ſcience and artiſts, they elect, when they can, their Chiefs from the body of the Nobility, ſometimes men wholly illiterate, though theſe bodies, being profeſſedly Republics, ought to regulate their places of diſtinction by no ſtandard but that of merit. *Louis* XIV. did not think in this manner, when a Cardinal, under

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pretence of the gout, having requeſted the indulgence of an eaſy chair at the ſittings of the French Academy, of which he was a Member, the King, inſtead of one eaſy chair, ſent forty to the Academy, that no one of it's members, whatever were his qualifications in other reſpects, might arrogate to himſelf any other diſtinction beſides that which genius confers. Now I believe that this ſervile ſpirit, which the people of all conditions at this day voluntarily imbibe, originally infected us from the eſtabliſhment of ſlavery in the Colonies; for prior to that I find nothing ſimilar in our Hiſtory. From this era likewiſe we may date the multiplicity of titles, financial, literary, and other qualifications, with which every one now affects to lengthen out his name, for want of the addition which counties, baronies and marquiſates beſtow; whereas formerly men of the very higheſt quality made no addition to their family name but that which was given them in baptiſm. We find examples ſtill more ſtriking and more numerous of this abuſe of titles, among the Portugueze and Spaniards, becauſe they preceded us in the eſtabliſhment of ſlavery in the Indies, and in expreſſing contempt for the People at home.

Thoſe tyrannical opinions, already ſo widely diffuſed over France, take their birth in the ſlavery of our American Iſlands; as in a continually exiſting focus of ſervitude, and propagating itſelf to Europe through the channel of their Commerce, juſt as the peſtilence conveys itſelf from Egypt with the other productions of the Country. Now as we have not hitherto eſtabliſhed on the Coaſts of France a quarantine

rantine for men coming from beyond Seas, under the infection, by birth, by habit and by intereſt, of the ſpirit of ſlavery, and as the depravation of minds is ſtill more contagious than any bodily diſtemper, it is a matter of abſolute neceſſity that the ſlavery of the Negroes ſhould be aboliſhed in our Colonies, for fear that one day it ſhould extend itſelf, through the influence of the opinion of ſome opulent individuals, over the white but poor People of the Mother Country. The Engliſh, who take the lead of us in maturity and in wiſdom, have already taken into conſideration this cauſe of the Human Race; it is going to be pleaded in their Parliament as it ought to have been in the Court of Areopagus. There is formed at Paris as at London a Society, the declared friends and patrons of the poor black ſlaves, at leaſt as worthy of the public eſteem as that of *la Merci*. It belongs to this reſpectable Society to carry the grievances of thoſe unfortunate beings before the National Aſſembly.

But as we muſt not go to ruin the men whom we wiſh to reform, I obſerve, in favour of the inhabitants of our Colonies, that it will be proper to proceed gradually toward the abolition of the ſervitude of their black ſlaves; otherwiſe it will be an unſpeakable calamity to the Negroes as well as their Maſters. Political revolutions ſhould be periodical like thoſe of Nature. The firſt ſtep to be taken, is to dry up the ſource of ſlavery in the iſlands, by prohibiting the Slave Trade on the coaſt of Africa; afterwards the perſonal ſervitude of the Negroes may be reduced to that of the glebe; then that of the glebe

to

to enfranchiſement, which may be made to depend on their good conduct toward their Maſters, that to them in part they may be laid under obligation for the recovery of their liberty.

It is the more eaſy to effect theſe changes, that the cultivation of the iſlands is much leſs painful and expenſive than that of a European ſoil. There is no occaſion for heavy ploughs, nor harrows, nor horſe-harneſs, nor triple tillings, to plant the manioc, the maize, the potatoe, the coffee, the ſugar-cane, the indigo, the cocoa-nut, the cotton-plant, as there is for our corns, our vines, our flaxes and our hemps. The fields of our iſlands are cultivated like our gardens at home, with the ſpade, the pick-axe, the hoe. The women and children are ſufficient to raiſe moſt of their crops.

The manufacture of ſugars, it is true, requires expenſive buildings, and the concurrence of many operators. The partiſans of ſlavery have pretended from this to conclude the neceſſity of employing troops of black ſlaves in the iſlands. This conſequence ſo very feebly ſupported is, however, the moſt powerful argument they have to adduce againſt the liberty of the blacks. But there is no need in Europe of workſhops crowded with ſlaves, to erect and carry on the manufactures of tannery, of tapeſtry, of paper, of arms, of pins, &c. which require a greater concourſe of workmen, and more unity of operation than thoſe of ſugar-making. Beſides a planter who has got a ſugar-mill, has no more occaſion to raiſe all the canes of his canton, to engroſs the whole produce to himſelf, than the proprietor of a wine-preſs in Burgundy has

has occaſion to engroſs all the vineyards on his hill. Thoſe who with us weave the cloth do not raiſe the flax and the hemp, nor does the paper-maker go through the ſtreets picking up the rags, nor do printers and book-makers engage in the manufacture of paper. It is to the ſubdiviſion of labour and arts, in the hands of freemen, that their perfection in Europe is to be aſcribed. Small properties in the hands of artiſans are neceſſary to the progreſs of induſtry, as thoſe of land are to the progreſs of agriculture. Were the manufacturer of ſugar in the Colonies to confine himſelf entirely to manufacturing, and the planter to raiſing the canes, it would be unneceſſary to refine the ſugar of the iſlands after it came to Europe. They might ſpin there, as in India, the tow of the cocoa-nut caſe, the threads of the banana and the cotton, and work them into cordage and ſtuffs. The vaſt plantations of Saint Domingo and of the Antilles, divided into ſmall properties, and reſtored to freedom, would become likewiſe a ſcene of induſtry, and I will venture to ſay more agreeable, from the facility of culture, and the temperature of their climate, than the farms and the meſſuages of France, where the winters are ſo ſevere. They would afford a multitude of employments and jobs to numbers of our poor peaſants and artificers, who are out of work in France; and the Planters in our Colonies would find themſelves richer, happier, and more diſtinguiſhed, when inſtead of foreign ſlaves they would have farmers of their own countrymen, and ſigniories inſtead of plantations.

I have no need to be diffuſe on the abolition of the

the mort-main ſervitude of the inhabitants of Mount Jura. It is paſſing ſtrange that this ſervitude ſhould have been kept up, to the preſent hour, in a corner of the Kingdom, by the Canons of Saint Claude, in defiance of the careſſes of *Louis* XVI. of the prerogatives of France, of the rights of Nature and the laws of the Goſpel. The duration of this abuſe demonſtrates the power and the tyranny of corps. The Canons of Saint Claude will undoubtedly reſolve voluntarily to reſtore liberty to French peaſants, after the example of their virtuous Biſhop, without being forced to it by the National Aſſemby, which has the right of redreſſing every injury done to the Nation.

Ye Chiefs of the People of every rank! I repeat it, in the name of Him who has united the deſtinies of all mankind, your happineſs depends on that of the People: if you hate them, they will hate you; they will repay you a hundred fold the miſchief you do them: but if you love them, they will love you; if you protect them, they will protect you: you will be ſtrong in their ſtrength, as you are weak in their weakneſs. Do you wiſh yourſelves to live in freedom? make no attempt upon their liberty; would you wiſh to acquire illumination? do not blind them with prejudice; in order to tranquillize your own ſouls, do not diſturb their ſpirits; to maintain your own greatneſs, deviſe the means of their elevation: remember that you are the ſummit of the tree of which they are the ſtem.

The National Aſſembly ought to devote particular attention to the reform of the code of civil and criminal juſtice, which in it's preſent ſtate is a monument

ment of the ages of barbariſm, when the ſtronger oppreſſed the feebler. They will reform, for inſtance, that unnatural Law by which the teſtimony of a woman is declared to be valid to eſtabliſh a criminal charge, and of no avail toward atteſting the ſimple taking poſſeſſion of a benefice. They will aboliſh that other Law which gives two thirds of landed property to the eldeſt ſon of the family, the other third to the younger brothers taken together, were there a dozen of them, and ſimply a younger child's portion to be divided among all the ſiſters, were they as many in number as the ſons; ſo that joining the expreſſion of French gallantry to an inhuman diſpoſition, it declares that a father may marry his daughter with a chaplet of roſes, that is, with an empty pocket. This Law, which exiſts among the Nobility of a great part of the Kingdom, appears to be an importation from the barbarians of the North, in as much as it is in full vigour among even the peaſantry of that part of Normandy called the Païs de Caux, where the Norman Dukes firſt ſettled. It is not known at Paris and it's vicinity, where brothers divide ſhare and ſhare alike with their ſiſters. This Capital of the Kingdom would never have attained the point of opulence, of urbanity, of intelligence and of ſplendour, which render it in ſome meaſure the Capital of Europe, had that feudal Law exiſted there.

For my own part, in meditating on the cauſes which render a City illuſtrious, and which make it the centre of Nations, I perceive that it is not the magnificence of the public monuments, nor the privileges granted to commerce nor the mildneſs of climate

mate, nor even the fecundity of ſoil, but the felicity which the more amiable portion of the human ſpecies there enjoys. There are upon the Globe Cities more happily ſituated than Paris, and which are far leſs renowned and far leſs populous. Naples is in a delicious climate; modern Rome is a repoſitory of auguſt monuments; Conſtantinople is on the limits of three parts of the World, Europe, Aſia and Africa; other Cities, ſuch as the Capitals of Peru and Mexico, are ſituated on the brink of the vaſt Ocean, in a ſoil teeming with gold, with ſilver and precious ſtones, and under a temperate ſky which knows neither the burning heat of Summer nor the ſeverity of Winter: others, ſuch as Ceylon, Amboyna, Java, are in fortunate iſlands, amidſt foreſts of cinnamon trees, of cloves and nutmegs. Nevertheleſs no one of thoſe Cities is once to be compared with Paris, becauſe in them the women are reduced to a civil or moral ſlavery. There are even in France Cities which preſent advantages ſuperior to thoſe of her Capital, from being under a climate more genial, or nearer the centre of the kingdom to become the ſeat of Government, or on the ſhore of the ſea to maintain a communication with all Nations. Rouen, for example, the capital of the Païs de Caux, a very conſiderable ſea-port ſo far back as the times of *Julius Ceſar*, ought, from the fertility of the adjacent country, from the induſtry of it's inhabitants, and from it's ſituation on the Seine near it's influx into the Ocean, to have riſen to the ſame degree of power as the Capital of England, which by it's Dukes it once ſubdued. But if London herſelf is become the ri-

val of Paris, it is undoubtedly from the same causes. Paris owes it's flourishing condition to that which it confers on it's female inhabitants. Wherever women are happy, there you behold taste, elegance, commerce, and liberty abounding. The miserable of all countries, who every where reckon on their sensibility, carry thither their arts, their industry and their hopes. Human beings flock thither, because there tyrants dare not to appear. The most renowned cities of antiquity are those in which women were held in highest consideration; such was Athens among the Greeks; such was a great part of Greece, where they reigned by the Empire of the Graces, of Innocence, and of Love, and which has left a remembrance of itself so delicious, the blest Arcadia. Warlike Rome herself owed to them, from the privileges which she granted them, the greatest part of her power over barbarous nations who tyrannized over their women. It is easy to subdue enemies when we have their female companions for friends. *Ovid* observes that *Venus* had more temples at Rome than in any other place of the world. If to this sex we refer all those who bare the various appellations of *Fortune*, of *Juno*, of *Vesta*, of *Cybele*, of *Minerva*, of *Diana*, of *Ceres*, of *Proserpine*, of *Muses*, of *Nymphs*, of *Flora*, &c. we shall find that the Goddesses were there held in still higher honour than the Gods. At Paris, the female saints are in higher estimation than the male. That capital of France owes it's prerogatives over all the other cities of the kingdom, and it's influence over Europe, to the elegance of the arts, to the variety of the modes and to the politeness of manners which result

ſult from the empire of the women. Women are at Paris the lawgivers of the moral code, which is much more powerful than the legal. If they are ſtill oppreſſed there by the laws which ſubject them to their huſbands and to their grown children, they are ſtill protected by manners, which reſerve to them in all places the poſt of honour, as inveſted with a natural magiſtracy which renders them through the whole courſe of our life the legiſlatrixes of our taſtes, of our uſages, and even of our opinions. They are, from our infancy, our firſt Apoſtles: from them we learn, when infants, to make with the ſame hand the ſign of the croſs, and a reverence to the ladies; to honour at once the altar and their ſex, as if they ſought in our young hearts a protection to be afforded in riper years, and to inſpire us on their boſom with religious and tender affections which are in a future period to ſerve as a ſafe-guard againſt the barbariſm of our inſtitutions. The laws ought therefore to come with manners to the ſupport of their weakneſs, by inviting them all over France to an equal participation of our fortunes and of our rights, as Nature has called them to be partakers of our pleaſures and our pains.

The National-Aſſembly ought farther to devote attention to the eſtabliſhment of the ſame laws all over the kingdom, as well as the ſame weights and meaſures, for the purpoſe of ſettling among citizens the union of ſentiment and conduct ſo neceſſary to public proſperity.

They will likewiſe effect a reform in the code of Criminal Juſtice, which preſents not fewer abuſes

than the Civil Code. The humanity of our magiſtrates, ſupported by the will of the Nation and the ſanction of Majeſty, will penetrate into the intricate labyrinth of law, already unravelled by the *Servans* and the *Dupatys*, in order to ſtrip vice of it's refuges, and to prevent innocence from going aſtray. In directing their own conduct they will never loſe ſight of that law which Nature has inſcribed, not on columns of marble or tablets of braſs; not on parchments in Egyptian, Hebrew or Latin characters; but which ſhe has impreſſed with characters of feeling, that language of all ages, on the conſcience of every man, to be there the eternal baſis of the juſtice and the felicity of Human Society: "Do not to another "what you would not have done to yourſelf."

The conſequence will be that rewards muſt become common and perſonal to all Frenchmen, for the ſame virtues, as puniſhment for the ſame vices. Theſe are the only means of deſtroying the prejudice which confers honour on the whole poſterity of a family, in compliment to the glory of one of it's members, or which diſgraces it for the crime of an individual. At the ſame time all chaſtiſements which are infamous and cruel ought to be aboliſhed. Nay it appears to me reaſonable to ſubſtitute, without corporal ſtigma, after the example of the Romans, the puniſhment of exile out of the kingdom, in place of that of perpetual impriſonment and of the galleys. A man, after having committed a bad action in his own country, where he has been tempted by indigence, ſeduced by example, or hurried on by paſſion, frequently reforms himſelf in a foreign country where he

he is more happy, and especially where he is unknown. Frequently on the contrary, his depravation is completed, abandoned to himself in a prison, or blasted in the society of citizens by public opinion, which pursues him for ever even in his children. The punishment of death ought likewise to be very rarely inflicted; it should take place only in cases of premeditated assassination, as in the law of Talio among the Hebrews. The punishment of death has been abolished in Russia in every case, high-treason excepted, and crimes are much rarer in that country than formerly, when this punishment was very common. We ought to imitate the humanity of the English, who send most of their convicts to newly discovered countries. It would likewise be advisable to adopt their practice of decision by the judgment of Peers and the verdict of Juries. This last mode of determination may serve equally to ascertain the performance of worthy actions in the view of rewarding them, and the commission of crimes in order to punish them. It is not just that the laws should always be inflicting punishment, and never bestowing rewards; that a man should be sent to the galleys or to a dungeon for having attacked the fortune or the life of a fellow citizen, and receive no mark of public favour for having preserved peace in his neighbourhood, and administered consolation to the afflicted. Our code of justice employs but one sword; it knows only to smite: it's balance serves only to weigh offences, but never virtues. It is to be desired therefore that our tribunals should have it in their power to decree recompenses as well as punishments, and to erect altars as well as scaffolds. Then the stones of

our croſs-ſtreets continually covered with the awards of branding or of death, will ceaſe to be, as at Genoa, ſtones of infamy; they will acquire to themſelves honour by becoming the records of virtue. The avenues into our cities, inſtead of terrifying travellers by exhibiting gibbets, will invite them there to ſeek an aſylum by triumphal arches reared, as in China, to the memory of meritorious citizens.

Such are the principal abuſes which in my opinion call for reformation. I now proceed to make ſome reflections on territorial impoſt which muſt ſupply the place of tallage, towards diſcharging the debts of the State, and which ought to be paid by every landed proprietor without exception.

It appears to me that in order to equalize a territorial tax on perſons, it ought to be laid unequally on fortunes; that is to ſay, it ought to increaſe in proportion to the extent of each landed property: thus the quantity of land neceſſary to the maintenance of a family being determined, that quantity ſhould pay more in proportion as it might increaſe in the hands of each proprietor. The Romans, in the earlier ages of their Republic, limited to ſeven acres the portion of land neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of one family. As we are not ſo temperate as the ancient Romans; as our climate, colder than that of Italy requires larger ſupplies; as our ſoil is leſs fertile; as we pay tithes and various other impoſts unknown to them; and as they participated, on the contrary, in the tributes impoſed on conquered Nations, to the relief of the Roman People themſelves, we may in France fix at twenty acres, the quantity of land neceſſary to ſupport one family. This being laid down, and the acre

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being aſſeſſed to a territorial impoſt, to be paid in produce not in money, each property exceeding twenty acres could bear a light tax which might be denominated the ſurplus-rate. This rate ought to be paid by thoſe who may poſſeſs two properties conſiſting of twenty acres each; it ſhould be doubled on thoſe who have three, quadrupled on thoſe who have four, and ſo on. Thus while individual properties advanced in arithmetical progreſſion, 1, 2, 3, 4, the ſurplus rate would increaſe in a geometrical ratio, 1, 4, 8. &c. ſo that it would be equal, for a poſſeſſion of a thouſand acres, to the territorial impoſt on thoſe ſame thouſand acres; it ſhould be double on one of two thouſand, quadruple on one of three thouſand, octuple on one of four thouſand.

This ſurplus-rate ſhould increaſe with the extent of properties, as the tariff of diamonds and cryſtals, luxuries beſides far leſs dangerous than that of overgrown land poſſeſſions which infallibly involve the ruin of a State, as has been obſerved by *Plutarch* and *Pliny*, and applied to Africa, Greece, and the Roman Empire. To theſe inſtances may be added, in the ſame ages, Sicily and part of Aſia, and, in modern times, Poland, Spain, and Italy. It is to be preſumed therefore that this ſurplus-rate would in France give a check to the accumulation of vaſt territorial property, much better than the prohibitory laws promulgated to no purpoſe at Rome under the Emperors, who fixed the extent of the greateſt individual landed property at 500 acres. It is always eaſy to infringe a prohibitory law, when the prohibition does not purſue the tranſgreſſion of it cloſe on the heels.

Cupidity, like the other paſſions, reſembles a carriage going down hill; unleſs you lock the wheel before you reach the declivity, it will not be poſſible to ſtop it half way down.

The ſurplus-rate propoſed ſeems to me in every view founded in juſtice; for if twenty acres belonging to one family, pay one half leſs than twenty acres of the thouſand which might fall into the hands of a ſingle proprietor, on the other hand, theſe twenty acres of the ſmall proprietor, produce in proportion a much greater increaſe in proviſions and men. An eſtate of a thouſand acres, under a ſingle proprietor, contains, one year with another, a full third in fallow, and is cultivated by at moſt ten families of domeſtics of five perſons each, that is fifty perſons in all, including wives and children; whereas theſe thouſand acres, parcelled out among fifty proprietors of twenty acres each, would be cultivated throughout, and maintain fifty free and induſtrious families, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty citizens. Now, abundance of proviſions and of men, eſpecially of free men, is the firſt wealth of Nations.

There would be this reſult from the impoſt of ſurplus territorial rate, that great properties paying more, and producing leſs, would become rarer, and that ſmall proprietors paying leſs and producing more would become more common. The former would be leſs eagerly coveted by the rich, eſpecially when ſtripped of right to the game, and other privileges injurious to agriculture; and the latter would be a much more deſirable object to tradeſmen of moderate fortune, when no longer oppreſſed and ſtigmatized by

by high-road ſervice, militia-draughts and tallage: thus the ſurplus-rate would become a bulwark againſt the extreme of opulence and indigence, which are the two ſources of national vice. It might be extended to all great properties in employments, in houſes, and in money, without touching however any one of the great properties already exiſting, even ſuch as are territorial. Theſe Wiſhes which I form for the public felicity, reſpect futurity only, and ought not to occaſion preſent diſtreſs to any individual great proprietor.

Having thrown out theſe hints on the ſubject of landed property, I proceed to make a few obſervations on corn, the moſt important production of land, and which is from it's nature a national property. The freedom of commerce in grain, has produced a variety of treatiſes on both ſides of the queſtion: but as, from the effect of our ambitious education, no queſtion is diſcuſſed but with a view to ſhine, it has happened that this among the reſt, ſimple as it is, has been rendered extremely problematical, becauſe the more that a wit handles truth, the more he perplexes it.

It is certain that there is no family tolerably at it's eaſe, but what has a proviſion of money ſecured, whereon to live at leaſt one year: it is very ſtrange that the great family of the State ſhould not have it's proviſion of corn laid up to ſubſiſt on for at leaſt that ſpace of time. For want of magazines of grain, the liberty of commerce in that article has frequently exhauſted the Kingdom of it.

Popular commotions ſcarcely ever have any other ſource

ſource but dearth of corn. Our enemies, both domeſtic and foreign, ſeize the moment when the ports are open for exportation, and carry off all that is to be ſold, at whatever price, in the full aſſurance that within three months they will be able to re-ſell it to us with an advance of a hundred per cent: thus we reſemble the Savages who ſell their bed of a morning, and are obliged to repurchaſe it at night. It is neceſſary therefore that the State, before the exportation of grain is permitted, ſhould have laid up a proviſion for at leaſt one year over and above the crop on the ground; and for this purpoſe, it ought to have public magazines. In order to decide this queſtion, there is no need of miniſterial memoir or of academical diſſertation, common ſenſe is ſufficient. If example is of any weight, look at Geneva, Switzerland, and Holland, whoſe inhabitants, with a ſoil unproductive or inſufficient, live in aſſured abundance, by means of their public magazines; whereas the peaſants frequently want bread in Poland and Sicily, the granaries of all Europe. Monopolies, we are told, will be the conſequence of having magazines. Did they depend on private individuals, the objection would be of ſome weight: private magazines are the immediate cauſe of public ſcarcity: but nothing of this ſort is to be apprehended, if the granaries belong to the Nation, the adminiſtration of them be veſted in the Provincial Aſſemblies. The Provincial Aſſemblies could in truth reſerve them entirely for the conſumption of their reſpective provinces, which would enjoy plenty while their neighbours might be in want; but this never can be the caſe under the inſpection

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and correſpondence of the National Aſſembly, who, informed of the ſuperabundance of grain in one Canton, and it's ſcarcity in another, would procure the interpoſition of Royal Authority towards maintaining through the whole Kingdom the equilibrium of the firſt-rate ſupport of human life. This is one reaſon among a thouſand, to evince the neceſſity of that Aſſembly's permanency, and of the periodical change of it's members.

Our political Treatiſes, to gratify the leaders of Adminiſtration, are much employed in deviſing the means of increaſing the Wealth of Nations. It ſeems that a State can never have too much wine, too much corn, too much cattle, and eſpecially too much money, for to this all the reſt ultimately point. But how comes it about that we have always a ſuperfluity of that firſt Wealth of Empires, I mean the human ſpecies, ſeeing almoſt all over Europe it is ſo wretched, and it's cities ſwarming with inhabitants which they know not how to diſpoſe of? A ſhepherd does not feel himſelf encumbered with the number of his ſheep; he does not expoſe at the corner of his village the little lamb newly dropped from the mother; but fathers and mothers every day abandon their new-born infants in the ſquares of our Cities and at the gates of our Hoſpitals. The number of Foundlings in Paris amounts yearly to from five to ſix thouſand, a full third of thoſe who are born there. In this City ſo opulent and ſo indigent, the moſt miſerable refuſe is of ſome value; we ſee perſons picking up at the corner of the ſtreets, bones, broken bottles, aſhes, old rags; an old cat there has her price, were it but

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for her ſkin; but no one there ſets any value on a miſerable human being. That inhabitant of the fortunate kingdom of France, that child of GOD and of the Church, that King of Nature goes about ſoliciting from door to door the indulgence granted to the houſe-dog, that of demanding with a lamentable voice, from a being of his own ſpecies, of his own nation and of his own religion, a morſel of bread which is frequently refuſed. It is much worſe at the gate of a Nobleman's hotel, where a Swiſs will not ſo much as let him ſhew himſelf. It is worſe ſtill in his garret, from which he is driven by famine, when ſhame, whoſe bite is keener than the tooth of a dog, and more repulſive than a Swiſs, forbids him to quit it.

But beggary itſelf is no longer the reſource of indigence, for they put mendicants in priſon. It is therefore my wiſh, in order to meet the demands of the People, that every man in health out of employment, ſhould have the right of demanding it of the Aſſembly of his Village or of his Diſtrict. Should it have none to give him, his demand will be tranſmitted to the Aſſembly of the City with which it is connected; this laſt, ſuppoſing the caſe equal, will carry it to the Provincial Aſſembly, which will take care to tranſmit it to the National Aſſembly, ſhould it be in the ſame ſtate of impotency.

The National Aſſembly would thus have in the laſt reſort the ſtate of all the indigent families in the Kingdom, as it would have that of all their wants, and of their reſources: it would accordingly employ it's good offices with the King for the eſtabliſhment of

of his indigent families in the Provinces where labourers might be wanted, or in our colonies and in countries recently difcovered, under a Government fimilar to that of the future Conftitution, in order always to unite thofe Frenchmen to their Country, and to extend over the whole Earth the population, the power, and the felicity of their parent land. Thefe daily provifions are additional reafons to evince the neceffity of rendering the National Affembly permanent.

Thus Brittany and Bourdeaux with their heaths; Normandy with it's muds which the Sea inundates and leaves twice every day; Rochelle and Rochefort with their ftagnant marfhes; Provence with it's rocks and it's plains of flint; Corfica with it's mountains and woods, the American Iflands with their folitudes, and fo many other lands conveyed by grant from the Crown, fuch as thofe of Corfica, given away in great lots of ten thoufand acres at a ftroke, and which remain uncultivated in the hands of their great moneylefs proprietors, would find themfelves raifed into value by being parcelled out into fmall allotments, and would furnifh openings without number for the overflowings of our hofpitals, efpecially for thofe of the Foundling Hofpital. Indigence, cut clofe by the root, would ceafe to produce mendicity, theft and profitution, which are the natural fruits of it. As to perfons poor and infirm, they would be relieved at their own home, or in houfes of mercy, from the funds raifed and adminiftered by the Affemblies of each Diftrict; to this purpofe might be employed the revenues of hofpitals, thofe vaft focufes of

mifery

misery and epidemic diſeaſe. Beſides, as there would be no longer any healthy poor in the Kingdom, the number of ſick poor would be greatly reduced.

Farther, by aſſigning to the petitions of the indigent, a period for tranſmiſſion from Aſſembly to Aſſembly, it was not my intention to clap fetters on their liberty; but I wiſhed to ſuggeſt aſſured means of relief not only to them, but to the villages, to the cities, to the provinces and to the State itſelf. If individuals ſometimes have need of work, whole ſocieties have frequently need of workmen. *Michael Montaigne* expreſſed a wiſh to have an Advertiſing Office eſtabliſhed at Paris, to which perſons in want, or ſuperabounding, might mutually apply for information, whatever the caſe might be. His idea has been partly executed by means of hand-bills and newſpapers; but theſe are hardly employed to any objects but thoſe of luxury, ſuch as furniture, coaches, horſes, houſes, lands, but very rarely to advertiſe for men. The eſtabliſhment ſhould extend to the demands of the plains, of the cities, of the provinces, and of the State itſelf. Now a permanent National Aſſembly alone is capable of embracing at once all public and private neceſſities. It is beſides an act of juſtice; for if the State has a right to exact from the People militia-ſervice, that of the royal navy and of the high-ways, in caſes of urgent preſſure, the People have likewiſe under the preſſure of want, a right to demand of the State the means of ſubſiſtence. Add to this, that every Frenchman has a right to addreſs himſelf directly to the National Aſſembly; and if he chooſes to purſue his fortunes out of the Kingdom, he

he ſhould be at perfect liberty to quit it, as every ſtranger ought to have that of coming into it and of ſettling, with the free exerciſe of his religion, in order to fix among us, by the equity of our laws, the men whom we attract by the urbanity of our manners.

Confidence being reſtored between the three orders, the intereſts of the two firſt harmonized with thoſe of the People, and balanced by that of the King; the Rural, Municipal, Provincial, and National Aſſemblies, rendered permanent in their totality, periodical in their members, and harmonious in their deliberations; Agriculture delivered from all it's ſhackles, captainries, gabels, militia-draughts; individual liberty made ſure to every Citizen in his fortune, his perſon, and his conſcience; ſlavery aboliſhed in the Colonies and on Mount Jura; the code of civil and criminal juſtice reformed; the territorial impoſt aſſeſſed proportionably to the extent of landed property, and to the exigencies of the State and of the National Debt; the means of ſubſiſtence multiplied, and ſecured to the People by the bulwarks oppoſed to the exceſſive accumulation of property: there will be reared, with reſpect to all thoſe objects, a Conſtitution ſanctioned by the King, the execution of which will be committed to the proper tribunals, to be henceforward conſidered as the national Code of Law.

The Aſſembly has no occaſion to make an attempt to comprize, in this Conſtitution, every poſſible caſe; they are innumerable, and there are ſome which it would be melancholy to foreſee, and dangerous to publiſh.

publiſh. As the Aſſembly ought to be permanent, it will make proviſion for them as they happen to ariſe. It will have trouble ſufficient in rectifying the paſt, and regulating the preſent, without taking fruitleſs pains in enacting laws for an unknown futurity.

Whatever wiſdom may preſide over the digeſting of this Code, it is not to be imagined that it's laws are to poſſeſs immutability. Nothing is immutable, the Laws of Nature excepted, becauſe their Author alone, from his infinite wiſdom, knows the exigencies of all beings at all times: the legiſlators of Nations on the contrary being but men, ſcarcely know the exigencies of the moment, and can have no foreſight of thoſe which futurity is preparing for them.

Political laws therefore ought to be variable, becauſe they intereſt families only, bodies of men, countries, which are themſelves ſubject to change: and the Laws of Nature muſt be permanent becauſe they are the laws of man, and of the human ſpecies, whoſe rights are invariable. Now I do not know one State in Europe but what has rendered the political laws permanent, and thoſe of Nature ſo variable, that ſcarcely at the preſent day is it poſſible to perceive the traces of them.

The hereditary right of Nobility, for example, which was not originally tranſmiſſive, is a political law rendered permanent all over Europe: it ought nevertheleſs to vary according to the exigencies of States; for it muſt be foreſeen that noble families will multiply themſelves more than others, becauſe they have greater credit, and conſequently more ample means of ſubſiſting; and becauſe families of opu-

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lent tradeſmen will have a conſtant tendency to incorporate with them, by obtaining letters of nobility; ſo that the number of perſons who do nothing being continually on the increaſe, and that of the laborious continually diminiſhing, the State, at the expiration of ſome ages, may feel itſelf enfeebled by it's own Conſtitution.

This in fact has actually taken place in Spain and other countries. Spain has been weakened neither by wars nor by emigrations to America, as ſo many politicians have alleged; but on the contrary by peace, and the exceſſive multiplication of noble families which has reſulted from it. The long and bloody wars of the League cut off great numbers of men of family in France; but France, ſo far from being weakened, increaſed in population and riches up to the time of *Louis* XIV. The emigrations from England, a country much ſmaller than Spain, have formed in America colonies much more flouriſhing and more populous than the Spaniſh; and ſo far from diminiſhing the ſtrength of England, they would have increaſed it, had they been more cloſely united to the Mother-country, from which they ſeparated merely in conſequence of their ſtrength.

It is becauſe in England the intereſts of the Nobility are linked to thoſe of the People, and becauſe, like them, they apply to Agriculture, to commercial Navigation, and Trade. Finally, ſeveral States in Italy which, as Genoa, Venice, Naples; and in Sicily, &c. have had neither wars to ſupport nor colonies to ſupply, are reduced to a ſtate of weakneſs which is conſtantly increaſing, without the poſſibility of aſcrib-

ing it to any other cauſe but the inheritance of Nobility, and freſh patents which are continually multiplying the claſs of idle Noblemen, at the expenſe of the laborious claſſes of the People.

If the ancient Epiſcopal Law, which in Europe enjoined teſtators to leave by Will, under pain of having their teſtaments declared null and void, bequeſts in favour of the Church, with deprivation of Chriſtian burial to thoſe who died inteſtate, had not been abrogated, as well as the permiſſion to the mortmain gentry to acquire landed property, it is undoubtedly certain that all our lands would have been long ago at the command of the Clergy, as all our dignities are at the diſpoſal of the Nobility. It is farther certain, that if the cuſtom which permits gentlemen of finance to job in the Public Funds, be not aboliſhed, all our ſpecie will find it's way into the pocket of brokers. The caſe is the ſame with privileged companies of every kind. Thus a Nation may, merely by the permanency of laws and cuſtoms which perhaps formerly contributed to it's proſperity, find itſelf ſtripped at length of it's honour, of it's lands, of it's commerce, and of it's liberty.

A Nation, on the contrary, by rendering variable, for the intereſt of certain bodies of men, the Laws of Nature which ought to be permanent, aboliſhes at the long-run moſt of the rights of Man: ſometimes they are thoſe of marriage, ſometimes thoſe of perſonal liberty, as on Mount Jura, and in our Colonies, &c.

It muſt therefore be a fundamental law of our future Conſtitu-

Conſtitution, that the Laws of Nature alone ſhall be permanent, and that every political Law may be changed and amended by the National Aſſembly as often as the good of the Nation may require, as the happineſs of a Nation is itſelf a conſequence of that Law of Nature which ſhe conſtantly propoſes to herſelf, in the variable harmony of her works, the felicity of all mankind.

But as the Laws of Nature themſelves diſappear in ſocieties, from the prejudices merely which are inſtilled into infancy, to ſuch a degree that men come in time to believe what is natural to them is foreign, and what is foreign natural, it is neceſſary to reſt the baſis of our future Conſtitution, on a national education, in order that, ſhould reaſon fail, it may become agreeable to our poſterity at leaſt by the allurement of habit.

WISHES FOR A NATIONAL EDUCATION.

PREVIOUS to the eſtabliſhment of a ſchool for the citizens at large, there muſt be formed a ſchool for teachers. It fills me with aſtoniſhment to think that the acquiſition of every art requires the ſerving of an apprenticeſhip, the moſt difficult of all excepted, the art of forming men. Nor is this all. The occupation of inſtructing youth is uſually the reſource of perſons who poſſeſs no particular talent. The National Aſſembly ought to pay ſpecial attention to ſo neceſſary an eſtabliſhment. They will make choice

of men proper to execute the office of inſtructors, not from among doctors and caballers, as the cuſtom has been, but among reſpectable fathers of families who may have themſelves educated their own children properly. I do not mean ſuch as have made their young people ſcholars and wits, but thoſe who have rendered them pious, modeſt, ingenuous, gentle, obliging and happy, that is, who have left them nearly ſuch as Nature had formed them. There will be no occaſion, in order to fill thoſe places, either for diplomas of A. M. or D. D. but the production of beautiful and well-diſpoſed children; and as we form a judgment of the workman from his work, that man ſhould be deemed capable of inſtructing the families of the State, who has educated his own family wiſely and well.

Thoſe inſtructors ought to enjoy perſonal Nobility, in conſideration of the dignity of their functions. They muſt be under the immediate inſpection of the National Aſſembly, and have under their ſuperintendance all the maſters of ſciences, languages, arts and exerciſes. They muſt be ſpread over the principal ſubdiviſions of Paris, and through all the Cities of the Kingdom, to eſtabliſh National Schools in them; and not even a village ſchoolmaſter ſhould be permitted to teach but by their appointment.

They will apply themſelves, firſt of all, to the reformation of the whole ſyſtem of our gothic and barbarous education, of the age of *Charlemagne*. It is unneceſſary to ſay that they will baniſh from it langour, ſadneſs, tears, corporal chaſtiſements; that they will train up young ones to love and not to fear; and

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make Citizens of them, not Slaves. Being themſelves fathers of happy children, Nature muſt have taught them much more than they could learn from me, a uſeleſs bachelor: but as they are Frenchmen, they ought to be no leſs on their guard againſt the methods which exalt the ſoul too high, than againſt thoſe which degrade it.

They will therefore baniſh emulation from their ſchools. Emulation, we are told, is a ſtimulant; for this reaſon preciſely it ought to be reprobated. Men without art and without artifice, leave ſtrong ſpiceries to thoſe whoſe taſte is weakened; preſent not to the children of your Country any aliments but ſuch as are gentle and ſimple like themſelves and like you. The fever muſt not be thrown into their blood in order to make it circulate; permit it to flow in it's natural courſe; Nature has made ſufficient proviſion to this effect at an age of ſuch reſtleſſneſs and activity. The diſquietude of adoleſcence, the paſſions of youth, the anxieties of manhood, will one day excite an inflammation but too violent to admit of being cooled by all your efforts.

Emulation is a ſtimulant of a ſingular ſpecies. We do not ſerve ourſelves of it; but it moves and directs us at pleaſure. While we propoſe to ſubdue a rival, emulation makes a conqueſt of us. Like the man who bridled and mounted the horſe at his own requeſt, to avenge him of the ſtag, once in the ſaddle on our mind, it forces us to go where we have no occaſion, and to run after every one who goes faſter than ourſelves. It fills the whole career of life with ſollicitude, uneaſineſs and vain deſires, and when old-

age has ſlackened all our movements, it continues to ſtimulate us by unprofitable regret.

Poſt equitem ſedet atra cura.
Gloomy care mounts behind the horſeman.

Had I any occaſion in infancy to ſurpaſs my companions in drinking, in eating, in walking, in order to find pleaſure in theſe? Wherefore ſhould it be neceſſary for me to learn to outſtrip them in my ſtudies, in order to acquire a reliſh for learning? Have I not acquired the faculty of ſpeaking and of reaſoning without emulation? Are not the functions of the ſoul as natural and as agreeable as thoſe of the body? If they ſadden our children, it is the fault of our mode of education, and not that of ſcience. It is not from want of appetite on their part. Behold what imitators they are of every thing which they ſee done, and of every thing which they hear ſaid! Do you wiſh then to attract children to your exerciſes? Act as Nature does in recommending hers: draw them with cords of love, and they will run without a ſpur.

Emulation is the cauſe of moſt of the ills of human life. It is the root of ambition; for emulation produces the deſire of being the firſt; and the deſire of being the firſt is the eſſence of ambition, which ramifies itſelf, conformably to poſitions and characters, into negative and poſitive ambitions, from which iſſue almoſt all the miſeries of ſociety.

Poſitive ambition generates the love of applauſe, of perſonal and excluſive prerogatives for a man's ſelf or for his corps, of immenſe property in dignities, in lands

lands and in employments; in a word it produces avarice, that calm ambition of gold, in which all the ambitious finish their course. But avarice alone drags in it's train an infinite number of evils, by depriving multitudes of other Citizens of the means of subsistence, and produces, by a necessary reaction, robberies, prostitutions, quackery, superstition.

Negative ambition generates in it's turn jealousy, evil-speaking, calumnies, quarrels, litigation, duels, intolerance. Of all these particular ambitions a national ambition is composed, which manifests itself in a People by the love of conquest, and in their Prince by the love of despotism: from national ambition flow imposts, slavery, tyrannies and war, a sufficient scourge of itself for the human race.

I was long under the conviction that ambition must be natural to man; but now I consider it as a simple result from our education. We are involved so early, in the prejudices of so many whose interest is concerned to communicate them to us, that it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish through the rest of life, what is natural to us and what artificial. In order to form a judgment of the institutions of our societies, we must withdraw to a distance from them; but to form a judgment of the sentiments of our own heart, we must retire into it. As to myself, who have been long driven back into myself by the public manners, and who withdraw myself more and more from the world by my habits, it seems to me that man has no natural self-impulse either to raise himself above his fellows, or to sink below them, but to live with them as their equal. This sentiment is com-

mon to all animals the individuals and ſpecies of which have not reduced each other to ſubjection; for a more powerful reaſon it ought to be univerſal among men, who ſtand in need of mutual aſſiſtance. The love of ambition therefore is no more natural to the human heart than the love of ſervitude. The love of equality is the medium point between theſe two extremes, like virtue from which it does not differ: it is the univerſal juſtice: it is between two contraries, like the harmony which governs the world. It is that which *Confucius* calls "the golden mean," which he conſiders as the cauſe of all that is good, and which he denominates by way of excellence, "the virtue of the heart." He makes the principle of it to conſiſt in piety, that is in the love of all men in general. He frequently recommends in his writings, "not to make another ſuffer what you "yourſelf would be loth to ſuffer." On this natural baſis it is that he has reared the immoveable fabric of China, the moſt ancient Empire in the univerſe. In China children and young people are not ſtimulated to ſurpaſs each other. They comprehend not, ſays the philoſopher *La Barbinais*, either our theſes or our college diſputations. They ſimply undergo an examination on the ſubject of morals, before Commiſſioners appointed by the Court. Theſe Commiſſioners ſelect ſuch of them as diſcover the greateſt capacity without the leaſt regard to their condition, to raiſe them, through ſucceſſive degrees, to the rank of Mandarin, from which a man may riſe to the office of prime Miniſter of State.

The emulation with which we inſpire our children,

if I may venture to ſpeak out, is a fortified ambition; for the ambitious man wiſhes at moſt to get up to the firſt place; but the emulous wiſhes beſides to raiſe himſelf at the expenſe of a rival. It is not ſufficient for him to get to the ſummit of the mountain; he muſt have the farther ſatisfaction of beholding all his competitors tumbling down. Emulation is a cruel deity, who, unſatisfied with a temple and incenſe, muſt have victims likewiſe.

It is remarkable that the emulation infuſed into infant minds, produces a more pernicious effect in us Frenchmen, and renders us more vain than any other Nation of Europe. Many reaſons for this are to be found in our manners; but without going farther than our education, I diſcover a particular cauſe of the vainglorious ambition of our children, in that of our profeſſors. In Switzerland, in Holland, in England, in Germany, in Italy, in Ruſſia, and I believe in all the Univerſities of Europe, profeſſorſhips lead to Magiſtracies, to the rank of Aulic-counſellor, or to other employments which connect them with the adminiſtration of the State: this was the caſe formerly among ourſelves, before every thing came to be bought and ſold. Thoſe Profeſſors in other Countries therefore direct the attention of their pupils, in part, toward the object which they themſelves have in view, that is toward public affairs. But our French regents, obliged to circumſcribe all their ambition within the precincts of a College, can gratify it only by communicating it to the youth committed to their charge, without foreſeeing the conſequences to the community. They eſtabliſh among them Empires in miniature,

miniature, the crowns and dignities of which they diſtribute, but together with them the jealouſies and hatred which every where accompany emulation. They have nevertheleſs examples in abundance of it's fatal effects both in ancient and modern Nations. In return for ſome talents to how many vices does it give birth! Beſides, if emulation has raiſed up ſome great men in certain Republics, it was becauſe the Citizen could there aſpire at every thing. But among us, with whom mere merit no longer leads to any thing, with whom it is impoſſible to riſe to the ſmalleſt poſts without money, to great ſituations without birth, and to no one whatever without intrigue, the crowd of ambitious pretenders is wholly occupied in levelling all who attempt to riſe. A traveller, a man of ſuperior merit, ſaid to me ſometime ago: "I this day find "ſunk into contempt the men whom I left here, "laſt year, in full poſſeſſion of the higheſt degree "of public eſteem. If they deſerved it not, why "did they obtain it? And wherefore have they loſt "it, if it is their due? There is in France an *agio* "of reputation which I never ſaw in any other coun-"try."

The emulation of children is with us the original cauſe of the inconſtancy of men: as it inſpires, with it's croſſes, it's medals, it's books, it's prizes, it's theſes, it's competitions, into each one in particular, "Be foremoſt," it trains them to want of ſubordination to their ſuperiors, to jealouſy of their equals, and to contempt of their inferiors. But as extremes cloſely approximate, this ambitious education is at the ſame time ſervile to the laſt degree. As it operates only

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by the love of applauſe or the dread of cenſure, it places men all their life long at the diſcretion of flatterers, who for the moſt part underſtand the art of maligning fully as well as that of praiſing. The ſuffrages of others, which they are eager to captivate, recaptivate them in their turn with ſuch force, that it is ſufficient for them to be encircled with detractors of the moſt evident truth, to enſure their rejection of it; or with puffers of the moſt abſurd opinion in order to their at length admitting it. Their own judgment bending under the load of this tyranny, the yoke of which they have been accuſtomed to bear from their youth upward, their conſcience forms only the verſatile opinion of another, which becomes to them the only ſtandard of good and evil.

Our education diſpoſes us no leſs to obſtinacy than to inconſtancy. It is from the vanity and the weakneſs which it inſpires, that the ſpirit of party has ſo much influence, and that it is ſufficient for the ambitious man to ſay to ſuch of his partiſans as might be heſitating whether they ſhould ſupport his opinions, "You have no courage," to bring them back inſtantly to his ſtandard. There is notwithſtanding no great courage but much weakneſs in ſuffering oneſelf to be carried along by the paſſions of a man, or his corps, or even of his country. It is becauſe that on one hand we have not the boldneſs to reſiſt, and on the other are ſurrounded by powers which ſuſtain us, that a man believes himſelf ſtrong. Were he of the oppoſite party, he would be of the contrary opinion from the ſame weakneſs. When I ſee two men engaged

engaged in an eager diſpute, I frequently ſay to myſelf: Each of theſe gentlemen would maintain an oppoſite opinion, had he been born a hundred leagues hence. What do I ſay? It is ſufficient to have the breadth of a ſingle ſtreet intervening to be for ever the ſworn enemy of an opinion, of which a man would have been the moſt zealous partiſan, if he had been educated in the oppoſite houſe. Change a man's education, and you change his manner of life, his dreſs, his philoſophy, his morality, his religion, his patriotiſm, his every thing. The African will think like the European, and the European like the African: the Republican will hold the ſentiments of the deſpot, and the deſpot thoſe of the republican. In truth, it is a moſt humiliating conſideration to man, and capable of withdrawing us from the inveſtigation of truth, when we ſee that not only our acquired knowledge, but that our feelings, which have the appearance of being innate, depend almoſt entirely on our education.

We are under the neceſſity therefore, if we love truth and our fellow creatures, of coming back to the Laws of Nature, ſeeing thoſe of ſociety fill us with prejudices from our childhood, and frequently render us enemies to each other. Now in order to diſpoſe children this way, the ſpirit of moderation muſt be inſtilled into them. That ſpirit, which enthuſiaſts, fanatics, and the ambitious of every deſcription conſider as an infirmity, is the true courage; for it alone dares to reſiſt oppoſite parties. It is the royalty of the ſoul which, like that of Nature, holds the balance between

between extremes, and maintains the harmony of beings. Virtue's ſtation is the middle; *Stat in medio Virtus.*

Children muſt be trained then never to loſe the ſentiment of conſcience, and to reſt it upon that of Deity, which is no leſs natural to man. This ſentiment will expand in them by ſimply reading the Goſpel: thus inſtead of teaching them to preſer themſelves to others, from an emulation which is to others and to them a perpetual ſource of vexation, they will be left at firſt to ſeek contentment in themſelves, that retiring thither during the ſtorms of diſcordant ſociety, they may there at leaſt find repoſe and peace. They will ſoon be inſtructed to preſer others to themſelves, from the knowledge of their own wants, for which they are incapable of making proviſion alone. Hence will flow the love of their fathers, of their mothers, of their relations, of their friends, of their country, of all mankind, as well as the exerciſe of all the virtues which conſtitute the happineſs of ſociety. They will be inſtructed in all the ſciences which correſpond to theſe principles. From their education accordingly will be retrenched a part of the years now devoted to the unprofitable ſtudy of the Latin language, which may be learnt by uſe, a ſhorter, a ſurer and a more agreeable method than that of our grammars; with this may be combined the uſe of the Greek tongue, the ſtudy of which is by far too much neglected among us.

The education of all Europe at this day bears upon theſe two dead languages, which are in no reſpect ſubſervient to our neceſſities. Nevertheleſs I cannot,

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for the honour of letters, refrain from making one reflection in this place; it is, that the glory of Empires refts on men of letters, and on them alone. If Greek and Latin are at this day univerfally ftudied; if the whole of European education, from the age of *Charlemagne* downward, is founded on this ftudy; if we talk fo frequently of Greece and Italy, and of their ancient inhabitants, it is becaufe thofe countries have produced a dozen of writers, fuch as *Homer*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, *Demofthenes*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Ovid*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, &c. It is therefore for the fake of a dozen men of genius of antiquity, or two dozen at moft, that our univerfities are founded, fo that if thofe men had never exifted, we fhould have no public education, and no perfon in Europe would any more take the trouble to learn Greek and Latin, than to learn the Arabic and Tartar languages. Greece and Rome have in truth produced many illuftrious men of various defcriptions; but the fame thing is true of many other countries, China for inftance, of whom no mention is made in Colleges, becaufe we are unacquainted with the ingenious authors who may have celebrated them. Befides, the perfons who have made us acquainted with the Greeks and Romans, had no occafion either for their great men, or for their cities, to leave us fuperb monuments; their own genius fupplied them. It was that of *Homer* which gave exiftence to the wanderings of *Ulyffes*, and which created the Gods and the Heroes of the Iliad. That of *Virgil*, in order to reach us, and to defcend to lateft pofterity, had occafion only for his fhepherds and fhepherdeffes.

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The banks of the little rills on which he repoſes delight us more than thoſe of the Ganges, and the labours of his bees intereſt us as deeply as the foundation of the Roman Empire. The others have in like manner their particular talents. Aſſuredly they well deſerve, every one of them, to have a few years of early life devoted to the formation of an acquaintance with them, and many years of life to enjoy that acquaintance; but they themſelves had too much good ſenſe not to diſapprove, had they lived among us, of making an European education reſt entirely on the ſtudy of their works. They themſelves did not paſs the whole prime of youth in learning foreign languages, but in ſtudying Nature of which they have left us pictures ſo enchanting. A ſtranger having arrived at Prague, deſired his landlord to procure him a plan of the City, in order he ſaid to acquire a knowledge of it. "The plan of Prague is at Vienna," replied the landlord, "we have no need of it here; "we have the City." We may hold a ſimilar language reſpecting the Works of the Ancients, even the moſt perfect of them: "We have no need of the "Georgics; we have Nature." The Ancients have indeed left behind them much intereſting information concerning the affairs and the men of their own times; but we have compatriots of our own whom we are bound to illumine and to render more happy.

If the ſciences and letters exerciſe an influence on the proſperity of a Nation, of which no doubt can be entertained, it would be perhaps proper for the Nation to elect the members of her Academies, as ſhe does thoſe of her other Aſſemblies. Illumination

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ought to be in common, as well as the other riches of the State. When Academies elect their own members, they degenerate into ariſtocracies extremely injurious to the republic of letters and ſcience. As admiſſion is to be obtained only by paying court to their Chiefs, the candidate is obliged to tie himſelf up to their ſyſtems. Errors ſupport themſelves by the credit of Aſſociations, whereas iſolated truth finds no partiſans. Thus it was that Univerſities oppoſed barriers ſo pertinaciouſly defended to the progreſs of the natural ſciences, by maintaining the philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* in the face of progreſſive illumination. *Kepler* complains bitterly of the Colleges of his time. That reſtorer of aſtronomy had diſcovered and demonſtrated that Comets are planetary bodies, and not ſimple meteors, as the Univerſities, after *Ariſtotle*, pretended. He tells us in one of his letters, that his books, which contained a truth ſo new, and ſo evident, were entirely diſregarded, while thoſe which contained contrary opinions were cried up and univerſally diffuſed, from the credit which Univerſities had with the Bookſellers. What would he have ſaid of their influence over public opinion, if, like the Academies of our days, they had had all the journals at their diſpoſal? Let us call to remembrance the perſecutions which *Galileo* underwent from the corps of Theologians, for having demonſtrated the motion of the Earth. Behold at this day in what a ſtupor letters and ſcience are kept by the Academies of Italy. It would perhaps be proper that they ſhould be aſſimilated with us to the National Aſſemblies; in other words, that being themſelves permanent, their members

bers might be periodical, and that they might be elected or kept in office by the Nation, so long as they discharged the duties of their station with propriety. At any rate, as the public schools would be under no control but that of the National Assembly, there could be no room for apprehension that the tyranny of an Aristocratical Government would be introduced into them.

We should substitute then in the room of part of our grammatical studies of antiquity, those of the sciences which bring us near unto God, and render us useful to our fellow men, such as the knowledge of the Globe, of it's climates, of it's vegetables, of the different Nations which inhabit it, of the relations in which they stand to us by means of commerce, and above all the study of the new constitutional code, which ought to be a code of patriotism and of morality.

To the exercises of the understanding, which are to form the heart and mind of children, must be joined those which strengthen the body, and qualify them for the service of their Country, such as swimming, running, the military evolutions in use among the ancients, which we study so long in theory, and to so little purpose in practice. Every one will be instructed in an art congenial to his taste, that he may find in himself resources against the revolutions of fortune.

The children will be brought up to a vegetable regimen, as being most natural to man. The Nations which subsist on vegetable diet are of all men the handsomest, the most robust, the least exposed to

diſeaſes and violent paſſions, and who attain the greateſt longevity. Such are in Europe a great proportion of the Swiſs. Moſt of the peaſantry, who are in all countries the healthieſt and moſt vigorous part of the community, eat very little fleſh. The Ruſſians obſerve the ſeaſon of Lent and other days of abſtinence innumerable, from which even the ſoldiery is not exempted; they are nevertheleſs capable of enduring every ſpecies and degree of fatigue. The Negroes, who in our Colonies are doomed to labour ſo ſevere, live entirely on manioc, potatoes and maize. The Bramins of India, who frequently live beyond a century, eat nothing but vegetables. From the Pythagorean ſchool it was that *Epaminondas* iſſued forth, a man ſo renowned for his virtues, *Archytas* celebrated for his ſkill in mechanics, *Milo* of Crotona for his ſtrength, and *Pythagoras* himſelf, the fineſt man of his day, and beyond the power of contradiction the moſt enlightened, for he was the father of philoſophy among the Greeks. As vegetable diet has a neceſſary connection with many virtues, and excludes no one, it muſt be of importance to accuſtom young people to it, ſeeing it's influence is ſo conſiderable and ſo happy on beauty of perſon and tranquillity of ſoul. This regimen prolongs infancy, and of conſequence the duration of human life. I have ſeen an inſtance of it in an Engliſh youth of fifteen, who had not the appearance of being ſo much as twelve. He was a moſt intereſting figure, poſſeſſed of health the moſt vigorous, and of a diſpoſition the moſt gentle: he performed the longeſt journeys on foot, and never loſt temper whatever befel him. His father,

father, whose name was *Pigot*, told me that he had brought him up entirely under the Pythagoric regimen, the good effects of which he had learned by his own experience. He had formed the project of employing part of his fortune, which was considerable, in the establishment, in some part of British America, of a Society of Pythagoreans, who should employ themselves in training, under the same regimen, the children of the American colonists, in the practice of all the arts connected with agriculture. May Heaven prosper such a plan of education, worthy of the most glorious periods of antiquity! It is no less adapted to a warlike than to an agricultural Nation. The children of the Persians, in the time of *Cyrus*, and by his orders, were fed with bread, water and cresses: they elected leaders among themselves to whom they yielded prompt obedience; they formed Assemblies in which, as in those of their fathers, were discussed all the questions which concerned the public good. With these children it was, after they had become men, that *Cyrus* effected the conquest of Asia. I observe that *Lycurgus* introduced a considerable part of the physical and moral regimen of the children of the Persians, into the education of those of *Lacedemon*.

It is at least indispensably necessary to teach our children what they are bound to practise when they are grown men, and to prepare the rising generation for relishing our new Constitution, for fear lest one day, out of emulation with respect to their fathers, as we have frequently done respecting ours, they should think of subverting all our Laws, merely to

gratify the vanity of ſubſtituting others in their place. From a national education, connected with our future legiſlation, there will reſult a Conſtitution appropriate to our occaſions and to thoſe of our poſterity. The effect of this will be, that the greateſt part of men of ſuperior minds, being no longer repelled from public employments, by their venality, will not henceforward ſeclude themſelves in Academies and Univerſities, to devote their whole attention to the affairs of Greece and Rome, in which they oblige us to admire their powers of thought, though they are ſcarcely ever employed in the ſervice of their Country; like thoſe antique vaſes which give us pleaſure from the beauty of their forms, but ſerve no purpoſe except to make a ſhew in our cabinets, becauſe they were not fabricated for uſe.

Having made proviſion for the felicity of the French Nation, by all the means capable of perpetuating the duration of it within the Kingdom, it would be worthy of the National Aſſembly to direct it's attention to thoſe which may ſecure it externally, by proper arrangements with foreign Nations.

WISHES FOR THE NATIONS.

THE ſame policy which, for their common happineſs, unites all the families of a Nation among themſelves, ought to unite all the nations of the Globe to each other, for they are the families of the human race. All men mutually communicate, even without

without any doubt on the ſubject, their calamities and their benefits, from one extremity of the Earth to the other. The greateſt part of our wars, of our epidemic diſorders, of our prejudices, of our errors, have come to us from without. The ſame thing is true as to our arts, our ſciences and our laws. But without going farther than to the bleſſings of Nature, let us caſt an eye on our plains. We are indebted for almoſt all the vegetables with which they are enriched, to the Egyptians, to the Greeks, to the Romans, to the Americans, to ſavage Nations. Our flax comes from the banks of the Nile, the vine from the Archipelago, the corn-plant from Sicily, the walnut-tree from Crete, the pear-tree from Mount Ida, the lucern from Media, the potatoe from America, the cherry-tree from the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and ſo of the reſt. What a delightful harmony is this day formed of the aſſemblage of thoſe foreign vegetables all over the mountains and plains of France! It looks as if Nature, like a King, were there aſſembling her Eſtates-general. We there diſtinguiſh different orders, as among the men of the country. Here are the humble graſſy plants, which like the peaſantry produce uſeful harveſts: out of their boſom riſe the fruit trees, whoſe productions though leſs neceſſary are more agreeable, but which require the operation of grafting, and a culture more aſſiduous, like our burghers. On the high grounds are the oaks, the firs, and the other powers of the foreſts, who like the Nobility ſhelter the low-lands from the winds, or like the Clergy raiſe themſelves to Heaven to catch it's refreſhing dews. In the cor-

ner of a valley are nurſery grounds like ſchools in which are reared the youth of the orchards and of the woods. No one of their vegetables injures another; all enjoy the benefits of the ſoil and of the Sun; all contribute mutual aſſiſtance, and lend to each other mutual graces. The weakeſt ſerve as ornaments to the moſt robuſt, and the more robuſt as a ſupport to the feeble. The ever-green ivy mantles round the rugged bark of the oak; the gilded miſtletoe glitters through the duſky foliage of the alder; the trunk of the maple encircles itſelf with garlands of honey-ſuckle, and the pyramidical poplar of Italy raiſes toward Heaven the empurpled cluſters of the vine. Each claſs of vegetables has it's proper bird for it's orator: the lark warbles as he ſoars above the ſwelling harveſt; the turtle murmurs and ſighs from the ſummit of an elm; the nightingale utters her plaintive ſtrain from the boſom of a thorny brake. At the different ſeaſons of the year, tribes of ſwallows, of quails, of plovers, of loriots, of red-breaſts, arrive from the North or from the South, build their neſts in our plains, and go to reſt in the caravanſeras which Nature had prepared for them. Each of them addreſſes his petitions to the Sun, as to a King, and implores the diffuſion of his bleſſings over the diſtrict which he inhabits. They ſojourn in our fields, our fallows and our groves, only becauſe they recognize in them the plants of their own country, and find among us the means of living in abundance. Man alone finds no aſylum in the poſſeſſions of Man, if he has the misfortune to be a ſtranger. In vain does the Italian ſigh at ſight of the fig-tree which ſhaded his infancy;

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in vain does the Engliſhman admire in our French plains the farming of his own country: both the one and the other may periſh with hunger in the midſt of our exuberant crops, unleſs they have money, and perhaps in priſon, if they have no paſſport, or belong to a Nation at war with us.

It was not by this indifference about ſtrangers that the Nations of the Eaſt attained the point of grandeur which has rendered them the centre of the Nations. They never viſit the countries of Europe, but they attract to themſelves the men of all countries by eſtabliſhments replete with humanity. The moſt meritorious object of their religion to the Princes, and the opulent Citizens, is to conſtruct, for the accommodation of travellers, bridges over rivers, reſervoirs of freſh water in dry places, and caravanſeras in the cities and upon the high roads. The tomb of the founder frequently riſes cloſe by the monument of his beneficence, and proviſions are there diſtributed on certain days to paſſengers of every deſcription. The traveller pronounces bleſſings on the hand which prepares for him an unexpected ſupply in the midſt of a deſert, and preſerves to his laſt breath the recollection of that land of hoſpitality. The Orientaliſts permit to all Nations the free exerciſe of their Religion; and if they receive their Ambaſſadors, they keep them clear of all expenſe during their reſidence. Such are, with reſpect to ſtrangers, the manners of the Turks, of the Perſians, of the Indians, of the Chineſe; of thoſe Nations which we have the inſolence to brand with the name of barbarians.

The ſtudy of Nature alone can diffuſe illumination

relative to the rights of Mankind, and to our own. Intolerant affociations have uſurped them in Europe, during ages really barbarous. They monopolized, to their private emolument, our homage, our riches, our illumination, and our duties; but in aſſuming the empire of opinion, they were unable to make themſelves maſters of that of Nature. It was the revival of learning which brought us back to her laws. The ſtudy of her harmonies firſt appeared among nations of delicate ſenſibility, and that of her elements among nations given to reflection. Italy produced poets and painters; Germany naturaliſts; and England philoſophers. Light quickly extended it's irradiation from the foſſil to the vegetable kingdom: *Tournefort* aroſe in France, and *Linnæus* in Sweden. The ſtudy of the vegetable world had made, toward the commencement of the preſent century, a very conſiderable progreſs in England. The friends of Mankind and of Nature, tranſplanted into their gardens the wild plants of our plains, and naturalized in our plains the foreign plants which they cultivated in their gardens. A man repoſed himſelf near his houſe, on the herbage of the meadows at the foot of the trees of the foreſts, and travelled through the champaign of Europe under the ſhade of the great cheſtnut of India and the acacia of America. Certain philoſophers, among others *Buffon*, attempted to naturalize at home the animals of foreign countries; but from want of conſidering that the animal kingdom is neceſſarily allied to the vegetable, thoſe attempts were attended with ſcarcely any ſucceſs. The rein-deer, and the vigon of Peru, refuſed to live in

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our climates, where they found not the plants of their own country which ſerve them for food. Nevertheleſs, animals of the warmeſt climates, ſhut up in our menageries, produced young ones. We have ſeen with ſurprize the *titiris* and the *makis* of Madagaſcar, and the paroquets of Guinea propagated in France. The parents, undoubtedly, ſurrounded by plantains, yucas, aloés, thought themſelves to be in the foreſts of Africa, and the ſentiment of Country, rekindled in them that of Love. There can be no doubt that each of them would make his neſt in the midſt of our fields, did the vegetable which is to feed his brood there produce it's fruit.

O! how worthy it would be of an enlightened, rich and generous Nation, to naturalize in it's boſom the men of foreign lands, and to behold families of Aſiatics, of Africans, of Americans multiplying themſelves amidſt the very plants for which we ſtand indebted to them! Our Princes rear in their menageries, in the vicinity of their caſtles, tigers, hyenas, white bears, lions, and the ferocious animals of every quarter of the Globe, as marks of grandeur; it would be much more glorious for them to make proviſion around their Palaces for the unfortunate of all Nations, as ſo many teſtimonies of their humanity.

Political intereſt is in truth beginning to diffuſe this ſentiment over Europe, and the North has ſet the example of it. Ruſſia values herſelf on having in dependence upon her men of all Nations and of all Religions. At the time of the coronation of the Empreſs *Catharine* II. at Moſcow, her firſt painter having done me the honour to aſk my opinion reſpecting

ſpecting the compoſition of the picture which he was called upon to produce on that occaſion, I adviſed him to introduce into it the deputies of all the Nations which are ſubject to the Empire of Ruſſia, Tartars, Finlanders, Coſaques, Samoièdes, Livonians, Kamtſchadales, Laplanders, Siberians, Chineſe, &c. bringing every one as a preſent ſome peculiar production of his own country. The phyſionomies, the appropriate dreſſes and the offerings of ſo many different tribes would have, in my judgment, figured much better in that auguſt ceremony, than the diamonds and all the gaudy tapeſtry of the Crown. But whether it was that this ſimple and popular idea did not meet thoſe of a Court Painter, or that the execution of it appeared to him to be too difficult, he ſubſtituted in it's room the unintelligible commonplace fictions of allegory. There were in my own time in the ſervice of Ruſſia, Frenchmen, Engliſhmen, Dutchmen, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Polanders, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, Perſians.....Ruſſia owes theſe enlarged views to *Peter-the-Great*. That Prince admitted even Negroes into his military ſervice. He raiſed to the rank of Lieutenant-General a Coaſt of Guinea black, named *Annibal*, whom he had ordered to be inſtructed from a child, and who had attended him in all his campaigns. He honoured this African with his confidence to ſuch a degree as to confer on him the place of Director-General of Artillery; a fact which it gives me pleaſure to relate, as it expoſes the preſumption of thoſe who do not ſuppoſe black people capable of a certain degree of intelligence. I have ſeen at Peterſburg, in 1765, the

the ſon of this Negro General, who was Colonel of a regiment, and univerſally eſteemed, though a Mulatto.

Wherefore have not we Frenchmen, who look upon ourſelves as much more poliſhed than Ruſſians, hitherto rendered a ſimilar tribute of juſtice to the Nations? I have ſeen indeed Turks in the King's ſervice; but it was on board the galleys. Being at Toulon in 1763, on the point of embarking for Malta, then threatened with a ſiege on the part of the Turks, a man with a long beard, in a turban and robe, who was ſitting with his legs under him at the door of the Marine Coffee-houſe, embraced my knees as I came out, and ſpake in an unknown language ſomething which I did not comprehend. A naval officer who underſtood what he had ſaid, told me that this perſon was a Turkiſh ſlave, who knowing that I was on my way to Malta, and entertaining no doubt that his Sultan would take that Iſland, and reduce to ſlavery every one he found there, expreſſed his concern at my falling ſo early in life into a deſtiny ſimilar to his own. I thanked the good Muſſulman for the intereſt he took in me, and aſked the Officer why this Turk himſelf was a ſlave in France, ſeeing we were at peace with the Turks, nay more, their Allies. He ſaid to me, "That this man had "been taken on board a veſſel belonging to the Bar-"bary Coaſt, but that it was merely from regard to "the etiquette and dignity of his Majeſty's ſervice "that he was detained in ſlavery, as well as ſome "others of his compatriots; that they had for keep-"ing up this cuſtom, now of long ſtanding, a par-

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" ticular galley called the Turkiſh; that thoſe on " board were treated with the utmoſt kindneſs, and " permitted to do almoſt whatever they pleaſed, only " great care was taken to prevent their writing to " Conſtantinople, for fear of their being reclaimed " by the Porte." The term dignity has frequently recurred to my mind, without my being able to comprehend what it meant. What relation can there be between the dignity of our Kings and the ſlavery of a handful of Turks who never did them any harm? It is undoubtedly for the ſake of maintaining this ſame dignity, that men are repreſented in chains at the feet of their ſtatues. But ſince our Kings muſt have Turks, as the Princes of Aſia have elephants, it appears to me that it would be much more becoming their dignity to place them in a good refectory than on board a galley.

The Princes of Europe, it is true, keep up foreign regiments in their pay, and maintain Conſuls, Reſidents and Ambaſſadors at Foreign Courts: but theſe Miniſters of their politics are frequently the cauſe of our quarrels. Nations ought to unite themſelves to each other, not by treaties of peace and commerce, but by benefits; not by the intereſts of pride or avarice, but by thoſe of humanity and virtue.

Of this our own Country ought to ſet the example to the Nations. We are of all the States of Europe that which poſſeſſes moſt philanthropy, and we owe it to our corrupt inſtitutions. Philanthropy is natural to the human heart, but Nature has divided it into different degrees, that we may ſerve an apprenticeſhip to it, by paſſing through the different ages of

of life. We pass in succession through the love of our family, of our tribe, of our country, before we are instructed to love Mankind. In infancy we learn to love our parents, who have given us birth and education; in youth, the tribe that secures to us a situation in which we can subsist, and furnishes a companion for re-producing ourselves; in mature age, the country which associates us to it's employments, and supplies the means of establishing our family; finally, in the decline of life, delivered from the dominion of most of our passions, we extend our affections to all Mankind. But these successive stages through which Nature obliges us to travel in the career of human life, in order to extend the enjoyment with the progress, are destroyed by our social habits.

The love of family is extinguished, from the days of infancy, by the nursing and boarding of children at a distance from the paternal roof; that of tribe, by the spirit of finance, which confounds every distinction of rank; that of country, because we can rise to nothing in it without money: nothing then remains but to love Mankind, of whom we have no room to complain. Besides, this philanthropic disposition is what Nature demands of us at all times; for she has formed men to love and to succour each other all over the Globe. Nay it is very remarkable that most of the Nations which have rendered themselves illustrious in the first degrees of philanthropy, have stopped short there, and never attained the last. The Chinese, whose patriarchal Government is founded on paternal affection, have sequestered themselves from the rest of mankind still more by their laws

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than by their great wall. The Indians and the Jews, ſo attached to their caſts or tribes, have deſpiſed other Nations to ſuch a degree as never to contract intermarriages with them. The Greeks and Romans, ſo celebrated for their patriotiſm, conſidered the other Nations of the Earth as barbarians; they beſtowed no other name upon them, and made the whole of their own glory conſiſt in effecting the conqueſt of their countries. It muſt be acknowledged however in praiſe of the Romans, that they frequently incorporated the conquered Nations with themſelves, by communicating to them the privileges of Roman citizens; and this humane policy was the real cauſe of their rapid ſucceſſes, and the ſource of their greatneſs. Let the French Nation devote it's exertions to promote the felicity of all other Nations; it is an infallible method to make ſure of the conqueſt of the Globe. The Tartars over-ran part by dint of numbers; the Greeks, under *Alexander*, by means of diſcipline; the Romans by patriotiſm; the Turks by religion; all of them by terror: let us conquer it by love. Their Empire has paſſed away; ours will be permanent. We have already ſubjugated Europe by our arts, our modes, and our language; we already reign over the minds of men, let us likewiſe eſtabliſh a dominion over their hearts. Let us exhibit to all the Nations of the Univerſe a legiſlation which enſures our own happineſs. Let us invite them, by our example, to re-eſtabliſh in their reſpective countries the Laws of Nature; and in the mean time let us raiſe them to the enjoyment of their firſt rights, by offering them an aſylum in our boſom.

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For the accompliſhment of an object ſo intereſting, I could wiſh to have deſtined to it a vaſt ſpace in the vicinity of Paris, on the banks of the Seine in it's progreſs toward the ſea. The place ſelected ought to conſiſt of a variegated ſurface, formed of mountains, rocks, brooks, heaths, meadows. It might be ſown with all the exotic plants already naturalized in our climate, or ſuch as may be ſo; the large vetches of Siberia with blue and white bloſſoms, which produce a copious paſturage; the trefoil of the ſame country, which is no leſs prolific; the hemp of China, which riſes like a tree to the height of fifteen feet; the different millets, the gum of Mingrelia, the corn of Turkey, the rhubarb of Tartary, the madder, and ſo on. Care would be taken to plant it in groups with all the foreign trees and ſhrubs which in our gardens ſtood the ſeverity of laſt Winter, the acacias, the thuyas, the trees of Judea and of Sainte-Lucie, the ſumach, the ſorb apple, the prelea, the lilach, the andromeda, the liquidambar, the cypreſs, the ebony, the amelancier, the tulip-tree of Virginia, the cedar of Lebanon, the poplars of Italy and Holland, the plane-trees of Aſia and of America, &c. Every vegetable would there be in the ſoil, and the expoſition moſt ſuitable to it. There we might have contraſted the moveable and gay foliage of the birch, with the pyramidical and ſolemn fir; the catalpa, with broad heart-formed leaves, which raiſes toward Heaven it's ſtiff branches like thoſe of a chandelier, with the Babyloniſh willow, whoſe boughs droop down to the ground like a long head of hair; the acacia, whoſe light-ſhades

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play in the rays of the Sun, with the thick-leaved mulberry-tree of China which completely obſtructs their tranſmiſſion; the thuya, whoſe flattened boughs reſemble the ſlices of a rock, with the larch which has it's garniſhed with pencils like tufts of ſilk. Thoſe groves might be peopled with pheaſants, Manilla ducks, India hens, peacocks, deer, roe-bucks, and all the innocent animals which are able to bear our climate. We ſhould ſee in their purlieus the nimble ſtag bound by the creeping tortoiſe; and under their umbrage the ſhining wood-pecker clambering along the bark of the fir-tree, or the Siberian ſquirrel, of the ſilvery pearl-gray, ſpringing from branch to branch. On the boſom of a brook the ſwan would ſteer his peaceful courſe cloſe by the beaver, buſied in building his lodge on it's brink. Many birds would be attracted thither by the vegetables of their country, and would be naturalized like them, when the terror of the fowler was no more.

This territory might be divided into ſmall portions ſufficient for the amuſement of a family, and the property of them completely transferred to the unfortunate of all Nations, to ſerve them as a retreat. Habitations might likewiſe be built in them adapted to the demands of Nature, and proviſion made for them of food and clothing correſponding to their native faſhions.

What ſpectacle more magnificent, more lovely, more affecting, than to behold upon the mountains and in the valleys of France, the animals of all climates, and the wretched families of all Nations, purſuing

fuing at perfect liberty their natural taftes, and brought back to happineſs by our hoſpitality. Under the ſhade of the olive-tree of Bohemia, or rather of Syria, the odour of which is grateful to the people of the Eaſt, a ſilent and reſerved Turk, eſcaped from the bow-ſtring of the Seraglio, would gravely ſmoke his pipe; while in his vicinity, a Greek of the Archipelago, delighted at finding himſelf no longer under the rod of a Turkiſh maſter, would cultivate, ſinging as he laboured, the plant which produces the laudanum. An Indian of Mexico would ſtrip off the leaves of the coca, without fear of being forced by a Spaniſh tyrant to go and drink it in the mines of Peru; and cloſe by him, the penſive Spaniard would read every book which might miniſter to his inſtruction, free from the terror of the Inquiſition. There the Paria would not be devoted to infamy by the Bramin, and the Bramin in return would not there be oppreſſed by the European. Juſtice and humanity would extend even to the brute creation. The ſavage of Canada would not in ſuch a place form a deſign of ſtripping the ingenious beaver of his ſkin, and no enemy would wiſh in his turn to carry off the ſcalp of the ſavage. Harmleſs men and animals would there find at all ſeaſons a ſecure aſylum. An Engliſhman, in a little iſland ſown with rye-graſs, employing himſelf in rearing a breed of courſers, or in the conſtruction of barks ſtill fleeter for the courſe, would think himſelf in his own country; while a Jew, who no longer has a Country, would call to remembrance that of his fore-fathers, and ſing the ſongs of Zion, on the banks of the Seine, at the foot of a

willow of Babylon. A boat made fast to a linden-tree would serve as a home to the family of a Dutchman, ready at all times to navigate up and down the river to accommodate the demands of the Colony; and a tent fixed on wheels, drawn by camels, would lodge that of a wandering Tartar, whose care at every season is the discovery of a situation that suits him best. The Laplander, on the highest mountain, would in Summer lead his herd of rein-deer to pasture under a forest of firs, near a glaciere, while at the bottom of the valley, to the South, in the most rigorous Winter, a Negro of Senegal would cultivate in a hot-house the nopal loaded with the cochineal. A great many plants and animals which resist our method of culture, would take pleasure to reproduce themselves in the hands of their compatriots; and many foreign families which pine and die with regret out of their own country, would become naturalized in ours, amidst their native plants and animals.

There would be in this spot of every Nation but one single family, which should represent it, not by it's luxury which excites cupidity, but by the attraction of misfortune, which in all men excites a lively interest. These retreats would be granted not to birth, nor money, nor intrigue, but to calamity. Among claimants of the same country, the preference would be given to the man who had been made to drink most deeply from the cup of affliction, and who should seem to have merited it the least. The choice would be left to the other inhabitants of the place, who, having passed through the same

ſame ordeal of experience, muſt be their natural peers and judges.

Such an eſtabliſhment would coſt the State a very ſmall matter. Every Province of France might found within itſelf an aſylum for a family of the Nation with which it is moſt cloſely connected by it's Commerce. A ſimilar exertion might be made by thoſe of our Grandees, who having merited well of their own vaſſals, feel themſelves worthy of being the protectors of a Nation. Finally, foreign powers ſhould be admitted to the honour of eſtabliſhing ſimilar refuges in our Country, for a family of their unfortunate ſubjects. Thoſe Powers would not be ſlack to imitate our example at home. Moſt of them have, like us, foreign ſoldiers in their pay, and National Ambaſſadors at Foreign Courts, all to diſplay their glory, that is, frequently to ſcatter miſery over the World. It would coſt them much leſs to do for the intereſts of humanity, what they have been doing ſo long, and to ſo little purpoſe, for the promotion of their political views.

The moſt unſpeakable benefits would reſult from it in favour of our Manufactures and Trade. We ſhould find in thoſe families an acceſſion of new induſtry for the improvement of arts and agriculture; of obſervations to aſſiſt ſcholars and philoſophers; of interpreters for all languages; and of centres of correſpondence for every part of the Globe. Thus, as at Amſterdam, every pillar of the Exchange, inſcribed with the name of a foreign City, is the centre of the Commerce of Holland with that City, every family eſcaped from calamity would be, in this ſanctuary, the

centre of the hoſpitality of France with reſpect to a foreign Nation. A Frenchman would no longer have occaſion to travel from home, in order to acquire the knowledge of Nature and of Mankind: he might ſee in the ſpot I have been deſcribing all that is moſt intereſting over the face of the Earth; the moſt uſeful plants and animals; and, what is of all other things the moſt affecting to the heart of man, unfortunate beings who have ceaſed to be ſuch. By bringing all theſe families into contact, we ſhould extinguiſh among them the prejudices and the animoſities which inflame their reſpective Nations, and occaſion the greateſt part of the miſeries which they endure.

In the midſt of their habitations there ſhould be an uninhabited grove, formed of all the foreign trees which have been naturalized by time and culture in our country, and of thoſe which grow ſpontaneouſly in our foreſts, ſuch as the elm, the poplar, the oak, and the like.....In the centre of this grove there ſhould be plantations of all our fruit trees, walnuts, vines, apples, pears, cheſtnuts, apricots, peaches, cherries, interſperſed amidſt fields of corn, ſtrawberries, and pot-herbs which ſerve for food to man. Amidſt this ſcene of cultivation, terminated by a brook with banks ſufficiently ſteep to ſerve as a fence to the animals, ſhould be a vaſt down for the continual paſturage of herds of cows, flocks of ſheep, of goats, and of all the animals which miniſter to the comfort of man by their milk, their wool, or their ſervices. Toward the centre of this down ſhould be reared a ſpacious Temple in form of a rotundo, open to the four cardinal

cardinal points of the Globe, without figures, without ornaments, without inſcriptions and without gates, like thoſe which in the early ages of the world were conſecrated to the Author of Nature. On every day of the year, each family would reſort hither in it's turn, at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, there to recite in the language of their fathers, the prayer of the Goſpel, which being addreſſed to God as the Father of mankind, is adapted to men of all nations. Accordingly, as moſt religions have ſet apart to God a particular day of every week; the Turks, Friday; the Jews, Saturday; Chriſtians, Sunday; the Nations of Nigritia, Tueſday; and other Nations undoubtedly, Monday, Wedneſday and Thurſday, the Deity would be approached in this Temple with ſolemn religious worſhip every day of the week, and in a different language all the days of the year.

As happy animals gather round the habitations of men without fear, in like manner, happy men would aſſemble without the ſpirit of intolerance around the Temple of the Divinity. A ſenſe of gratitude to God, and to men, would there gradually draw to approximation the languages, the cuſtoms and the worſhip which ſeparate the inhabitants of all the earth. Nature would there triumph over political diſtinction. The inhabitants of this Colony would there preſent God in common the fruits with which he ſuſtains human life in our climates. As the year is a perpetual circle of his benefits, and as every Moon brings new foliage, or fruits, or pot-herbs, every new Moon would be the epocha of their crops, of their offerings, and of their principal feſtivals. On

theſe hallowed days all the families might aſſemble round the Temple, there to partake in common of a harmleſs repaſt, conſiſting of the roots of the plants, the fruits of the trees, the corn of the graſſes, and the milk of the flocks. Love would bring them ſtill nearer to each other. The young people of both ſexes would there dance upon the down to the ſound of the different inſtruments of their own Country. The female Indian of the Ganges, with a tambour in her hand, brown and lively like a daughter of Aurora, would behold with ſmiles a ſon of the Thames, ſmitten with her charms, laying at her feet the rich muſlins of which Calcutta ſtrips her country. The bleſſings of love would there compenſate the rapine of war. The timid Indian girl of Peru would there permit her eyes to repoſe on thoſe of a young Spaniard, become her lover and her protector. The Negreſs of the Guinea coaſt, with her necklace of coral and teeth of ivory, would ſmile on the ſon of the European who formerly led her fathers in chains of iron, and would deſire no other revenge than to lock the ſon, in her turn, in her arms of ebony.

Love and marriage would there unite lovers of all Nations, Tartars and women of Mexico, the Siameſe and Laponian, the Ruſſian and the Algonkine, the Perſian and the Moreſco, the Kamtſchadale and the female Georgian. Plenty would attract thither all men to the practice of toleration. The Frenchwoman during the dance would with one hand place a garland of flowers on the head of a German, and with the other pour out wine into the cup of a Turk. She would animate by her frankneſs and decent graces,

graces, thoſe hoſpitable feaſts given in her country to all the tribes of the univerſe, and when the ſetting Sun ſhould lengthen on the downs the ſhadow of the groves, and gild their ſummits with his departing beams, all the choirs of the dance collected round the Temple, would ſing in concert to the Author of Nature a hymn of gratitude, repeated by the echoes from diſtance to diſtance.

Ah! why ſhould I not one day ſee in this Aſylum for the miſery of the Human Race, ſome of the wretched beings whom I have met far from their native country, without any one to take an intereſt in them! One day in the Iſle of France, a weakly white Slave, whoſe ſhoulders were flead by carrying ſtones, threw himſelf at my feet, and beſought me to intercede for his liberty, of which, for ſeveral years paſt, he had been deprived by Europeans, in violation of the Law of Nations, for he was a Chineſe. I repreſented his caſe to the Intendant of the iſland, who having been in China, knew him to be Chineſe, and ſent him home to his country. But what purpoſe does it ſerve to be delivered from ſlavery, if a man muſt continue to ſtruggle with poverty, neglect and old-age? At Paris, on a time, an old Negro quite emaciated, ſmoking on a poſt the ſtump of a pipe, and almoſt naked in the midſt of winter, ſaid to me in a dying tone of voice: "Take pity on a miſerable "Negro." Unfortunate creature, ſaid I to myſelf, What good can the pity of ſuch a man as myſelf do to thee? Not only thou, but thy whole Nation ſtands in need of pity from the powers of Europe! How

many times have children, women, old-men, who did not ſpeak French, preſented themſelves to me in the ſtreets, unable to explain their diſtreſſes and their wants but by tears. Not for their ſakes, but for their Sovereign's, the Ambaſſadors of their Nations reſide at Paris. Were there but a ſingle family maintained there by the State, ſome one at leaſt might be found with whom to weep. Why may it not be permitted me one day to behold in the Aſylum which I wiſh to provide for them, ſome of the men of the Nations who have honoured myſelf with their hoſpitality and their tears! I have found ſuch in Holland, in Ruſſia, in Pruſſia, who ſaid to me: "Forget a Country "which repels you, and paſs your days with us." Some of them have ſaid, what perhaps a rich man of my own Country never ſaid to one that was poor: "Accept the hand of my ſiſter, and be my brother." But how could I have accepted a hand which would have given me a companion for life and a brother; when, at a diſtance from my Country, I could no longer diſpoſe of my heart? No, it is not climate nor language by which men are diſunited; but intolerant corps and treacherous Courts; for I have every where found man at once good and unfortunate. Oh! with what glory would France clothe herſelf, were ſhe to open in her boſom a retreat for the wretched of all Nations! Happy, could I conſecrate to this hallowed eſtabliſhment the ſcanty fruits of my labours! Happy! could I but finiſh my days, were it but in a hut, on ſome rugged cliff of a mountain under the ſtraw and the juniper, but beholding at a diſtance, on the hills and

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in the valleys, men formerly disjoined by language, government, religion, reunited in the bosom of abundance and liberty by the hospitality of France!

To you, O *Louis* XVI! I address these wishes, who in convoking the States-general of the Kingdom, have invited me to form and express them, by summoning every subject to the foot of the Throne. To your attention I recommend them, ye Ministers of a Religion which breathes goodwill to men; to you I call, generous Nobles, who have an immortal glory for the object of your ambition; ye defenders of the People whose voice must make itself heard by posterity: you of every description, who by virtue, birth, fortune or talents, constitute powers in the august Assembly of the Nation. I nominate you as my representatives in it, ye women oppressed by the laws, children rendered miserable by an injudicious education, a peasantry oppressed by imposts, citizens forced into celibacy, the feudal slaves of Mount Jura, the Negroes of our Colonies, ye unfortunate of all Nations; could your sorrows and your tears make themselves heard in the midst of that Assembly of upright and enlightened citizens, the wishes which I form in your behalf should speedily be transformed into so many laws.

May these wishes at length be accomplished! At sight of a church-spire or nobleman's castle, rising above exuberant harvests, may the solitary Widow pursuing her journey on foot, and the still more unfortunate Mother surrounded by perishing infants, secretly rejoice as at the sight of a place of refuge destined to protect them, to comfort and to nourish them!

them! Or rather, O, France! through thy rich and extenſive plains may no indigent perſon henceforward be ſeen; may property of moderate extent diffuſe over thy ſurface, to the very heaths, induſtry, abundance and joy; in thy meaneſt hamlets may every young woman find a lover, and every lover a faithful wife; may thy mothers behold their crops multiply with their families; may thy children be for ever preſerved from that fatal ambition which produces all the evils which befal mankind; may they learn from the heart of a mother to live only to love, and to love only to propagate life; and may thy old men, the fellow-workers in promoting thy future felicity, cloſe their days in hope and tranquillity, which are the gift of Heaven to thoſe only who love God and Men.

O France! may thy Monarch walk about unguarded through the midſt of his children, and ſee them in return depoſit at his feet the cheerful tribute of affection and gratitude! May the Nations of Europe there aſſemble their States-general, and form with us but one family of which he may be the head! In a word, may all the Nations of the World, whoſe unfortunate ſubjects we ſhall have ſuccoured, ſend their Deputies thither in proceſs of time, to bleſs God in every language of the habitable Globe, and to contribute to the relief of Man in all the exigencies of human life!

SEQUEL

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TO
THE WISHES OF A RECLUSE.

CERTAIN persons have expreſſed ſurprize that after having ſpoken, in my *Studies of Nature*, of the cauſes which were likely to produce the revolution, I ſhould have declined to accept any employment in it. To this I ſhall make the reply already ſtated: it is that for more than twenty years paſt the ſtate of my health has not permitted me to mix in any aſſembly, political, literary, religious, or even convivial, if there be a crowd, and the doors ſhut. Some of my friends allege that the deſire of getting out, and the ſpaſmodic agitations which I then undergo, ariſe from an over exquiſite ſentiment of liberty: it may be ſo; but God forbid I ſhould endeavour to make my infirmities paſs for virtues! My maladies are real maladies; they are produced by a derangement of my nervous ſyſtem, the effect of the rude ſhocks to which my life has been expoſed.* Independently of the

* This malady is much more ancient than is generally imagined. I find the following paſſage on the ſubject toward the beginning of the 54th Epiſtle of *Seneca* to *Lucilius*:

Longum mihi commeatum dederat mala valetudo; repentè me invaſit. Quo genere, inquis? Prorſus merito me interrogas: adeo nullum mihi ignotum eſt. Uni tamen morbo quaſi aſſignatus ſum, quem quare Græco nomine apellem, neſcio. Satis enim aptè dici ſuſpiriam poteſt. Brevis autem valdè & procellæ ſimilis eſt.

Intra

phyſical cauſes which forbid my mixing with aſſemblies, I had other reaſons of a moral nature. I had acquired an experience ſo long and ſo diſcouraging of mankind, that for ſome time paſt I formed the reſolution of expecting no portion whatever of my happineſs from them. I had conſequently retired for ſeveral years into one of the leaſt frequented ſuburbs of Paris. There I tried to comfort myſelf with the recollection of the vain efforts which I had formerly made to

Intra horam ferè definit. Quis enim diu expirat? Omnia corporis aut incommoda aut pericula per me tranſierunt: nullum mihi videtur moleſtius: Quidni? Aliud enim quidquid eſt egrotare eſt, hoc eſt, animam agere. Itaque medici hanc meditationem mortis vocant.

"My indiſpoſition had given me a conſiderably long reſpite; "but attacked me all of a ſudden. Of what nature is it, you will "aſk? Good reaſon you have for putting the queſtion: to ſuch a "degree have I felt every exiſting ſpecies of malady. I am how-"ever delivered up as it were to one diſtemper, which I can ſee "no reaſon for calling by a Greek name; for it may with ſuffi-"cient propriety be denominated the ſighing illneſs. The paroxyſm "is very ſhort, and reſembles the violence of a tempeſt. It gene-"rally ſpends itſelf within the hour; for who can remain long in "giving up the ghoſt? All the diſorders and dangers to which the "human body is expoſed have paſſed through mine, but I know "no one more inſupportable. How ſo? Every other diſorder, of "whatever kind, is only to be ſick, but this is actually dying. "Phyſicians, on this account, call it meditation of death."

This malady, if I am not miſtaken, has a perfect reſemblance to the nervous diſorder. It was perhaps to *Seneca* the ſource of his philoſophy, which in return alleviated diſeaſe: it inſtructed him how to ſuppor. it as well as the atrocities of *Nero*. Philoſophy then is neceſſary to all men, as one may be as violently tormented, in the calmeſt retreat, by a ſigh, as by the moſt inhuman tyrant.

The Epiſtles of *Seneca* to *Lucilius* are, in my opinion, his beſt production. He compoſed them in his old-age, after having paſſed through a long and ſevere ordeal of affliction.

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ſerve my Country in reality, by amuſing myſelf about it's proſperity in ſpeculation. I imagined in my retirement that I had ſufficiently acquitted myſelf of my duty as a Citizen, by daring, under the old Government, to publiſh the diſorders which were going to produce the Revolution, and the means which I deemed neceſſary to prevent it, by ſuggeſting a remedy for our calamities. I have attacked in my *Studies of Nature*, publiſhed for the firſt time in 1784, the abuſe which has pervaded the Finances, great territorial Properties, the Nobility, the Clergy, Academies, Univerſities, Education, &c. ...without health, without reputation, without corporation-intereſt, without patronage, and without fortune, which is of itſelf, in the preſent ſtate of the world, equivalent to every other reſource. I have to ſay farther, that I had no means of ſubſiſtence except a moderate annual gratuity, which was entirely at the diſpoſal of the department whoſe power and irregularity I had chiefly combatted, that of the Finances. The benefit which I derived from it was ſo caſual, that it depended from year to year on the good pleaſure of the upper Clerk, and afterwards on that of the Miniſter, himſelf ſo dependent on the will of another, that there were ten ſucceſſively in the courſe of two years. I cannot conceive the poſſibility of any Writer's finding himſelf in my ſituation, even among thoſe who have devoted themſelves moſt ſtrenuouſly to the public cauſe. *John-James* was perſonally connected with Grandees who were fond of his works; with Miniſters who favoured the publication of them, even by confiſcating them;

them; with women of beauty and fashion who defended them against the world; but what is of still more importance, his musical talents alone were sufficient to procure him an absolute independence on all the world. For my own part, it was a matter of great dubiety, whether I should have any thing of the kind, but it was not totally for want of puffers: for I had embroiled myself, from the very principles which I had laid down, with philosophers who had at their absolute disposal most of the daily journals, those trumpeters of reputation.

A judgment may be formed of the difficulties which I had to surmount, by those which I have actually encountered in procuring permission to print and publish my *Studies of Nature*. I had at first composed the greater part of that Work, in furnished lodgings in the *rue de la Madeleine*, and I arranged my materials in a little turret in the *rue neuve St. Etienne du-Mont*, where I have lived four years amidst disquietudes physical and domestic of a singular nature. There likewise it was that I enjoyed the most delicious pleasures of my life, amidst a profound solitude, and an enchanting horizon. I should perhaps have been there still, had I not been obliged by the caprice of the proprietor to quit it, as he took a fancy to pull it down; here I put the last hand to my *Studies of Nature*, and here it was I published them. My first business was to apply to Chancery to have my manuscript inspected; but a kind of Secretary of the Press-department insisted on my leaving it in his custody. As it was filled with ideas

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peculiar to myſelf, it would have been very improper to truſt my Work to the indiſcretion or careleſſneſs of a Public Office. After repeated ſolicitations I prevailed ſo far as to have it ſubmitted to the inſpection of a Cenſor. He was a very diſtinguiſhed literary character: it received his entire approbation; but, conformably to the regulations, he was under the neceſſity of referring me to a Theologian, becauſe it contained matter of a moral kind. This Gentleman was very much offended that I had not applied to him in the firſt inſtance. He diſputed every page of my manuſcript with me. He imputed dangerous ideas to words the moſt innocent; he found fault, for example, with my having ſaid that *Louis* XVI. had called the Britiſh Americans to liberty; he wiſhed me to retrench the word *liberty*, condemned, as he alleged, by the Keeper of the Great Seal, as being the rallying term among Philoſophers. It coſt me no little pains to make him comprehend that I did not mean the liberty of thought of the Anglo-Americans, but their political liberty, toward effecting which *Louis* XVI. had contributed, as all the world knows. He did not chooſe that I ſhould expoſe the abuſes of corps, thoſe of the Univerſity however excepted, becauſe he was Profeſſor in the Royal College, the rival ſeminary for education. I was aſtoniſhed to find how many diſputes I had to ſuſtain with a Theologian on the ſubject of my beſt proofs of a ſuperintending Providence. Frequently was I on the point of withdrawing my papers, telling him I would make my complaint to the Chancellor and demand another Cenſor. But

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the remedy would have been worſe than the diſeaſe. The more you change your Cenſors the more difficult they become. The laſt named, from the ſpirit of corps, or to make a merit of their exactneſs as well as the firſt, go on depreciating more and more the Work under examination, juſt as clothes-brokers, who obſerve a retrograde progreſs in their offers, all under the price which the firſt comer had fixed upon a coat. I was under the neceſſity therefore, whether I would or not, to conſent to ſome retrenchments, particularly on the ſubject of the Clergy. I ſuppreſſed one article in my own opinion of very high importance. I propoſed in it, as a ſtudy equally conducive to the intereſt of Humanity and of Religion, to oblige young Eccleſiaſtics, deſtined to become Miniſters of Charity, to ſpend a part of their probationary time and labour in Priſons and Hoſpitals, in order to their learning how to cure the maladies of the mind, juſt as ſtudents in medicine are taught in the ſame places how to remedy thoſe of the body. By means of agreeing to make ſome other ſacrifices, my theological Cenſor ſent me my manuſcript at the end of three months. He affixed not a ſyllable of approbation to it except his ſignature; but he ſhewed me at the ſame time one of a dozen of lines, containing a groſsly fulſome eulogium, with theſe words: "Such is the approba-"tion I beſtow on Works which give me ſatisfac-"tion;" it was prefixed to a new tranſlation of *Homer*'s Odyſſey, which nobody reads.

I recovered then my *Studies of Nature* from this inquiſition. But I had not yet reached the period of my troubles; the next point was to get them printed.

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It was likewiſe extremely reaſonable that, ſituated as I was, I ſhould derive ſome pecuniary emolument from my long and painful labours. I applied accordingly to a bookſeller, a widow lady connected with the Court, whom one of my friends, who held conſiderable employments under Government, had cried up to me as a perſon of ſtrict integrity, and to whom he had given me a recommendation. She received me at firſt very coolly, on the propoſal I made that ſhe ſhould advance the coſt of printing my book, and afterwards reimburſe herſelf out of the ſales; but as ſoon as I mentioned my name and that of my friend, ſhe aſſumed a ſmiling air, and congratulated herſelf on his having thought of her, to procure for her the offer of Works of character. I ſhewed her my manuſcript, and requeſted ſhe would inform me what the expenſe of the impreſſion would amount to. She reckoned it would make ſix ſmall volumes in duodecimo, and that I might venture on printing 1500 copies. She then gave me a memorandum of the expenſe of compoſing, of preſs-work, of paper, of gathering, of warehouſe rent, of ſtitching, of the allowance on the ſale to country bookſellers. I took down the particulars as ſhe dictated them, and having examined them at home, I found that I ſhould ſtill remain ſomewhat in her debt, even ſuppoſing the impreſſion to go off rapidly. I then entertained thoughts of publiſhing at my own riſk in three volumes, to diminiſh one-half of the expenſe of ſtitching and of the abatement to the trade, calculated in my memorandum at 15 ſols (7½d.) a volume, which amounted on the whole ſale to thirty-four per cent.

All the money I had in the world was 600 livres (25l.) I found means, with ſome difficulty, to borrow 1200 more from certain opulent friends, and I had no doubt that with ſuch a ſtock of ready money, which now amounted to more than a third of the expenſe, I might enter directly into treaty with a printer, and the rather, that I would give up the whole edition to him till he was completely indemnified. Theſe conditions were ſtill more advantageous than thoſe on which bookſellers deal, who generally ſettle with the ſtationer and printer by giving in payment notes at twelve and even eighteen months; but I forgot that I was only an Author. I went then to one of the moſt noted printers in Paris, in the belief that I ſhould have leſs difficulty to encounter with a wealthy and enlightened tradeſman. He received me at firſt with profound reſpect, and ſhewed me copies of all his fineſt editions, imagining I came to be a purchaſer; but no ſooner had I opened my buſineſs, and enquired at what rate he performed printing, than he changed countenance. He deigned not to anſwer my queſtion, but told me he printed only on his own account, and that his preſs was entirely devoted to works whoſe merit and ſucceſs were already decided. A friend pointed out to me another printer, who had received a favourable impreſſion of me, and who wiſhed for nothing more than to enter into treaty on the ſubject. This printer acceded to every condition I propoſed, and requeſted that I would put my manuſcript into his hands, in order, as he ſaid, to calculate how many ſheets of letter-preſs it would make. He ſent it back after a few days, with an intimation,

timation that he could not engage in it, becauſe he was overtaken with a great preſs of buſineſs. I met with ſimilar treatment three or four times ſucceſſively from printers of not the leaſt celebrity in Paris. After having received my manuſcript they delayed putting it to the preſs under various pretexts; ſometimes it was a wiſh to raiſe the price of it, ſometimes that of the paper, and when I had agreed to all their demands, they reſtored it with information that my Work was not adapted to the taſte in faſhion, that they had communicated it to connoiſſeurs, that it never could ſucceed. When they ſaw it take with the Public, they thought proper to calumniate me, alleging that I had not treated them with ſufficient confidence.

Theſe different obſtacles, the detail of which I have curtailed, retarded the publication for three months longer. At length determined to confide no more in reputations ſo falſe, and to recommendations which have always involved me in diſtreſs, I caſt myſelf on that Providence which never deceived me. From an impulſe of my own mind, I applied to a printing-office, and having the felicity to addreſs myſelf to a man of character, M. *Bailly*, I immediately ſtruck a bargain with him and with the ſuperintendant of his buſineſs, M. *Didot* the younger, in whom I met with an accommodation and a probity which I have every reaſon to celebrate.

My Work being printed, I experienced new difficulties in getting it announced. I ſent copies to the moſt popular periodical publications, but as they wait, according to cuſtom, for the deciſion of the public

judgment, that they may conform their own to it, the very firſt among them gave no account whatever of it till four months had elapſed. They began with inſerting certain anonymous ſatyrical ſtrictures upon it, and they rejected every commendatory criticiſm addreſſed to them; they afterwards maintained perfect ſilence on the ſubjects which had given offence to Academies, and beſtowed praiſe only on the ſtyle, to which they aſcribed the whole ſucceſs. It was far greater than I durſt have expected. Pyratical impreſſions were diſperſed all over the country. I was informed from Marſeilles that all the provinces were filled with thoſe counterfeits, but ſurpriſe was expreſſed that not a ſingle copy of the genuine edition could be got. It appeared that not only all the country bookſellers had conſpired toward effecting the ruin of an Author who durſt preſume to have his Work printed at his own coſt, but that the Inſpectors, and even the Supreme Regulator of the Preſs gave their countenance to it. The Inſpector of the Preſs at Lyons having ſeveral times received orders to look after certain well-known pirates, ſo far from diſturbing them in their illicit trade, pitied them on the contrary, becauſe my bookſeller refuſed to make them the allowance which they expected. It is certain, notwithſtanding that a multitude of thoſe counterfeits of my Studies were in circulation among the bookſellers of that City, and that one of them whom I have elſewhere named, had carried his aſſurance ſo far as to have them advertiſed for ſale at his ſhop in the catalogue of Leipſic Fair. All my requiſitions on the ſubject have been fruitleſs. To whom could

could I apply for redreſs? One of the principal book-ſellers of Marſeilles imported into that city a large bale of pirated copies of my Work which was ſeized; the Chancery ordered it to be confiſcated in favour of the book-trade of Marſeilles, that is of the very pirates. I was well aware that an unconnected man had no chance of obtaining juſtice againſt one who belonged to a corps. I dreamed therefore of oppoſing the corps of literati to that of bookſellers, but vanity diſunites the former, and intereſt cements the latter. A young poet, member of ſeveral Lyceums and Academies, having come to pay me a viſit, I talked to him of the benefit which might accrue to men of letters diffuſed in reputable aſſociations all over the kingdom, if they would mutually watch over each other's intereſts, by ſetting their faces againſt pyratical publications. This ſon of *Apollo* treated my idea with ſovereign contempt. It was not in my power to make him comprehend that to live on the fruits of a man's own labour muſt be more honourable than to cringe to the great for a penſion, and to confer benefits on bookſellers more creditable than to receive them from ſuch hands.

Nevertheleſs from amidſt ſo many thorns, I picked up many flowers and ſome fruit. Letters of congratulation crowded in upon me from every quarter. My ancient ſervices, brought into view by popular favour, procured for me a ſmall annual gratification which the King from an impulſe of his own benevolence beſtowed on me. Theſe firſt-fruits of fortune, joined with ſome others which had an appearance of ſolidity, and eſpecially the profits of two editions of

my book prompted me to realize a defire which I had long entertained. It was to go and profecute my Studies of Nature in the bofom of Nature. I wifhed to make myfelf maſter of a little ſpot of ground, where, remote from men unjuſt and jealous, I could go on to amuſe myſelf with determining the cauſes of the Tides, and of the Currents of the Ocean, which alternately flow from the ices of each Pole by means of the half-yearly action of the Sun. I had raiſed the evidence of that important truth up to demonſtration; but I was aſtoniſhed at the indifference of our Marine Boards, and of our Academies, reſpecting an object ſo deeply intereſting to Navigation, and to the mutual commerce of mankind; aſſociations which have formed ſo many enterprizes dreadfully expenſive, and frequently uſeleſs to the Nation and to mankind. I wiſhed farther to collect ſome new harmonies in the delicious ſtudy of plants, and, above all, to continue the *Arcadia*, the firſt book of which I had publiſhed. To theſe ideas of public felicity projects of perſonal happineſs attached. The ſentiment of this had all the ſweetneſs of reſtoration to health. I was on the point of reducing all this to reality when the Revolution took place.

Solicited with importunity by the people of the quarter where I reſided, who entertained a high opinion of me becauſe I had written a book, I made an effort on my health to aſſiſt at the firſt Aſſembly of our diſtrict. I there learned by experience that my Studies had neither diminiſhed my infirmities, nor the Revolution inſpired the citizens with wiſdom. They all ſpake at once. I ventured to bring forward

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three propoſitions: The firſt, That no object ſhould be publicly deliberated upon till three days after it had been propoſed, that every one might preſerve his liberty of judging; The ſecond, That votes ſhould not be given *vivâ voce*, but by ballot, in order to preſerve liberty of ſuffrage; The third, That the National Aſſembly ſhould be permanent, and it's members removable every three years, by taking in one-third of new members every year. They would not ſo much as take the trouble to diſcuſs my propoſitions, except the maſter of a boarding-houſe, who combatted the permanency of the Aſſembly, and who was afterwards named Elector. They had already conferred the ſame honour on me, but I gave in my reſignation next day on account of the ſtate of my health, both moral and phyſical. I had juſt experienced what I knew well enough before, that the People deſire the public good, but that Corps aim only at private emolument. Beſides, ſuppoſing my indiſpoſitions had permitted me to act, I ſhould have been greatly at a loſs what part to take. I was attached to the People from a ſenſe of duty, and from a principle of gratitude to the King, on whoſe bounty I had ſubſiſted for twelve years paſt. I had oppoſed ariſtocratic deſpotiſm, and I could not flatter popular anarchy. I perceived among the leaders of the People men who had moſt amply profited by Court favour, and in the Court-party ſome who had moſt groſsly flattered the People. I knew them on both ſides to be actuated by ambition, that is, according to my doctrine, men of the moſt dangerous character. They know nothing of friendſhip or of

equality, though the words are inceſſantly in their mouth: if you preſume to walk by their ſide you become their enemy, and if behind them, their ſlave. One is obliged in their ſociety to be a hypocrite, or profeſſedly wicked. I did not wiſh to make myſelf a worſe man, by labouring to make others better. There were likewiſe, in truth, at the head of the Revolution men virtuous, diſintereſted, ſage, enlightened, who, through the whole courſe of their life had never deviated from their avowed principles; but it was not eaſy to gueſs into what a train this new order of things, whoſe plan as yet had no exiſtence, would lead even them.

All theſe changes produced no more illuſion on my mind than that of the Theatre, where the ſame performers only change dreſſes and names. I found again in our new political order our ancient citizens, juſt as in our new geography of France her ancient limits. Men ſucceed each other like running waters, but they no more change their paſſions than the river does it's channel; the ſame ambitions always diſplayed themſelves, with this difference, that thoſe of the little had ſurpaſſed thoſe of the great; all had ſtruggled without reſpect for the laws, ancient and modern. I have myſelf been the victim of this more ways than one, firſt on occaſion of a burying-ground adjoining to my garden, interdicted as a nuiſance eight years ago, and ſeized by the Commune, who have made it a focus of putrefcence by daily interments: afterwards on the ſubject of my Works, become a prey to pirates. To no purpoſe did I preſent my complaints to the Juſtice of Peace, to the Section,

Section, to the Municipality, to the Department; what is ſtill worſe, an appearance of giving me redreſs was aſſumed, and the abuſes were permitted to remain unreformed, though they directly attack the municipal laws, and the rights of perſonal property. The Law may appear deaf to the remonſtrances of an individual, becauſe it may be ſuppoſed taken up with objects of greater importance; but when once it has liſtened to them, found them juſt, and yet gives no redreſs, it falls into contempt, from a belief of it's impotency. I have myſelf contributed towards covering it's weakneſs, by not laying my grievances before the Public. I conſidered the Law in the light of a wretched mother amidſt ungrateful and diſobedient children. But how could I have increaſed the number of them? Whatever employment I had undertaken, I muſt have adopted the intereſts of a party, promiſed and deceived, obſerved abuſes and overlooked them, and obeyed the People in every thing, in order to have the appearance of governing them. With ſo many reaſons for keeping at a diſtance from our tumultuous Aſſemblies, I had at leaſt as many for renouncing my intention of total retirement. Our plains were in a ſtate of ſtill greater agitation than our cities. A man ought never to reckon on happineſs out of himſelf, and if there be for him an inviolable aſylum, it can be no where but in his own conſcience. I had been offered agreeable and peaceful retreats out of the Kingdom, but I could not have ſtood the reproaches of my own mind had I abandoned my Country in her ſtate of criſis. Though it was not in my power to calm the ſpirit of anarchy which

which was subverting every thing, I could exercise some small influence over the minds of individuals, by tempering the ardor of one, by stimulating another, by consoling a third. We assign a value too high to public, and too low to the private virtues. In a storm no less skill is requisite to manage a gondola than the Bucentaur. We must not form a judgment of the goodness of machines from the magnitude of their movements: if the great produce a greater effect than the small, it is only because their levers are longer. The same thing holds as to the virtues. It is unquestionably certain that if, at a critical period, every Citizen would re-establish order in his own house only, general order would speedily result from the prevalence of universal domestic order. I comforted myself therefore, remaining in my physical and moral solitude, with the persuasion that not having adopted the interest of a party, I was more in a condition to discover the national interest, and that if I was capable of promoting it, I could do so in a manner more lasting through the medium of the Press, which I had attempted successfully, than by means of speech which I had not much practised.

In consequence of this, though my Studies of Nature had to me a charm inexpressible, I suspended them to engage in those of society. I wrote the *Wishes of a Recluse*. Of all my Works it is that on which I have bestowed most labour, and with which I am the least satisfied. My object in this undertaking was to reconcile the interests of a Prince who had laid me under obligations; of a Clergy who had expressed for me something more than indifference,

ence, because I had refused to solicit benefits at their hand; of the Great who had repelled me; of Ministers who had deceived me; of their Flatterers who had calumniated me; of Academies which had thwarted me. The time of public vengeance was come, and I could have blended my own with it, but faithful to my motto, I would not so much as restore in my *Wishes* the articles which the Censor had retrenched in my *Studies*. The men of whom I had reason to complain were too miserable; I chose rather to suppress some objects of national interest than gratify my private resentments. I proposed then to myself to preserve the ancient community of my Country, only by pruning it's great trees, to admit the air and the sun to the smaller. My wishes have been far exceeded. We have had lopping off by the head, plucking up by the root, and re-planting on a very fine plan no doubt; but the trees are always the same. The old are incapable of taking root again, because they are old; the young will be choked for want of being properly disposed; there is no hope therefore but from the nursery-grounds.

A solid Constitution can be reared on no other foundation but that of a national education. Notwithstanding my ancient labours, I dared to undertake this, by following out the chain of natural laws, of which I had pointed out some links in my Studies. The Rights of Man are merely results from them. This great work requires time, repose, health and talents; all of them blessings which are not at my disposal; but at least I have endeavoured to fulfil the duties of a Citizen. I have not even lost sight of

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tranſient circumſtances which I thought might prove of ſome utility. When after the King's return from the frontiers the Kingdom divided into two parties, the one of which wanted to change France into a Republic, and the other to preſerve Monarchy, and every thing wore the appearance of civil and foreign War, I haſtened to recal the People to a ſenſe of the ancient obligations which they lay under to their Monarch, and the Monarch to a ſenſe of what he owed to his People. I ſent my obſervations, ſupported by a powerful recommendation, to the Editor of the Mercury and of the Monitor, but he did not think proper to publiſh them.* They met with no better

* I did not then know that this Editor had any influence over thoſe Journals, as he has ſince avowed. He has at the ſame time publiſhed, in a Petition to the Electors of Paris, that he had a great deal over men of letters, and that he had even M. de Buffon in his pay.

In that ſame little Work he has the goodneſs to ſympathize with me as the victim of the piracies of booksellers, whoſe douceurs it is true I never would receive. But what appeared to me very ſtrange in it, is a propoſition he brings forward of making the fortune of Authors, by ſecuring to them the property of their Works for fourteen years: "on condition that at the termination of ſuch "period any bookſeller might be at liberty to print them." He had done me the honour previouſly to communicate this propoſal to me in converſation. I ſaid to him: "It is juſt as if the gar-"deners of Boulogne demanded that the fine gardens which you "have there ſhould fall into their common ſtock, becauſe you "have enjoyed them for more than fourteen years paſt. The pro-"perty of a literary work is ſtill more ſacred than that of a gar-"den." He replied, "That ſuch a Law exiſted in England, and "that he meant to apply for one of a ſimilar nature in the Na-"tional Aſſembly." I do not know whether ſuch a Law actually exiſts, but on the ſuppoſition that it does, we ought to go to our neighbours

better reception from another Journal of very extenfive circulation. I then experienced what I knew before hand, that there are very few public papers at the ſervice of a man who does not belong to any particular corps. Having, however, addreſſed my

neighbours in queſt of good laws and not of abuſes. The Engliſh, ſhut up in an iſland, have undoubtedly more abundant means of preventing the introduction of counterfeits, but this does not hold as to France. It is certain that our ancient Adminiſtration, with their ſpies, their guards, their inſpectors, and the whole of their deſpotiſm, never could prevent the practice. How then could the new one carry the point, when liberty was enthroned, as at this day, when cities have no gates, no barriers, no cuſtom-houſe officers? Thus then an Author, after having been for fourteen years a prey to pirates muſt terminate his courſe by falling into the jaws of bookſellers. A merchant, accordingly, a huſbandman, a manufacturer, ſhall be able to acquire, by their labour, a property tranſmiſſible for ever to their children, and a literary man, who has frequently deſerved better of his Country, muſt be excluded from the ſame rights: he would ſee himſelf ſtripped of the property of his Works at the end of fourteen years: the purſuits of his youth would no longer belong to him in his old age: in defiance of the laws, a parcel of ſcoundrels would gulp up the firſt fruits of them, and under the protection of law, opulent bookſellers would finiſh the plunder by giving ſplendid editions of his Works. The Aſſembly is too wiſe not to reject the infamous propoſition whoſe injuſtice I have juſt demonſtrated; it ought on the contrary to thunder it's indignation againſt thoſe who employ ſo many artifices to plunder literary men of the ſlowly productive fruits of their tedious labours. The leaders of Adminiſtration have hitherto pretended that they poſſeſſed not the means of preventing piracies. There is one method, and a very ſimple one, puniſh the ſellers of them. Bookſellers ought not to be allowed the plea of ignorance: every man in the trade ſhould be capable of diſtinguiſhing a ſpurious from a genuine edition of a book, as every goldſmith ought to know the diſtinction between copper and gold.

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obſervations to the Compiler of the Paris Advertiſer, they were publiſhed in time ſufficient to produce a good effect even in the National Aſſembly. I have ſince inſerted them toward the beginning of the Advertiſement prefixed to the fourth Edition of my Studies of Nature. They contain nothing very remarkable except the circumſtance to which I had deſtined them, and the authority of *Fenelon* and of the ancient Laws of *Minos* reſpecting the duties of Kings, perfectly conformable to the decrees of the Conſtituent National Aſſembly.

Since that epocha, I have employed myſelf in digeſting ſome ideas relative to our Conſtitution; they are a natural ſequel to the *Wiſhes of a Recluſe*. I have been ſo much the more encouraged to produce the ſecond, that many of the firſt have been realized by the Aſſembly. Nay others of them appear to have been neglected merely on account of embarraſſing circumſtances which attached to particular caſes. Such is that of the impoſt of ſurplus rate, on great territorial eſtates, which would have become an obſtacle to the ſale of the national property. This object merits all the attention of the preſent Legiſlature, if it means to give oppoſition to the progreſs of an ariſtocracy which formerly ſubverted Greece and the Roman Empire.

When my *Wiſhes of a Recluſe* appeared, they pleaſed but a very ſmall proportion of readers. They were by no means agreeable to the Clergy and Nobility, becauſe I ſeemed to them to have extended much too far the rights of the People. They would have been acceptable to the People whoſe rights I maintained,

maintained, if, at that time employed in overcoming the reſiſtance of the corps which oppreſſed them, they had not learned to extend them as far as their power. The Conſtituent Aſſembly, ſupported by popular favour, has in it's decrees gone much farther than I did in my Wiſhes. Thoſe who then thought them too bold, have ſince found them very moderate. On the other hand, our Legiſlators were placed in a moſt embarraſſing ſituation. They were, relatively to the State tumbling into ruin, like architects ſurveying a crazy building which it is propoſed to repair. The hammer once applied to the walls, it is found neceſſary to pull down the fabric to the foundation. It would have been deſirable no doubt that a ſingle architect had by himſelf traced the whole plan of re-conſtruction, for the ſake of greater unity of deſign. Notwithſtanding the different views of our Legiſlators, and the difficulties of every kind which they had to encounter, there are parts of our Conſtitution ſo excellent, that it may be affirmed to be the moſt conducive to the happineſs of the People at large that has hitherto appeared in Europe.

It is with the firſt plans of Empires as with thoſe of our ancient Cities; moſt of the ſtreets aſſume a winding direction. I have never even ſeen any high-road in the open country drawn in a ſtrait line, from the bias which is natural to man: they all proceed in a ſerpentine progreſſion. This demonſtrates that it is not eaſy to advance ſtraight forwards, even for thoſe who mean to do ſo, and that to draw his path by the line a man has need of invariable points in his horizon. Thoſe of the earth are to be met with only

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in the Heavens, as they know who have made the tour of the Globe.

There is reaſon to believe that our new Conſtitution will be durable, becauſe it is in a great meaſure founded on the Rights of Man, which are themſelves derived from the celeſtial and immutable Laws of Nature.

All the miſeries with which the State was overwhelmed aroſe ſolely from the private ambition of corps. The moneyed men had got hold of her finances; the Parliaments, of her juſtice; the Nobility, of her honour; the Clergy, of her conſcience; the Academies, of her underſtanding. All of them held the national body faſt bound, without the power of making the ſlighteſt movement but for their particular intereſts.

Happily for the Public they did not harmonize. While they were a-quarrelling the Nation diſengaged her hands and in part burſt aſunder her chains. The principal remaining fetter to be ſhaken off is that of gold; gold alone giving now-a-days the means of gratifying every ſpecies of ambition, ambition of every ſpecies reſolves itſelf into that of having gold. It is in order to get gold that the plough and the ſhip are put in motion, that a man becomes an Artiſt, a Magiſtrate, a Prieſt, a Soldier, a Doctor, that Nations make Peace and War, and our Eſtates-General themſelves aſſembled. Gold is the prime mover of the body ſocial, juſt as the Sun, whoſe emblem and perhaps whoſe production it is, conſtitutes that of the univerſe. But as the Sun itſelf would deſtroy the world did not Divine Wiſdom regulate it's effects,

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ſo gold would deſtroy ſociety did not a ſound policy direct it's influence. By policy I mean not the modern art of deceiving mankind, which is a great vice, but, according to the etymology of the word, the antique art of governing them, which is a great virtue, and is an emanation from Sovereign wiſdom.

The greateſt miſchief which gold can produce in a State is when it accumulates in a ſmall number of hands; it is as if the rays of the Sun were to fix in the Torrid Zone, and abandon the reſt of the Globe to darkneſs and ice. It is neceſſary therefore to keep a watchful eye over men who poſſeſs the means of attracting to themſelves all the gold of the kingdom. Theſe are Miniſters of State, men of overgrown capitals, the Nobility and Clergy: Miniſters, by means of the Royal influence; capitaliſts by that of their money; the Nobility, by that of arms; the Clergy, by that of conſcience. We have to oppoſe to Miniſters, the National Aſſembly; to moneyed men, the departments; to the Nobility the national guards; to the Clergy, the municipalities. It is undoubtedly in the view of balancing the forty-four thouſand Signiories and church preferments in the Kingdom, which were at the head of the military and ſpiritual power of France, that the forty-four thouſand municipalities were created. The day will undoubtedly come when the ancient and modern powers ſhall amalgamate, and have no object but one, the felicity of Man; but, in expectation of the period when all reſentments ſhall be extinguiſhed, and the national intereſt ſhall have taken place of the ſeparate intereſts of corps, we are going to ſuggeſt ſome conſiderations

reſpecting the dangers we have to apprehend, and the remedies with which we are provided againſt them. They are conſequences of the very decrees of the conſtituent Aſſembly, which did not ſit long enough to provide for every caſe. The more abundant it's harveſt has been, the more has been left us to glean.

Of Miniſters and of the National Aſſembly.

One of the moſt judicious decrees of the Conſtituent National Aſſembly, is that which declares the perſon of the King inviolable, and Miniſters alone reſponſible for his miſtakes. I ſhall not here repeat what I have ſaid elſewhere reſpecting the perſonal character of the King: it is ſufficient to hint that he was the prime mover of our liberty. He well deſerved therefore, on more accounts than one, the honourable prerogative which renders his perſon ſacred as the law itſelf with the execution of which he is intruſted. But it belonged to him beſides in quality of King; Kings are deceived only by thoſe who ſurround them. *Nero* himſelf would have been conſtrained to act virtuouſly had the Roman Senate puniſhed his crimes in his Miniſters.

Miniſters alone then have the means of maintaining a ſtruggle with the Aſſembly, by oppoſing to it part of the national force, of which the principal nerve is money. 1. By a dangerous application of the revenues of the civil liſt which amount to thirty millions a year, (1,250,000l.) 2. By the diſtribution of many lucrative employments, which may procure for them creatures innumerable both without and within the Kingdom. 3. Becauſe the period of their adminiſtration

adminiſtration not being limited, they poſſeſs a great advantage over the members of the Aſſembly who are changed every two years. Thus they have over the National Aſſembly a preponderancy of money, of credit, and of time, which alone operates many revolutions.

It is neceſſary therefore, I. That the National Aſſembly ſhould look out ſharply over the diſburſements of the civil liſt, in caſes where it might be employed to corrupt it's own members, or even thoſe of the department Aſſemblies, municipal or primary. This offence is the crime of high-treaſon againſt the State; a corrupting Miniſter ought to be declared ſtill more culpable than a corrupted Repreſentative.

II. The National Aſſembly ought likewiſe to pay particular attention to the patriotic character of perſons employed by Miniſtry as ſervants of the public. It ought eſpecially to be obſerved, conformably to the Conſtitution, that in the choice of ſuch perſons regard be had to ability and not to birth. If this is not vigilantly looked after, it may ſhortly happen that moſt of thoſe employed in the functions of the State, Officers in the Army and Navy, as well as Conſuls, foreign Miniſters and Ambaſſadors, ſelected by ill-intentioned Miniſters, may find themſelves in a condition to effect a counter-revolution by operations conducted in concert both within and without the kingdom. It would be eaſy for them to render this a deſirable object to the People, by contriving to produce a ſcarcity of corn, by encouraging high-way robberies and religious quarrels; for the People, fatigued with the recent concuſſions of the Revolution,

and beholding their calamities increaſe, would not fail to impute them to the National Aſſembly which they have intruſted with the care of remedying them. They would be diſpoſed this way ſo much the more violently, that they are naturally given to change, and that living, eſpecially in the capital, on the luxury of the great who have there fixed their habitation, they are with reſpect to theſe in a ſtate of natural dependence, ariſing from the opulence of the one and the neceſſities of the other, a relation which does not hold between theſe laſt and the poor and tranſient members of the National Aſſembly. This diſpoſition to general mutability and diſcontent may be farther powerfully ſtimulated by factious and mercenary journaliſts. Before the Conſtitution was completed, every writer undoubtedly had a right to diſcuſs it; but now that it is ſanctioned by the King, received by the Nation, confirmed by the ſecond Aſſembly of it's Deputies freely elected, no farther diſcuſſion ought to be permitted except with a view to amelioration. Finally the Conſtitution may be ſubverted by a multitude of unprincipled indigent wretches, moſt of whom would ſell their ſhare of public liberty for a crown-piece: they might be made ſo much the more eaſily the principal inſtruments of a counter-revolution that they recollect their having been powerfully efficient in producing the firſt. All theſe conſiderations muſt appear of ſerious importance to the Aſſembly. They will prevent theſe evils by ſtopping up the ſource. It ought to be decreed that Miniſters ſhall be reſponſible for the conduct of the public ſervants whom they nominate, as they are for the orders of the Sovereign.

vereign. They ſhould be made to anſwer at once for the emanation of thoſe orders and for their execution.

III. It appears to me that our Deputies remain too ſhort time in place. I could have wiſhed that inſtead of two years, three at leaſt had been the term of their ſervice. Many of them in fact relinquiſh ſubſtantial and lucrative ſituations for the ſake of a tranſitory benefit which ſcarcely indemnifies them for the ſacrifices which they have made. Such are, among others, Gentlemen of the Law who have ſupplied ſo many aſſertors of public liberty. I could likewiſe have wiſhed that a third part of the Aſſembly had been renovated every three years. Apprehenſion was entertained, we are told, of their forming themſelves into a perpetual ariſtocracy. But may not their total revolution involve that of the Conſtitution? A new Aſſembly loſes a great deal of time, before it gets into the train of doing buſineſs. In troublous times a total renovation may become extremely dangerous. The veſſel of the State, by changing her crew in ſtormy weather, may be overſet under ſail, or driven out of her courſe. Every movement is an object of apprehenſion in critical ſeaſons. Would a State make a compiete renovation of her army in preſence of the enemy, to replace it with inexperienced troops. How then dares ſhe, in preſence of ſo many enemies to her beſt intereſts, ſubſtitute in room of an Aſſembly who has defended them, one entirely new, moſt of whoſe members know only thoſe of the departments which have elected them? Many months muſt elapſe before they can enter into ideas of public buſi-

neſs, and put it into a regular train. It is poſſible, in my opinion, to avoid the danger of a permanent ariſtocracy on the one hand, and of a ſudden and total revolution on the other, in renovating the members of the Aſſembly by a third part every year, in other words, each department ſhould every year turn out a third of it's old Deputies, and elect a new third to ſupply their place. There would thence reſult two great benefits to the Nation; it would be able to exclude ſuch of the Deputies as might lie under ſuſpicion of being corrupted, without inflicting a ſtigma upon them, as their diſmiſſion would be a reſult of the very law under which they had been elected, and it would preſerve perpetually the right of watching over the National Repreſentatives, and of keeping alive public ſpirit in the Aſſembly. The duration of the Aſſembly might even be lengthened out to five years, by renewing the fifth part of it every year.

Such are the precautions which I deem neceſſary to the duration of the Conſtitution, and to give to the National Aſſembly a preponderancy which may render it reſpectable in the eyes of the People, and enable it to maintain a ſtruggle with advantage againſt Miniſters of State. It is to be hoped however that they will one day become ſuperfluous. Many of our Miniſters appointed by the King, are animated by his patriotic ſpirit, and feel that their glory, like his, conſiſts in the national felicity.

There is one method, in my apprehenſion, to direct their love of glory. Various decrees have been made as a guard againſt their ill-intentions, but not one in favour

favour of their good offices. This is pointing them out to the Nation as enemies, and tempting them to become ſo. They are too much to be pitied in having every thing to fear from a Nation that miſtruſts them, and very little to hope from a King who has no longer blue ribbands and dukedoms to give away. I could wiſh therefore that the Nation would aſſume the prerogative of rewarding them in a manner worthy of herſelf. Thus, after ten years ſervice, the Aſſembly might take a review of their conduct, and in the event of it's being found conſtitutional and irreproachable, decree them the honour of a ſtatue. It might be placed at the baſis of the King's, raiſed under the cupola of a temple ſacred to *Memory* and decreed in the ſame manner. Then, inſtead of ſeeing our Kings on horſeback, elevated on a pedeſtal, flanked by Nations enchained, or by allegorical figures of the virtues, we ſhould behold them on foot, ſurrounded by their good Miniſters, of whom one might hold *Neptune*'s trident, another the caduceus of *Mercury*, a third the thunder of *Jupiter*, or, what is ſtill better, his horn of plenty. To theſe ſymbols might be added inſcriptions and bas-reliefs repreſenting the principal acts of their adminiſtration. This monument, acceſſible on every ſide, would figure wonderfully well in the centre of a public ſquare, or on the banks of the Seine, according to the predominant inclination of the Prince. The People form a tolerably accurate judgment of the character of ſeveral of their Kings from the ſituations in which their ſtatues are placed: they believe that *Louis* XV. was fond only of hunting, becauſe his is

out of the City; *Louis* XIV. of magnificence, becauſe he is ſurrounded by the grand Hôtels of the Place de Vendôme and that of Victory; *Louis* XIII. of the Nobility, becauſe he is in the Place Royale, in the Marais, the ancient reſidence of the Court; *Henry* IV. of the People, becauſe he is in the centre of that popular walk, the Pont-Neuf. I ſhould however deem *Henry* much more reſpectable, did we ſee at the four angles of his pedeſtal, inſtead of ſo many ſlaves in chains, the ſage *Dupleſſis Mornay*, the upright *Sully*, the virtuous *La Noue*, and ſome others of the King's friends who, like himſelf, loved the People. Our capital is by no means deficient in reſpect of new ſituations. It's market places will preſent ſome that are very intereſting to ſuch of our Monarchs as ſhall place their delight in the midſt of the plenteouſneſs of their ſubjects.

Of Moneyed Men and the Departments.

Gold is the ſole mover of our politics; in order to have it, Powers forget the very firſt principles of morality and juſtice. However difficult it may be in theſe times to refute errors ſanctioned by public opinion and reduced to practice, I ſhall begin this paragraph by ſuggeſting ſome reflections which may ſerve to guard us againſt them at leaſt for the future. The ſubject which I mean to treat is the invitation which the Miniſter of Finance addreſſed to the Citizens, to advance the fourth of their revenue as a patriotic contribution. 1. This invitation was ſubreptitious, becauſe that was made a civil obligation which bore the name of an offer purely voluntary. 2. The Law promulgated

promulgated on that occaſion is impolitic, becauſe men ought never to be tempted to balance between intereſt and conſcience; and it in fact produced a great number of falſe declarations. The Aſſembly acted very wiſely in not permitting the farther aggravation of falſe oaths. 3. This Law is inquiſitorial; it obliges Citizens publicly to diſcloſe the ſecrets of their fortunes, after the Exchequer has for ſo many ages abuſed their confidence, and when it ſtill continues the abuſe by making an obligatory duty of an act of good will; it reduces ſuch of them as, apparently, are living at their eaſe, but in reality are not in a condition to contribute, to the cruel alternative of publiſhing their indigence or of paſſing for bad Citizens. Theſe conſiderations ſo moral in their nature, induced *Louis* XIV. to prevent the execution of a ſimiliar project. With all his deſpotiſm, he durſt not penetrate into the ſecrets of families. He had his qualms of conſcience, ſays the Duke of Saint-Simon. 4. This Law is inequitable, for it does not proportion the contribution to the fortune of the perſons aſſeſſed. A man who lives in ſuperfluity is more in a condition to pay the fourth of his income than one who has barely what is neceſſary. Nay more, he who poſſeſſes a revenue of a thouſand livres of ground rent is as rich again as he who is only a life annuitant to that amount, and he again is ſtill more ſo than one who derives the like income from an employment which he may loſe immediately after having paid his contribution. All the three nevertheleſs, though of very unequal fortune, contribute equally, which is contrary to the very ſpirit of the Law.

5. Finally,

5. Finally, from all theſe incoherencies this has reſulted, that the wealthieſt capitaliſts who keep the greateſt part of their fortune concealed in their portfolios, have contributed the leaſt, if a judgment is to be formed from their declarations. It was however, in part, to clear the intereſt of their claims upon the State that a patriotic contribution has been demanded. There can be no doubt that the patriot Miniſter who propoſed the meaſure, and the Aſſembly which voted it, were actuated by the beſt motives; but amidſt the troubles which preſſed upon them, they were incapable of foreſeeing hazardous conſequences. They could have ſettled it on the ſame baſis as thoſe of municipal impoſts. God forbid that I ſhould ſuggeſt to bad conſciences the means of eluding the Law; every good Citizen is bound to ſupport the Laws, even when unjuſt. My only wiſh was that our faults paſt might ſerve as leſſons for the time to come. The Conſtituent Aſſembly has been oftener than once hurried on by the influence of the moneyed intereſt. Such was that which obliged every Citizen to pay the direct impoſt of a mark in ſilver as a qualification to be elected one of it's members. By aboliſhing it, the Aſſembly has demonſtrated that it had a very different ſtandard from that of money for appreciating merit, and that there were wanting to it's Conſtitution other moving principles beſides thoſe of fortune.

Now that capitaliſts are deprived of the means of turning their capital to account, by the ſuppreſſion of venal employments, of public loans, and by and by of the *agio* of the great aſſignats by the iſſuing of ſmall ones, there is reaſon to apprehend that their avidity

avidity may gulp up all the lands of the kingdom. I know no other method of prevention but the impoſition of a ſurplus rate which ſhall increaſe in proportion to the accumulation of territorial property. I have propoſed that mode in the firſt part of this Work, and it has given umbrage to the rich, though it go to the promotion of even their private intereſt, but the ſafety of the State depends upon it. I have demonſtrated in ſeveral paſſages of my Studies themſelves, that exceſſive acquiſition of territorial property had occaſioned the ruin of Greece, of the Roman Empire, and of ſeveral kingdoms of Africa, if the teſtimony of *Pliny* and *Plutarch* is to be believed. I have there obſerved, that they had contributed in a great meaſure to that of Poland, and I have pointed out the miſeries which they had produced in France. Theſe miſeries will continue to increaſe, now that a great many perſons who were already rich in land, acquire national property by the reimburſement of the employments which they had purchaſed. The abolition of the rights of ſeniority will indeed one day ſubdivide large inheritances into equal portions among the kindred, but the families will not be the leſs rich for that, and their ariſtocracy is as dangerous as that of corps. Among the Romans, inheritances were equally divided, but they were not the leſs on that account ruined by vaſt territorial poſſeſſions.

There is, on the ſubject of the ſale of national property, another great abuſe to be reformed; it is that of monopolizing capitaliſts, who purchaſe in wholeſale to ſell in detail. They frequently make a profit

profit of from 15 to 20 per cent., without untying their purſe-ſtrings, as I have heard one of them boaſt. The departments, I am well aware, tolerate this ſpecies of abuſe in the view of facilitating the ſale of extenſive landed eſtates; but they would accompliſh the ſame object by ſubdividing them into ſmall lots of twenty or thirty acres. They would find more purchaſers, and would obtain a better price for the benefit of the Nation. Monopoliſts would infallibly be deterred from bidding by laying on the ſurplus rate, which would increaſe progreſſively, according as ſmall properties accumulated in the hands of a ſingle individual.

It is the avidity of great landed proprietors which firſt introduced, and has ſo long kept up over Europe, ſlavery in agriculture. Where in truth are we to expect to find free men diſpoſed to cultivate the earth entirely for the benefit of another? In Ruſſia, lands derive their whole value from the number of peaſants on them. There are, in that Country, proprietors poſſeſſed of domains as extenſive as Provinces, and from which they draw no profit whatever for want of ſlaves. To great proprietors we are indebted for the introduction of the ſlavery of the Negroes into America. The firſt Spaniards who made the conqueſt of the Antilles, of Mexico and Peru, divided the lands among themſelves, and reduced their inhabitants to ſlavery to cultivate them, but eſpecially for the purpoſe of working their mines of gold and ſilver. Notwithſtanding the political modifications of the King of Spain in favour of the wretched Indians, his ſoldiers ſerved them as he himſelf had ſerved their Princes,

Princes. They plundered and deſtroyed them for the moſt part; they afterwards made good the deficiency by ſlaves dragged from the Coaſt of Africa. The French did not employ them in the Antilles till the year 1635, after the re-eſtabliſhment of the India Company. Thus the Spaniards lie under the reproach of having been the firſt Europeans who ſhed the blood of Americans, and who introduced the ſlavery of the Negroes into America. One crime always produces another. Three deſcriptions of miſerable beings have been produced by this wicked policy, the ſubjugated Indians, the enſlaved Negroes, the tyrannical whites. Of theſe undoubtedly the whites are the moſt miſerable: by a very remarkable re-action of Divine juſtice, they have found their puniſhment in that very gold which they ſo eagerly coveted. They live, in the firſt place, amidſt their brethren, copper-coloured and black, in a ſtate of perpetual terror of their uniting to plunder and exterminate them. Then they are under the neceſſity of rivetting their chains by all the horrors of ſuperſtition, but they themſelves have the yoke rivetted round their own neck. They are tyrannized over by Monks, whoſe thirſt for gold is as inſatiable as their own, and who ſtrip them of it by ſcaring them with the terror of the ſatellites of the Inquiſition in this world, and of devils in the next. Gold and ſilver, watered with human tears, iſſue from their mines only to enrich Monaſteries.

On the other hand, the ſabres of Buccaneers are no leſs formidable to them than the legends of Miſſionaries. A handful of adventurers, allured by that

fame

ſame gold, has frequently diffuſed diſmay over thoſe rich countries whoſe wretched inhabitants are deſtitute of patriotiſm. Our colonies do not ſuffer calamities ſo oppreſſive, becauſe they are poorer. The National Aſſembly has made their happineſs an object of attention, by reſtoring to Mulattos and free Negroes the admiſſion into Colonial Aſſemblies, which *Louis* XVI. had granted them, and which belonged to them as a natural right. Is it not reaſonable then, that free men who cultivate the ground, who pay the taxes levied upon it, and who defend it in time of war, ſhould have ſome ſhare in it's Adminiſtration? Be their colour what it may, are they not Citizens? The white ſettlers had ſtripped them of the prerogatives of citizenſhip, in conſequence undoubtedly of their proud alliances with our noble families, but they ſubſiſted in the Portugueze colonies. I have ſeen men of colour in the full enjoyment of them in our own Iſland of Bourbon, whoſe firſt inhabitants married the negreſſes of Madagaſcar, for want of white women, and left to their mulatto children their property, together with all the rights of citizens. The French families which have ſince ſettled there, and among which there are ſeveral of noble extraction, diſdained not to form alliances with them. It is very common to ſee there nephews and nieces, couſins of both ſexes, brothers and ſiſters, fathers and mothers, of different colours. Nothing appeared to me more intereſting than this diverſity. I have diſtinguiſhed in it the power of love, which brings into contact what oceans and the zones of the world had ſeparated. Thoſe families at once white, mixed

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and black, united by the ties of blood, repreſented to me the union of Europe and of Africa much better than thoſe fortunate lands where the fir and the palm-tree blend their ſhades. It is much to be regretted that, under the influence of groundleſs apprehenſion, the Conſtituent Aſſembly ſhould have aboliſhed, by it's decree of September 1791, the juſtice which it had done to perſons of colour in the Antilles, and have granted to white men only the right of conſtituting themſelves: it was looking upon them as in ſome meaſure aliens to the Kingdom. They will one day perceive the neceſſity of forming an intimate union with them, from the impoſſibility of, in any reſpect, a ſelf-ſufficient independance of them; but before every thing elſe, they ought to attract perſons of colour to unite with them: in this their ſecurity and their proſperity are at once concerned. It is neceſſary, for the ſame reaſon, that they mitigate the hardſhips of their miſerable ſlaves, till the time come when national wiſdom itſelf ſhall deviſe prudent means to reſtore them to liberty. I have indicated ſome of them: this grand revolution is not to be effected at once, but gradually, and by giving a proper indemnification to the proprietors of ſlaves.

But it is not ſufficient to people our iſlands with free and happy blacks; we muſt introduce into them white labourers, who are more induſtrious. This affects equally the intereſts of our Colonies and of the Mother Country. This is not all; the introduction of white labourers into America is a neceſſary conſequence of our new Conſtitution. Agriculture

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and Commerce having been in France ſet free from fetters, it follows that population muſt conſiderably increaſe at home. On the other hand, the gulphs which abſorbed it being filled up, ſuch as the unmarried communities both male and female, and the continual wars excited by the ambition of the Nobility and Monarchy, whoſe prejudices are going to be extinguiſhed, it is a matter of abſolute neceſſity that population ſhould rapidly increaſe; ſo much the more that love has there an unbounded empire, from the temperature of the climate, from the fertility of the ſoil, from public ſpectacles, from the uſe of wine, and from the attractions of the female ſex. To theſe ancient and modern ſources of population muſt be added that of the influx of foreigners who are already coming to ſettle among us, from the attraction of our new Conſtitution, which grants full ſecurity for liberty of conſcience. It is therefore a matter of urgent importance to find a vent for the ſuperflux, out of the Kingdom, and there is no one more commodious, or more within our reach, than our Colonies. We muſt therefore introduce into them the agricultural labour of white men: for if this method is not employed, France, before the expiration of half a century, will not be able to ſupport her inhabitants. We ſhall ſee among ourſelves, as in China, circumſcribed by her laws, mothers expoſing their children, and all the other crimes which flow from the exceſs of an indigent population. The abolition of the ſlavery of Negroes, and the introduction of the agricultural labour of whites in America, flow therefore from the intereſt of whites in France, were they

they not conſequences of the Rights of Man, which are the baſis of our Conſtitution.

Certain ill-intentioned men have pretended to allege that Europeans are incapable of cultivating the burning ſoil of the American Iſlands. A reply from matter of fact is the moſt irreſiſtible. The good Spaniard, *Bartholomew de Las Caſas*, had brought to St. Domingo itſelf, labourers from the Mother-country who would have done very well there, had they not been deſtroyed by the Caraïbs, provoked by the pillage of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, who made a conqueſt of the iſland only to ravage it. We ſee every day, on the Ports of our Colonies, where the heat is much more powerful than up the Country, our carpenters, our ſtone-cutters employed in labours much more ſevere than thoſe of the culture of coffee, of cottoi, and of the cocoa, which women and children are brought up to. I have ſeen in the Iſle of France white men level parts of foreſts with their own hands, and clear away the ground. They had not however been brought up to employments ſo laborious, and ſome of them had even been officers in the ſervice of the India Company. The climate of St. Domingo is I grant much warmer, but the ancient pirates and buccaneers of that Iſland were white; notwithſtanding their exceſſive fatigues they enjoyed good health, and lived to a great age. Inſtead of our ſlaves, they had young articled or apprenticed white ſervants, ſometimes of good family, who engaged to ſerve them for the term of thirty-ſix months, a circumſtance which procured them a correſponding name. Theſe young people ſupported labours incomparably more oppreſ-

five than those of our slaves, of which we have full assurance from authentic relations still existing. The ancient Indians who cultivated the Antilles, as well as the lands of Peru and Mexico, were of a temperament much more feeble than the Europeans who exterminated them. Finally, do we not see, by a just re-action of Divine vengeance, Europeans support in Morocco a slavery more cruel than that of the Negroes, under the sky of Africa, still more intolerably scorching than that of America? I have composed on this subject a little Drama, in the view of bringing back to humanity, by means of feeling, men whom cupidity prevents from returning to it in the track of reason; but I am convinced it would be easier for me to get it represented at Morocco than at Paris.

It is our interest then, nay that of the creoles, to introduce into our Islands white agricultural labourers, in order to furnish, in the first place, the means of subsistence to our compatriots, and afterwards of spreading themselves over the vast solitudes of America which are in the vicinity. I know well that several European Powers have taken possession of them. I shall not examine whether that possession be lawful, and whether the same right which they assumed as their authority for robbing the ancient proprietors of their inheritance, might not serve in it's turn to strip them of their usurpations. Bad principles ought not to be founded on bad examples. But, however respected the right of conquest may be in Europe, it is certain that the right of Nature is more ancient. In order to an European Prince's

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taking poſſeſſion of a foreign country, where men devoid of miſtruſt received his ſhips with kindneſs and hoſpitality, it is not ſufficient for him to get a plate with his name engraved on it, buried clandeſtinely, or to have a croſs erected, emblazoned with his coat of arms, by a miſſionary prieſt, who worſhips it in chanting a *Te Deum*, and perſuading the honeſt ſavages who ſtand expreſſing their aſtoniſhment at the ceremony, that this croſs will preſerve them from every kind of evil. Neither is it ſufficient for him to conſtruct along a coaſt, for fifty leagues together, a battery of cannon, ſurrounded with ditches, and paliſadoes, to tell the World: All the Continent is mine. The Earth belongs not to him who takes forcible poſſeſſion, but to him who cultivates it. The Laws of Nature are founded on truth in general as in detail. I ſaw one day without the gate de Chaillot, a peaſant ſowing peaſe on a ſpot of ground which had lain long uncultivated; I aſked if it belonged to him: "No," ſaid he; "but every one is at liberty "to ſow land which has remained without cultiva- "tion for more than three years." I cannot tell whether this uſage is founded on the Civil or Roman Law; but it undoubtedly is a natural right. GOD formed the Earth expreſsly to be cultivated: every man therefore has a right to ſettle on a deſert. Beſides, the intereſt of the Kings of Spain and Portugal is concerned to invite into their immenſe and ſolitary American Domains, the overflowing inhabitants of Europe, to increaſe the number of their ſubjects. If they do not now allure them thither in

the capacity of husbandmen, they will one day behold them land in the form of conquerors.

Till the period arrive when the People of France shall find a vent for her future population in her Colonies and the Continent beyond them, the Colonies themselves must be prevented from intercepting the means of subsistence to the People of France. They draw at this day from the American Islands a great many articles of their daily consumption; the principal of which are sugar, coffee, tobacco and cotton. There is scarcely a laundress but what lays out on these different commodities at least the half of her earnings. The moneyed men monopolize them on their arrival in our ports, and thereby enhance the price. The Departments ought to keep a vigilant eye over such abuses, and if possible to destroy the causes of them. It is a great error in politics to place the Mother Country in a state of dependance on her Colonies.

The Departments ought therefore to encourage the culture of bees, for the purpose of replacing the use of sugar by that of honey, so highly valued by the ancients for it's salutary qualities, but rejected by the moderns from a prejudice under which they labour that it has a medicinal flavour. It is the quintessence of flowers. From the consumption of it an inundation of wealth would cover our plains, where so many plants produce their ethereal oils in vain. Our peasants would employ themselves in the easy and harmless management of bees, who in workshops where freedom ever reigns, are never forced, in order

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to make ſugar, to labour under the laſh of the whip, like the wretched Negroes.

Coffee likewiſe might perhaps be replaced by ſome vegetable ſubſtance of our own climates. I have frequently wondered that the berry of a ſpecies of jaſmine, dry, coriaceous, of a very bitter ſavour, which no inſect will touch, which remained loſt for ages in the foreſts of Arabia, ſhould have become, by the operation of roaſting, and it's combination with ſugar and water, a beverage of ſuch univerſal uſe in Europe, that without it whole Nations, up to the very extremities of the North, could not believe it poſſible to breakfaſt or to digeſt their dinner; that for it's conſumption there ſhould have been fitted up in every City an infinite number of apartments, where the Citizens aſſemble, and decide, as they drink it, the fate of Empires; that great Cities ſhould flouriſh by the ſale of , and populous Colonies by it's culture. Of a truth, the grateful States of Greece would have dedicated a Temple to the Derviſe who firſt diſcovered the uſe of it, as they had done to *Ceres*, to *Bacchus* and to *Minerva*, who had taught them how to extract flour from a graſs, wine from the fruit of the vine, and ſweet oil from the bitter olive. There may be perhaps ſuch a berry loſt in our woods, deſpiſed even of the animal tribes, which in proceſs of time ſhall adminiſter an additional comfort to human life. It is the buſineſs of the Departments to encourage, by premiums, experiments on ſuch as might ſupply the place of coffee. This fruit of luxury having become a neceſſary aliment to the People, it would be of importance at leaſt to find an equivalent more ſubſtantial in their

own territory. When a young man has waſted his time and fortune in purſuing a miſtreſs, he is brought back to economy and his family by marrying him to a woman of character. But Nations are always ſufficiently young to run after novelties, and they are frequently too old to renounce inveterate habits.

Of theſe one of the ſtrangeſt, and the moſt difficult to be eradicated, is the uſe of tobacco. There is no one ſo univerſally diffuſed over the globe. Tobacco comes originally from America, and ſavages firſt taught us to ſmoke it; but it is ſmoked at this day from Norway to China, and from Archangel to the land of the Hottentots. In Europe great quantities of it are conſumed in ſnuff. It was gold duſt to our capitaliſts of France, who had got the farming of it. They ſold it for more money an ounce than the pound had coſt them in the leaf. I have ſeen a poor labourer expend every day in tobacco the fourth part of his wages. Since the Revolution it's commerce and culture are become free in France, where it grows of an excellent quality: it will accordingly fall in price, and the conſumption will prove a farther benefit to Agriculture. It were to be wiſhed that we could in like manner naturalize the ſugar-cane and the coffee plant. Sicily and ſome parts of Italy might admit of this, but the climate of France forbids it. I have remarked in my Studies, that Nature had rendered the whole Earth capable of producing univerſally the ſame ſubſtances, with this difference, that ſhe varies the vegetables which bear them according to difference of latitude. The

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ſavages of Canada make ſugar with the ſap of the maple, and the blacks of Africa produce wine from the juice of their palm-trees. The taſte of the haſel-nut is perceptible in the great nut of the cocoa-tree, and the ſmell of many aromatic herbs of our own plains in the ſpice-bearing trees of the Moluccas. Nature, in general, places the conſonances of the trees of the Torrid Zone, in the ſhrubbery and herbage of the Temperate Zones, and even in the moſſes and muſhrooms of the icy regions. She has, toward the South ſheltered the fruits from the heat by raiſing them aloft on trees; and as we advance toward the North, ſhe has ſheltered them from the cold, by lowering them on herbs and graſſes, which beſides, being intended to live one Summer only, have no fear of Winter. It is therefore in the humble graſſes of our annual and ſpontaneous plants that we ſhall be able to find productions equivalent to thoſe of the magnificent vegetables of the South.

Cotton, the uſe of which is ſo extenſively diffuſed among the people, furniſhes a new proof of theſe compenſations of Nature. It grows in the foreſts of the torrid regions of Africa and America, on tall thorny trees; in India on lofty ſhrubbery; and in Malta and the iſlands of the Archipelago, on a herbaceous plant. We can ſupply the want of it by employing flax, an annual herb which comes originally from Egypt. It has long ſufficed, together with the wool of our flocks, to clothe us even to luxury. Our women are ſtill more dextrous in ſpinning it, than the females of India in drawing out threads of cotton. It is worked into cloth which far ſurpaſſes

muſlin in fineneſs. A conſiderable wager was laid on this ſubject in Bengal, between two agents of the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt-India Companies. The Dutchman undertook to prove the affirmative, and the Engliſhman denied it. The latter produced in ſupport of his bet, a piece of muſlin delicately fine; but the other carried it. He obtained from his own Country a piece of cambric which, in the ſquare inch contained more threads than a ſimilar ſpace of muſlin. The threads of flax in our laces are much finer than thoſe of the moſt curious muſlins. It is poſſible to work it into cloths damaſked, ſattined, tranſparent, capable of receiving every manner of colour. Nevertheleſs women rich and poor give the preference to cottons. Rich women injure the induſtry of our own manufacturers, by the importation of cottons from India; and the poorer women, who ape the other, injure themſelves by drawing from a foreign country the raw material of their clothing.

Government at the outſet thought of favouring the culture of cotton in our Colonies as well as it's importation into France. Our monied men ſoon derived ſuch profits from it, by the eſtabliſhment of innumerable manufactures, that moſt of the women of lower rank, as well as their children, habitually wore ſtuffs of this ſort. The uſe of them is far from being wholeſome. They are wonderfully well adapted to the winters of countries whoſe inhabitants go almoſt naked the reſt of the year; but they are too warm for our Summers, and too cold for our Winters. Their uſe eſpecially is very dangerous in Winter. They catch fire very eaſily; they are one of the moſt

frequent

frequent cauſes of our conflagrations, which often commence in a ſpark falling on a ſtuffed counterpane, or on a curtain of cotton. The fire in ſuch caſes is propagated with amazing rapidity. To my knowledge ſeveral children and old people have been burnt alive, from having fallen aſleep by their own fire-ſide in clothing of this ſort. The whole world knows that *Staniſlaus*, the old King of Poland, periſhed in this manner. Wool is liable to none of theſe inconveniencies: very light ſtuffs may be made of it for Summer wear. The Grecian and Roman ladies, who dreſſed ſo gracefully, wore robes of it at all ſeaſons. I could wiſh that the Revolution, which has produced ſo many changes in our laws, might produce ſome in our manners, and even in our dreſs. That of men, among us, is open on all ſides, and cut ſhort. There is nothing on the contrary at once ſo warm and ſo light, ſo commodious and ſo dignified as that of the ancients. If our females wiſh to engage the men to adopt it, they have only themſelves to adopt the appropriate habit of the Grecian women, who never dreſſed but in linen and woollen. There will reſult from it much benefit to health, and to the reſpectable appearance of a whole Nation. Our Agriculture, our Commerce and our Manufactures will derive an immediate advantage from it. Linen rags will multiply, and contribute to the ſupport of the paper-manufactory, the firſt material of which begins to grow ſcarce. It is impoſſible to ſupply it's place by cotton rags, though the Indians indeed make very beautiful paper of them, if the cloth has not been dyed. I ſhall not examine how far the Mother-

Mother-country is a gainer on the balance of her commerce with the Colonies; but I ſee it entirely in their favour. We ſupply them with wine, with corn, with flour and ſalted proviſions; but we receive from them coffee, ſugar, indigo, tobacco, cotton, cocoa-nuts, the conſumption of which is incomparably greater; beſides, they will not admit either our modes, or our liberal arts. The creolian women have their particular ſtyle of dreſs, and ſend to India for the greateſt part of their ſtuffs. I never ſaw in the Iſle of France a ſingle houſe which contained a picture, or ſo much as a print; neither did I find books there except in the hands of ſome Europeans, and in a very ſmall number. Arts and Literature nevertheleſs furniſh enjoyments to the rich, and conſolations to the poor. Nature teaches them to Man, and they bring Man back to Nature. Our Colonies have no object but one, to amaſs wealth; and it is evident that they draw from us a prodigious quantity, from the enormous fortunes ſo rapidly made in them. Let them keep their money! The happineſs of a people is not to be eſtimated by the piaſtres of their traders, but by the means they poſſeſs of feeding and clothing themſelves. Now, I repeat it, there is a political error of the firſt magnitude committed, in permitting the raw material of the apparel of the people of France to iſſue, as at this day, from her Colonies in the iſlands of America, as well as the ſugar and coffee on which they breakfaſt, and the tobacco which they are conſuming every hour of the day. Nothing more is now wanting but to raiſe our corn there to reduce us to a ſtate of complete dependance. We have accordingly

cordingly seen, by the violent remonstrances of our traders in favour of the inhuman slave-traffic, in the face of the decrees of our National Assembly, that our commercial sea-ports had ceased to be French, and were transformed into Americans.

Let us save at least the sound part of the Nation, by raising a bulwark between the principal article of it's subsistence and the avidity of overgrown capitalists. The sole cause of popular insurrections is scarcity of bread, even in political and religious quarrels. The people never intermeddle with the conduct of the Gods but when they are abandoned by *Ceres*. There is but one method to keep them quiet, it is to give them a constant supply of bread at the same price, and to establish for this effect, in each Municipality, magazines of corn which should contain enough for the consumption of at least two years; it will then be easy for every Department to institute a commerce of that commodity, by selling to their neighbours, or even exporting, the surplus of this provision. The People will see the circulation without the least uneasiness, from an assurance that a supply is laid up for their own necessities. I have already brought forward this proposition, but I cannot help pressing it in this place, from a conviction of it's importance; it is the only means of preventing seditions. Bread is as necessary to the People as the air they breathe. What would the rich say, if the air they respire were sometimes on the point of being totally suppressed to them? In what mortal inquietude would they live, were there naturalists who, with pneumatic machinery, could condense or rarify it at pleasure?

pleaſure? Would they not conſider ſuch perſons as the moſt dangerous of tyrants, to keep them inceſſantly in dreadful ſuſpenſe between life and death? In this light the People view thoſe who are engaged in the commerce of grain.

In vain you tell them of the diſtreſs of the neighbouring Provinces, of the ſcarcity that is felt in the Capital: Will they take a greater intereſt in theſe than in the neceſſities of their own children? Beſides they are no longer the dupes of that pretended humanity which has ſo often ſerved as a pretext for the dangerous commerce of corn. When they ſee it exported from their markets, they ſuſpect, and with too much reaſon, that it is for the purpoſe of raiſing the price. It is a very culpable negligence therefore on the part of Adminiſtration, during ſeveral centuries, not to have eſtabliſhed magazines of grain in the Provinces, and reduced bread to a fixed price. Their object was to diſpoſe of the People's food, in order to govern them by famine, as well as of their fortune by impoſts; of their life, by foreign wars, and of their conſcience, by religious opinions. Such have long been the abuſes of our odious ſyſtem of politics; it is high time to ſet about a reformation of the moſt glaring of them. If there be a motive to induce the People to effect a counter-revolution, it is the dearneſs of bread; it was this alone which produced the Revolution, in defiance of the very perſons who ſtupidly believed they could prevent it, by ſtarving the People.

I ſhall here ſubjoin a few reflections reſpecting the uſe of bread, become of ſuch abſolute neceſſity all

over

over Europe. Who would believe that it is an aliment of luxury? Of all thoſe which are ſerved up on the table of man, though it be the moſt common, and even when markets are at the loweſt, there is no one which coſts ſo dear. The grain of which it is made, is of all vegetable productions that which demands moſt culture, machinery and handling. Before it is caſt into the ground, there muſt be ploughs to till the ground, harrows to break the clods, dunghills to manure it. When it begins to grow, it muſt be weeded; when come to maturity, the ſickle muſt be employed to cut it down; flails, fanners, bags, barns to threſh it out, to winnow it and to ſtore it up; mills to reduce it to flour, to bolt it and to ſift it; bakehouſes where it muſt be kneaded, leavened, baked and converted into bread. Verily Man never could have exiſted on the Earth, had he been under the neceſſity of deriving his firſt nutriment from the corn plant. It is no where found indigenous. Nay, it's grain, from the form and ſize, appears much better adapted to the beak of granivorous birds than to the mouth of man. Not ſo much as the twentieth part of mankind eats bread. Almoſt all the people of Aſia live on rice, more prolific than the corn plant, and which needs no other preparation but to be ſtripped of it's pellicle, and boiled. Africa lives on millet; America on manioc, potatoes and other roots. Even theſe ſubſtances were not the primitive aliment of Man. Nature preſented to him at firſt his food already dreſſed in the fruits of trees; ſhe placed principally for this purpoſe, between the tropics, the banana and the bread-fruit; in the Temperate Zones, the ever-

green

green oak, and eſpecially the cheſtnut tree; and perhaps in the Frigid Zone, the pine, whoſe kernels are eatable. But without quitting our own climates, the cheſtnut tree ſeems to merit the particular attention of our cultivators. It produces, without giving any farther trouble, a great deal more ſubſtantial fruit than a field of corn of the ſame extent as it's branches; it affords beſides, in it's incorruptible timber for carpenters work, the means of building durable habitations. Our departments ought therefore to multiply a tree at once ſo beautiful and ſo uſeful, on the commons, on heaths, and by the high-roads; they ought likewiſe to promote in the ſame places, the culture of every ſpecies of tree which produces alimentary fruit, as well as that of pot-herbs of the beſt ſorts. For this purpoſe it would be neceſſary that every Department ſhould have a public garden, in which attempts might be made to naturalize all the foreign vegetables, capable of furniſhing new means of ſubſiſtence or of induſtry, in order to ſupply all gardeners with the ſeeds and plants of them for nothing.

There is no occaſion to recommend to the Departments the intereſts of the poor. Moſt of the eccleſiaſtical endowments have been bequeathed in their favour. They poſſeſs ſtill more rights in theſe than the capitaliſts. It is to be wiſhed that the whole of theſe were not to be ſold out, and that ſome parcels of them were to be reſerved in each Municipality, and under it's direction, to form in their favour uſeful eſtabliſhments upon them.

It is not ſufficient to provide for the phyſical neceſſities

ceſſities of the inhabitants of our plains, their manners muſt be likewiſe ſoftened. Our peaſants are frequently barbarous, and their education is the only cauſe of it; they frequently beat without mercy their aſſes, their horſes, their dogs, and ſometimes their wives, becauſe they themſelves were treated ſo in their infancy. Fathers and mothers, under the deception of certain pretended religious maxims, powerfully recommend to ſchoolmaſters the correction of their children, in other words, to bring them up as they themſelves have been: thus they miſtake their vices for virtues. It is therefore eſſentially neceſſary to baniſh from the ſchools of children the infliction of corporal chaſtiſement, as well as the ſuperſtition which deviſed it, and which, not ſatisfied with torturing their bodies, ſtings their innocent ſouls with the ſcorpions of hell: it propagates among the children of ſhepherds the firſt principles of that terror which is one day to cover the children of Kings with it's awful ſhade. It is in the ſimple minds of the peaſantry that dexterous Monks have ſcattered abroad ſo many legends, which have procured them, from the fears of this world and the next, ſo much riches over the country, and ſo much power around thrones. The reaſon of peaſants ought to be illumined becauſe they are men. Let them be inſtructed in the knowledge of a God intelligent, provident, moſt bountiful, moſt gracious, moſt affectionate, and alone worthy of being loved above all things in Nature which is his workmanſhip, rather than in ſtones, wood, paper, without motion, without life, the work of men's hands, and but too frequently the monuments of their tyranny.

Their

Their manners ought to be polished, by introducing among them a taste for music, for dancing and rural festivity, so well calculated to recreate them after their painful toil, and to make them in love with labour. Thus they will be induced to renounce their barbarous sports, the fruit of their cruel education. There is one, among others, which strikes me as detestable; it is that in which they take a live goose, suspend her by the neck, and contend who shall first bring her down, by alternately throwing a stick at their victim. During this long agony, which lasts for hours together, the wretched animal tosses about her feet in the air, to the great satisfaction of her executioners, till at length one of them, a better marksman than the rest, by completing a separation of the vertebræ, brings to the ground the bruised and palpitating carcase; he then carries it off in triumph, and devours it with his companions. Thus they transmit into their own blood the substance of a dead animal tortured into madness. These ferocious and filly diversions are frequently celebrated in the avenues leading to the castles of the Nobility, or in the vicinity of churches, without the least interruption from the Lord or the parish Priest; this last often forbids the young girls to dance, and permits the young men to torment innocent birds to death. It is that in our Cities, the Priests hunt from the churches women who present themselves there in hats; but they respectfully salute men who come dressed in swords. Many of them consider it as a heinous offence to go to the Opera, and with delectation contemplate at a bull-baiting, that companion of the husbandman,

huſbandman, torn in pieces by a pack of hounds. Every where, wo to the weakeſt! Every where barbariſm is a virtue with thoſe in whoſe eſtimation the graces are crimes.

The cruelty practiſed on animals is only an apprenticeſhip to the ſcience of tormenting men. I have endeavoured to find out the origin of the atrocious cuſtom among our peaſantry of torturing to death the gooſe, a harmleſs and uſeful bird, and which ſometimes renders them the ſervice of the dog, being like him ſuſceptible of attachment, and capable of exerciſing vigilance. It appears to me that we muſt refer it to the firſt Gauls, who, after having made themſelves maſters of Rome, failed in their attempt to ſcale the Capitol, becauſe the ſacred geeſe of *Juno*, which could not ſleep there for want of food, by their cackling roufed the guards, who were lulled to reſt by watching and fatigue. Thus the geeſe ſaved the Roman Empire, and defeated the enterprize of the Gauls. *Plutarch* relates that in his time, under *Trajan*, the Romans continued to celebrate the deliverance of the Capitol by an anniverſary feſtival, on which they carried through the ſtreets of Rome a dog hanged, becauſe their dogs ſlept during the eſcalade of the Gauls, and a gooſe placed on a rich cuſhion, in commemoration of the vigilance of thoſe birds to which they were indebted for their ſafety. It is not unlikely that the Gauls, on returning to their own country, adopted the contrary practice, and every year hanged up French geeſe, out of reſentment at the Roman geeſe, without reflecting that they might themſelves expect from them ſimilar good

offices in similar circumstances. But man frequently condemns in his enemy what he would approve in his friend. Another custom is introduced to support the first: it is that practised by our peasants of kindling great bonfires about *Saint John*'s day, perhaps in memory of the burning of Rome, which happened at this season, according to *Plutarch*, that is about the summer solstice. I am well aware that religion had in some measure consecrated the fires of *Saint John*, but I believe they are of antiquity more remote than the Christian Æra, as well as many other usages which Christians have adopted.

Whatever be in this, the Departments ought to abolish from among our peasants those inhuman pastimes, and substitute in their room such as exercise both body and mind, like those in use among the Greeks. Such are wrestling, running, swimming, the use of fire arms, dancing, and, above all, music, which has such power toward polishing the human mind. But we hope to treat these subjects more profoundly, when we engage in a plan of national education.

Our men of capital may powerfully second this moral revolution in rural life, by combining their means with the illumination of the Departments. Instead of monopolizing the money and the bread of the People, whose curses they draw down upon themselves, and sometimes their vengeance, it is easy for them to lay out their money on undoubted security, with profit, honour and pleasure. They could establish country banks, for the purpose of lending, at a moderate interest, small sums to the farmer, who, for want of a little ready money, frequently sees his property

perty go to ruin. They could themſelves drain marſhes, clear waſte lands, multiply flocks, eſtabliſh manufactures, render ſmall rivers navigable; inſtead of acquiring immenſe tracts of landed property producing a ſmall revenue while in the hands of their great farmers, becauſe the half muſt be every year left in fallow, they ought to divide them into ſmall portions of four, of ſix, of ten acres, which will yield a perpetual produce, becauſe a ſingle family can cultivate them. They may plant them out into orchards, encloſe them with quickſet hedges, leſs expenſive, more durable, more agreeable and more beneficial to agriculture, than the long and gloomy ſtone walls of parks; they may rear on them little ſmiling and commodious manſions, or even ſimple cottages, and ſell or let them to tradeſmen who may come thither in queſt of health and repoſe. The ſimple taſtes of the country will thus be introduced into the cities, and the urbanity of cities will communicate itſelf to the country. Our capitaliſts might extend their patriotic eſtabliſhments beyond ſeas, open new channels to commerce and fiſheries, diſcover new iſlands under the fortunate climate of the tropical regions, and there plant colonies exempted from ſlavery. The greateſt of iſlands in the boſom of the Ocean, if after all it be only an iſland, New Holland, invites them to complete the diſcovery of it's coaſts, and to penetrate into it's immenſe ſolitudes, where the foot of European never yet travelled. They may, with French liberty and induſtry, found on it's ſhores a new Batavia, which ſhall attract to itſelf the riches of two worlds; or rather like new Lycurguſes, may they

baniſh money from it, and, in it's place, introduce the reign of innocence, concord and happineſs!

Of the Nobility and the National Guards.

The ambition of the Nobility had acquired entire poſſeſſion of Honours eccleſiaſtical, military, parliamentary, financial, municipal, and even of thoſe pertaining to men of letters and artiſts. Letters of Nobility were requiſite to a man's being a Biſhop, a Colonel, or even a Subaltern Officer, in the Army, a Privy Counſellor, the Mayor of a Corporation; they were obtained as a qualification for filling the place of Sheriff of Paris; they would ſoon have become neceſſary towards obtaining a ſeat in our Academies, which had all of them Noblemen, or pretenders to Nobility, at their head. M. *le Clerc* had become M. *le Comte de Buffon*, and *Voltaire*, M. *le Comte de Ferney*: others limited their ambition to the ribbon of *St. Michael*; all our noted literary characters aimed at preſent or future Nobility. Poor *John-James* alone was contented to remain a man. Beſides he had not the honour of belonging to any one Academy.

A Nation conſiſting of Nobles only, would quickly erminate it's career in the loſs of it's Religion, it's Armies, it's Juſtice, it's Finances, it's Agriculture, it's Commerce, it's Arts and it's Illumination: and would ſubſtitute in place of theſe, Ceremonies, Titles, Impoſts, Lotteries, Academies and Inquiſitions. Look at Spain and a part of Italy, particularly Rome, Naples and Venice. The French National Aſſembly has laid open the path of honour to every Frenchman;

man; but in order to keep in it, he muſt run the race himſelf. Liberty is nothing but a perpetual exerciſe of virtue. It is by repoſing on corps, that citizens loſe the habit and, very ſoon, the rewards of it. If ſo many Biſhops and Colonels have been ſo eaſily ſtripped of their credit and their places, it was becauſe they transferred the diſcharge of their duties from themſelves to their ſubalterns. It was the habit of adminiſtring their alms by the hands of the Clergy which empoveriſhed the People, and enriched ſo many religious houſes. It was by getting themſelves replaced in the military ſervice by ſoldiers that the Citizens themſelves had deſtroyed the Executive Power, and that the regiments had ſeized it, for the profit of the Nobility. It was by diſcharging this duty in perſon that the Spartans maintained their liberty, and by the devolution of it on mercenary ſoldiers that Athens loſt hers. It is neceſſary therefore that the French Citizens ſhould themſelves ſerve. I have propoſed, in my *Wiſhes*, the means of eaſily keeping up in France a very formidable army, which ſhall not coſt the Country a ſingle farthing in time of peace. It is by inſtituting in the cities and villages military exerciſes, amuſements, and prizes among the young people. Thus they will be formed to ſubordination, without which it is impoſſible to have either Army or Citizens. Nothing but obedience to the laws can give ſecurity to public liberty; it is the office of virtue and not of ambition to train men to it.

It was the ambition of the Nobility, which had engroſſed every thing, and which ſcorned to give up a ſingle point, that had brought the State to the brink

ruin, and has iſſued in their own deſtruction. In vain have they aſſembled on our northern frontier, and flatter themſelves with the hope of forcing their way back into France in the enjoyment of their excluſive privileges, by the aſſiſtance of foreign powers. It is not probable that any one of them imagines it has a right to prevent the French Nation from framing for herſelf whatever Conſtitution ſhe likes beſt. All Europe has regarded with admiration *Peter-the-Great* poliſhing his barbarous Empire, and reforming his Clergy and Boyards, who had ſeized all authority. Would our admiration of him have been diminiſhed, had he brought back a corrupted people towards Nature, and had he deſtroyed the corps which oppoſed his plans of reform, he, who broke his own guards, and, like another *Brutus*, inflicted the puniſhment of death on his own only ſon, for having conſpired againſt the Laws which he had given to his Country? What a Prince has done, aſſuredly a Nation is able to do. The ſovereignty of a Nation reſides in itſelf, and not in the Prince, who is only it's ſubdelegate. It is impoſſible too frequently to repeat that fundamental maxim of the rights of mankind: "Kings," ſays *Fenelon*, "are made for the People, and not the "People for Kings." The ſame thing holds good of Prieſts and Nobles. All the orders of a Nation are ſubordinate to it, juſt as the branches of a tree are, notwithſtanding their elevation, to the ſtem which ſupports them. The French Nation has accordingly been able to ſuppreſs the order of Nobility, and it's eccleſiaſtical orders which dared to ſhew a ſpirit refractory to the Laws, without putting it in the power

of

of neighbouring nations to ſay a word on the ſubject. In a ſtorm a veſſel moored on a dangerous coaſt, cuts her cables when ſhe cannot get up her anchors. Thus the Nation, to ſave the national body, has cut aſunder the yoke of prejudice which was dragging her to deſtruction, and which ſhe had neither ſkill nor leiſure to diſentangle.

How many great Princes have attempted to do as much, and durſt not, not being ſeconded by the popular power! The Emperor *Joſeph* II. attempted ſimilar reforms in Brabant, and failed. Can our emigrated Nobility believe that his auguſt ſucceſſor, the ſage *Leopold*, that new *Marcus Aurelius*, that friend of mankind, who in his Tuſcan dominions had opened every road to merit; that a King of Pruſſia, who has himſelf paſſed through every military rank when Prince Royal; that the Empreſs of Ruſſia herſelf, that rival of *Peter-the-Great* who ſtripped his Nobility of the prerogatives of their birth, and exhibited the example of it, by relinquiſhing that of the Throne, and by ſinking himſelf into a drummer and a carpenter; can they believe, I ſay, that all theſe Sovereigns are to coaleſce for the purpoſe of forcing the French to re-eſtabliſh their ancient abuſes, and to give, as in times paſt, all employments to venality, to intrigue and to birth? It is abſolutely impoſſible. If neighbouring Princes keep up conſiderable armies on their frontiers, it is ſimply to prevent the French Revolution from penetrating too rapidly into their dominions, in order to ſhun the diſorders which have accompanied it. If the Empreſs of Ruſſia is making to our emigrated Nobility parti-

cular tenders of ſervice, and is ſupplying them with money, it appears extremely probable that ſhe wiſhes rather to allure them to ſettle in her States, than that ſhe means herſelf to make an impreſſion upon ours. In truth the French Noblemen, inſtructed by calamity, would contribute not a little to the civilization of her Country, juſt as the Swediſh Officers did, who were tranſported into Siberia after the battle of Pultowa.

But the homage which I owe to truth, and the pity which I feel for the unfortunate, conſtrain me here to warn our exiled nobleſs, that moſt of them would be objects of great compaſſion in Ruſſia; firſt from their peculiar mode of education, which, arming them from infancy againſt each other, would not afford them among their compatriots themſelves that ſupport which the unfortunate of the ſame Nation might expect, eſpecially when expatrioted. I had the experience of this oftener than once. The greateſt enemies which Frenchmen have in foreign countries, are Frenchmen; their jealouſy is a reſult from their ambitious education which, from childhood, ſays to each of them, but eſpecially to men of noble birth, *Be foremoſt*. It is true the neceſſity of living with men, and eſpecially with women, ſpreads a varniſh of politeneſs over this maleficent inſtinct, and obliges a Frenchman of family, who is inwardly burning with a deſire to domineer, to appear continually animated with a deſire of pleaſing; but his brilliant talents only excite againſt him the jealouſy of foreigners, whoſe vices ſhew themſelves undiſguiſed. They deteſt equally his gallantry and his

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point of honour, his dancing and his duelling. It is therefore a melancholy prospect for a Gentleman to pass his life in a strange land, an object of jealousy to his compatriots, and of hatred to the natives. I say nothing of the rigour of the military service in Russia, where subordination is such, that a Lieutenant must not sit down in presence of his Captain without permission; nor of the mediocrity of the appointments in a climate where civilized man has so many wants. These inconveniencies, which I myself have experienced, are so insupportable, that most of the Officers whom I have seen pass into that country, of noble extraction or not, have been reduced to the situation of *Ochitels*, or governors to children in the families of Russian Noblemen. It is of a truth one of the least wretched resources of that country: but can it be palatable to a man of noble birth who left his Country merely because he could not domineer over his compatriots at home? Must he imitate *Dionysius* the tyrant of Syracuse, who, stripped of his sovereignty, assumed the employment of school-master at Corinth, and having lost his Empire over men contrived to acquire one over children.

Neither shall I say any thing respecting the severity of the climate in Russia, for it is a consideration of no weight with the ambitious: to live at St. Petersburg or in St. Domingo, to serve under Russians or to tyrannize over Negroes, is all one to most men, provided they are in the road to fortune. It deceives us frequently in these countries as in others. But when a man, to indemnify himself for the injustice of fortune, wishes to throw himself into the arms of Nature,

Nature, it muſt be peculiarly hard upon a Frenchman expatriated in Ruſſia, to compare Winters of ſix tedious months, during which the whole face of the Earth is covered with ſnow and duſky fir trees, with the mild climate of France, and her fertile plains clothed with orchards, vineyards and meadows. It is painful, on ſeeing enſlaved peaſants driven to labour by the rod, to call to remembrance the gaiety and the liberty of his compatriots; to talk of love to ſhepherdeſſes who underſtand not what you ſay, and whoſe hearts feel no reciprocal [illegible]. It is a gloomy reflection that his own poſterity will one day be blaſted by the ſame ſlavery, and that he himſelf muſt never more ſee the places where he learnt to feel and to love. I have ſeen Frenchmen in Ruſſia, of a ſuperior rank in the army, ſo ſtruck with recollections of this kind, that they ſaid to me: "I would "rather be a common ſoldier in France than Colonel "of a regiment here."

Not that civilized countries are exempted from ſuffering, and this of the moſt painful ſort. Philoſophy undoubtedly is able to dwell any where, and, if good laws are wanting, may enjoy more happineſs in the very marſhes of Kamtſchatka, in the midſt of a dog-kennel, than in the boſom of cities become a prey to anarchy.

But, noble Frenchmen, wherefore add to the evils which men may occaſion, thoſe which Nature has not inflicted upon you? The Nation, you ſay, has been guilty of injuſtice to you: Why puniſh yourſelves for this? She has deprived you of your prerogatives; but ſhe has not taken away from you her climate,

climate, her productions, her arts, her illumination, nor any one of her moſt valuable poſſeſſions. You mean to avenge yourſelves for the injuries you have ſuſtained; your country-ſeats have been burnt to the ground: Will the burning of villages re-build them for you? Men of family have been maſſacred; Will the ſlaughter of citizens reſtore them to life? Believe no longer the falſe promiſes of your orators. Your hoſtilities will only ſerve to aggravate your diſtreſſes, juſt as your reſiſtance has done. A corps cannot ſucceſsfully oppoſe a whole Nation. Do not imagine it is in your power to excite civil war in France: there are abundance of patriotic Nobles in the Kingdom to combat the ariſtocratic Nobility. Are you going beſides to take up arms againſt that Royalty from which your privileges are derived, and againſt a King who, in compliance with the general wiſh of France, has ſanctioned the Conſtitution to which you refuſe ſubmiſſion? The ſecond National Aſſembly has proved the lawfulneſs of the firſt. You owe more to your Nation than to your Order; the maxim of the ſage *Fenelon* is not a factious ſophiſm: "A man owes "more to his Country than to his Family." Will you call in the powers of Europe to attack yours? They will not eſpouſe your quarrel. Firſt, they do nothing for nothing, and you are without money and without credit. Will you promiſe them to diſmember France in their favour, where you had not the power of maintaining your own ground? They would be much more afraid of ſeeing their own ſubjects adopting the French laws, than they could hope to ſee France

France submitting to those of Germany or of Russia. The Revolution would penetrate into their Dominions by means of the very soldiery employed to subvert it. What temptation could be held out to induce them to enter France? The plunder of Paris. But the frontiers of the Kingdom are hedged round with fortresses, defended by a multitude of regiments and of national guards, and there are in the interior a million of armed citizens ready to replace them. Would those Powers say to their troops, as an inducement to fight in support of foreigners who never did any thing for them: "Go and re-establish "the French Nobility in the right, claimed by every "Nobleman from his birth, of domineering over "men? If you are victorious, you acquire the ho- "nour of subjecting the French to a yoke similar to "that which you yourselves wear. If you perish, "you die faithful to your Religion, which enjoins "you to obey, and forbids you to reason." France, on the contrary, could say to her Citizens: "You "are accused by the Nobility of Rebellion, but that "imputation falls upon themselves: Rebellion is the "resistance of individuals or of corps to the national "will. Rebellion is the subversion of the laws, and "Revolution is that of tyrants. The Nobility are "the persons who want to be such in France, by "arming against her King legions of foreign sol- "diers. Go and fight them. If you come off vic- "torious, you secure for ever the liberty of your "fortune, of your talents, of your conscience: if you "die, you perish in defending the rights of Human "Nature,

" Nature. Your cauſe is the moſt juſt and the moſt " ſacred for which a People ever contended: it is " that of GOD and of Mankind."

Gentlemen of France, will you ruſh upon deſtruction in defiance of the abuſes of which you yourſelves have ſo frequently complained? The Nation, you ſay, has deprived you of your honours. It is for the ſake of thoſe who have honour, and who do not wiſh to uſurp the honour of another, that ſhe has willed it to be the privilege of every Frenchman to raiſe himſelf by his own merit. Place yourſelves in the rank of her Citizens: ſhe has elevated thoſe of your order, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their virtues, to the ſtations of Preſident, of Commandant, of Mayor, of Deputy to her Aſſembly; to them ſhe has confided her deareſt intereſts; it is for you particularly that ſhe has been labouring. The ancient Government reſerved it's honours for the great and the rich excluſively; it is now in your power, by your virtues, to obtain that which they acquired only by dint of gold and intrigue.

If there be no longer Nobility from inheritance, there ever will be perſonal Nobility; beſides, the condition in which we are born has an influence on our manners. Commerce inſpires the love of money; the bar, chicane; the arts diſpoſe to artifice, and rude labours to vulgarity. The Nobility, of the ancient times of chivalry, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by their generoſity, their candour, their politeneſs. Noblemen! who are their deſcendants, add to theſe patriotiſm and intelligence, and the people of France will advance to meet you. You complain of their anarchy,

anarchy, it is your insurrection on the frontiers which keeps it up. He who sets his face against the Laws, cannot expect protection from them.

Patriotism produced the Revolution and will maintain it; patriotism it is which, uniting every order of Citizens, banished from among them the fatal prejudices of their ambitious education. It has cemented into one body, at once, those whose duty it was to suggest counsels, and those who were to execute them; it has scattered to the winds all the distinctions of rank and estate. We have seen Noblemen receiving orders from shopkeepers, Priests from laymen, Counsellors from attorneys: we have seen soldiers, without pay, passing indifferently from the rank of officer to that of private; ready at all times, by night and by day, to quit their business, their pleasures, their families; proposing to themselves no other recompense but that of serving their Country. Thus were ye formed, virtuous National Guards of Paris. Sometimes, combatting Aristocracy, you have disarmed it without vengeance; sometimes, resisting Anarchy, you opposed to it an insurmountable bulwark. Neither the flattery of courtiers, nor the insults of the populace, have been able to make you deviate from your principles of moderation. The only object you have kept in view is the public tranquillity. Generous inhabitants of Paris, under your protection the French Constitution was formed. Your example has been followed by all the Municipalities of the Kingdom; it will extend still further; benefits propagate themselves as well as absurdities. Our grandees, in their vain luxury, had adopted the rid-

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ing-jackets, the horſe-races, the hunters, the poliſhed ſteel of England; you, with much greater wiſdom, have taken for your ſhare her liberty. Already your Conſtitution, like the dove eſcaped from the ark, is taking a flight over the whole Globe; already it hovers in company with the eagle of Poland; it carries as an olive-branch the rights of mankind; this is the ſtandard of Nature, which is univerſally inviting the Nations to liberty. In defiance of the ſuſpicious vigilance of the deſpotic powers, which interdict to their enſlaved ſubjects the hiſtory of your ſucceſſes, the rights of human nature, tranſlated into all languages, and printed even on the handkerchiefs of women, have penetrated every where. Thus Man, ſubjugated in his very conſcience which he dares not look into, will read his rights engraven even on the boſom of his partner; thus, as you have exerciſed an influence over the pleaſures of Europe by your faſhions, you will extend that influence over the general happineſs by your virtues. Patriotiſm brought you together in the tempeſt; and it will keep you united in the calm. Receive your fugitive and unhappy brethren with generoſity; you owe them protection, ſafety, tranquillity, ſupport, by the very Conſtitution to which you invite them. Recollect that they were your ſeniors: ſhare with thoſe who ſhall expreſs a wiſh to be Citizens, the ſervices and the honours of your Country, the common mother of us all; and, reſtored to the management of your affairs, exhibit to your children the example of concord.

Of

Of the Clergy and the Municipalities.

THE Clergy and the Church ought not to be confounded with each other. The Church is the Aſſembly of the faithful in the ſame Communion; the Clergy is the Corporation of it's Prieſts. A Church may exiſt without Clergy; ſuch was that of the Patriarchs, and ſuch is at this day that of the Quakers: a Clergy cannot ſubſiſt where there is no Church.

Rome, plundered by barbarians, reſumed over them, by the power of ſpeech, the Empire which ſhe had loſt by the feebleneſs of her arms. The wretched nations of Gaul embraced with ardour a Religion which preached charity in this world, and promiſed eternal felicity in that which is to come; they contraſted the virtues of their firſt Miſſionaries with the robberies of their conquerors. The Prieſts, ſupported by popular favour, acquired an unbounded authority. Maſters of the conſcience, they ſoon became ſo likewiſe of the fortunes, and even of the perſons of men. As they were the only men who knew how to read and write, they became the ſole depoſitaries of teſtaments. Notaries were at that time clerks, whoſe dependance was on the Biſhops: a will was good for nothing, unleſs the teſtator had left a legacy to the Church. The pariſh prieſts, of that period, were obliged to keep a regiſter of thoſe who took the Sacrament at Eaſter, of thoſe who did not, as well as of their good and bad qualities, and to tranſmit the particulars to the Biſhops. It is extremely probable that they kept then as they do now, a regiſter of births,

births, marriages, and burials. All alms-deeds were adminiſtered by the Clergy, and they were empowered to receive gifts and bequeſts of money, houſes, lands, ſignories, nay even of ſlaves.

Thus, with ſo many ſources of information, of means and of method, the Biſhops became all powerful. It is ſeen from Hiſtory in what manner they employed power over Kings in the name of the People, in quality of their Paſtors; over the People in the name of God, in quality of his Miniſters; and over Popes themſelves, in the name of the Gallican Church, in quality of it's Chiefs. Their authority excited the jealouſy of Rome. That capital of the Chriſtian world oppoſed to them the monaſtic orders, which held immediately of her, though ſubjected in appearance to the Biſhops. The French Clergy then divided into two corps, the ſecular and the regular. Every power is enfeebled by being divided. The Monks, who formed the regular Clergy, being by their Conſtitution more united among themſelves, and acknowledging but one only Chief, the Pope, extended their power much farther than the members of the ſecular Clergy, frequently diſtracted by the affairs of the world, and ſubjected to various Biſhops, who had not always the ſame views. The ſecular Clergy domineered in the Cities, the Monks diffuſed their empire over the Country. They would ſoon have acquired a decided preponderancy over the whole Kingdom, had they formed only one order, like the Monks of St. Baſil in Ruſſia. But under the apprehenſion, perhaps, that they ſhould not be able as theſe laſt to render themſelves independent by their

riches, Rome herſelf divided her own ſtrength. She introduced into France a great variety of religious orders, the ſuperiors of which reſided at Rome; and who not only parcelled out the eccleſiaſtical functions among themſelves, but even invaded a part of the ſecular employments. Moſt of them were originally mendicants, and introduced themſelves under the pretext, ſo ſpecious, of charity. The Dominicans, at firſt preaching brothers, afterwards became inquiſitors. The Benedictines became the record-keepers in an age when hardly any one could either read or write, and undertook a part of the public education, which communicates ſo much influence over the mind. They were imitated, and ſpeedily ſurpaſſed, by the Jeſuits, who united in their own order alone the talents of all the reſt, and very ſoon all their power. Others did not think themſelves degraded by compounding eſſences, preparing chocolate, knitting ſilk ſtockings and engaging in trade. Some were ſent as Miſſionaries into foreign countries. Though preaching Chriſtianity, they accompanied our ſoldiers in their conqueſts, and acquired lands in America, and ſlaves in Africa to cultivate them. Others, as the Mathurins, enriched themſelves by begging for the purpoſe of ranſoming Chriſtian captives taken by the barbarians of Africa. They redeemed white ſlaves on the Coaſt of Morocco, becauſe, as they alleged, they were Chriſtians: many other Monks were at the ſame time purchaſing black ſlaves on the Coaſt of Guinea, to ſupply their plantations in America, and making Chriſtians of them to rivet the chains of their captivity.

At

At length the civil power began to open it's eyes to it's own intereſts. It ſet out by withdrawing, in part, the public education out of the hands of the Monks and Clergy, by the eſtabliſhment of Univerſities: afterwards Municipal Notaries were appointed, and to them was confided the truſt of ſuperintending the making and execution of wills: it was expreſsly prohibited to bequeath landed property to eccleſiaſtical corps, already far too rich; but, by one of thoſe contradictions ſo common in our laws, the pariſh prieſts were ſtill enjoined to keep public regiſters of births, marriages and deaths, in the view of aſcertaining the ſtate of population. This office clearly belonged to the Municipalities; but the People, inured to ſervitude, were like the old mule to which the Athenians granted liberty in conſideration of her long ſervices, but which, from being accuſtomed to the yoke, went voluntarily and took her place among the other mules which were carrying ſtones to the Temple of *Minerva*.

Since liberty of conſcience has been decreed one of our rights, it is certain that the Municipalities alone can aſcertain the ſtate of the citizens in the three principal epochs of exiſtence, birth, marriage and death. How could Roman eccleſiaſtics verify as citizens, Frenchmen whom they do not conſider as men, ſeeing they look upon them as enemies to God, when they are not of their communion? It is farther evident, that the diſtribution of alms, the ſuperintendance of hoſpitals and of all charitable eſtabliſhments, belongs to the Municipalities excluſively. Their compaſſionate regards are due to Citizens of

every deſcription, whatever their religion may be. It is impoſſible to behold without aſtoniſhment in the Hôtel-Dieu, on the beds of the ſick, labels inſcribed with the word *Confeſſion* in large characters. Thus, had the Hôtel-Dieu been at Jeruſalem, they would not have received the Samaritan's wounded man into it, becauſe his benefactor was a ſchiſmatic, however highly commended by JESUS CHRIST! It is painful to be informed, that the young women placed out of charity in the Salpetriere, are not permitted to paſs the gates to take a country walk, before they are twenty years old; and that thoſe who have attained this age cannot go out, be the occaſion ever ſo preſſing, without preſenting to the porter a certificate of confeſſion. Our hoſpitals are thus converted into priſons, and poverty is puniſhed in them as a crime! The Municipalities abſolutely muſt emancipate charitable inſtitutions from all eccleſiaſtical impoſition whatever. Liberty of conſcience ought to reign in them as liberty of breathing: the intereſt of all men is concerned in it. The peſtilential brand of the inquiſition may lie ſmothered there, like all other epidemic, phyſical and moral maladies, and thence ſpread the infection over cities. There are many other abuſes which call for reform, reſpecting the application of their revenues, their police, and even the nature of thoſe eſtabliſhments, which crowd ſo many wretches into one place: but I have now indicated thoſe which appear to me the moſt dangerous.

There ought to be no burying grounds in the interior of cities; the health of their inhabitants is deeply

deeply concerned in this. There are ancient laws on this subject which remain unexecuted. The accommodation of church-wardens and of the inferior fry who make a gain of interments, is a temptation to infringe them, for they persuade the people that their religious character is involved in the practice. What nevertheless is a church-yard in cities? frequently a common foot-path, where bones are confounded and piled up in heaps; there you see deep and open graves, which incessantly emit a mephitic exhalation. An orphan frequently catches his death there, over the remains of him from whom he derived life. Unfortunate mother! thou fondly believest that the little hillock over which thy tears are flowing contains the body of thy daughter: in vain thou consolest thyself with the recollection of her virgin graces; her body is on the marble slab of an anatomical amphitheatre, exposed naked to the eyes, and to the dissecting knife, of young men whom an affected thirst of knowledge has stripped of all sense of modesty. Ye who revere the ashes of your progenitors, remove them far from places where the passions of the living intrude on the repose of the dead. It is only in the fields, and remote from cities, that death as well as life can find a secure asylum. There we could render unto GOD what is due to GOD, and to the elements what belongs to the elements. There, in airy situations, burying-grounds might be enclosed with walls, sepulchral chapels reared in them, and keepers placed to guard them from violation. Nay, they might be planted with trees which would restore the mephitic air to purity. Nothing would be more interesting,

than to see under the religious shade of oaks, firs and ash-trees, whole generations of carpenters, joiners, cartwrights, laid to rest at the foot of the very trees which had furnished them with the means of sustaining life. Each family, as each corps, might there reserve for itself a little spot of earth, to serve as a common receptacle for the ashes of relations and friends.

It is the business of the Municipalities to pay particular attention to the execution of these laws. Magistrates are the real priests of the people. Their confidence is to be gained no way but by speaking to them; it is by speech that men are governed. The Clergy was the only corps which assumed to itself a privilege claimed by every Citizen among the ancients. The People then must be spoken to, if not *vivâ voce*, at least by edicts, proclamations, journals; the truth must be told them, and recommended to their affections. On the other hand, it is a culpable indifference in their rulers to permit every day mercenary journalists to alarm them by reports which have a tendency to destroy the confidence they ought to place in their Representatives, and to subvert the Constitution. The opinions of the People should not be sported with; if these journalists convey truth, they ought to be recompensed as good citizens; if they have deceived, they should be punished as calumniators. Indifference in this respect is a crime in Magistrates. It is absurd to consider this licentiousness of the Press as a consequence of liberty. No man is at liberty to poison, and calumny is the most dangerous of all poisons. Let them pay very

very ſerious attention to this; from contempt of the laws that of their perſons will follow, and in proceſs of time their ruin.

Citizens, it cannot be too often repeated: If you wiſh to be free, you muſt be virtuous. If you truſt the national defence to regiments, if you perform your works of charity by the hands of eccleſiaſtics, and derive ſcience through the medium of academies, you will be, as we may judge by the paſt, very ſpeedily reduced to ſubjection, plundered and betrayed by the perſons whom you pay.

Of all corps they are the moſt powerful which cannot be removed. To their unremovableneſs principally the Clergy have been indebted for their authority and their riches. Like a rock in the midſt of a river, which is continually enlarging it's baſis by the alluvions of the ſtream, they have ſeen flowing down by their ſide families, corporations, dynaſties, kingdoms, ſtill augmenting their own power by the wreck of the others. The unremovable corps which diſputed the point with them no longer exiſt. The regular Clergy is ſuppreſſed as well as the Parliaments. There is now no counterpoiſe except in the aſſemblies of Citizens, whoſe members are inceſſantly renovated, and are very rarely unanimous.

In order to attach Prieſts to the Conſtitution they muſt be converted into Citizens. The ſecurity is better to bind them to it by their intereſts than by their oaths. To obtain this object, one very good method has already been employed, in making them ſtipendiaries of the State. There is ſtill another more efficacious, becauſe it brings them nearer to

the Laws of Nature; it is that of marriage. The ancient Patriarchs, *Abraham* and *Jacob*, thoſe firſt Pontiffs of the natural Law, thoſe holy men who maintained an intercourſe with angels, were ſurrounded by numerous families of children: *Moſes*, to whom GOD dictated the laws of the Jews, and *Aaron* his brother, inveſted with the office of High-prieſt, were married men. The firſt Catholics married in the Primitive Church. St. *Paul* ſays poſitively, in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, vii. 25, 26. "Now concerning virgins, I have no command-"ment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment as one "that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faith-"ful. I ſuppoſe therefore that this is good for the "preſent diſtreſs, that it is good for a man ſo to be." It is evident that St. *Paul* is not addreſſing this advice to the people, as celibacy would have involved their utter extinction, but to eccleſiaſtics who had ſlender means of ſubſiſtence in thoſe early times, when the infant Church was poor and perſecuted. But in fact, ſpeaking of their chiefs, he ſays in another place, "Let a Biſhop be the huſband of one "wife;" that is, let him marry only one. The prieſts of the Greek Church, who have preſerved moſt of the uſages of the Primitive Church, ſtill continue to marry. But is it needful to recur to authority when we have that of Nature? She produces, all the world over, men and women in equal numbers. Now a Prieſt who does not marry condemns to a ſingle life a young woman whom Nature made his contemporary, and deſigned to be his companion through life. What will become of maiden ladies now that

Convents

Convents are abolished? Finally, the laws of society invite all men to marry. Celibacy may suit an individual, but never a corps. Priests will become good citizens when they become husbands and fathers of families. Many of them have already set the example, by marrying before the Municipalities. They have yielded obedience to that first law of GOD, which accompanies our birth into the world: "Increase and multiply;" a law observed by the priests of the Patriarchal Church; of the Jewish Church, of the primitive Christian Church, and of the Greek Church. The Church of Rome seems to have interdicted marriage to her Clergy, only to attach them more closely to her interests, by separating them from those of family and country. All the religions in the world would lead men to GOD, by an approximation to Nature, but the greatest part remove from her, that they may not approximate to each other.

It may be affirmed in praise of our Clergy that they are the least intolerant of all those of the Catholic church. Their liberties, which pass at Rome for heresies, have saved the Nation from the ultramontane yoke. They never would admit the inquisition established in Italy, in Portugal, in Spain, and even in the Indies. It is this odious tribunal, extended by the policy of Rome over all the earth, under the pretext of protecting religion, which separated from her communion the northern nations of Europe. To it we must impute the revolution of Avignon, though it's yoke was very light there, on account of the vicinity of France; but there is no one so galling as that which leads the conscience captive. Every inhabitant

of

of Avignon was obliged to preſent at Eaſter a certificate of confeſſion to his pariſh Prieſt: it was only a formality, they ſaid; but a man conſtrained to diſſemble where conſcience is concerned, becomes a knave in every part of conduct. When a man is forced to deceive on the ſubject of religion, he learns to deceive without ſcruple in other matters. All civil order bears upon the moral, and this again on religious order. The inquiſition is the alone cauſe of the miſtruſt, of the falſhood, of all the vices of the heart, and of all the errors of the mind, with which the nations are chargeable over whom ſhe has extended her empire. This infernal juriſdiction inſinuates itſelf every where like a ſerpent; it poiſons with it's baleful venom the moſt uſeful eſtabliſhments, even among nations which reject it. Who could believe, for example, that there is at Rome a bull which condemns Free-Maſons to death, a ſociety however which has for it's leading object, to ſuccour the miſerable of all religions? Does a book appear in any part of Europe which acquires celebrity? The inquiſition lays hold of it, condemns it, garbles it as intereſt directs. The moſt innocent are frequently the moſt rudely treated. I ſhall produce one inſtance of this entirely recent. I have juſt received a tranſlation into Italian of *Paul and Virginia*, printed at Venice and approved by the inquiſition who have ſtruck out almoſt the whole dialogue between *Paul* and the old Planter, for no other reaſon, undoubtedly, but becauſe the injuſtice of the great to merit and virtue is there expoſed. This tribunal accordingly is the ſupporter of every ſpecies of tyranny, even ſuch as are not religious. What

ſurpriſed

ſurprized me more is their retrenching from my paſtoral, ſome images very lively and natural; ſuch is that in which *Paul and Virginia*, ſuckled alternately by their unfortunate mothers, are compared to two buds grafted on trees all whoſe branches have been broken off by the tempeſt; and that in which the two children ſhelter themſelves from the rain under the ſame petticoat.

The inquiſition is an enemy to Nature and to mankind. I think therefore that mankind is bound to make repriſals. As ſhe has every where emiſſaries and fraternities, it appears to me that the National Aſſembly, which has eſtabliſhed the rights of humanity as the baſis of the Conſtitution, would act very wiſely in decreeing: That every man allied to the inquiſition ſhould be prohibited to enter France; even though inveſted with a public character, and that every book approved by them ſhould be forbidden to enter, as being, by that very approbation, liable to ſuſpicion of containing maxims favourable to her own intereſts, and incompatible with thoſe of mankind. It becomes every generous Nation to make perpetual war on the enemies of the rights of human nature.

Though there may have been among us, at all times, Prieſts who attempted to introduce the inquiſition, beginning with a demand of certificates of confeſſion and of paſchal communion, and though there ſtill remain ſome traces of it in our hoſpitals, it may be affirmed that the generality of our Clergy poſſeſſes a large ſhare of patriotiſm. Of this we have juſt had experience in the revolution. A great number

ber of eccleſiaſtics the moſt enlightened, and of manners the moſt pure, have taken the ſide of the People. We ought therefore to attach them more and more to the general intereſts, and nothing is ſo likely to effect this as public pay and marriages. They will become Citizens, in becoming ſtipendiary Miniſters of the public, and fathers of families.* But it is not ſufficient to unite the Prieſthood to the People by the bonds of Society and of Nature, it is neceſſary to unite the People to the Prieſthood and to Religion by the bonds of intelligence and feeling. For this purpoſe, we muſt ſubſtitute the French language in room of the Latin, in the prayers of our *Gallican Church*.

To what abſurd practices may not habit ſubject reaſonable beings? Is it not ſtrange that the People of France ſhould pray to God in Latin? What would they ſay were their preachers to addreſs them in the ſame language? It would be nothing more however than a conſequence of the prevailing cuſtom: the ſermon being, like the ſervice of the church, the word of God, it would be natural to make God ſpeak to the People, in the ſame language that the People ſpeaks to God. This practice has in truth exiſted

* On this ſubject I muſt obſerve, that it does not appear to me juſt to deprive Prieſts, who have not taken the oaths, of their penſions, becauſe they refuſe to come under this civic obligation. Theſe penſions have been granted merely in conſideration of that refuſal, and of their having conſequently forfeited all right to exerciſe their public functions, that they might not be left deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence. It would therefore be a violation of the ſpirit of the firſt decree, to exact the civic oath as a qualification to receive thoſe very penſions; it is ſufficient to deprive ſuch as enter into cabals to overſet the Conſtitution.

during

during many ages. There was a time when the Church of Rome permitted not a tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. What communication then could ſubſiſt between God and men who ſpoke to each other in a language which they did not underſtand? It was, ſaid the Romiſh Clergy, to maintain the reſpectability of religion; but what a ſtrange religion muſt that be from which the love of God is baniſhed! for no ſuch feeling can exiſt in prayers which the underſtanding comprehends not, and by which the heart is incapable of expreſſing it's emotions. It is long ſince St. *Paul* condemned this abuſe; and what is very extraordinary, and which as far as I know has never been remarked, it was in deſcribing the caſe of the primitive Chriſtians, who had received the gift of tongues, and who did not themſelves underſtand them. Hear what he ſays on the ſubject in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, xiv. 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16. "If the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall prepare himſelf to the battle? So likewiſe you, except ye utter by the tongue words eaſy to be underſtood, how ſhall it be known what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall ſpeak into the air....therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaketh a barbarian; and he that ſpeaketh ſhall be a barbarian unto me....Wherefore let him who ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my ſpirit prayeth, but my underſtanding is unfruitful.... Elſe when thou ſhalt bleſs with the ſpirit, How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay Amen at thy

" thy giving thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not " what thou ſayeſt ?"

Since we muſt ſpeak out, though we had not the example of St. *Paul*, the uſe of the Latin tongue, like the celibacy of the Clergy, is an effect of the policy of modern Rome, to ſubject the nations to her empire. By precluding Prieſts from having wives and children, ſhe detached them from family and country, and attached them proportionally to the aggrandizement of her own power, by inſpiring them with an excluſive affection for her ſervice. Conquering Princes exact ſimilar ſacrifices from their ſoldiers; they permit them not to marry. On the other hand, Rome, reſerving to Prieſts alone the knowledge of the ſacerdotal language, ſubjected, by means of it, the People who comprehended it not, to a blind obedience: it is thus that the deſpots of the Eaſt employ, in the execution of their commands, eunuchs and mutes.

It is nevertheleſs very much the intereſt of the Romiſh Church to propagate religion in all the dialects of the world. Religions are diffuſed only by languages; our nurſes are our firſt apoſtles, and among moſt nations, women have been the firſt miſſionaries. I ſhall make on this ſubject an obſervation of conſiderable importance: it is this, that in every country religions have ſhared the fate of the languages in which they originated. The firſt religion of the Romans periſhed with the Tuſcan dialect which gave it birth. That of the God Lama, in Tartary, overſpread the Chineſe Empire with the Tartars, who introduced their language on effecting the

the conqueſt of it. Judaiſm remained long ſhut up among the Hebrews alone, becauſe they had little communication with other nations. But when Chriſtianity was preached to them, it penetrated with them ſouthward into Africa, and there formed a religion mixed with Judaiſm, as we ſee to this day in Ethiopia. When afterward it was announced toward the Eaſt, to the Greeks, it extended ſucceſſively, with the broken remains of their language, over the Greeks of the Archipelago, among the Greeks properly ſo called, and to Conſtantinople; to Moldavia, Ruſſia, part of Poland, and to all the countries where the Sclavonian language is ſpoken, which is derived from the Greek. When it was preached to the Romans, it ſpread to the Weſt among the Nations which ſpake languages derived from the Latin tongue, ſuch as the Italians, Spaniards, Portugueze and French. Finally, having penetrated northward among the nations who ſpeak the Celtic language, it ſettled with that tongue among thoſe who uſe the different dialects of it, ſuch as the Germans, the Swiſs, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Engliſh. Thus, as there are three primitive languages in Europe, the Greek, the Latin and the Celtic, the Chriſtian religion is divided into three great churches, the Greek, the Roman, and the Diffident or Proteſtant, which may be denominated the Celtic. Each of them produces different communions, conformably to the different dialects of their mother-tongue: thus the Greek church ſubdivided into the different patriarchates of Conſtantinople, of Ruſſia, into Maronite...; the Latin, into Roman, into Gallican, &c.; the Diffident or Celtic, into Lutheran,

Lutheran, Calviniſt, Anglican, &c. This is ſo true, that among the people where there is a mixture of two languages, there is likewiſe a mixture of two communions. Thus in Poland, where the language is partly Greek, partly Latin, there is the Greek church and the Latin church; in Switzerland, where the language is partly French partly German, there are Catholic and there are Proteſtant Cantons. There would have been, in all probability, a fourth Chriſtian church in Europe, namely the Hebraïc, had the firſt Jews who embraced Chriſtianity become ſedentary; but their commerce carrying them towards Africa and Arabia, they there eſtabliſhed, as I have ſaid, the Abyſſinian Chriſtianity blended with Judaiſm, and they probably gave birth to Mahometaniſm, which is well known to be a mixture of theſe two religions. Mahometaniſm itſelf, ſpreading with the Arabic language, over the Arabians, the Africans, the Turks, the Perſians and the Indians, ſubdivided into ſeveral ſects, following the dialects of that mother-tongue.

Thus religions partake of the fate of languages. I deduce from this important obſervation, two conſequences of equal importance; the firſt is, That a People ought to ſpeak the language of their religion in order to be attached to it. It is very remarkable that the Nations who pray to God in their native language, adhere to their religion much more firmly than thoſe who do not. Such are the Jews, the Arabians, the Turks; and in Europe, the Proteſtant communions, among whom there are much fewer renegadoes than among the Catholics. It is neceſſary therefore

therefore to have the Latin offices of our churches chanted in French, that our people may be harmonized with their religion, and an union eſtabliſhed between the words and the feelings of believers, as *St. Paul* recommended.

As every reform ought to be made gradually, there could be no great harm in permitting, for ſome time, the ſervice of the maſs, and the religious functions which contain myſteries, to ſubſiſt in the ſacerdotal language; but into the other offices of the Gallican church ſhould be introduced not only the French pſalms, but prayers and hymns, which ought to have direct relations to the ſtate of our own Country, rather than to that of Jeruſalem. It was by ſimilar means that Miſſionaries, and eſpecially the Jeſuits, proſelyted ſo many ſavage Nations to Popery.

The ſecond conſequence reſulting from the relations which the religion of every Nation has to it's language, is, that all communions ought to be tolerated. To damn a man becauſe he is not a Catholic, is to ſend him to hell becauſe he does not ſpeak one of the dialects of the Latin tongue: on the other hand, to ſave only the Italians, the Spaniards, the French, would be to open Heaven only to a very ſmall number of the elect; whoſe principal merit was having been born in a corner of Europe, which is itſelf but a ſmall portion of the Globe, and undoubtedly far from being the moſt innocent part of it. It is accordingly to make the ſalvation of men a matter of geography, or rather of grammar. JESUS CHRIST did not think in this manner, when he came to recall the Jews firſt to the unchangeable Laws of

Nature; He discovered no intention to confide the empire of conscience and of truth to one portion of the Earth, but to Heaven; to no Man, but to God; to no artificial and oral language, but to that of the heart and of feeling. If Popes then mean to bring back the People to God, it must be by calling them back to Nature, without violence, without trick, without inquisition. Let them practise, on the great scale, the dignity of virtue; let them employ the respect inspired by their high rank, their age, the recollection of ancient Rome, once mistress of the world, and especially the sublime morality of the Gospel and of Religion; let them stand forth and plead the cause of the wretched ones of the Earth, by pronouncing a curse on those who reduce the Negroes to slavery; on those who lay violent hands on the possessions of the poor Indians; on those who kindle wars of ambition, who trouble the Nations by their abominable practices: this language, like that of the Gospel, will be understood by the whole universe, and the universe will then be Roman-catholic.

There is another language, which imposes at least as much upon the People as the Latin, and which is not much more intelligible, I mean that of bells. The ambition of every corps employs two languages: the first speaks to the eye by signs; the second to the ear by noises: thus it captivates the two principal senses of the soul, which ought to be accessible only through the medium of reason.

I have seen in my younger days, suspended in the streets of Paris, over the shops of tradesmen, shuttle-

cocks

cocks six feet high, pearls as large as casks, plumes of feathers rising to the third floor, a glove whose fingers resembled branches of trees, a boot capable of holding several barrels; a stranger would have supposed our capital was inhabited by giants. Those enormous signs nevertheless only announced sellers of childrens' toys, of jewellery, of finery; glovers, shoemakers. At last, as they were constantly increasing in size, like all the other signs of ambition, the police ordered them to be reduced to a reasonable magnitude, as they intercepted the view of the houses, and because in a gale of wind they might be blown down and crush the passengers. All this monstrous exhibition was a faithful representation of ambitious competitions; when every one is eager to distinguish himself, no one becomes distinguishable, and their great general efforts frequently issue in the annihilation of the individual.

The police reforms not the other languages of ambition, because they do not affect the life of the Citizens: such are those which offend only by their noise. The object of all ambitious persons being to attract the public attention, it is evident that the surest method of effecting this is to make a great deal of noise. We accordingly hear, in the capital of the kingdom, most crafts straining who shall bawl the loudest. All our ambulatory dealers have their peculiar cries; and if you join to the unintelligible words, the shrill notes of milk-maids, the hoarse voices and cornets of water-porters, the oaths of carters, the squalling of fish-women, the rattling of chariots, coaches, cabriolets, on noisy steel springs, the clack-

ing of the penny-poſt, the drums of the guards, &c. Paris muſt paſs for the moſt tumultuous city in Europe. But all this is mere nothing compared to the ringing of bells. The ambition of pariſhes and of convents have been contending who ſhould have the largeſt and the moſt numerous. There are bells which make more noiſe alone than 10,000 citizens: and as there are in Paris more than 200 belfries, any one may judge what a fearful tumult theſe monuments raiſe, eſpecially on rejoicing days. It is aſſuredly a monſtrous practice, and to which habit alone could reconcile us, to hear huge church-towers bellowing aloud, and barbarous ſounds iſſuing from the temples of peace, even in the night time. The bells are ſet a-ringing on the eve of our great feſtivals, on the day itſelf, and the day after, of pariſh churches, and even of petty brotherhoods. As the noiſe of bells is a certain method for an obſcure tradeſman to attract the notice of the quarter where he lives, he has his marriage announced by the tolling of bells, the baptiſm of his children, but eſpecially the interment of his relations, on the eve of the funeral, on the day of it, and the laſt day of the year. Nay he founds obituary concerts of this kind of muſic, and has his death knolled to perpetuity. In a word, if he is rich, he tolls his ſitting down to dinner and ſupper, for every hôtel too has it's bell. All theſe ſounds render us the moſt noiſy people in Europe, and conſequently the vaineſt; for if it be the principal object of ambition to make a noiſe, noiſe likewiſe has for it's object, to inſpire ambition. We ſee the proof of this in the drums and trumpets by which not

men

men only, but the very horſes, are incited to the fight. Accordingly the firſt play-thing which mothers with us give to their little boys is a drum. It is in truth the firſt inſtrument of the moſt glorious of all ambitions, that of killing men; and if they do not give them bells inſtead of the other toy, it is becauſe their ſound is not military.

I could wiſh therefore that the number, the ſize, and the peals of moſt bells might be diminiſhed, and that the Clergy ſhould make the People comprehend that they have nothing to do with religion, even after they have been baptized: they are frequently the monuments, not of the piety of the donors, but of their ambition, as is evident from the coats of arms impreſſed on them. The Apoſtles never ſaw ſuch a thing. They come to us from India and from China, as well as many other inventions which we have adopted from idolatrous nations, and multiplied to exceſs. The Turks, the Perſians, the Arabians, far from uſing them themſelves have forbidden the uſe of them to Chriſtians reſiding in their States; they conſider them as inſtruments of idolatry. They believe that the human voice alone is worthy to ſing the praiſes of God. Among them it is the voice of the Muſſelims which from the ſummit of their moſques call the people together to prayer. Bells are not neceſſary to unite mankind. They meet without any ſummons of this kind at the Theatres, at the Courts of Juſtice, in the National Aſſembly. It would be to the purpoſe therefore to reſtrict the uſe of bells to the announcing of the hours of the day and the public offices. The ringing of peals is, I admit, an abuſe

lucrative to churches, but a nuiſance to the living, and unprofitable to the dead.

Let us in every thing draw nigh to Nature. She employs ſhrill ſounds and tumultuous noiſes only to announce tempeſts. She introduces the ſtorm by the rolling of the thunder: and winter by the howling of the winds: but ſhe announces fair weather, and the return of Spring, by the ſinging of birds. Let us imitate her in our Cities. Their ſhrill, hoarſe, threatening accents, the noiſy ſounds of drums and bells, at length ſtun the ears and exaſperate the ſpirits of the quiet inhabitants. Let us replace them by ſounds adapted to every ſtate. Each of them ought to make a proviſion for the demands of ſociety: Let them announce themſelves then by ſongs and melodious notes, and we ſhall inſenſibly perceive the organs and the characters of the inhabitants ſoftened down: every day will become a feſtival in the cities, as it ought to be in the midſt of our plains.

It is unneceſſary here to repeat that the Municipalities, eſpecially that of Paris, whoſe example they follow, ſhould cauſe pavements for foot paſſengers to be laid, privies for the accommodation of the public to be conſtructed, the layſtals of the environs to be covered with earth, to give to the houſes of the citizens diſpoſitions agreeable and commodious, to have them built with ſtone, as a preſervative againſt fire.....The new Conſtitution calls them to functions of a ſtill higher order; they are bound to pay at leaſt as much attention to the moral as to the phyſical wants of the People. The principal are the public feſtivals. Feſtivals are neceſſary to mankind. Nature has not taken ſo much

much care to decorate the earth with verdure, with flowers, with perfumes, with finging birds, and to vary the ſcenery with foreſts, meadows, mountains, rivers which ſhe every day illumines with the fires of a new Aurora and of a new ſetting Sun, but in the view of making this Globe the reſidence of perpetual feſtivity. The beneficent pomp of Nature invites man to the love of his fellow creatures and of the Divinity. The People is deprived of this in Cities, where no recreation from labour is to be found except religious exhibitions, frequently inſtituted for ſtrangers, larded with ceremonies totally unknown, and which the generality no more comprehend than the language in which they addreſs themſelves to God. If the Municipalities ſometimes treat them with patriotic rejoicing days, it is on ſome murderous occaſion, when the thunder of artillery ſummons them to a diſplay of artificial fireworks, which are very expenſive, which laſt only for a moment, and which muſt be viewed at a diſtance.

Feſtivals are in the voyage of life, what iſlands are in the boſom of the ocean, places of refreſhment and repoſe. Even the moſt myſterious have ſo much power over the minds of the People, from their muſic and their proceſſions, that they may be conſidered as the principal means which attract ſavage nations to the Catholic religion, and which ſupport it among the civilized. What would it be were a moral blended with their phyſical expreſſion? The Municipalities ought therefore to eſtabliſh patriotic feaſts to attach Citizens to the Conſtitution. A ſublime eſſay has been made to this effect in the Field of Mars, de-

nominated at that era the Field of Confederation; but it was a military feſtival merely, hardly any thing was to be ſeen in it but men in uniforms. The patriotic altar ought to be encompaſſed with a civil and religious pomp and ſplendour, and with the national guards ſhould be intermixed choirs of young women and of boys crowned with flowers, chanting alternately, to the muſic of flutes and hautboys, French hymns ſimilar to the *Carmen Seculare* of *Horace*. In a word, thoſe public feſtivals ought to be preſided over, as their natural pontiffs, by the chief men in Adminiſtration, having the King at their head: thus the Prieſthood will be reſtored to it's primitive dignity.

The Field of Confederation may be rendered for this purpoſe a ſpot of dignified importance, by ſurrounding it, like a Roman Circus, with ſtone benches, and the ſtatues of our illuſtrious men, and by lodging the National Aſſembly in the Military-School which terminates it at one of it's extremities. But however vaſt it may be, I think it much too ſmall for giving feſtivals to the People of Paris.

I have to propoſe a ſpace much more capacious, more within reach, and the architecture of which is already completed. There is no one ſquare in Paris capable of containing ſo much as the tenth part of her population; and on the ſuppoſition that it were poſſible to aſſemble the whole in ſome adjacent plain ſuch as that of Sablons, it would ever be an inſurmountable obſtacle to this univerſal aſſemblage, that the diſtance of the greater part of the inhabitants from their own home, would be far too remote. Paris is nearly a league and a half in diameter. Add to that

diſtance,

diſtance, which muſt be tramped on foot, in the heat of the Sun, by moſt of the women and children in coming and going, a circumſtance which involves, in Paris, the neceſſity of interrupting the circulation of carriages and of people on horſeback, the confuſion inſeparable from great multitudes which, collected in a ſingle maſs, bear always heavy on their centre.

In order to aſſemble commodiouſly the People of Paris, they muſt not be withdrawn to any conſiderable diſtance from the City; and as no one place in it can contain the whole, inſtead of attracting them from the ſuburbs toward a common centre, it would be proper, on the contrary, to draw them from the centre to the ſuburbs. Accordingly, in place of convoking them, as under the old Government, to that miſerable ſmall *Place de la Greve*, deſtined to executions which have been for ſo many ages polluting the *Hotel de Ville*, they muſt meet on the *Boulevards*. There they will find a ſpacious walk ſeveral leagues in length, ſhaded by four rows of trees, without reckoning thoſe which are planted on the outſide of the walls. Each Boulevard is within reach of the inhabitants of it's own quarter; and each inhabitant has it in his power to make the tour, on foot, on horſeback, or in a carriage, of that vaſt circular ſpace which encompaſſes Paris, enjoying at once the city and the country, as ſoon as the walls are levelled which intercept the view of it. There reſults from this choice of ſituation ſome other very conſiderable advantages: ſuch as our being able to employ the ſuperb buildings of the barriers, conſtructed in form of rotundos, of coloſſal columns, of pantheons, of Egyptian

Egyptian temples, formerly appropriated as lodging houſes for the Clerks of the Exchequer, to ſerve in future as monuments of the great men who have deſerved well of their Country. Their ſtatues might be placed between the columns or upon the entablature of thoſe edifices at the ſame barriers where the roads terminate which lead to the provinces from which ſuch great men originally came. Their auguſt images might be made to face toward thoſe ſame provinces, as if they were inviting the people of the country to the capital, or thoſe of the capital to take an intereſt in the inhabitants of the provinces. Each of theſe monuments might be devoted as a place of tranſient hoſpitality to poor travellers. There we ſhould read, on large tablets of ſtone, inſcriptions relative to the great men who attained the rank of tutelary deities from the ſervices which they rendered to the unfortunate. On patriotic feaſt days, they might be decorated with garlands of foliage and flowers; there it would be proper to make diſtributions of proviſion among the people, and at night they might be illuminated with rows of lamps. Thoſe temples of hoſpitality, of an antique architecture, linked together by a triple avenue of trees in verdure, filled with a people free and happy, would form around Paris a crown of felicity and glory which would render her the capital of the nations.

The Conſtituent Aſſembly decreed that the new church of Sainte-Genevieve ſhould ſerve as a receptacle for the remains of the great men who ſhall have merited well of the Nation. As theſe illuſtrious Citizens are frequently of different communions which

which excommunicate each other, it has been deemed proper, that there may be no diſcord among them at leaſt after death, to admit no kind of religious worſhip in the temple where their aſhes repoſe. An intereſting memoir has appeared on this ſubject, in which it is propoſed to dedicate the Altar of that church to the COUNTRY, and there to adminiſter the oaths of office to Magiſtrates. But where are the virtues which can reſt on any other foundation than the Supreme Being who beſtows them, and who alone can ſuitably reward them?

I could wiſh then that this monument might be conſecrated to Deity by theſe words: TO GOD, THE FATHER OF ALL MEN. The memoir to which I have referred, obſerves that ſculpture ought to be employed in figurative repreſentations, at the extremities of the nave, of four religions, the Jewiſh, the Greek, the Roman and the Gallican. I know not what train of reflection could have ſuggeſted the ſymbols of four religions generated the one from the other, which hate and perſecute each other. It ſeems to me much more conformable to the deſign, to introduce the primitive or patriarchal religion, from which all the reſt have emanated, and to conſtitute the firſt Magiſtrates the pontiffs of it. It's ancient worſhip, ſimple, and diffuſed over the whole earth, would adapt itſelf to the great men of every communion, as they muſt derive their greatneſs entirely from the ſervices they have rendered to mankind. It is the only one which unites men of all religions, for there is no one but what admits

DEITY

DEITY as it's priniciple and as it's end. The dead would thus convey leſſons of toleration to the living.

I cannot terminate this article better, than by ſubjoining an oriental anecdote, much calculated to inſpire all men with mutual religious toleration.

THE COFFEE-HOUSE OF SURAT.

THE

COFFEE-HOUSE OF SURAT.

AT Surat was a Coffee-houſe, the general rendezvous of ſtrangers after dinner. One afternoon ſtepped in a Perſian Seydre, or Doctor of the Law, who had been writing all his life on Theological ſubjects, and who no longer believed in a GOD. "What is it that you call GOD," ſaid he? "Whence "comes he? Who made him? Where is he? If he "were a body, he would be viſible: were he a ſpirit, "he would be intelligent and juſt; he would not "permit ſo many human beings to be miſerable. I "myſelf, after having laboured ſo long in his ſervice, "ought to have been High-prieſt of Iſpahan, inſtead "of being forced to flee from Perſia, after all my "exertions to enlighten mankind. There is no GOD." Thus the Doctor, miſled by ambition, by dint of reaſoning on the firſt reaſon of all things, had at length loſt his own, and imagined, not that it was his own intelligence which no longer exiſted, but the intelligence which governs the Univerſe. He had for a ſlave a Cafre almoſt naked, whom he left at the door of the Coffee-houſe. For himſelf, he went and ſtretched his limbs on a ſofa, and took a cup of coquenar or opium. As ſoon as the fumes of this beverage began to mount to his brain, he addreſſed himſelf

himſelf to his ſlave, who was ſitting on a ſtone in the Sun, driving away the flies which ſucked his blood, in theſe terms: "Miſerable black! Believeſt thou "there is a GOD?" "Who can doubt it?" replied the Cafre, and as he ſpake pulled out from a ſhred of pagne which girded his loins, a little marmouſet of wood, and ſaid: "Behold the GOD who has pro- "tected me ever ſince I came into the world; he is "made of a branch of the Feticha-tree of my coun- "try." All the company in the coffee-room were no leſs ſurprized at the ſlave's anſwer than at his maſter's queſtion.

On this a Bramin, ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, ſaid to the Negro: "Poor ideot? What, carry thy GOD "in thy girdle! Know that there is no other GOD "but Brama, who created the World, and whoſe "temples are on the banks of the Ganges. The "Bramins are his only prieſts, and it is under his "ſpecial protection that they ſubſiſt for a hundred and "twenty thouſand years paſt, in defiance of all the "Revolutions which India has undergone." A Jew broker immediately took him up, ſaying: "How can "the Bramins believe that GOD has temples only in "India, and that he exiſts for their caſte only? There "is no God but the GOD of *Abraham*, and He has "no other People but that of *Iſrael*. He preſerves "them, though diſperſed over the whole Earth, till "he ſhall gather them together again at Jeruſalem, "to give them the Empire of the Nations, when "they ſhall have there rebuilt his Temple, formerly "the wonder of the Univerſe." As he pronounced theſe words, tears ſtarted to the Iſraelite's eyes. He

was

was going to resume his speech, when an Italian in a blue robe interrupted him in great heat: "You "make God unjust," said he, "in pretending that "he loves only the people of Israel. He has rejected "them for more than seventeen hundred years "past, as is evident from their very dispersion. He "is now calling all men into the Roman-catholic "Church, beyond the pale of which there can be no "salvation." A Protestant Minister of the Danish Mission at Trinquebar, growing pale as ashes, replied to the Popish Missionary: "How dare you li-"mit the salvation of mankind to your idolatrous "communion? Learn that none can be saved but "those who, conformably to the Gospel, worship God "in spirit and in truth, under the Law of Jesus "Christ." Upon this a Turk, an Officer of the Customs at Surat, who was smoking his pipe, said with a grave air to the two Christians: "Fathers, "how can you confine the knowledge of God to "your Churches? The Law of Jesus has been abo-"lished ever since *Mahomet* appeared, the paraclet "predicted by Jesus Christ himself the word of "God. Your religion no longer subsists except in "a few Kingdoms, and upon it's ruins ours has ex-"tended itself over the finest Provinces of Europe, "of Africa, of Asia and her Islands. It is at this day "seated on the Throne of the Great Mogul, and is "penetrating into China, that enlightened country. "You yourselves discern the rejection of the Jews, "in their present state of humiliation; acknowledge "then the mission of the Prophet in his triumphs. "The followers of *Mahomet* and of *Omar* alone can

" be ſaved; for the diſciples of *Ali* are infidels." At theſe words, the Seydre, who was of Perſia, where the people are of the ſect of *Ali*, began to ſmile; but a great tumult aroſe in the Coffee-houſe, from the variety of ſtrangers aſſembled, who were of as many different religions; and among the reſt Abyſſinian Chriſtians, Cophts, Tartarian-Lamas, Arabian Iſhmaelites, and Guebres, or worſhippers of fire. All theſe diſputed on the Nature of GOD, and on the worſhip he required, every one maintaining that the true religion exiſted no where but in his own country.

There was in the Coffee-houſe a man of letters from China, a diſciple of *Confucius*, who was travelling for his improvement. He ſat in a corner of the room, drinking tea, and liſtening to all that was ſaid without ſpeaking a word. The Turkiſh Cuſtom-houſe Officer turning to him, cried aloud: " My good Chineſe, who remaineſt ſilent, you know " that many religions have made their way into " China. The merchants of your country who had " occaſion here for my ſervices have told me ſo, and " aſſured me that the Religion of *Mahomet* is the " beſt. Like them do juſtice to the truth: what is " your opinion of GOD, and of the Religion of his " Prophet?" This produced a profound ſilence in the Coffee-room. The diſciple of *Confucius*, drawing back his hands into the large ſleeves of his robe, and croſſing them on his breaſt, retired into himſelf, and in a gentle and deliberate accent thus ſpake:

" Gentlemen, if I may be permitted to ſay ſo, " it is ambition which in every caſe hinders men to " agree: if you will give me a patient hearing, I " ſhall

" ſhall produce an inſtance of this which is ſtill freſh " in my memory. When I left China, on my voy- " age to Surat, I embarked on board an Engliſh ſhip " which had ſailed round the world. On our paſ- " ſage, we caſt anchor on the eaſtern Coaſt of Suma- " tra. Towards noon, having gone aſhore in com- " pany with ſeveral perſons belonging to the veſſel, " we went and ſat down on the ſhore of the ſea, near " a little village, under the ſhade of ſome cocoa-trees, " where men of different countries were enjoying " their repoſe. A blind man came and joined the " company: he had loſt his ſight by too cloſe a con- " templation of the Sun. He had been actuated by " the wild ambition of comprehending the nature of " that luminary, in order to appropriate his light to " himſelf. He had tried all the methods which op- " tics, chemiſtry, and even necromancy can ſupply, " to ſhut up one of his rays in a bottle; not being " able to ſucceed, he ſaid: *The light of the Sun is* " *not a fluid, for it cannot be agitated by the wind*; " *it is not a ſolid, for the parts of it cannot be ſepa-* " *rated*; *it is not fire, for it is not extinguiſhable in* " *water*; *it is not a ſpirit, as it is viſible*; *it is not* " *a body, for we cannot handle it*; *it is not even a* " *moving power, for it agitates not the lighteſt bodies*: " *it is therefore nothing at all.* Finally, by perſever- " ing efforts, in contemplating the Sun, and reaſon- " ing on his light, he at length loſt his eye-ſight, and " what is worſe, his reaſon. He believed that it was " not his viſion, but the Sun which had no exiſtence " in the Univerſe. He had a negro to lead him " about, who having ſeated his maſter under the ſhade

" of a cocoa-tree, picked up one of it's nuts that " lay on the ground, and ſet about making a lamp " of the ſhell, a wick of the outer huſk, and ſqueezed " a little oil from the kernel to put into his lamp. " While the black man was thus employing himſelf, " his blind maſter ſaid to him with a ſigh: *Is there " then no ſuch thing as light in the world? Yes, that of " the Sun,* replied the Negro. *What is it you call the " Sun,* reſumed the blind man? *I cannot tell,* anſwer- " ed the African, *all I know is, that his riſing is the " commencement of my labours, and his ſetting the ter- " mination of them. His light intereſts me leſs than that " of my lamp, which illuminates my cottage; without " it I ſhould not be able to ſerve you during the night.* " Then, holding out his little cocoa-ſhell, ſaid: *There " is my Sun.* At this part of the converſation a man " of the village, who walked on crutches, fell a laugh- " ing; and believing that the blind man had been " ſo from his birth, ſaid to him: *Know that the Sun " is a globe of fire which riſes every day out of the " Ocean, and ſets every night toward the Weſt, in the " mountains of Sumatra. You would ſee this yourſelf, " as we all do, had you the bleſſing of ſight.* Here a " fiſherman interpoſed, and ſaid to the cripple: *It is " eaſy to perceive that you have never travelled far be- " yond the limits of your village. If you had legs, and " could have made the tour of Sumatra, you muſt have " known that the Sun does not ſet in it's mountains; " but he iſſues every morning out of the Sea, and dips " into it again every evening to cool himſelf; this is " what I ſee every day along the coaſts of the Iſland.* " An inhabitant of the Peninſula of India then ſaid

" to

" the fiſherman: *How is it poſſible for a man of com-*
" *mon ſenſe to believe that the Sun is a globe of fire,*
" *and that he every day iſſues from the Ocean, and*
" *plunges into it at night without extinguiſhing him-*
" *ſelf? Learn then that the Sun is a Deuta or Divi-*
" *nity of my Country, that he rides every day through*
" *the Heavens in a chariot, turning round the golden*
" *mountain of Merowa; that when he undergoes an*
" *eclipſe, it is owing to his being ſwallowed up by the*
" *ſerpents Ragon and Kétou, from which he is delivered*
" *only by the prayers of the Indians on the banks of the*
" *Ganges. It is a very ridiculous ambition for an in-*
" *habitant of Sumatra to pretend that he ſhines only on*
" *the horizon of his Iſland; it could have entered into*
" *the head only of a man whoſe navigation has been li-*
" *mited to the paddling of a canoe.* A Laſcar, the
" maſter of a trading veſſel that lay at anchor, then
" ſpoke to this purpoſe: *It is an ambition ſtill more*
" *ridiculous to imagine, that the Sun prefers India to*
" *all the countries of the world. I have navigated*
" *through the Red Sea, along the Coaſts of Arabia, to*
" *Madagaſcar, to the Moluccas, and to the Philippine*
" *Iſlands; the Sun enlightens all thoſe countries as well*
" *as India. He does not turn round a mountain; but*
" *riſes in the Iſlands of Japan, which are for that rea-*
" *ſon called Jepon or Ge-puen, birth of the Sun, and*
" *he ſets very far to the Weſt, behind the Iſlands of*
" *England. I am very ſure of it, for I have heard it re-*
" *lated by my grandfather, when I was a child, and he*
" *had ſailed to the very extremities of the Ocean.* He
" was going to proceed, when an Engliſh ſeaman of
" our ſhip's company interrupted him thus: *There*

" *is no Country where the courſe of the Sun is better* " *known than in England: he aſſured then that he no* " *where riſes or ſets. He is inceſſantly making the cir-* " *cuit of the Globe; and I am perfectly ſure of it, for* " *we have juſt performed the ſame round, and have met* " *him wherever we went.* Then taking a ratan from " the hand of one of his auditors, he traced a cir- " cle on the ſand, endeavouring to explain to them " the courſe of the Sun from tropic to tropic; but " not being able to make it out, he appealed to the " teſtimony of the pilot of his ſhip, for the truth of " every thing he would have ſaid. This pilot was a " wiſe man, who had heard the whole diſpute with- " out interpoſing a ſingle word; but when he per- " ceived that all the company kept ſilence to hear " him, he ſpoke to this effect: *Each of you is trying* " *to miſlead others, and is himſelf miſled. The Sun* " *does not turn round the Earth, it is the Earth which* " *turns round him, preſenting in ſucceſſion, every twenty-* " *four hours, the Iſlands of Japan, the Philippines, the* " *Moluccas, Sumatra, Africa, Europe, England, and* " *a great many other countries. The Sun ſhines not* " *for one Mountain only, one Iſland, one Horizon, one* " *Sea, nor even for one Globe; but he is at the centre* " *of the Univerſe, from whence he illuminates, together* " *with the Earth, five other Planets which likewiſe* " *revolve around him, and of which ſome are much* " *greater than our Globe, and at a much greater diſ-* " *tance than it is from the Sun. Such is, among others,* " *Saturn, of* 30,000 *leagues diameter, and at the diſ-* " *tance of* 285,000,000 *of leagues from the Sun. I ſay* " *nothing of the Moons which reflect on Planets remote*

" *from*

" *from the Sun his light, and are not few in number.*
" *Every one of you would have an idea of theſe truths,*
" *if he only turned his eyes in the night toward the Hea-*
" *vens, and if he had not the ambition of believing that*
" *the Sun ſhines for his own Country only.* Thus ſpake,
" to the great aſtoniſhment of his hearers, the pilot
" who had ſteered a ſhip round the World, and ob-
" ſerved the ſtarry Heavens.

" It is equally true of GOD, continued the diſci-
" ple of *Confucius*, as of the Sun: every man believes
" he poſſeſſes him excluſively, in his own Chapel, or
" at leaſt in his own Country. The People of every
" Nation believe they have encloſed in their temples
" Him whom the viſible Univerſe cannot contain. Is
" there, however, a Temple once to be compared
" with that which GOD himſelf has reared for col-
" lecting all mankind into one and the ſame commu-
" nion? All the temples in the World are made only
" in imitation of that of Nature. We find in moſt
" of them lavers, holy-water ciſterns, columns, arches,
" lamps, ſtatues, inſcriptions, books of the law, ſa-
" crifices, altars and prieſts. But what Temple con-
" tains a ciſtern ſo vaſt as the Ocean, which is not to
" be contracted to a ſhell? Where do we find co-
" lumns ſo beautiful as the trees of the foreſt, or
" thoſe of the orchard loaded with fruits? Where an
" arch ſo lofty as the vault of Heaven, and a lamp
" ſo bright as the Sun? Where ſhall we behold ſta-
" tues ſo intereſting as a multitude of human beings
" who love each other, aſſiſt each other, talk one to
" another? Where inſcriptions ſo intelligible, and
" more religious than the bounties of Nature herſelf?

" A book of the Law ſo univerſal as the love of God " founded on a ſenſe of gratitude, and as the love of " our fellow-creatures founded on our own intereſt? " What ſacrifices more affecting than thoſe of our " praiſes to Him who has given us all things, and of " our paſſions, for the ſake of thoſe with whom we " are bound to ſhare all that we have? Where, " finally, ſhall we look for an altar ſo ſacred as the " heart of the good man, whoſe High-Prieſt is God " himſelf? Thus, the farther that man extends the " power of Deity, the more nearly will he approach " to the knowledge of Him; and the greater indul- " gence he ſhews to men, the more cloſely will he " imitate the Divine goodneſs. Let him therefore " who enjoys the light of God diffuſed over the whole " Univerſe, beware of deſpiſing the poor ſuperſtitious " creature, who perceives only a little ray of it in his " idol; or even the Atheiſt who is totally deſtitute " of it, leſt, as a puniſhment of his pride, he ſhould " be made to partake of the fate of that Philoſopher, " who, attempting to appropriate to himſelf the light " of the Sun, became blind, and felt himſelf reduced, " in order to find his way, to employ the lamp of a " Negro."

Thus ſpake the diſciple of *Confucius*; and all the company in the Coffee-houſe who had been contending for the excellency of their ſeveral Religions, maintained a profound ſilence.

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INDIAN COTTAGE.

THE INDIAN COTTAGE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

HERE is a little Indian Tale which contains more truths than many volumes of Hiſtory. I firſt intended it as a Supplement to the relation of a Voyage to the Iſle-of-France, publiſhed in 1773, and which I propoſe to have reprinted with additions. As I ſpeak there of the Indians which are on that Iſland, I had formed the deſign of annexing to it a picture of the manners of thoſe of India, from notes abundantly intereſting which I had procured for the purpoſe. I had therefore worked them into an Epiſode, interwoven with an hiſtorical Anecdote, which forms the commencement of it. This took it's riſe from an aſſociation of Engliſh Literati, ſent, about thirty years ago, to different parts of the World, to collect information reſpecting various objects of Science. I have mentioned one of them in particular who came to India to proſecute the reſearch of truth; but as that Epiſode formed a digreſſion too diſproportionate to the ſize of my Work, I thought proper to publiſh it ſeparately.

I ſolemnly declare that I never meant to throw ridicule on Academies, though I have much reaſon to complain of them, not for any perſonal offence

fence given me, but from regard to the interests of truth,* which they frequently persecute when it happens

* Science, that Common of the human understanding, is likewise subjected to it's aristocracies: these are the Academies. Of this a judgment may be formed from the conduct of one of their principal members, relatively to my Theory of the Tides.

He began by running it down with all his eloquence in private circles; he prohibited the Journals over which the Academies extend their influence, at least those of most diffusive circulation, to admit of any extracts from it: he has even amused himself, I have been told, in his confidential parties, with raising a laugh at my Christian names prefixed to my Studies of Nature, because I have not the honour which he enjoys, of subjoining to my family name, a long list of academical titles. As, in the time of the old Government, his name figured in every news-paper, and his person in every great man's ante-chamber, it was easy for him to treat as he pleased a Recluse entirely devoted to the Study of Nature; but judging, since the Revolution, that all his supports of credit might no longer furnish mutual aid, and finding my labours, notwithstanding all the obstacles which he could throw in the way, gradually rising in public estimation, he thought proper to alter his conduct with respect to me. He came to pay me a visit last Summer in the country, whither I had gone to pass a few days. He had previously circulated a report over the neighbourhood, that I was one of his good and ancient friends. The truth is that I had never spoken to him, and that, with all his celebrity, I did not recollect so much as ever having seen him. He came to the house where I was, and we had a private conversation, from which I shall here retrench every thing but what relates to my Theory of the Tides, the secret object of his visit.

After a complimentary introduction; "It is a great pity, Sir," says he, "that you should have advanced, in your Studies of Na-"ture, that the fusion of the Polar Ices is the cause of the Tides. "It is an opinion not to be maintained, contrary to that of all the "Academies in Europe, and palpably erroneous."—"You ought, "Sir," replied I, "to have refuted it."——"Refute what, when "you have adduced no proofs in support of your Theory?"——

"There

pens to clash with their systems. I am besides under too many obligations to several learned Englishmen, who,

" There are twice as many as Astronomers have adduced in support " of theirs. I could fill volumes in quarto were I to collect those " only which I have marked in the relations of navigators. After " all, I am not without my proselytes."——" Oh! no dependance is to be placed on what is said by certain Journalists, who " know nothing of the matter." I suspected then that he was going to mention the extract from the English papers, which had been inserted in the Moniteur. " Were there nothing else in my " Theory," said I, " than my geometrical objection to the Academicians, who, walking in the steps of *Newton*, have fallen " into an error, concluding from the magnitude of degrees toward " the poles that the Earth was flattened at them, you ought to " have replied to it."—" What do you understand by a degree?" replied he with great warmth.—" That which all Geometricians " understand by it, the 360th part of a circle."——" You have " fallen into the same mistake with M. *de la Hire*, about 130 years " ago. It is not by the arch of a circle that a degree is to be measured, but by it's perpendicular." At the same time, in order to demonstrate it to me, he pulled a bit of chalk from his pocket, and began to trace on the door, a circle, two radii, a chord, the sinus, &c. I stopped him, saying:—" You wander from the " question. It is not from the perpendicular of the degree of *Torneo*, that the measure was taken of that which we have in the " report of Academicians, but from the portion of the terrestrial " curve comprehended between two radii which measure a celestial degree of the meridian. They have found, at the polar circle, " that portion of the circumference of the Earth, which they as " well as I call a degree, to contain 57,422 fathoms, which we " find to exceed by 674 fathoms the degree measured in Peru, near " the Equator, the arch of which degree contains only 56,748 " fathoms: from which they have concluded that the degrees or " portions of the circumference of the Earth, corresponding to the " degrees of the celestial meridian, went on increasing progressively toward the Poles, and that consequently the circumference " of the Earth was flattened there. Now, if you can make that

" curve

who, without knowing me, and purely from a love of the Sciences, have honoured my *Studies of Nature* with

" curve conſtructed on the diameter of the ſphere, and formed of " degrees greater than thoſe of the ſphere, to fall within the ſphere " itſelf, I am in an error."

Not knowing what reply to make, he thought proper to ſhift the converſation. " You have advanced," ſaid he, " that the " tides in the South Sea are twelve hours alternately, which is " not the caſe."——" I have not ſaid ſo," replied I, " though I " am diſpoſed to believe it holds true of the whole Southern " Hemiſphere; but I am not furniſhed with proofs ſufficient to " warrant my affirming it. I have quoted only five or ſix places " in the South Sea where the tides are of twelve hours. I have " ſince found ſeveral others of a ſimilar duration in the Indian " Ocean, and even in our own hemiſphere, among others, thoſe " of Tonquin mentioned by *Dampier*." As there happened to lie on the table a fourth volume of my Studies of Nature, I ſhewed him, in the advertiſement prefixed, the teſtimonies of *Cartaret*, *Byron*, *Cook*, *Clarke*, on the ſubject of the twelve-hour-tides in the South Sea. After having read them, he ſaid: " Do you " underſtand Engliſh?" This ſuggeſted to me the queſtion put by the *Medecin malgré lui* in the play; *Pray do you underſtand Latin?* " No," replied I; and I imagined he was going to talk to me in Engliſh. " It is very unſafe," ſaid he, " to quote from tranſla- " tions. I have got your Engliſh navigators in the original lan- " guage; there is no where ſuch a thing as a tide of twelve hours. " I am perfectly ſure of it, for I have compoſed a treatiſe of all " the tides over the Globe, which I have found every where equal " to our own." It appeared to me at firſt very ſtrange that he ſhould have compoſed a treatiſe on all the tides over the whole Globe, without having quoted tranſlations; but this point merited no reply. " How," ſaid I, " Do you mean to affirm that tranſ- " lators ſo enlightened and ſo accurate as thoſe whom I have " quoted, ſhould have deceived themſelves on topics of ſo much " importance to navigation and aſtronomy, and that they ſhould " have aſſerted that there were twelve-hour-tides in many parts of " the South Sea, whereas the navigators whom they tranſlate " poſitively

with the moſt flattering marks of approbation, which they have not been afraid to publiſh, as may be ſeen, among

" poſitively aſſure us there are none of more than ſix? It is im-
" poſſible."

Here I put an end to the converſation, by ſaying to him: " Attack my Theory publickly, and I will anſwer you." He told me that he had no ſuch intention, but that he had come merely to put me right. I have given an exact abridgment of our dialogue; the Public will judge on whoſe ſide integrity and illumination reſt.

I have refuted the error of Academicians by proofs ſimple and intelligible to the meaneſt capacity. Why do they not employ ſimilar proofs to refute me, if I too labour under a miſtake?

The whole argument turns on an elementary geometrical truth. It is certain that half the circumference of the earth contains 180 degrees, and that it's degrees being for the moſt part greater than the 180 degrees of the half-ſphere conſtructed on the ſame diameter, it cannot be contained within them.

An Officer of the Artillery wrote to me from Mezières, about two years ago, that by this ſimple reaſoning he had reduced a profeſſor of mathematics not to ſilence, for what profeſſor could ever ſubmit to that? but to anſwer in the language of abſurdity. " I ſaid to him," writes my correſpondent, " that the terreſtrial " curve being more extended than the ſpheric arch, could not " poſſibly be contained in it, without ſuppoſing it preſſed inward, " and the poles hollowed into a funnel. Would you believe it?" continues he, " I would rather believe," replied the profeſſor, " that the poles of the earth are hollowed like the inſide of a fun-" nel, than that *Newton* could be miſtaken."

Several Newtonians are diſpoſed to adopt my Theory of the Tides by the fuſion of the polar ices; this is already a great point gained: but they inſiſt that I ſhould give up to them the flattening of the poles, with the elevation of the Seas under the Equator, by means of the centrifugal force; which is directly contradicted by experience. I could multiply volumes in ſupport of my Theory, were they to become a prey to pirates, like the reſt of my works. But where is the poſſibility of refuting an error conſecrated by the name

among others, in an extract from their journals, copied by the *Moniteur Français* of February 9th, 1790. The character which I have given of one of their associates, is an unequivocal proof of my esteem for them. Undoubtedly it was my duty to consider as a proceeding which merits all the gratitude of their Nation, the attempt to import the illumination of foreign countries into England, just as I consider the exportation of intelligence from England into savage countries, by the Voyages of *Cook* and *Banks*, as meriting the grateful acknowledgments of the whole human race. The first has been imitated since by Denmark, and the second by France;* but both the two were miserably unsuccessful; for of twelve learned Danish Navigators one only returned to his country; and to this day we have no intelligence of the two French ships of war, employed on that mission of humanity, under the command of the unfortunate *de la Perouse*.

name of *Newton*, and maintained by all the geometricians in Europe? How is it possible for a solitary individual to support the contest against Academies in coalition, which shut their eyes to evidence, and their journals to the admission of my proofs?

In spite of their indifference, I venture boldly to predict that this truth which they persist in rejecting will one day become the basis of the Study of Nature.

O men of the age in which I live, you are to be interested only by fictions!

* France had no occasion to imitate any Nation whatever, on these two articles; for a long time past she has been sending men of intelligence into foreign countries, to diffuse over them her arts, her modes and her language, but this concerned her glory only; it is to be hoped that she will direct it to the happiness of mankind by her new Constitution. Patriotism is but a branch of humanity.

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It is not then ſcience in itſelf that I blame; but I wiſhed to make it appear that learned aſſociations, by their ambition, their jealouſy and their prejudices, ſerve but too frequently as obſtacles to it's progreſs.

I propoſed to myſelf an object of ſtill greater utility, that of applying a remedy to the woes by which humanity is oppreſſed in India. I have aſſumed for my motto, *I am learning to ſuccour the wretched*, and I extend this ſentiment to all mankind. If philoſophy formerly travelled from India to Europe, why ſhould it not at this day be ſent back from civilized Europe to the inhabitants of India, become barbarous in their turn? A ſociety of intelligent Engliſhmen has juſt been formed at Calcutta, who will perhaps in time deſtroy the prejudices of India, and by this benefit compenſate the miſchief which the wars and the commerce of Europeans have introduced into it. For my own part, poſſeſſing no influence whatever, in order to communicate more grace and favour to my arguments, I have endeavoured to clothe them with the allurements of a tale. It is by means of ſtory-telling that men are every where rendered attentive to truth.

> In this reſpect we all are men of Athens;
> And at the moment that I write this ſtory,
> If that of Aſs in Lion's-ſkin were told me,
> I ſhould be much delighted.
> *La Fontaine.* The Power of Fiction, Book viii. Fab. 4.

It has been ſaid with more wit than truth, that Fable had it's riſe in the deſpotic regions of the Eaſt, and that it was neceſſary to veil the truth there, to prevent it's coming too cloſe to tyrants. But I aſk

whether a Sultan would not be much more offended to ſee himſelf painted under the emblem of an owl or of a leopard, than after Nature, and whether truths of reflection would not gall him fully as much as truth directly told? *Thomas Row*, Ambaſſador from England at the Court of Selim-Cha, Emperor of the Moguls, relates that this Prince, a deſpot of the higheſt order, having commanded to open in his preſence certain cheſts juſt arrived from England, containing preſents for him, was not a little ſurprized at finding among the reſt a picture repreſenting Venus leading a Satyr by the noſe. "He "imagined," ſays the Ambaſſador, "that this pic-"ture was painted in deriſion of the Nations of "Aſia, that they were repreſented in it by the black "and horned Satyr, as being of one and the ſame "complexion; and that the Venus who led the "Satyr by the noſe, was a repreſentation of the un-"bounded Empire, which the women of that coun-"try exerciſe over the men."

Thomas Row, to whom this picture was addreſſed, found it no eaſy matter to counteract the effect which it had produced on the mind of the great Mogul, by giving him an idea of our fictions: on this occaſion he expreſsly recommended to the Directors of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, to ſend in future no allegorical painting to India, becauſe the Princes, he told them, regarded ſuch ſubjects with a ſuſpicious eye. This is in fact the character of deſpots. I do not believe therefore that Fables were ever any where deviſed, unleſs for the purpoſe of flattering them.

In general, a taſte for Fables is diffuſed over the whole

whole Earth, but much more in free countries than in thoſe under deſpotic Government. Savage Nations found their traditions on Fable; there never was a country in which fictions were more current than in Greece, where all the objects of Nature, Politics and Religion, were only the reſults of ſome metamorphoſis or another. There were few illuſtrious families who did not reckon ſome animal in the number of their anceſtors, and rank among their male and female couſins, bulls, ſwans, nightingales, turtle-doves, rooks and magpies. It is obſervable, that the Engliſh diſcover a particular taſte for allegory in their literature, though truth may be ſpoken among them with the utmoſt freedom. The Aſiatics were of the ſame character in the days of *Eſop* and *Lokman*; but we no longer find fabuliſts among them, though their country be filled with Sultans.

It is among Nations the neareſt to Nature, and conſequently the moſt free, that the paſſion prevails of adorning truth by fiction: it is from an effect of the very love of truth, which is the ſentiment of the Laws of Nature. Truth is the light of the ſoul, as phyſical light is the truth of bodies. The two united convey the knowledge of that which is: the one illuminates objects, the other points out to us their adaptations; and as, in the principle, all light traces it's origin up to the Sun, all truth has it's ſource in GOD, of whom that luminary is the moſt ſenſible image. Few are capable of ſupporting the pure light of the Sun. Nature, as a relief to the weakneſs of our eyes, has furniſhed us with eye-lids to veil them, to the degree that ſuits them; for the ſame reaſon

ſhe has planted the Earth with foreſts, whoſe verdant foliage preſents us with ſoft and tranſparent ſhades; and diffuſes over the Heavens vapours and clouds, to temper the too vivid rays of the orb of day. Few men are, in like manner, capable of taking in truths purely metaphyſical. Becauſe of the weakneſs of our underſtanding, Nature has provided us with ignorance to ſerve as an eye-lid to the ſoul: by means of it the ſoul gradually expands to the perception of truth, admits only as much as is ſupportable, and ſurrounds herſelf with fables, which are like ſo many arbours, under the ſhade of which ſhe contemplates it; and when ſhe wiſhes to riſe up to Deity himſelf, ſhe veils Him in allegory and myſtery that ſhe may be able to ſupport his luſtre.

We ſhould not ſee the light of the Sun, did it not reſt on bodies, or at leaſt on clouds. It eſcapes us out of our atmoſphere, and dazzles us at it's ſource. The ſame thing holds good with reſpect to truth; we ſhould never lay hold of it, did it not fix on ſenſible events, or at leaſt on metaphors and compariſons which reflect it; there muſt be a body to ſend it back. Our underſtanding has no hold of truths purely metaphyſical; it is dazzled by thoſe which emanate from Deity, and it cannot comprehend thoſe which do not reſt upon his works. For this laſt reaſon it is that the language of civilized Nations paints nothing, becauſe it is filled with vague ideas and abſtractions; and that of a ſimple People, not far removed from Nature, is powerfully expreſſive, becauſe it is ſtored with ſimilitudes and images. The firſt are in the habit of concealing their ſentiments; the ſecond

cond, of expanding theirs. But as it frequently happens that ſcattered clouds, under a thouſand fantaſtic forms, decompound the rays of the Sun in tints richer and more varied than thoſe which colour the regular works of Nature; in like manner Fables reflect truth much more extenſively than real events; they tranſport it into all the Kingdoms of Nature; they appropriate it to animals, to trees, to the elements, and call forth a thouſand various reflexes of it. Thus the rays of the Sun play, without extinguiſhing themſelves, at the bottom of the waters, reflect there the objects of the Earth and of the Heavens, and multiply their beauties by conſonances.

Ignorance therefore is as neceſſary to truth as ſhade is to light, as it is out of the firſt that the harmonies of our intellect are formed, and of the ſecond are compounded thoſe of our viſion.

Moraliſts, as I have already obſerved in my Studies, have almoſt always confounded ignorance with error. Ignorance, ſimply conſidered, and as ſeparate from truth with which it has harmonies ſo delightful, is the repoſe of our intellect; it procures oblivion of evils paſt, diſguiſes thoſe which are preſent, and conceals from us ſuch as are ſtill future; in a word, it is a benefit, for we derive it from Nature: error on the contrary is the work of Man; it is always an evil; it is a falſe light which ſhines to betray. I cannot find an apter compariſon to illuſtrate it's nature, than that of the light of a conflagration which conſumes the habitations that it illumines. It is remarkable that there does not exiſt a ſingle evil, moral or

phyſical, but what has an error for it's principle. Tyrannies, ſlavery, wars are founded on political and even ſacred errors; for the tyrants who have ſet them afloat to eſtabliſh their own power, always derive them from Deity, or from ſome virtue, to make them reſpectable in the eyes of men.

It is very eaſy however to diſtinguiſh error from truth. Truth is a natural light which ſhines of itſelf all over the Earth, becauſe it comes from God; error is an artificial glare which needs to be inceſſantly kept up, and which never can be univerſal, becauſe it is the work of Man only. Truth is beneficial to all men; error is profitable only to a few, and is injurious to the generality, becauſe individual intereſt is inimical to the general, when they come to ſeparate.

Care muſt be taken not to confound fable with error. Fable is the veil of truth, and error is it's phantom. It was frequently in the view of diſſipating this phantom that Fable preſented itſelf to the imagination: nevertheleſs, however innocent it may be in it's principle, it becomes dangerous when it aſſumes the principal character of error, that is, when it turns to the private advantage of certain individuals. For example, it was of little importance that, in the days of old, they converted the Moon, under the name of *Diana*, into a goddeſs ever an immaculate virgin, who preſided over hunting. This allegory ſignified that the light of the Moon was favourable to huntſmen, for ſpreading their toils to entrap the game, and that the ſports of the field were unfavour-

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able to the paſſion of love. There was no great harm done when they dedicated to her the pine-tree * in the foreſts; that tree became a rendezvous for the followers of the chace. The miſchief was not even yet become formidable, when a huntſman, to ſecure the protection of *Diana*, ſuſpended on her tree the head of a wolf. But when the whole ſkin was diſplayed on it, perſons appeared who had ſufficient ingenuity to turn it to ſome good account; they built

* The oak was in like manner dedicated to *Jupiter*, the olive-tree to *Minerva*, the pine to *Pan*, the laurel to *Apollo*, the myrtle to *Venus*, &c.....Trees were likewiſe conſecrated to demi-gods and heroes: the poplar was the tree of *Hercules*. Finally, nymphs, ſhepherds, ſhepherdeſſes, ſhared what was left of the vegetable creation: the jealous *Clytia* gave her yellowneſs and attitude to the ſun-flower; *Adonis* ſtained with his blood the flower which bears his name; and ſo of the reſt. Plants, and eſpecially trees, were the earlieſt monuments of mankind. I have accordingly made two cocoa-trees to ſerve, in the Iſle of France, as monuments of the birth of *Paul* and *Virginia*, without taking that idea from a celebrated modern poet, who has complained of it without reaſon; he is ſufficiently rich in ideas of his own to admit of one's borrowing from him; but if that idea were not in Nature, I could like him have found it in the ancients, his models. It is very common among botaniſts, who determine by new plants the epochs of friendſhip and gratitude, by giving them the names of their patrons and favourites. In a word, aſtronomers have extended this ſentiment to the ſtars; and navigators to the countries, rivers, and iſlands which they diſcover, and on which they impoſe the names of the ſaints, the kings, the commanders, the events, the conqueſts and the maſſacres of which they mean to preſerve the recollection. While moſt of the objects of the Earth and of the Heavens ſerve as monuments to the paſſions of men, and frequently to their frenzies, why might not I be indulged the thought of conſecrating two trees in a wilderneſs to innocence and maternal affection?

a chapel for the Goddeſs, where they offered not only a wolf's ſkin, but ſheep likewiſe, as a ſecurity to the reſt of the flock from the jaws of the wolf. Offerings multiplied when the head of ſome tremendous wild boar was exhibited in triumph, which had been ravaging the vineyards, and collected at his heels all the dogs and the youth of the vicinity. The huntſmen attracted pilgrims to the ſpot, and the pilgrims allured merchants. A town was ſpeedily formed around the chapel, which, reſorted to by ſo many credulous perſons, did not remain long without it's oracles. As victories were predicted there, Kings ſent thither magnificent preſents; then the Chapel grew into a Church, and the Town into a City, which had it's Pontiffs, it's Magiſtrates, it's Domains. By and by impoſts were levied on the People, for building ſuperb Temples like that of *Epheſus*; and as fear has ſtill greater power over the human mind than confidence, in order to clothe the worſhip of *Diana* with terror, human ſacrifices were offered up to her in Tauris. Thus contributed to the miſery of the human race an allegory imagined to promote the happineſs of Man, becauſe it was perverted to the particular profit of a City or of a Temple.

Truth itſelf is fatal to mankind when it becomes the patrimony of one tribe. There is undoubtedly an inconceivable diſtance between the tolerance of the Goſpel and the intolerance of the Inquiſition; between the precept given by JESUS CHRIST to his Apoſtles, to ſhake the duſt off their feet before houſes which refuſed to admit them, and between the diſpleaſure which he expreſſed when ſolicited to call down

down fire from Heaven; the extermination of the ancient Indians of America, or the burning piles of an Autodafé.

There is in the gallery of the Tuilleries, on the right as you enter the gardens, an Ionic column, which the celebrated *Blondel*, Profeſſor of Architecture, pointed out to his pupils as a perfect model; he made them obſerve that all thoſe which followed it, progreſſively diminiſhed in beauty. The firſt, ſaid he, is the production of a famous ſculptor, and the others have been ſucceſſively copied by artiſts who deviated from his graces and proportions in the ratio of the diſtance. The perſon who has attempted the ſecond, made a tolerable imitation of the firſt, but he who produced the third, copied the ſecond only: thus, from copy to copy, the laſt falls very far below the original. I have many a time compared the Goſpel to that beautiful pillar of the Tuilleries, and the works of ancient Commentators, to thoſe of the other columns of the gallery. But were we to purſue the ſeries down to the Commentators of our own days, what formleſs columns would their volumes preſent! And who, amidſt the ſtorms which aſſail human life, durſt venture to lean upon them!

As truth is a ray of heavenly light, it will always ſhine for all mankind, provided a tax is not laid on their windows; but, in every department, how many corps founded expreſsly to propagate it, from the very circumſtance of it's being perverted into a private benefit, ſubſtitute in it's place the light of their own tapers or lanterns! They quickly go ſo far, when they have power, as to perſecute thoſe who find it; and

and when they have not, oppoſe to them an inert power which diſables them to diffuſe it: this is the reaſon that thoſe who love the truth frequently retire from men and cities. Such is the truth which I mean to exhibit in the following little Work. Happy if I ſhall be able to contribute, in my own Country, to the happineſs of a ſingle unfortunate wretch, by painting that of an Indian Paria in his cottage.

It belongs to you only, auguſt Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of France, to do good to all mankind, by levelling the barriers which obſtruct the progreſs of truth, as it is the ſource of every bleſſing, and is diffuſed over the face of the whole Earth. Rome and Athens defended only their liberty. Modern Nations have aimed at the extenſion merely of their Religion and their Commerce. All have oppreſſed the Univerſe; you alone have defended it's rights by ſacrificing your own privileges: Mankind will one day take an intereſt in your felicity, as you have intereſted yourſelves in their deſtiny. May the virtuous Monarch who has called you together, and ſanctioned your important labours, ever partake of the glory of them! His name will be immortal as your laws. Ancient nations fixed their principal epocha from ſome circumſtance that materially affected their pleaſures, their power, or their liberty. The Greeks, ſo fond of feſtivity, from their Olympiads; the Romans ſo patriotic, from the building of Rome; oppreſſed people dated from the era of their religion: but the nations whom you are recalling to the felicity deſtined for them by Nature, will date the Rights of Man as old as the creation, from the reign of *Louis* XVI.

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INDIAN COTTAGE.

A SOCIETY of intelligent Engliſhmen was formed at London about thirty years ago, the object of which was to proſecute ſcientific reſearch, in various parts of the World, for the purpoſe of promoting the illumination and the happineſs of mankind. The expenſe was to be defrayed by ſubſcription, and the liſt preſented perſons of every deſcription in the Nation, Merchants, Lords, Biſhops, Univerſities, and the Royal Family of England; to which ſeveral of the Sovereigns of Northern Europe likewiſe added their names. The ingenious travellers engaged in this ſervice were twenty in number, and the Royal Society of London had given to each of them a volume containing a ſtatement of the queſtions, the ſolution of which was to be the end kept in view. Theſe queſtions amounted to the number 3500. Though they all differed relatively to each of the learned men employed, and were adapted to the countries through which each was to travel, they all had a mutual relation, ſo that the light diffuſed over one muſt neceſſarily tend to the elucidation of all the others. The Preſident of the Royal Society, who, with the aid of his aſſociates, had digeſted them, felt completely that the ſolution of one difficulty frequently

quently depends on the ſucceſsful inveſtigation of another, and this laſt on one which preceded it; which, in an enquiry after truth, carries us much farther than is generally imagined. In a word, to avail myſelf of the expreſſions employed by the Preſident himſelf, in delivering his inſtructions, it was the moſt ſuperb Encyclopedical ſtructure ever reared by any Nation to the progreſs of human knowledge; a full proof, added he, of the neceſſity of academic Aſſociations, in order to reduce to ſyſtem the truths diſperſed over the face of the whole Earth.

Each of theſe learned travellers had, beſides his volume of queſtions to be reſolved, a commiſſion to purchaſe, in the courſe of his progreſs, the moſt ancient copies of the Bible, and the moſt curious manuſcripts of every deſcription, or at leaſt to ſpare no coſt in procuring good copies of them. For this purpoſe the ſubſcribers had furniſhed all of them with letters of recommendation to the Conſuls, Miniſters and Ambaſſadors of Great Britain, with whom they might come in contact; and what is ſtill better, with good bills of exchange, endorſed by the moſt eminent Bankers of London.

The Doctor of the higheſt reputation for learning, who underſtood Hebrew, Arabic and the Hindoo Language, was ſent over land to the Eaſt Indies, the cradle of all the Arts and Sciences. He began his tour by croſſing over into Holland, and viſited ſucceſſively the Synagogue at Amſterdam, and the Synod of Dort; in France, the Sorbonne and Academy of Sciences at Paris; in Italy, a variety of Academies, Muſeums and Libraries, among others, the Muſeum

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of Florence, the Library of Saint *Mark* at Venice, and that of the Vatican at Rome. Being in this laſt City, he heſitated whether, before he directed his courſe Eaſtward, he ſhould go into Spain to conſult the famous Univerſity of Salamanca; but, under terror of the Inquiſition, he thought proper to embark directly for Turkey. He arrived accordingly at Conſtantinople, where, by dint of money, he prevailed with an Effendi to grant him acceſs to conſult even all the books of the Moſque of *Sainte-Sophia*. From thence he paſſed into Egypt to converſe with the Cophts; he then viſited the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, the Monks of Mount Caſſin; thence to Sana in Arabia; afterwards to Iſpahan, to Kandabar, Delhi, Agra: Finally, after a peregrination of three years, he arrived on the banks of the Ganges at Benarès, the Athens of India, where he held frequent conferences with the Bramins. His collection of ancient editions of original books, of rare manuſcripts, of copies, of extracts and annotations on every ſubject, was now much larger than ever had been made by any one individual. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that it compoſed fourſcore and ten bales, weighing together nine thouſand five hundred and forty pounds troy weight. He was on the point of embarking for London with this precious cargo of illumination, tranſported with joy at the thought of having ſurpaſſed the expectation of the Royal Society, when a very ſimple reflection occurred, and overwhelmed him with vexation.

He conſidered that, after having conferred with Jewiſh Rabbins, Proteſtant Miniſters, Superintend-

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ants of Lutheran Churches, Catholic Doctors, the Academicians of Paris, of *La Crusca*, of the Arcadi and of the other twenty-four celebrated Academies of Italy, the Greek Papas, the Turkish Molhas, the Armenian Verbiests, the Persian Scydres and Cafis, the Arabian Scheics, the ancient Parsis, the Indian Pandects, far from having elucidated any one of the 3500 questions proposed by the Royal Society, he had contributed only to multiply doubts on the several subjects; and as they were all linked together, it followed, directly contrary to what the illustrious President had suggested, that the obscurity of one solution perplexed the evidence of another, that the clearest truths had been rendered altogether problematical, and that it was even impossible to disentangle any one out of that vast labyrinth of contradictory answers and authorities.

The Doctor caught this at a single glance. Among those questions, two hundred referred to the theology of the Hebrews; four hundred and fourscore to the different Communions of the Greek and Roman Churches; three hundred and twelve to the ancient Religion of the Bramins; five hundred and eight to the Schanscrit or Sacred Language; three to the existing state of the People of India; two hundred and eleven to the Trade of the English with the East-Indies; seven hundred and twenty-nine to the ancient Monuments of the Islands of Elephanta and Salsette, in the vicinity of Bombay; five to the Antiquity of the World; six hundred and seventy-three to the Origin of Ambergrise, and the properties of the different species of Bezoards; one to the hitherto unexplored

unexplored cauſe of the Current of the Indian Ocean, which flows for ſix months toward the Eaſt and ſix toward the Weſt; and three hundred and ſeventy-eight to the Sources and the periodical Inundations of the Ganges. This furniſhed the Doctor with an opportunity of collecting, by the way, all the information he could, reſpecting the Sources and the Inundations of the Nile, a ſubject which has for ſo many ages engaged the reſearches of the European literati. But he looked on this as already ſufficiently diſcuſſed, and at the ſame time as foreign to his miſſion. Now, on each of the queſtions propoſed by the Royal Society, he procured, one with another, five different ſolutions, which, for the whole 3500, amounted to 17500 anſwers: and on the ſuppoſition that each of his nineteen colleagues ſhould produce a like number, it followed, that the Royal Society would have about 350,000 difficulties to ſolve before they were able to eſtabliſh any one truth on a ſolid foundation. Thus the aggregate of their collections, ſo far from directing every particular propoſition toward a common centre, conformably to the inſtructions given, on the contrary produced a divergence, which excluded all poſſibility of approximation. Another reflection gave the learned Gentleman ſtill greater uneaſineſs: namely this, That though he had employed, in his laborious reſearches, all the phlegm of his Country, and a politeneſs peculiar to himſelf, he had made implacable enemies in moſt of the Doctors with whom he had argued. "What then," ſaid he, "will become of the tranquil expectations of my "countrymen, when I have brought back to them,

"in

" in my fourſcore and ten bales, inſtead of truth,
" new ſubjects of doubt and diſputation ?"

He was on the point of embarkation for England, oppreſſed with perplexity and chagrin, when the Bramins of Benares informed him that the ſuperior Bramin of the famous Pagoda of Jagrenat, or Jagernat, ſituated on the Coaſt of Orixa, by the ſea-ſhore, near one of the mouths of the Ganges, was the only perſon capable of reſolving all the queſtions ſtated by the Royal Society of London. He was univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt accompliſhed Pandect, or Doctor, ever heard of: he was reſorted to for advice from every region of India, and from many kingdoms of Aſia.

The learned Engliſhman immediately ſet out for Calcutta, and addreſſed himſelf to the Governor-General under the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, who, for the honour of his Nation and the glory of the Sciences, provided him, for his journey to Jagrenat, with a Palanquin ſhaded by an awning of crimſon ſilk with gold taſſels, with two relays of ſtout *coulis*, or bearers, of four men each; two porters; a water-carrier, another with *gargoulette* to refreſh him; a pipe-bearer; a paraſol-holder, to ſcreen him from the Sun by day; a *maſalchi*, or torch-bearer, for the night; a wood-hewer; two cooks; two camels and their drivers, to carry his proviſions and baggage; two *pions*, or running footmen, to announce his approach; four ſepoys, or *reiſpoutes*, mounted on Perſian horſes, to eſcort him; and a ſtandard-bearer, diſplaying a flag emblazoned with the arms of England. The Doctor, with this ſplendid retinue, might have

have paſſed for a Writer to the Eaſt-India Company. There was however this difference between them, that the Doctor, inſtead of going in queſt of preſents, was entruſted with the diſtribution of ſome. As no one appears in India empty handed before perſons of conſequence, the Governor had given him, at the expenſe of the Nation, a fine teleſcope, and a Perſian carpet for the Chief of the Bramins; ſome magnificent ſhawls for his wife; and three pieces of Chineſe taffeta, red, white and yellow, to make ſcarfs for his diſciples. The preſents being put up among the other furniture of the camels, the Doctor ſet out in his palanquin with the book of the Royal Society in his hand.

As he travelled along, he meditated how he ſhould open the conference with the Chief of the Bramins of Jagrenat; whether he ought to begin with one of the 378 queſtions which related to the Sources of the Inundations of the Ganges; or with that which led to the diſcuſſion of the alternate and half-yearly current of the ſeas of India, which might ſerve toward a diſcovery of the ſources and periodical movements of the Ocean all over the Globe: but though this queſtion affected the Science of Phyſics infinitely more than all thoſe which had undergone diſcuſſion during ſo many ages, reſpecting the ſources and the overflowing of the Nile, it had not yet attracted the attention of the European Literati. He gave the preference therefore, in the order of conſulting the Bramin, to the queſtion relative to the univerſality of the deluge, which has excited ſuch violent contention; or, retiring to a ſtill more remote antiquity,

the inquiry into the truth of the Sun's having ſeveral times changed his courſe, riſing in the Weſt, and ſetting toward the Eaſt; conformably to the traditions of the Egyptian Prieſts, detailed by *Herodotus*; and even reſpecting the epoch of the creation of the Earth, to which the Indians aſcribe an antiquity of ſeveral millions of years. Sometimes he thought it would be more to the purpoſe to obtain his opinion concerning the beſt form of Government which a Nation could adopt, and even concerning the Rights of Man, of which there is no Code any where exiſting; but theſe laſt queſtions were not in his book.

Meanwhile, ſaid the Doctor, before every thing elſe, I think it would be proper to demand of the Indian Pandect, by what means truth is to be found; for if it be by the exerciſe of reaſon, the mode which I have hitherto employed, reaſon varies all the world over: I muſt likewiſe demand where truth is to be ſought for; becauſe if we are referred to books, they are all full of mutual contradictions; and, finally, whether truth ought to be communicated to mankind; for no ſooner have we made it known to men than we find ourſelves embroiled with them. Here then are three preliminary queſtions which did not occur to our illuſtrious Preſident. If the Bramin of Jagrenat can give me the ſolution of theſe, I ſhall have the key of all the Sciences, and, what is ſtill better, I ſhall live in peace with all the world.

Such were the Doctor's private meditations. After travelling ten days he arrived on the Coaſt of the Gulf of Bengal; he met, as he proceeded, great numbers of people returning from Jagrenat, quite enchanted

chanted with the wiſdom of the Chief of the Pandects, whom they had been conſulting. On the eleventh day, at Sun riſing, he perceived the famous Pagoda of Jagrenat, built on the ſhore of the Sea, over which it ſeemed to exerciſe dominion, with it's enormous red walls and galleries, it's domes and it's turrets of white marble. It roſe in the centre of nine avenues of ever-green trees, diverging toward the like number of Kingdoms. Each of theſe avenues is formed of a different ſpecies of tree; of the arec-bearing palm, of the teak-wood tree, the cocoa, the manguier, the latanier, the camphire, the bambou, the badamier, the ſandal; and they lead toward Ceylon, Golconda, Arabia, Perſia, Thibet, China, the Kingdom of Ava, of Siam, and the Iſlands of the Indian Ocean. The Doctor reached the Pagoda by the avenue of bambous, which ſkirts the Ganges and the delicious iſles which decorate it's flux into the Sea. This edifice, though reared in the middle of a plain, is ſo lofty, that though he came within ſight of it at the dawn of the morning, it was almoſt night before he got within the precincts. He was ſtruck with admiration, on taking a nearer view of it's magnificence and magnitude. The gates of braſs reflected with a dazzling luſtre the rays of the ſetting Sun; and the eagles hovered round it's ſummit, which was loſt in the clouds. It was ſurrounded by vaſt baſons of white marble, which from the bottom of their tranſparent waters ſent back to the delighted eye, it's domes, it's galleries, and it's gates: theſe were again enclo[illegible]ſed by immenſe courts, and gardens embelliſhed

with ſuperb ſtructures for the accommodation of the Bramins on duty in the Temple.

The Doctor's *pions* haſtened to announce his approach, and immediately a company of young *bayaderes* iſſued from one of the gardens, and advanced to meet him ſinging and dancing to the muſic of the tabour. Their necks were adorned with feſtoons of the *mougris*-flower, and their waiſts with girdles compoſed of wreaths of the *frangipanier*. The Doctor, encircled by their perfumes, their dances, and their muſic, proceeded up to the gate of the Pagoda, at the farther extremity of which he perceived, by the light of many lamps of gold and ſilver, the ſtatue of Jagrenat, the ſeventh incarnation of Brama, in form of a pyramid, without feet and hands, which he had loſt in attempting to carry the World, in order to ſave it.* In his preſence lay proſtrated, with their faces to the earth, a number of penitents, ſome of whom promiſed aloud to have themſelves hooked by the ſhoulders to his car, on the anniverſary of his feſtival, and others, to cruſh themſelves under it's wheels. Though the ſight of thoſe fanatics, who uttered deep groanings as they pronounced their horrible vows, inſpired a degree of terror, the Doctor was preparing to enter the Pagoda, when an aged Bramin who guarded the door, ſtopped him ſhort, and commanded him to declare the intention of his viſit. Being informed, he ſaid to the Doctor: "That conſidering his quality of *frangui*, or *impure*, "he could not be preſented either before Jagrenat "or his High-prieſt, till he had waſhed thrice in one

* Conſult Kircher.

"of

" of the lavers of the Temple, and till he was ſtripped " of every thing which had ever belonged to any " animal; but eſpecially of cow's-hair, becauſe ſhe " is an object of adoration to the Bramins; and of " ſwine's hair, becauſe ſhe is an abomination to " them." " What is to be done then," replied the Doctor? " I bring as a preſent to the Chief of the " Bramins, a Perſian carpet, made of the goats-hair " of Angora, and Chineſe ſtuffs which are of ſilk." " All things," reſumed the Bramin, " offered in the " Temple of Jagrenat, or preſented to his High- " prieſt, are purified by the gift itſelf; but the ſame " thing cannot be admitted as to your clothes." The Doctor was under the neceſſity, therefore, of parting with his coat of Engliſh wool, his goat-ſkin pumps, and his beaver hat; after which he underwent the ceremony of ablution three times, by the hands of the old Bramin, who then dreſſed him in cotton, of the colour of ſandal-wood, and conducted him to the door of the apartment of the principal Bramin. The Doctor was going to ſtep in, having under his arm the book of queſtions prepared by the Royal Society, when his Maſter of the Ceremonies demanded, what the covering of that book was made of. " It is bound in " calf," anſwered the Doctor. " How!" exclaimed the Bramin, in a tranſport of wrath, " Did not I " warn you that the heifer is worſhipped by the Bra- " mins? and dareſt thou preſent thyſelf before their " Chief with a book bound in calf-ſkin!" The Doctor would have been obliged to undergo a purification in the Ganges, had he not ſmoothed the difficulty, by adminiſtering a few pagodas, or pieces of

gold, to his introducer. He left then the book of queſtions in his palanquin; conſoling himſelf with this reflection: "When all is done, I have only three "queſtions to put to this Indian Doctor. I ſhall be "perfectly ſatisfied if he inform me, By what means "truth is to be diſcovered; where it is to be found; "and whether it ought to be communicated to man-"kind?"

The old Bramin then introduced the Engliſh Doctor, arrayed in ſandal-coloured calico, bare-headed and bare-footed, to the High-prieſt of Jagrenat, into a vaſt ſaloon ſupported by columns of ſandal-wood. The walls of it were green, being lined with ſtucco mixed with cow-dung, ſo ſmooth and brought to ſuch a poliſh that you might ſee your face reflected. The floor was covered with very fine mats, ſix feet long, and as many broad. At the extremity of the hall was an alcove, encloſed with a baluſtrade of ebony; in this receſs, on a gentle elevation, you had a half view, through a lattice of Indian cane of a reddiſh varniſh, of the venerable Chief of the Pandects, with his white beard, and three threads of cotton paſſed over his ſhoulder like a belt, after the manner of the Bramins. He was ſeated on a yellow carpet, with his legs croſſed, in a ſtate ſo completely immovable that his very eyes ſeemed motionleſs. Some of his diſciples were driving away the flies which diſturbed him, with fans compoſed of the feathers of the peacock's tail; others were burning in cenſers of ſilver, perfumes of the wood of aloes; and others were playing a moſt exquiſite muſic on the dulcimer: the reſt, to a very great number, among whom

whom were faquirs, joguis and fantons, were arranged in ſeveral rows on both ſides of the hall, in profound ſilence, with eyes fixed on the ground, and arms croſſed on the breaſt.

The Doctor was going, without farther ceremony, to advance up to the Chief of the Pandects, to deliver his complimentary addreſs; but his conductor kept him back nine mats off; telling him that the Omrahs, or great Lords of India, were not permitted a nearer approach; that the Rajahs, or Sovereigns, went no farther than to the ſixth mat; the Princes, the ſons of the Mogul Emperor, to the third; and that no one, the grand Mogul himſelf excepted, was allowed the honour of coming into contact with the venerable Chief, to kiſs his feet.

Several Bramins, mean while, carried up to the bottom of the alcove, the teleſcope, the ſhawls, the pieces of ſilk and tapeſtry, which the Doctor's attendants had depoſited at the door of the ſaloon; and the old Bramin having caſt his eyes over them, without expreſſing the ſlighteſt mark of approbation, they were removed into the interior of the apartments.

The Engliſh Doctor prepared to utter a fine florid harangue in the Hindoo language; when his guide prevented him by ſaying he muſt wait till the high-prieſt thought proper to open the conference. He accordingly made him ſit down on his heels, with legs acroſs like a taylor, according to the faſhion of the country. The Doctor murmured within himſelf at ſo many formalities; but what will a man not undergo for

the ſake of finding truth, after having travelled to India in queſt of it!

As ſoon as the Doctor was ſeated, the muſic ceaſed; and after ſome moments of profound ſilence, the Chief of the Pandects cauſed this queſtion to be propoſed: "What has brought you to Jagrenat?"

Though the High-prieſt of Jagrenat had expreſſed himſelf with ſufficient diſtinctneſs in the Hindoo tongue, ſo as to be heard by part of the Aſſembly, his words were tranſmitted by a faquir, who conveyed them to a ſecond, and this ſecond to a third, who delivered them to the Doctor. His reply was given in the ſame language; and to this effect: "That he "had come to Jagrenat to conſult the Chief of the "Bramins, on the faith of his high reputation, re- "ſpecting the beſt means of acquiring the knowledge "of truth."

The Doctor's anſwer was conveyed through the medium of the ſame ſpeakers who had been charged with the queſtion; and the remainder of the dialogue was conducted in like manner.

The ancient Chief of the Pandects, after a ſhort pauſe of recollection, replied: "Truth is to be known "only through the medium of the Bramins." On this the whole Aſſembly bowed the head, in admiration of the anſwer given by their Chief.

"Where is truth to be ſought," retorted the Engliſh Doctor with conſiderable vivacity? "All truth," anſwered the aged Indian Doctor, "is comprized in "the four Beths, written a hundred and twenty "thouſand years ago in the Schanſcrit language, "which the Bramins alone underſtand."

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On his pronouncing these words, the hall resounded with bursts of applause.

The Doctor then recovering his temper, said to the High-priest of Jagrenat: "As God has shut up all "truth in books known only to the Bramins, it must "follow then, that God has excluded from this "knowledge the greatest part of mankind, who do "not know that such a being as a Bramin exists: "now, were it so, God would be unjust."

"Such is the will of Brama," replied the High-priest. "No resistance can be made to the will of "Brama." The shouts of applause redoubled. When the noise ceased, the Englishman proposed his third question: "Ought truth to be communicated to "mankind?"

"In many cases," said the old Pandect, "prudence "requires it to be concealed from the rest of man-"kind, but it is an indispensable duty to disclose it "to the Bramins."

"What!" exclaimed the English Doctor, in a rage, "Must the truth be disclosed to Bramins who "never disclose it to any one? Verily the Bramins "are guilty of the grossest injustice."

No sooner had he uttered these words than a dreadful flame kindled in the Assembly. They had heard, without one expression of displeasure, God taxed with injustice; but the case was very different when that censure pointed to themselves. The Pandects, the Faquirs, the Santons, the Joguis, the Bramins and their pupils were going to argue all in a breath with the English Doctor: but the High-priest of Jagrenat put an end to the tumult, by clapping his hands

hands together, and saying in a very distinct voice: "Bramins enter into no disputation, like the Doctors "of Europe." Then rising up he retired, amidst the acclamations of the whole multitude, who murmured aloud against the Doctor, and would perhaps have handled him roughly, had it not been for fear of the English, whose influence is irresistible on the banks of the Ganges. The Doctor having withdrawn from the saloon, his conductor said to him: "Our venera- "ble father would have given orders to present you "with sherbet, betel and perfumes, according to "custom; but you have offended him." "I am "the person injured." replied the Doctor, "to have "travelled so far for no purpose whatever! But of "what, pray, does your Chief pretend to complain?" "How!" replied his guide, "you presume to dispute "with him! know you not that he is the Oracle of "India, and that every word he speaks is a ray of in- "tellectual light?" "It is impossible to entertain the "slightest doubt of it," said the Doctor, resuming his coat, shoes and hat. The weather had become boisterous, and night was coming on; he requested permission to pass it in one of the apartments of the Pagoda; but was told he could not sleep there, as being a Frangui. The ceremony having fatigued him very much, he begged to have something to drink. They brought him a little water in an earthen vessel, which was broken to pieces the moment he had finished his draught, because, being a Frangui, he had polluted it by his touch. Upon this the Doctor, extremely nettled, called for his attendants, who lay prostrate in adoration on the steps of the Pagoda;

Pagoda; and ſpringing into his palanquin, took the road again through the avenue of bambous, along the ſhore of the Sea, as night was ſetting in, and under lowering ſky. He ſaid within himſelf, while he trudged on: "The Indian proverb is founded in truth: "*Every European coming to India learns patience if he* "*has it not, and loſes it if he has.* For my part, I have "loſt mine. What, ſhall I never be able to diſcover "by what means truth is to be found, where it is to "be ſought, and whether it ought to be communi- "cated to mankind! Man is condemned, then, all "the world over to error and ſtrife: I have ſucceeded "wonderfully in travelling to India to conſult the "Bramins!"

While the Doctor thus muſed in his palanquin, he was overtaken by one of thoſe tempeſts which in India they call a *typhon*. The wind blew from the Sea, and driving the waters of the Ganges furiouſly up it's channel, daſhed the foaming billows over the iſlands which guard it's entrance. It raiſed along their ſhores columns of ſand, and from their foreſts clouds of leaves, which it hurled acroſs the river and over the plains, to the utmoſt height of the atmoſphere. At intervals it attacked the alley of bambous, and though theſe Indian reeds are as tall as the loftieſt trees, toſſed them about like the graſs of the meadow. Through a tempeſt of duſt and leaves appeared the lengthening avenue in a ſtate of undulation, on one ſide levelled to the ground, on the other raiſed aloft with a hollow murmuring noiſe. The Doctor's retinue, under mortal apprehenſion of being ſwept away by the ſtorm, or ſwallowed up by the waves

waves of the Ganges, which already overflowed it's banks, directed their courſe acroſs the fields, as chance led the way, toward the neighbouring heights. They were at length involved in the ſhades of night, and travelled on for three hours in profound darkneſs, not knowing whither they went, when a flaſh of lightning burſting from the clouds, and illuminating the whole horizon, diſcovered, at a conſiderable diſtance on the right, the Pagoda of Jagrenat, the iſlands of the Ganges, the enraged Ocean, and cloſe by in front, a narrow valley and a wood between two little hills. Thither they fled for ſhelter, and now the thunder was roaring tremendouſly, when they reached the entrance of the valley. It was ſkirted by rocks, and filled with aged trees of a prodigious ſize. Though the tempeſt tore their ſummits with a fearful noiſe, their enormous trunks remained immovable as the rocks which ſurrounded them. This ancient foreſt appeared to be the deſtined aſylum of languid Nature, but it was no eaſy matter to penetrate into it. Ratans winding along it's ſkirts covered the roots of thoſe trees, and *liannes* interwoven from trunk to trunk, preſented on every ſide a rampart of foliage through which caverns of verdure were viſible, but which diſcovered no outlet. The *Reiſpoutes* however having opened a paſſage with their ſabres, the whole ſuit entered with the palanquin. They imagined they ſhould here be under cover from the ſtorm; but the rain which fell in torrents formed a thouſand caſcades around them. In this perplexity, they perceived under the trees, in the narroweſt part of the valley, a light and a cottage. The *maſalchi* ran thither

thither to light his flambeau; but returned haſtily a few moments after, panting for breath and calling aloud: "Come not this way; here is a *Paria*." Immediately the terrified company joined in the cry of "a Paria! a Paria!" The Doctor, ſuppoſing it to be ſome ferocious beaſt of prey, laid hold of his piſtols. "What is a Paria," ſays he to his torch-bearer? "A man," replied the other, "faithleſs and lawleſs." "He is an Indian," added the Chief of the *Reiſpoutes*, "of a caſte ſo infamous, that you are at liberty to "kill him if he ſo much as touches you. Should we "enter his habitation, we durſt not for nine Moons "ſet foot in any Pagoda; and in order to be cleanſed "from the pollution we muſt bathe nine times in the "Ganges, and have ourſelves waſhed as often from "head to foot with cow's urine by the hand of a "Bramin." All the Indians exclaimed together: "We will not enter the abode of a Paria." "How "did you know," ſaid the Doctor to his torch-bearer, "that your countryman was a Paria, in other words, "a wretch faithleſs and lawleſs?" "Becauſe," replied the torch-bearer, "when I opened the door "of his hut, I ſaw him ſquatted cloſe by his dog on "the ſame mat with his wife, to whom he was pre-"ſenting drink in a cow's horn." All the perſons of the Doctor's retinue repeated aloud: "We will "not enter the door of a Paria." "Remain where "you are, if you will," ſaid the Engliſhman; "for "my part, all the caſtes of India are the ſame thing to "me, when ſhelter from foul weather is the object."

In pronouncing theſe words he ſprung from his palanquin, and taking his book of queſtions and night-

night-bag under his arm, and his piſtols and pipe in his hand, he advanced alone to the door of the cottage. Scarcely had he knocked, when a man of a very gentle phyſionomy opened it to him, and inſtantly retreated, ſaying: "Noble Sir, I am only a "wretched Paria, unworthy to receive ſuch a gueſt; "but if you will condeſcend to take ſhelter under "my roof, I ſhall conſider myſelf as very highly "honoured." "Brother," replied the Engliſhman "I accept your hoſpitable offer with much thankful-"neſs." The Paria at the ſame inſtant went out with a lighted torch in his hand, a load of dry wood on his back, and a baſket filled with cocoa-nuts and bananas under his arm; he approached the perſons who compoſed the Doctor's train, who were at ſome diſtance under a tree, and ſaid to them: "As you will not "do me the honour of entering my habitation, here "is ſome fruit in the outer caſe, which you may eat "without being defiled, and here is firing to dry your "clothes and guard you from the tigers. May God "watch over you!" He immediately returned to his hut, and thus addreſſed the Doctor: "Permit me to "repeat, Sir, that I am only a miſerable Paria; but "as I perceive, from your fair complexion and your "dreſs, that you are not an Indian, I flatter myſelf "you will feel no reluctance to partake of the hum-"ble fare which your poor ſervant has to ſet before "you." At the ſame time he placed on the ground, upon a mat, mangos, cream-apples, yams, potatoes roaſted on the embers, grilled bananas, and a pot of rice dreſſed with ſugar and the milk of the cocoa-nut; he then retired to his own mat and ſat down by his

his wife and their child, who lay faſt aſleep in a cradle by her ſide. "Virtuous man," ſaid the Engliſhman, "you are greatly my ſuperior, ſeeing you "do good to them who deſpiſe you. Unleſs you "honour me with your company on the ſame mat "which I occupy, I muſt conclude that you conſider "me as a bad man, and I ſhall inſtantly leave your "cottage, were I ſure of being drowned by the rain "or devoured by tigers."

The Paria ſat down on the ſame mat with his gueſt, and both began to eat. The Doctor had the additional pleaſure of finding himſelf completely ſheltered and ſecure in the midſt of a ſtorm. The cottage was unaſſailable: beſides it's being ſituated in the narroweſt part of the valley, it was built under a *waar* tree, or *banyan* fig, the branches of which ſtriking bunches of roots from their extremities, form ſo many arcades which ſupport the principal trunk. The foliage of this tree was ſo thick that not a ſingle drop of rain could penetrate it; and though the tempeſt was heard roaring, with frequent loud peals of thunder, neither the ſmoke aſcending from the hearth, and eſcaping through an aperture in the roof, nor the flame of the lamp, were diſturbed in the leaſt. The Doctor contemplated with admiration the compoſure of the Indian and of his wife, ſtill more placid than elementary tranquillity. The infant, black and poliſhed like ebony, was aſleep in his cradle: the mother rocked it with her foot, while ſhe amuſed herſelf in making him a necklace of red and black Angola peaſe. The father caſt looks expreſſive of tender-neſs alternately on the one and on the other.

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In a word, all, down to the very dog, participated in the common felicity; ſtretched along with the cat by the fireſide, he from time to time half-opened his eyes, ſighing as he looked at his maſter.

As ſoon as the Engliſhman had finiſhed his meal, the Paria preſented him with a live coal to light his pipe, and having likewiſe lighted his own, he made a ſign to his wife, who placed on the mat two cups made of cocoa-nut ſhell, and a large calabaſh full of punch, which ſhe had mingled during the repaſt water, arrack, lemon juice, and that of the ſugar-cane.

As they ſmoked and drank by turns, the Doctor ſaid to the Indian: "I believe you to be one of the "happieſt men I ever met with, and conſequently "one of the wiſeſt. Permit me to aſk you a few "queſtions. How can you command ſuch perfect "calmneſs in the midſt of a ſtorm ſo tremendous? "You are nevertheleſs under covert only of a tree, "and trees attract the thunder." "Thunder," replied the Paria, "never yet fell on a banyan fig-tree." "That is ſomething very extraordinary," ſaid the Doctor, "the tree then muſt undoubtedly poſſeſs "a negative electricity, like the laurel." "I do not "comprehend your meaning," anſwered the Paria, "but my wife believes it is becauſe the God Brama "took ſhelter one day under it's leaves; for my own "part, I think that God, in theſe tempeſtuous cli-"mates, having beſtowed on the banyan fig-tree a "very thick foliage, and arcades to ſerve as a ſhelter, "to men from the ſtorm, has likewiſe been pleaſed "to render it thunder-proof." "Your reply is a very

"religious

" religious one," ſaid the Doctor. " It is your con-
" fidence in God then that tranquillizes your mind.
" Conſcience inſpires fortitude far better than ſcience
" can. Tell me, I pray, of what ſect you are; it is
" impoſſible you ſhould be of any of thoſe of India, as
" no Indian will hold any communication with you.
" In the liſt of intelligent caſtes whom I was to con-
" ſult in my progreſs, I find no mention made of the
" Parias. In what region of India is your Pagoda?"
" Every where" replied the Paria: " Nature is my
" Pagoda. I adore her Author at the riſing of the
" Sun, and pour out my heart in gratitude when he
" ſets. Inſtructed by calamity, I never refuſe aſſiſt-
" ance to one more wretched than myſelf. I endea-
" vour to render my wife and child happy, nay my
" very cat and dog. I look forward to death at the
" cloſe of life, as to a gentle ſleep when the labour of
" the day is over." " From what book," demanded
" the Doctor, " have you imbibed theſe principles?"
" From that of Nature," anſwered the Paria; " I
" know no other." " A grand volume indeed!"
ſaid the Engliſhman: " but who taught you to read
" in it?" " Calamity," replied the Paria: " being of
" a caſte reputed infamous in my own country, in-
" capable of attaining the rank of Indian, I made an
" effort to become a man; repelled by ſociety, I took
" refuge in Nature." " But you muſt have had at
" leaſt a few books to relieve your ſolitude," ſaid the
Doctor, " Not one:" returned the Paria, " I cannot
" even read or write." " You have ſaved yourſelf
" many a doubt" ſaid the Doctor rubbing his fore-
head: " for my own part, I have been ſent from Eng-

" land, my native country, to ſearch for truth among
" the intelligent of many nations, in the view of pro-
" moting the illumination and the happineſs of man-
" kind; but after many a vain reſearch, and many a
" ſerious diſputation, I have been forced to conclude
" that the inveſtigation of truth is a folly, becauſe,
" ſuppoſing it found, a man does not know to whom
" he ſhould tell it, without ſtirring up a hoſt of foes
" againſt himſelf. Tell me ſincerely, do not you
" think as I do?" "Though I be but a poor ignorant
" creature," anſwered the Paria, " ſince you conde-
" ſcend to aſk my opinion, I conſider every man as
" laid under an obligation to ſearch after truth, for
" the ſake of his individual happineſs; otherwiſe, he
" will be a miſer, ambitious, ſuperſtitious, miſchiev-
" ous, nay a cannibal, according to the prejudices or
" the intereſts of the perſons who may have brought
" him up."

The Doctor, who never loſt ſight of the three queſtions which he had propoſed to the Chief of the Pandects, was delighted with the Paria's reply. " Since
" you believe," ſaid he to him, " that every man is
" bound to ſearch after truth, tell me then, firſt of
" all, what means are to be employed in order to find
" it; for our ſenſes deceive us, and our reaſon miſ-
" leads us ſtill more. Reaſon differs among almoſt
" every diviſion of mankind, and I believe it is no-
" thing more at bottom than the particular intereſt
" of each of them: this is the cauſe that it is ſo
" variable all the world over. There are no two
" religions, no two nations, no two tribes; What do
" I ſay? there are no two men, whoſe ſentiments
" perfectly

" perfectly coincide. With what ſenſe then ought a " man to inveſtigate truth if that of his intellect be " inſufficient?" " I think," replied the Paria, " he " ſhould do it with a ſingle heart. The ſenſes and the " underſtanding may be miſled; but a ſingle heart, " granting it might be deceived, never deceives."

" Your anſwer is profound," ſaid the Doctor. " We " ought to inveſtigate truth firſt with the heart and " not with the intellect. Men all feel in the ſame " manner, and they reaſon differently, becauſe the " principles of truth are in Nature, and the conſe- " quences which they deduce from them are dictated " by their intereſts. With ſingleneſs of heart there- " fore we ſhould purſue our reſearches after truth; " for a ſingle heart never feigned to comprehend " what it did not comprehend, and to believe what it " did not believe. It lends no aſſiſtance to ſelf-decep- " tion, and afterwards to the deception of others; thus " a ſingle heart, far from being weak, like thoſe of " moſt men ſeduced by their intereſts, is ſtrong, and " ſuch as is requiſite for inveſtigating truth, and for " maintaining it." " You have unfolded my idea " much better than I could have done," ſaid the Paria: " Truth is like the dew of Heaven; in order " to preſerve it pure, it muſt be collected in a pure " veſſel."

" Charmingly expreſſed! thou man of ſincerity," exclaimed the Engliſhman: " but the moſt difficult " inquiry is behind. Where are we to go in queſt " of truth? Singleneſs of heart depends upon our- " ſelves, but truth depends on other men. Where " ſhall we find it, if thoſe who ſurround us are

" ſeduced by their prejudices, or corrupted by their " intereſts, as is generally the caſe? I have travelled " over many countries; I have ranſacked their libra- " ries; I have conſulted their Doctors, and I have " every where found contradictions only, doubts and " opinions a thouſand times more various than their " languages. If then truth is not to be found in the " moſt celebrated repoſitories of human knowledge, " whither are we to go in ſearch of it? What would " ſingleneſs of heart avail among men whoſe heart " is depraved, and their underſtanding perverted?"

" Truth would come to me in a very ſuſpicious form," replied the Paria, " if it were tranſmitted only through " the medium of men: it is not among them we are " to ſearch for it, but in Nature. Nature is the ſource " of every thing that exiſts; her language is not un- " intelligible and variable like that of men and of " their books. Men make books, but Nature makes " things. To found truth upon a book, is much " the ſame with founding it on a picture, or on a " ſtatue, which is capable of intereſting one country " only, and which the hand of time is impairing " every day. Every book is the art of a man, but " Nature is the art of God."

" You are perfectly right," reſumed the Doctor, " Nature is the ſource of natural truths; but where " is, for inſtance, the ſource of hiſtorical truth, ex- " cept in books? Where is the poſſibility then of " aſcertaining, at this day, the truth of a fact which " happened two thouſand years ago? Were the per- " ſons who have tranſmitted it to us free from pre- " judice, free from the ſpirit of party? Did they

" poſſeſs

" poſſeſs ſingleneſs of heart? Beſides the books too, " which are the medium of tranſmiſſion, do they not " need to be copied, printed, commented on, tranſ- " lated; and in paſſing through ſo many hands, is " not truth leſs or more liable to alteration? As you " very well expreſſed it, a book is nothing more than " the art of man. We muſt therefore renounce all " hiſtorical truth, as it can reach us only through the " intervention of men liable to error." " Of what " importance to our happineſs," ſaid the Indian, " is " the hiſtory of things paſt? The hiſtory of what is, " is the hiſtory of what has been, and of that which " ſhall be."

" Very well," ſays the Engliſhman; " but you " muſt admit that moral truths are neceſſary to the " felicity of the human race. How then are we to " find them in Nature? Animals in that ſtate wage " war, kill and devour each other; the very ele- " ments contend with elements: will men act the " ſame part toward one another?" " Oh! no," re- plied the good Paria, " but every man will find the " rule of his conduct in his own heart, provided his " heart be ſingle. Nature has inſcribed this law " upon it: *Do not to others what you would not wiſh* " *others ſhould do to you.*" " It is true," anſwered the Doctor; " ſhe has regulated the intereſts of man- " kind by the ſtandard of our own: but as to reli- " gious truths, How ſhall we diſcover them amidſt " the multitude of traditions and modes of worſhip " which divide the nations of the earth?" " In Na- " ture herſelf," returned the Paria; " if we conſider " her with ſingleneſs of heart, we ſhall behold in her,

" Deity in his power, in his intelligence, in his " goodneſs; and as we are weak, ignorant and " miſerable, here is enough to engage us to adore " him, to pray to him, and to love him all the days " of our life, without diſputing."

" Moſt excellently ſaid!" cried the Engliſhman. " But now, tell me, ſuppoſing we have diſcovered a " truth, Ought we to communicate it to other men? " If you publiſh it, you will be perſecuted by mul- " titudes who live in the oppoſite error, inſiſting " that this very error is the truth, and that every " thing which has a tendency to ſubvert it is itſelf an " error." " The truth," replied the Paria, " muſt " be told to men of a ſingle heart; that is to the good, " who are in ſearch of it, and not to the wicked who " reject it. Truth is a fine pearl, and the wicked " man a crocodile, who cannot put it in his ear, for " he has none. If you throw a pearl to a crocodile, " inſtead of decking himſelf with it, he will try to " devour it, at the riſk of breaking his teeth with the " effort, and will then fly upon you in a rage."

" There is only one objection I have to make," ſaid the Engliſhman; " From what you have ſaid " it muſt follow that men are condemned to error, " though truth be neceſſary to them; for, as they " perſecute thoſe who tell it, Where is the teacher " bold enough to undertake the taſk of inſtructing " them?" " A teacher," replied the Paria, " who " himſelf perſecutes men to force the knowledge of " truth upon them; calamity." " Oh! for once, " Man of Nature," cried the Engliſhman, " I believe " you muſt be miſtaken. Calamity plunges men into " ſuperſtition;

" ſuperſtition; it degrades both the heart and the " underſtanding. The more wretched that men are, " the more contemptible, credulous and grovelling " they become." " It is becauſe they are not ſuffici- " ently wretched," replied the Paria. " Calamity " reſembles the black mountain of Bember, at the " extremity of the burning kingdom of Lahor: as " long as you are upon the aſcent, you ſee nothing " before you but barren rocks; but when you get to " the ſummit, you perceive the Heavens over your " head, and the kingdom of Cachemire under your " feet."

" Delightful and juſt compariſon!" exclaimed the Doctor: " every one has, in truth, through the pro- " greſs of life, his own mountain to ſcramble up. " Yours, virtuous recluſe, muſt have been a very " rough one, for you have riſen higher than ever I " knew man do. Have you been then very wretch- " ed? But tell me firſt of all, Wherefore is your caſte " ſo vilely degraded in India, and that of the Bra- " mins ſo highly reſpected? I am juſt on my return " from a viſit to the Superior of the Pagoda of " Jagrenat, who has no more ſenſe than his idol, " and who nevertheleſs exacts the adoration due to " GOD." " The reaſon is," replied the Paria, " that " the Bramins allege they originally iſſued out of the " head of the God Brama, and that the Parias ſprung " from his feet; they farther pretend, that Brama one " day, being on a journey, aſked a Paria to give him " ſomething to eat, and that the Paria preſented him " with human fleſh; in conſequence of this tradi-

" tion their caſte is venerated, and ours held in exe-
" eration all over India. We are not permitted to
" approach a City; and every Naïr or Reiſpoute may
" put us to death, if we come within reach of breath-
" ing on them." " By St. *George*," cried the Engliſhman, " it is ridiculouſly abſurd and deteſtably
" unjuſt! How have the Bramins been able to per-
" ſuade the Nations of India to adopt a folly ſo very
" groſs?" " By inculcating it upon them from in-
" fancy," ſaid the Paria, " and by inceſſantly repeat-
" ing it: men are taught like parrots." " Unfortu-
" nate man!" ſaid the Engliſhman, " How did you
" contrive to eſcape from that abyſs of infamy into
" which the Bramins had thrown you from your
" birth? I conſider nothing to be ſo oppreſſive to a
" man, as to be rendered vile in his own eyes; it is
" to rob him of the firſt of human conſolations; for
" the moſt aſſured of all, is that which he finds on
" retiring within himſelf."

" I ſaid to myſelf firſt of all," replied the Paria,
" Can the hiſtory of the God Brama be founded in
" truth? It is related only by the Bramins, who have
" an intereſt to ſerve in claiming a celeſtial origin.
" They have undoubtedly feigned the ſtory of a Pa-
" ria's attempt to render Brama a cannibal, to avenge
" themſelves of the Parias, who were ſlow to admit
" their pretenſions to ſuperior ſanctity. I proceeded
" to reaſon within myſelf: Suppoſing the fact to have
" a foundation in truth; GOD is juſt; it is impoſſible
" for him to impute to a whole caſte the culpability
" of one of it's members, and in which the commu-

" nity

" nity has had no concern. But on the ſuppoſition " that the whole caſte of Parias had been involved in " that criminality, their poſterity could not have been " accomplices. GOD no more puniſhes on children " the ſins of their foreſathers whom they never ſaw, " than he would puniſh on grandfathers the ſins of " their grand-children who had not yet come into " the world. But let us go on to ſuppoſe that I am " this day involved in the puniſhment of a Paria " perfidious to his GOD many thouſand years ago, " without being at all acceſſory to his crime; Where " is the poſſibility of any thing's ſubſiſting under the " diſpleaſure of GOD, without being inſtantly de- " ſtroyed? Were I under the curſe of GOD nothing " that I planted would grow. Finally, ſaid I to my- " ſelf: ſuppoſing I lie under the diſpleaſure of GOD, " who is continually doing me good; I will endea- " vour to render myſelf acceptable to him, by follow- " ing his example, in doing good to thoſe whom I " ought to hate."

" But," aſked the Engliſhman, " How did you " contrive to live, thus become an outcaſt from ſo- " ciety?" " Firſt," ſays the Indian, " I argued thus " with myſelf: If the whole world is thine enemy, " be thine own friend. Thy calamity ſurpaſſes not " the patience and fortitude of a man. Be the rain " ever ſo heavy, a little bird feels but a ſingle drop " at once. I went into the woods and along the " banks of rivers in queſt of food; but all I could do " was now and then to pick up ſome wild fruits, and " all the while under the terror of falling a prey to

" ferocious

" ferocious animals. Hence I discovered that Na-
" ture had scarcely done any thing for solitary man,
" and that she had attached my existence to that very
" society which spurned me from it's bosom. On
" this I began to frequent abandoned regions, which
" abound in India, and I always found in them some
" alimentary plant which had survived the ruin of
" him who cultivated it. I travelled thus from Pro-
" vince to Province, assured of finding every where
" the means of subsistence in the refuse of agricul-
" ture. When I found the seeds of any useful vege-
" table, I resowed them, saying, If not to myself,
" this may prove beneficial to others. I found myself
" less miserable, seeing it was in my power to do
" some good. I conceived a violent inclination for
" one thing, namely, to see the interior of some great
" City. I had admired at a distance their ramparts
" and their towers, the prodigious concourse of barges
" on their rivers and of caravans on their great roads,
" loaded with merchandize to be delivered there from
" every point of the horizon; troops of soldiers on
" their march thither to mount guard, from the re-
" motest Provinces; Ambassadors with their numer-
" ous and splendid retinues arriving from foreign
" Kingdoms, to announce prosperous events, or to
" form new alliances. I approached the avenues
" which led to them as near as I durst, contemplating
" with astonishment the lengthened columns of dust
" raised by such multitudes of travellers, and my
" heart thrilled with desire at hearing the confused
" noise which issues out of great Cities, and which

" in

" in the adjacent fields reſembles the murmuring of " the billows when they break on the ſhore of the " ſea. I ſaid within myſelf; A vaſt aſſemblage of " men of ſo many different conditions, contributing " toward the common ſtock their induſtry, their " riches and their joys, muſt render a City the ha- " bitation of delight. But I muſt not enter it by " the light of day; What hinders my ſtealing in un- " der the cloud of night? A feeble mouſe who has " ſo many enemies, goes and comes whitherſoever ſhe " lifts, under the covert of darkneſs; ſhe paſſes from " the hut of the poor man to the palace of Kings. " She finds the light of the ſtars ſufficient to conduct " her to the enjoyment of life; wherefore ſhould that " of the Sun be neceſſary to me?"

" I was in the vicinity of Delhi when theſe reflec- " tions paſſed through my mind; they emboldened " me to ſuch a degree that I ventured to enter the " City as night was ſetting in: the track I purſued " was by the gate of Lahor. At firſt I traverſed a " long ſolitary ſtreet, formed, to the right and left, " of houſes ſkirted by terraces, ſupported by arcades, " containing the ſhops of tradeſmen. From interval " to interval I encountered magnificent caravanſaries " carefully ſhut up, and vaſt *bazars* or markets, in " which the moſt profound ſilence reigned. As I " penetrated into the heart of the City, I pervaded " the ſuperb quarter of the *Omrahs*, conſiſting of pa- " laces and gardens ſituated along the banks of the " Gemna. Here the air re-echoed with the ſound of " inſtruments of muſic, and of the ſongs of the *Baya-*

" *deres*,

" *deres*, who were dancing on the river's ſide by
" torch-light. I drew nigh the gate of a garden to
" enjoy a ſpectacle ſo delicious; but was driven back
" by the ſlaves, who put the miſerable to flight by
" dint of blows. As I withdrew from the quarter of
" the great, I paſſed cloſe by ſeveral of the Pagodas
" conſecrated to my Religion, where crowds of mi-
" ſerable wretches, proſtrated on the ground, were
" crying bitterly. I haſtened away from the ſight of
" thoſe monuments of ſuperſtition and terror. Far-
" ther on, the ſhrill voices of the *Molhahs*, announc-
" ing from on high the hours of the night, informed
" me that I was under the turrets of a Moſque. Cloſe
" by were the factories of the Europeans diſtinguiſh-
" ed by their ſeveral flags, with watchmen inceſſant-
" ly calling aloud: *kaber dar!* Take care! I after-
" wards encompaſſed a very large building which I
" perceived to be a priſon by the clanking of chains
" and the groans of the inhabitants. I ſoon after
" heard the ſhrieks of pain iſſuing from an immenſe
" hoſpital, which was vomiting forth whole cart-loads
" of dead bodies. As I proceeded I met parties of
" thieves fleeing along the ſtreets, and patrols of
" guards in cloſe purſuit of them; groups of beg-
" gars who, regardleſs of the ſtrokes of the ratan,
" were ſoliciting, at the gates of Palaces, for ſome
" of the fragments of their feaſts; and at every cor-
" ner, women proſtituting themſelves publicly for
" bread. At laſt, after a tedious walk along the ſame
" ſtreet, I arrived at a prodigious ſquare, which ſur-
" rounds the fortreſs inhabited by the great Mogul.

" It

" It was filled with the tents of the *Rajahs*, or Na-
" bobs of his guard, and of their ſquadrons, diſtin-
" guiſhed from each other by flambeaus, ſtandards,
" and tall canes terminated by the cow-tails of Thi-
" bet. A broad ditch full of water, and fortified with
" artillery, encloſed, as well as the ſquare, the royal
" fortreſs on every ſide. I ſurveyed, by the help of
" the guards' fire-lights, the towers of the Caſtle,
" which pierced the clouds, and the length of it's
" ramparts, which loſt themſelves in the horizon. I
" felt a ſtrong inclination to get to the inſide; but
" large *korahs*, or whips, ſuſpended from ſtakes, ſoon
" cured me of all deſire of ſo much as entering the
" ſquare. I ſtopped ſhort therefore at one of it's ex-
" tremities, cloſe by ſome negro ſlaves, who permit-
" ted me to reſt myſelf near a fire round which they
" were ſitting. I thence contemplated, with admira-
" tion, the Imperial Palace: This then, ſaid I to
" myſelf, is the habitation of the happieſt of man-
" kind! To enſure ſubjection to his authority ſo
" many Religions preach; to promote his glory ſo
" many Ambaſſadors arrive; to fill his treaſures ſo
" many Provinces are exhauſted; to miniſter to his
" pleaſure ſo many Caravans travel; and to preſerve
" his ſecurity it is that ſo many armed men keep
" watch in ſilence!"

" While I was engaged in making theſe reflec-
" tions, loud ſhouts of joy filled the ſquare, and I
" ſaw eight camels paſs, decorated with ſtreamers. I
" found they were loaded with the heads of rebels
" which the Mogul's Generals had ſent him from the
" Province of Decan, where one of his own ſons, whom

" he

" he had appointed Governor of it, waged war againſt
" him for three years paſt. Soon after arrived, at full
" ſpeed, a courier mounted on a dromedary; he
" came with news of the loſs of a frontier City of
" India, through the treachery of one of his Com-
" manders, who had given it up to the King of Per-
" ſia. Scarcely had this meſſenger gone by, when
" another, diſpatched by the Governor of Bengal,
" brought intelligence that certain Europeans, to
" whom the Emperor, for the extenſion of com-
" merce, granted permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory at
" the mouth of the Ganges, had erected a fort on
" the ſpot, which commanded the navigation of the
" river. A few moments after the arrival of theſe
" two couriers, an officer appeared, coming out of
" the Caſtle at the head of a detachment of the
" guards. The Mogul had given him orders to re-
" pair to the quarter of the *Omrahs*, and to bring to
" him three of the higheſt rank in irons, to anſwer
" a charge of carrying on a ſecret intelligence with
" the enemies of the State. He had commanded a
" *Molhah* to be arreſted the evening before, for hav-
" ing in one of his ſermons pronounced an eulogium
" on the King of Perſia, and for having declared
" openly that the Emperor of the Indies was an in-
" fidel, becauſe, in violation of the Law of *Mahomet*,
" he drank wine. Finally, it was confidently affirm-
" ed, that one of his wives had juſt been ſtrangled
" and thrown into the Gemna, with two Captains
" of his guard, convicted of being acceſſory to the
" rebellion of his ſon."

" While I was meditating on theſe tragical events,
" along

" a long column of fire ſuddenly burſt from the
" kitchens of the Seraglio: a vaſt ſtream of ſmoke
" aroſe and mingled with the clouds, and the ruddy
" glare illuminated the towers of the fortreſs, it's
" foſſes, the ſquare, the ſpires of the City, and ex-
" tended to the boundaries of the horizon. Imme-
" diately the huge copper tymbals, and the *karnas*,
" or great hautboys of the guard, ſounded the alarm
" with a fearful noiſe: ſquadrons of cavalry gallop-
" ped over the City, breaking open the doors of the
" houſes adjoining to the Caſtle, and driving their
" inhabitants, with reiterated ſtrokes of the *korah*, to
" aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames. I myſelf had
" proof how dangerous the vicinity of the great is to
" the little. The great are like the fire, which burns
" even thoſe who throw incenſe into it, if they ap-
" proach too nigh. I wiſhed to make my eſcape, but
" all the avenues of the ſquare were obſtructed. It
" would have been impoſſible for me to get away,
" unleſs, by the Providence of GOD, the ſide on
" which I took my ſtation had been that of the Se-
" raglio. As the eunuchs were removing the women
" on elephants, they facilitated my elopement. For
" while the guards on all ſides were whipping the
" people to haſten them to aſſiſt at the Caſtle, the
" elephants, by dealing about ſtrokes of their pro-
" boſcis, obliged them to retreat. Thus, ſometimes
" purſued by the one, ſometimes driven back by the
" other, I at length got clear of this frightful chaos:
" and by the light of the conflagration, I reached
" the farther extremity of the ſuburb, where, under
" huts,

" huts, and far removed from the great, the people " were reſting quietly from their labours. There I " began to recover breath. I ſaid within myſelf: " Well then, I have ſeen a City! I have ſeen the " abode of the Lords of the Nations! Oh! of how " many maſters are not they themſelves the ſlaves! " They obey, even at the ſeaſon of repoſe, the ty- " rants of voluptuouſneſs, of ambition, of ſuperſti- " tion, of avarice: they are expoſed, even in ſleep, " to a multitude of miſerable and maleſic beings " who ſurround them, robbers, mendicants, courte- " zans, incendiaries, to ſay nothing of their ſoldiers, " their grandees, and their prieſts. What muſt a " City be in the day time, if it be thus diſturbed in " the night? The calamities of man increaſe with " his enjoyments. How much is the Emperor to be " pitied, in whom they all centre? He has danger to " apprehend from wars foreign and domeſtic, nay " from the very objects which are his conſolation and " defence, his generals, his guards, his *molhahs*, his " wives and his children. The ditches which encom- " paſs his Caſtle are unable to exclude the phantoms " of ſuperſtition, and his elephants, ſo curiouſly diſcip- " lined, unable to keep gloomy care at a diſtance from " him. For my own part, I am haunted with no " ſuch terrors: no tyrant exerciſes dominion over " either my body or my mind. I have it in my " power to ſerve GOD according to my conſcience, " and I have nothing to fear from Man, unleſs I " chooſe to become a ſelf-tormentor: of a truth a " Paria is leſs miſerable than an Emperor. On ut- " tering

" tering theſe words the tears ruſhed to my eyes; " and falling on my knees, I offered up thanks to " Heaven for having, to teach me how to ſupport my " own diſtreſſes, ſhewn me wretchedneſs far more " intolerable than mine.

" From that time forward I confined my rambles " towards Delhi to the ſuburbs; from thence I be- " held the ſtars illumine the habitations of men, and " mingle with their fires, as if the Heavens and the " City had formed but one domain. When the Moon " appeared to enlighten that landſcape, I perceived " colours diffuſed over it varying from the tints of " day. I admired the towers, the houſes and the " trees, at once ſilvered over and clad in ſable, ſoftly " reflected at a diſtance from the ſmooth ſurface of " the Gemna. I traverſed in perfect liberty the vaſt " ſolitary and ſilent quarters that ſurround the capi- " tal, and then it was I conſidered the whole City as " my own. Humanity, nevertheleſs, would have re- " fuſed me a handful of rice in it, in ſuch a deteſt- " able light had Religion placed me. Unable there- " fore to find ſubſiſtence among the living, I went in " queſt of it among the dead: I frequented the ce- " meteries, and ate the food depoſited by pious affec- " tion on the tombs of departed relations. In places " ſuch as theſe I delighted to muſe. I ſaid to myſelf: " This is the City of peace; here power and pride " are ſeen no more; innocence and virtue are in " complete ſecurity: here lie dead all the terrors " which haunted life, even that of dying: this is the " inn where the ſarman has for ever unyoked his

" team, and where the Paria finds repoſe. In medi-
" tating thus, death appeared to me an object of de-
" ſire, and I began to look down upon the world. I
" turned my eyes toward the Eaſt, out of which every
" moment aroſe a multitude of ſtars. Though their
" deſtination was unknown to me, I felt that their
" deſtiny was allied to that of Man, and that Nature
" who has accommodated to his neceſſities ſo many
" objects which he ſees not, had at leaſt rendered vi-
" ſible objects a matter of importance to him. My
" ſoul then aſcended into the firmament with the
" ſtars, and when Aurora returned to blend with
" their gentle and unchanging luſtre, her own roſy
" tints, I thought myſelf at the gates of Heaven.
" But as ſoon as the dawn, brightened into the fire
" of day, gilded the Pagodas, I diſappeared like a
" ſhadow; I withdrew, far from the haunts of men,
" to reſt myſelf in the fields at the foot of a tree,
" where I was lulled to ſleep by the muſic of the
" grove."

" Senſible and unfortunate mortal!" ſaid the Engliſhman, " Your ſtory is wonderfully affecting: moſt
" Cities, believe me, can bear to be viewed only in
" the night. After all, Nature arrays herſelf in noc-
" turnal beauties, which are not the leaſt attractive;
" an eminent Poet of my Country has celebrated no
" other. But, tell me; how did you at laſt contrive
" to render yourſelf happy by the light of day?"

" It was a great point gained," replied the Indian,
" to be happy in the night. Nature reſembles a
" beautiful woman, who in the day-time exhibits the

" charms

" charms of her face only, to the vulgar eye, and un-
" veils more hidden beauties to her lover when it is
" night. But if ſolitude has it's peculiar enjoyments,
" it is likewiſe ſubjected to it's privations: it appears
" to the child of misfortune as a quiet harbour from
" whence he beholds the tide of other mens' paſſions
" roll on, without being himſelf hurried along by the
" current; but, while he congratulates himſelf on
" being immovable, time is inſenſibly carrying him
" down the ſtream. There is no ſuch thing as caſt-
" ing anchor in the river of human life; it ſweeps
" away together the man who ſtruggles againſt it's
" flux, and him who voluntarily goes with it; the
" wiſe man and the fool, and both reach the termi-
" nation of life, the one after having abuſed it, and
" the other without having enjoyed it. I did not
" pretend to be wiſer than Nature, nor to find my
" happineſs without the ſphere of thoſe laws which
" ſhe has preſcribed to Man. I longed above all
" things for a friend to whom I could communicate
" my pleaſures and my pains. I ſought him long
" among my equals, but found no one who was not
" under the dominion of envy. I nevertheleſs at
" length lighted on one poſſeſſing ſenſibility, ſuſcep-
" tible of gratitude, faithful, and inacceſſible to pre-
" judice: he was not indeed of my own ſpecies, but
" one of the brute creation; the very dog you ſee
" there. He had been expoſed while quite a whelp
" at the corner of a ſtreet, where he lay periſhing
" with hunger. My compaſſion was excited; I lift-
" ed him up: he conceived an attachment to me, and

" I made him my inſeparable companion. This was
" not yet ſufficient; I ſtood in need of a friend ſtill
" more wretched than a dog; one who knew all the
" evils of human ſociety, and who could aſſiſt me
" in ſupporting them; one who deſired only the
" bleſſings which Nature beſtows, and with whom I
" could enjoy them. It is only by interlacing their
" branches that two feeble ſhrubs are capable of re-
" ſiſting the ſtorm. Providence gratified my deſire
" to the uttermoſt in giving me a good wife. It
" was at the very ſource of wo that I found the
" fountain of bliſs. One night being at the burial-
" place of the Bramins, I perceived by moon-light,
" a young woman of that caſte, half covered with
" her yellow veil. At ſight of a female of the blood
" of my tyrants, I recoiled with horror, but felt my-
" ſelf attracted towards her by compaſſion on ſeeing
" the occupation in which ſhe was engaged. She
" came to depoſit victuals on a little hillock which
" covered the aſhes of her mother, who had lately
" been burnt alive with the body of her father, con-
" formably to the practice of her caſte; and ſhe was
" now burning incenſe over it as an invocation of the
" departed ſpirit. Tears ſtarted to my eyes at ſight
" of one more unfortunate than myſelf. I thus me-
" ditated: Alas! I am bound in fetters of infamy,
" but thou in thoſe of glory: I live at leaſt in tranquil-
" lity at the bottom of my precipice; and thou art
" always trembling on the brink of thine. The ſame
" deſtiny which has robbed thee of thy mother, like-
" wiſe threatens to rob thee one day of thy own life.
" Thou

" Thou haſt received but a ſingle life and art doom-
" ed to die two deaths: if thy own carry thee not
" to the tomb, that of thy huſband will drag thee
" thither while yet alive. I wept, and ſo did ſhe:
" our eyes, ſuffuſed with tears, met, and ſpoke to
" each other the language of the unfortunate: ſhe
" turned away hers, dropped her veil, and with-
" drew.

" The night following I repaired to the ſame place.
" This time ſhe had placed a more ample proviſion
" on her mother's tomb; ſhe took it for granted that
" I might ſtand in need of ſome; and as the Brahmins
" frequently poiſon thoſe funereal meſſes, to prevent
" their being devoured by the Parias, that I might
" have full confidence in the wholeſomeneſs of hers,
" ſhe had brought nothing but fruit. I was deeply
" affected by this diſplay of humanity; and by way
" of expreſſing to her the reſpect which I entertained
" for her filial oblation, inſtead of taking her fruits,
" I added flowers to them. They were poppies, ſig-
" nificant of the intereſt which I took in her ſorrow.
" Next night I ſaw, with joy, that my homage had
" been acceptable to her; the poppies had been wa-
" tered, and ſhe had put a new baſket of fruits at a
" little diſtance from the tomb. Pity and gratitude
" emboldened me. Not daring to ſpeak to her as a
" Paria, for fear of lowering her dignity, I attempt-
" ed as a man to expreſs to her all the affections
" which ſhe had excited in my boſom. According
" to the cuſtom of India I borrowed the language of
" flowers to convey my meaning; I added marigolds

" to poppies. The night after I found my poppies
" and my marigolds copiouſly beſprinkled with wa-
" ter. Next night I waxed bolder; to the poppies
" and marigolds I added a flower of *foulſapatte*, em-
" ployed by ſhoemakers to die their leather black, as
" the expreſſion of an humble and unfortunate love.
" I flew to the tomb with the firſt dawn of the morn-
" ing; but had the mortification to ſee the *foulſapatte*
" withered, becauſe it had not been watered. The
" following night I planted, with a trembling hand,
" a tulip whoſe red petals and black heart repreſent-
" ed the flame which preyed upon me. In the morn-
" ing I found my tulip in the ſame ſtate with the
" *foulſapatte*. I was overwhelmed with grief; never-
" theleſs the day after I brought to the place a roſe-
" bud with the thorns upon it, the ſymbol of my
" hopes, blended with mortal apprehenſion. But
" who can deſcribe my deſpair, when I ſaw, by the
" firſt rays of Aurora, my roſe-bud removed entirely
" from the tomb! I thought I ſhould have gone diſ-
" tracted. Let what would be the conſequence, I
" reſolved to ſpeak to her. The night following, as
" ſoon as ſhe appeared, I threw myſelf at her feet,
" but without the power of utterance, preſenting my
" roſe to her. She broke ſilence, and ſaid: Unfor-
" tunate man! thou talkeſt to me of love, and in a
" little while I ſhall be no more. I muſt, like my
" mother, accompany my huſband to the funeral
" pile. He is juſt dead. He was an old man, I was
" married to him while a child: farewel, retire, and
" forget me; in three days I ſhall be reduced to a
" handful

" handful of aſhes. She uttered theſe words with a " ſigh. Penetrated with grief, I ſaid to her: Wretch- " ed Bramine, Nature has burſt aſunder the ties " which Society had impoſed upon thee; finiſh the " work by breaking off thoſe of ſuperſtition. It is " now in your power, in accepting me as your huſ- " band. How! replied ſhe, in a flood of tears, I " flee from death to live with thee in a ſtate of de- " gradation! Ah! if thou loveſt me, leave me and " let me die. God forbid, exclaimed I, that I ſhould " attempt to draw you out of your own calamities, " only to involve you in mine! My beloved Bramine, " let us flee together to the receſſes of the foreſts; " it is ſtill better to put confidence in tigers than in " men. But that Heaven in which I truſt will not " abandon us. Let us flee: love, the night, thy un- " happy ſituation, thy innocence, all, all favour us. " Let us make haſte, ill-fated widow! Thy funeral " pile is already prepared, and thy dead huſband is " calling thee to it. Poor downcaſt ivy reſt thy fee- " bleneſs on me. I will be thy ſupporting palm-tree. " On this ſhe caſt, with a ſigh, a look on her mother's " tomb, then raiſing her eyes to Heaven, and drop- " ping one of her hands into mine, with the other " ſhe accepted my roſe. I immediately caught her " by the arm, and we began our march. I threw her " veil into the Ganges, to make her relations believe " ſhe had drowned herſelf in it. We travelled ſeveral " nights by the river's ſide, concealing ourſelves dur- " ing the day in the rice-grounds. We at length ar- " rived in this part of the country which war had

" formerly thinned of inhabitants. I penetrated into " the bosom of this wood, where I have built the cot- " tage which now covers you, and planted a little " garden; and here we live in perfect happiness. I " revere my wife as the Sun, and I love her as the " Moon. In this solitude we are the whole world " to each other: we were despised of mankind; but " as we mutually esteem each other, the praises " which I bestow on her, or receive from her, com- " municate to us a purer delight than the applause of " Nations could confer." As he pronounced these words, he looked first on his infant in the cradle, then on his wife who was shedding tears of joy.

The Doctor, as he wiped away his own, said to his host: " Of a truth, that which is highly honour- " ed of men frequently merits their contempt, and " what they despise often deserves to be highly es- " teemed. But GOD is just: you are a thousand " times happier in your obscurity, than the Chief of " the Bramins of Jagrenat in all his glory. He is " exposed, as is his whole caste, to all the revolutions " of fortune; on the Bramins principally fall most of " the plagues occasioned by the civil and foreign " wars which have for so many ages desolated your " beautiful country; to them are addressed the de- " mands of forced contributions, because of the em- " pire which they exercise over public opinion. But " the most cruel circumstance in their condition is " this, they are themselves the first victims of their " own inhuman Religion. By dint of preaching error, " they imbibe it themselves so thoroughly as to lose " all

" all ſenſe of truth, of juſtice, of humanity, of piety;
" they are bound in the fetters of ſuperſtition which
" they wiſh to rivet round the necks of their coun-
" trymen; they are obliged to perform inceſſant ab-
" lutions and purifications, and rigorouſly to abſtain
" from innumerable harmleſs enjoyments; finally,
" what cannot be mentioned without horror, as one
" of the conſequences of their barbarous dogmas,
" they behold their neareſt female relations burnt
" alive, their mothers, their ſiſters, their own daugh-
" ters: thus Nature, whoſe laws they violate, inflicts
" puniſhment on them. As for you, it is in your
" power to be ſincere, good, juſt, hoſpitable, pious;
" and you eſcape the ſtrokes of fortune and the miſ-
" chiefs of opinion, by the very meanneſs of your
" ſtation."

After this converſation, the Paria took leave of his gueſt, and left him to enjoy his repoſe, and retired with his wife and his child in the cradle, into a ſmall adjoining apartment.

Next morning, at the dawn, the Doctor was awaked by the ſinging of the birds, neſtled in the branches of the Indian fig-tree, and by the voices of the Paria and his wife, who were offering up together their matin prayer. He aroſe, and was not a little vexed, when on the good couple's opening their door to bid him good morrow, he diſcovered there was no bed in the cottage but the nuptial couch, and that they had watched all night long to accommodate him with it. They having ſaluted him with the *ſalam* they haſted to prepare breakfaſt. Meanwhile he went

went to take a turn in the garden: he found it, like the hut, encompaſſed by arcades of Indian fig-tree, ſo cloſely interwoven as to form a hedge impenetrable even to the eye. He only perceived riſing above the foliage the red-coloured ſides of the rock which flanked the valley in every direction: there iſſued from it a ſmall ſpring which watered the artleſsly diſpoſed garden. In all the wild variety of Nature were to be ſeen the *mangouſtan*, the orange, the cocoa, the *litchis*, the *durion*, the mango, the *jacquier*, the banana, and many other vegetables, dreſſed in flowers or loaded with fruits. Their very trunks were covered with them; the *betel* winded round the *arecqua* palm-tree, and the pepper plant along the ſugar-cane. The air was impregnated with their perfumes. Though moſt of the trees were ſtill in the ſhade, the firſt rays of Aurora already illuminated their ſummits; there were to be ſeen fluttering about the *colibris*, ſparkling with the glowing tints of the ruby and the topaz, while the *bengali* and the *ſenſa-ſoulés*, or five hundred voices, concealed under the humid foliage, emitted their delicious notes in concert from their neſts. The Doctor was walking under theſe enchanting ſhades, totally diſengaged from ſcientific and ambitious ideas, when the Paria came out to call him to breakfaſt. "Your "garden is delightful," ſaid the Engliſhman; "I "find no fault with it, but that it is too ſmall: had "I been in your place I ſhould have enclоſed a ſpot "for a bowling-green, and borrowed a little more "from the foreſt." "Sir," replied the Paria, "the "leſs room one occupies, the more eaſily is he "ſheltered:

" ſheltered: a ſingle leaf ſerves for a neſt to the hum-
" ming-bird." While he ſpake they entered the cottage, where they found the Paria's wife in a corner ſuckling her infant: ſhe had ſerved up breakfaſt. After a ſilent repaſt, the Doctor preparing to take his leave, the Indian ſaid to him: " My much
" reſpected gueſt, the plains are ſtill inundated with
" the rains of the night; the roads are unpaſſable;
" ſpend this day with us." " It is not in my power," ſaid the Doctor, " my retinue is too numerous.
" I ſee how it is," anſwered the Paria, " you are in
" haſte to quit the country of the Bramins, and to
" return to that of Chriſtians, whoſe religion teaches
" all men to live together as brothers." The Doctor roſe from his place with a ſigh; on which the Paria made a ſign to his wife, who, with downcaſt eyes, and without uttering a word, preſented the Doctor with a baſket of flowers and fruit. The Paria, ſupplying her want of ſpeech, ſaid to the Engliſhman;
" Sir, have the goodneſs to excuſe our poverty: we
" have neither ambergriſe nor aloës-wood to perfume
" our gueſts, after the manner of India; we have
" only flowers and fruits; but I hope you will not
" diſdain to accept this little baſket filled by the hands
" of my wife: it contains neither poppies nor mari-
" golds, but jaſmin, ſome *mougris* and bergamot, the
" ſymbol, from the duration of their perfumes, of the
" affection which we bear you, and of which the re-
" collection will remain with us when we ſhall ſee
" you no more." The Doctor took the baſket and ſaid to the Paria: " I want language to expreſs the
" grateful

"grateful ſenſe I have of your hoſpitality, and to "convey an idea of the eſteem I bear you: pleaſe, "to accept of this gold watch; it is one of *Graham*'s, "the moſt eminent artiſt in London; it needs wind- "ing up only once a year." "Sir," replied the Paria, "we have no occaſion for a watch; there is "one provided for us whoſe motion is perpetual, and "which is never out of order: I mean the Sun." "My watch ſtrikes the hours," ſubjoined the Doctor. "Our birds ſing them," anſwered the Paria. "Ac- "cept at leaſt," ſaid the Doctor, "of theſe ſtrings of "coral to make red necklaces for your wife and "child." "My wife and child," replied the Indian, "can never want red necklaces ſo long as our garden "ſhall produce the peaſe of Angola." "Take then," ſaid the Doctor, "theſe piſtols to defend you from "thieves in this ſolitude." "Poverty," ſaid the Paria, "is a bulwark which keeps all thieves at a "diſtance: the ſilver mounting of your piſtols would "be a temptation to attack us. In the name of the "God who protects us, and from whom we expect "our reward, do not ſeek to rob us of the price of "our hoſpitality." "I could wiſh however," replied the Engliſhman, "to leave ſome token of remem- "brance behind me." "Well, my honoured gueſt," ſaid the Paria, "ſince you inſiſt upon it; may I pre- "ſume to propoſe an exchange? Give me your pipe, "and accept of mine: as often as I ſmoke from "yours, I ſhall gratefully recollect that a Euro- "pean "Pandect did not think himſelf diſhonoured in ac- "cepting the hoſpitality of a poor Paria." On this the Doctor

Doctor presented to him his pipe of English leather-manufacture, the mouth of which was of yellow amber, and received that of the Paria in return, whose tube was a bamboo, and the bowl of baked earth.

He then summoned his attendants, who were quite stupified with the comfortless night which they had passed; and, having embraced the Paria, mounted his palanquin. The Paria's wife, in tears, stopped at the threshold of the cottage, with her infant in her arms; but the husband accompanied the Doctor to the outlet of the wood, pouring out his heart in blessings upon him. "May God reward you," said he, "for "your goodness to the miserable! May He accept "me as a sacrifice in your stead! May He grant you "a prosperous voyage to England, that land of learn-"ed men and friends, who range over the whole "Globe in quest of truth, to promote the happiness of "mankind!" The Doctor replied; "I have visited "half the Globe, and found, wherever I went, error "and discord only: never did I meet with truth and "happiness till I entered your cottage." As he pronounced those words they separated from each other, not without shedding tears. The Doctor had made a considerable progress over the plain while he still perceived the good Paria at the foot of a tree, waving his hands in token of bidding him a last adieu.

The Doctor, on his return to Calcutta, embarked for Chandernagore, and thence set sail for England. Being arrived at London he sent his fourscore and ten bales of manuscripts to the President of the Royal Society,

Society, who depoſited them in the Britiſh Muſeum, where the *literati* and journaliſts continue to employ themſelves to this day in making tranſlations of them, concordances, panegyrics, diſſertations, criticiſms and pamphlets. As to the Doctor himſelf, he was ſatisfied with retaining the Paria's three anſwers relative to truth. He frequently ſmoked from his pipe; and when interrogated reſpecting the moſt uſeful diſcoveries he had made on his travels, he replied: "Truth muſt be ſought for with ſingleneſs of heart; "it is to be found only in Nature; it is to be told "only to the good:" to which he added: "a man is "happy only with a good wife."

FINIS.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER

FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

VOL. I.

PLATE I.	To face the Title.	
PLATE II.	— — — —	PAGE 152

VOL. II.

PLATE III.	— — — —	106
PLATE IV.	— — —	135
PLATE V.	— — —	152