$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { LESSONS } \\
& T O A \\
& \text { OLD STATESMAN, } \\
& \text { - } \mathrm{N}^{\boldsymbol{T}} \mathrm{H} \mathrm{E} \\
& \text { PRESENT DISPCSITION IN EUROPE } \\
& \mathbf{T} \mathbf{O} \quad \mathbf{A} \\
& \text { GENERAL REVOLUTION. } \\
& \text { THE SIXTH EDITION. } \\
& \text { With the addition of a Leffon on the } \\
& \text { MODE OF STUDYING AND PROFITING } \\
& \text { By the Reflections on the } \\
& \text { FRENCH REVOLUTION: } \\
& \text { BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE } \\
& \begin{array}{lllllllllll}
\text { E } & \mathrm{D} & \mathrm{M} & \mathrm{U} & \mathrm{~N} & \mathrm{D} & \mathbf{B} & \mathbf{U} & \mathbf{R} & \mathrm{~K} & \mathbf{E} \text {. }
\end{array} \\
& \text { IMEELLISHED WITH FIVE COFPERPLATES, DELINEATINGFIVE } \\
& \text { POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONSIA A MODE ENTIRELY NEW. } \\
& \text { Q:od munus reipublice afferre majus meliufque polfumus, quam fi docemus } \\
& \text { atque crudimus juventutem his prafertim moribus atque temporibus, } \\
& \text { ¡uibus ita prolapfa ca, ut oumium upibus reframanda atque coercenda fit. } \\
& \text { Cic. de Div. lib. ii. ver. } 4 . \\
& \text { LONDON—PRINTED: } \\
& \text { NEW-YORK, RE-PRINTED BY CHILDS AND 8WAINE. } \\
& \text { SOLD BY BERRY AND ROGERS, NO. 35, HANOFER-SQUAREE } \\
& \square 1791 .
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## A DVERTISEMENT.

THE doarines inculcated in the following "Leffons" fo nearly coincide with thofe ideas that have jo long prevailed in this country, relative to ilhe natural and political roghs of man, and furniß fo excellent und friking a commentary upon thofe great principles of repub. lican equality, which formerly gave birth to the American, and more recently to the Firench Revolution, that the Publibers of THIS AMERICAN EDITION detcrmined, upon firflyight of the work, to re-print it wills all the expedition that circumflances would admit.It may not be improficr to add, that the quiet, unmoleficd, and unmenaced p:alication and circulation of this look, Mr. Paine's Rights of Man, £ֻc. through Great Britain, evidently proves that a Revolution bas alre.ady liccn effeluated on the minds of the people there, which muft fuon pervade the rotten parts of their government and pro. sure as thorough a reform, both civil and ecclefiafical, as bas already tuhen place in Franie: It being an indifputalle truth, that the enlightened fpirit of England will never fuffer the French to exif fur any length of time, a frecr nation than themfelves.

The PUBLISHERS.

## INTRODUCTION.

E VERY writer wihes to have fomething unde atood, though he may feldom fugreft the truth, refpecting himielf. That I am approaching the extremity of life, may be erclited, from my garrulity, from a general recurrence to diftant events, as authorities, and from an affectation of prophecy or prediction.

That I am difinterefted, will not be fuppofed, at a time when the poffibility of difintereftednefs is difputed. Concealing my name even from the Printer and publifher; laying indifcriminately before the exalted perfonage I addrefs, the truths that occur to me ; and cenfuring equally his friends and opponents: It will te difficult, for it is difficult to myfelf, to imagine any interefts actuating my mind, befides thofe of a public nature.

That I have not been a fpectator only of the incidents of this age, every man of bufinefs will difcern by internal evidence That I am not an author by proffflion, will be perceived by the loweft retainer of periodical criticifm-my great objeet is to roufe latent principles in a mind I think excelle: t, which has been neglected, or milled with defign. If I fucceed, I fhall filently carry the fatisfaction to the tomb that awaits me-If I fail, my laft, will only thare the fate of fome former efforts and their inefficacy will reconcile me to their oblivion.

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| P R I I N C E. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LeSsoni. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

DFMETRIUS Phalereus advifed Ptolemy to ftudy books; jecaufe things might be written in them, which his triendi dared not advife.

Your Roval Highnefs is refpectfully requefted to confider the prefent fection as an hiltorical pieture, in which you are the principal figure.

It is the reproach of Englifh education, that ornamental objects are preferred to thofe of utility; and an invariable mode of forming a fcholar is applied to all the purpofes of life. The preceptors of your Royal. Highnefa are not anfwerable for the defeets of a plan, in the formation of which they were not confulted*. They may be fufficiently juftified by your proficiency in the belles lettres, and in the general accomplifhments of a gentleman.

In moral arrangements, and in prudential preparaticns for the firit impreffions of fociety, the royal fyltem was extremely defective. The education of the King had been monaftic; and the Queen, bred up in the ceconomy of a little court, introduced a fpecies of penury, as unfavorable to the minds, as it may be advantageous to the private fortunes of the royal children.

The moment of your Royal Highnefe's emancipation was that of a prifoner from continement : you plunged into the joys of fociety, with the avidity of one who had never tafted joy.

B

- The queftion, "Whether it was expedient the Princes thould be fapo lars'" greatly agitated the cabince of B-houfe almoft a year. Dr. M—— a..d Mr. J- had engaged them in the road of knowledge. Lord Htraverfed their endeavours;-and they were exchanged for the copple $\mathrm{H}-\mathrm{d}$ and the infignificant A -.

The ftrong contraft formed by the pleafurable work and Buckingham-houle; and the petty fpirit of reproach and crimination incident to parente of rechufe difpofition-generated that oppofition, of which the great factions of the time availed themfelves, and to which alone it can be beneficial. It was tafte rather than judgment that determined your opinion on every thing foftered at Buckingham-houfe; and the maxims of that houfe, which precipitated you into the arms of party, will hortly be difcerned to have no affinity with thofe of real prudence, or real wifdum.

That I am not devoted in the party at Buckingham-houffor I call every combination a party, which is not formed on public principles-you will often in thefe hucubrations have occafion to perceive. The great evil of the oppofition that bralts your Royal Highnefs's fanction is, that by an odium which time and talents have not abated, it fhadows an admindiftration incapable, ignorant, and at enmity with the effential principles of a free conftitution. The prefent minillty embrace every plaufihle pretence to circumferibe and abolifh the trial by jury; beftow honors and benefices with views of corrupt influence fightly difgnifed ; employ the preteace of paring off the national debt, to cncreafe taxes and multiply eftablifiments for pritate purpofes: and they involve the country in a predatory war, in hopes fome chances may furmifh pretences for checking the progrefe of that liberty, which at this time menaces equally the in fidious chicane of one leading partizan, and the imperious audacity of another; which may call Britain as well as France to its flandard; and beftow on its minifters the fate of Breteuil, Brienne, Launay, and Calonne. With this actual character, and with thefe known views, minitters are fecure of their places, and may proceed without danger, in advancing the interefts of their connections, and injuring thofe of the public; in infults to all rank, merit, and fervice, not fubmiffive to their will: and in the moft impudent jots for parliamentary corruption-Why?-Not becaufe they are protected by your Royal Father-not from their intereft or connections in the country-not by their abilities and tadent-but merely by the universal dread of the depredations of a needy and profligate cabal. Let thie dread be removed ; let the people of England be convinced, thrat the confequence of difmiffing the prefent adminiftration wilh. not be the introduction of this cabal into power, litt, and the corrupt clufter furrourding him, would inciantly fink: under the woight of the public refentment of his perfidious fervility in all the mafqued and cowardly machinations of defpotifm.

Pitt, therefore may thank your Royal Highnefs for the profpeet of permanence in a fituation for which he has no better qualifications than any other loquacious barrilter, who, by the habit of cloathing profufely and indifcriminately the ideas of others, lofes the power of inventive conception, and becomes as deftitute of original ideas, as of real honor and moral principle.

Your Royal Highnefs will think me miftaken, becaule you will not eafily imagine I have more wifdom or better information than the perfons on whofe talents you rely.
"What!" your Royal Highnefs may fay, " fhall I attend " to the opinions of an unknown writer, who may be a dotard, * in oppofition to thofe of a Fox, a Burke, a Sheridan, whofe " abilities are actnowledged to be fuperlative, and who are " forced from the public helm, only by the malignity of for"tune ?"

That I am unknown, is in my favour. By announcing my name, I might put in a claim to the attention and patronage of your Royal Highnefs. That the abilities of the gentlemen you protect are brilliant and fplendif, I will allow; but that they are fuperlative, or of the firf order of human takents, I will examine; and if you will have the patience to attend me, I will enable your Royal Highnefs to judge.

On a flight recollection of the political atchievments of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, your Royal Highnefs will perceive, that they have often furnifhed high and rapturous entertainment for numerous and mingled audiences; and that on queftions of great importance, and in fituations of confiderable dificiculty, their abilitits have always difappointed their friends.

I am going to hazard an opinion, on which I would hazard my hie-that Fox, by farthe fuperior man of the party, is remarkably defective in the great and inventive properties of wif-dom--fchemes, plans, information, or materials, have cver been collected for Fox by all the talents and indultry of a powerful party ; and he has, above all men, the faculty of inftantly giving order and expreftion to uncouth and enormous maftes: but his mind not embracing the origin of meafures, it is a chance that he directe them to the ruin or to the advantage of his party. I will give as inftances-the coalition-the India bill-the inherent right to the regency-and the trial of Warren Haftings-events which mark the public life of Mr. Fox with national odium ; and he lase incurred it, not from diftonefty, for if there be an honeit man among all the political adventurers and champions of the time, he is Charles Fox ; but for want of abilities, for want of wildom.

Who projected tine coalition, I am no informed. By internal evidence, I flould adjudged it to be the idea of Burke: the extravagant abfurdity of it fuits to other mind.

The India bill, I am well affured, is Burke's own offspring; and it ftrongly bears the impreffions of its parent.

The doctrine of hreditary regency was furnifhed by Lord Ioughborough (the well-kiown Wedderburne) with abundant pronifes of athorities and reafons, which were never fulfilled.
i.. the trial of Haftings, eloque:ace has been employed, like water in an inundation, without juugment and without advantage.

All the objects in the contemplation of Mr. Fox on thefe celebrated occafions, might have been obtained-not only without infamy, but with applaufe.

Pitt has cbtained them all, with abilities greatly inferior, but with the art of profiting by the errors of Fox. He has all the advantages of the coalition, by detaching kubinfon * from his old matter, He b-s acquired more power in India than Mr. Fox aimed at, by only faving appearances with the King: he has acquired popularity by a doctrine refpecting the power of two eftates in Parliament, which if advanced by Mr. Fox, would have procured his impeachment : and he has rendered his opponents the inftruments of his own purpofes refpecting $\mathrm{Mr}^{\text {. }}$ Haftings $\dagger$.

Such are the fuperlative abilities of your Royal Highnefs's priacipal, though, perhaps, not your favorite counfellor,

That Burke has talents, no man of fenfe will deny: but they are fuperficial, oftentatious, and want the guidance of judgment and cience. Satis eloquentia fapientia parum.

Sherida:, with equal imagiration, has more art; and being educated on the ftage, undertands the method of giving effect to every fentinent, action, and expreffion. But he is a mere artificer ff feenes: his oratiuns are plays in a new form; and they produce am:ifunent and admiration, never conviction or refpect.

The abilizier and accomplihments of the three united would not conftitut: : Aatefman, or a truly great man. Their fancies or imagination as: not balanced by fcience, or by that high and exalted reaton which is formed by the calm and patient ftudy of

[^0]philofophy, a profound acquaintance with hiftory, and the frick difcipline of mathematics.

Your Royal Highaefs will therefore derive no real advantage from the boafted talents of thefe oratore, unlefs they fhould anfwer Rabelais'opinion of Pantagruel, who covered his whole army with his tongue, and theltered it from inclemencies and isconveniencies.

## LESSON1I.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.
Rebus minoribus quifquc tendentes. Tac.

IKNOW your Royal Highnefs is not remarkable for long or patient attention; and that the important habit of it has not been an object in your education.

I have, therefore, divided the fubject of the firt leffon I meant to fubmit to your perufal.

If the champions of the party you have efpoufed are fuch as I have defcribed-if the combined talents of the phalanx have not produced public refpea-what can your Royal Highnefs hope from a fyttem of favouritifm for the elevation of the moft excep-tionable-I do not concur in the trivial objections to Mr. Sheridan's origin, education, and deftination-lf thefe were more exceptionable than they are reprefented to be; they are circumftances in which the will and character of the man are not concerned:

I do not object to any irregularities, which are the fair refult of youthful and ftrong paffions.

I believe not one half of the common catalogue of his tratagems and expedients to procure or avoid the payment of money:

But Sheridan is a cameleon: his words, his fentiments, his paffions, take their colour from furrounding objects: he feems cvery thing to every man ; is unfufceptible of real attachment ; and though he may have protectors and admircrs, Sheridan is without a friend.

You may peculiarly diftinguifh fuch a man-you may, on fome future occafion, give him the lead in your councils: but the pewer of a throne would not fuftain him in the fituation.

Recollect the manner in which propofitions from him have been received in Parliament, that would have covered another with glory. Recollect the principal caufe, in the obtrufion of his interference during the ilhefs of your Royal Father, and in
the method of managing your paffions to the purpoifè of his am. bition.

The artifices of that period were fo clearly and inftantaneoufly perceived, that the nation felt to its utmof extremities a repugnance and deteflation, which the amiable character and mannets of your Roydredighnefs could hardly reftrain within the limits of peace.

Can your Royal Highnefs imagiae, the country was agitated or interefted by the queftion of right? Do you fuppofe the probable acceffion of the refpectable and patriotic families of Devonihire and Portland occafioned alarm? Or can your Royal Highnefs conceive, that exclanging Pitt for Fox in the offices of venality, could excite the general terror, which fanctioned refolutions of Parliament the moft abfurd, the moft unconftitutioual, the moft inimical to Liberty; which embalmed the numerous and important errors of your Father's reign ; directed the public wihes to the royal couch with a fervour little fhort of idolatry ; and hailed the King's recovery as a national falvation?-No; it was the dread of feeing the government of the country degraded, by being committed to a cabal, -of which I fall foon give fome defeription.

As it may be neceffary to allude to a lady, I hope nothing can efcape me that may be interpreted into injultice, or indelicacy to a fex, which is under too many difadvantages from the cultoms and laws of the land. Though I am old, I have not loft my memory of the rapturous feafon of love. I am incapable of an act fo dattardly, as to fully the faine, or wound the peace of a woman.

It is not with love; it is with artifice and ambition, I am at war-and they are of no fex.

- When you felt the fafcinations of the Perdita,* prudence fmilod, and the error wat jultified by tafte: but Cleopatra $\dagger$ never faw, never will fee in Anthony, any thing befides the probable malter of the world.

Every meafure, from the firft moment of acquaintance, has been fyftematic: the experienced dame practifed from art the leffon which Nature taught Daphe; fhe fled, that A pollo might follow; and by combiuing a night and fickle inclination with Qoyal impatience, fhe formed a pafizon, which had been in vain attempted by charma and talents intinitely fuperior.

Thefe things would not have been worth the trouble of recording, if the gieat object of the fyttem had not been politiced power.

You will perceive the truth, if your Royal Highnefs will recollect, that when impelled by filial duty to attend your Royad Parent on a fick bed, the Lady fixed herfelf at Baghot, under the fympathetic wing of a Roval Dutcheff,* and attended by her faitbful, difinterffed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Sheridan.

Onthis occafion the Cabal was formed, which wich fome variation in its members fubfits to this time, and confints ofa very great Dutchefs, a fair andplump Lady of great ambitiont Capt. Payne, B——P—t, Mr. and Mrs. Skeridan, \&e.

Conceive, Sir, the public fentiment, when a queftion of the utmoft importance was depending, no accefs to your Royal Fiighr nefs was to be had, no meffage delivered, not a word to be fpoken without the knowledye of one or more of thefe refpectable Perfonages. The nation loft all judgment oa the fubjects under confideration: the people faw only the cabal ; the little White Houfc $\ddagger$ in Pall Mall was regarded with the feelings of Syracufe at the ear of Dionyfius; and the minitter might have marched his parliamentary adherents over propofitions more abfurd and pernicious, than thofe which affigned to prepared majorities in a vicious and inadequate reprefentation, the whole political power of a free ftate.

The projected Court of the Regent did not efcape the public knowledge ; and the great Dutchefs had planned it on the model of that of Comus. The Landy was to be entrobled, to have her evening crawing rooms, in the manner of the Countefs of Yarmouth, and the modes of venality which dittinguifhed the politics of that favourite would not have been inexpedient to the circumflances, or unfuitable to the principles of the Cabal.

To accultom the public eye to the purpofed isverfion of rank and order, the great Dutchefs introduced the lady into the acceffible purieus of royalty, and the was frequently difplayed, as one of its polible appendages, within the envied rails of RottenRow. I faw the effect of that difpiay on the crowd which obferved it ; and if Pitt or Duncias had formed the fratagem, it could not have been more to their purpofe. The heads of all the firt families in the kingdom were offended at the appearance of Sheridan in the foreground, during the preparatory tranfactions for a Regency; but their wives and daughters felt an infuit when the great Dutchefs conveyed the Lady in triumph to breathe the royal duft of Rotten-Row.

- Dutchefs of Cumberland. $\dagger$ Mrso Fitzherbert.
$\dagger$ Mrs. Fitzherbert's.

This is another inftance of the judgment of your counfellors, who difcern not that important confequences often arife from little caufes.-No circumftances operated more rapidly and effectually than this incident on the zeal and attachment of the moft refpectiole and valuable of your friends.

Since the Recovery of your Royal Father, thefe friends juft fave appearances; they frequently exprefs their apprihenfions, that the habit of admitting and favouring witlings, buffoons, fiddlers, fencers, and bruifers, will continue too long, and fix. your character with the public. Henry V. to whom your Royal Highnefs is frequently compared, indulged his eccentricities at eighteen; your Royal Highnefs is approaching the age of thirty. Henry's companions and his Doll Tearsheet, were the revellers of an hour; your Royal Highnefs is invefted by an interefted, fordid fet ; their advice, their fuggeftions, their meafures would be a profanation of every thing princely : the modes of expence, the fratagems for obtaining money, the intermixture of Ropal Spies* and princely confidante, the familiarities of adrenturers, \&c. are not refpectable, and being long continued, imprefs on the nation an idea of characteriftic and incurable frivolity. This idea has been entertained by the moft enlightened and valuable of your formerfriends; and theirablence from your private parties, or nocturnal confultations, has given an artful and defigning adventurer an opportunity of raifing himfelf into confequence, to the great offence of thofe old and refpectable families who actually placed on the throne the Houfe of Brunfwick, and fupported it againft foreign and domeflic foes at a great expence of blood and treafure.

I entreat your Royal Highnefs to confider the circumftances which menace the peace and profperity of this country, however advantageous its prefent fituation.

It has efcaped the precipice to which the American war had brought it, by a concurrence of events in Europe, to which it has not contributed by its talents or meafures, though folly may afenbe them to its Minitters and Councils : thofe events will foon have their effects; and a ftate of general peace, which even war muft thortly produce, will favor that general difpofition in Europe for which philofophy has been long preparing it, which muft foon reach this ifland, and the nature of which I have undertaken to explain to you.

[^1]'「o co:t mphte this dipofation, to mark its approaches, and :o indere of its ef!-ite, may be an employment as worthy yuar ubilities, as it may be iatcrefting to your fature fatc. But this is not to $1:$ : dune among the puerile and petty diffrefions of your prefent lituation. Confent to the wifhes of your Royal parento-jield to the earneft denires of your counary, by a marrigge becoming your diguity, and by the efthilhment of a refpectable houhold: and then jour Royal Highnefs may look furward, with thoughtful confideration to the incidents and dutics that probably await you.

## LESSON'HI.

$16 \%$ at whet if ijery on at this rate, in thirty years they will not lave a King in E:uras !

George Iit.

IFhis Macfy meant arbiteary kings, or perfons invefter with mumervas diferctionary puwers, $I$ am inclined to adopt the spiaion.

Whetiacr the exccuaive power of the State hould be in one or in mane, is not with me a queflion: but that the executive havald cu:troul, dircet or influcuce the legifative ; or that any ipecies of power, prerogative, or privilege hould be independent of the public will, is a queftion to which the abilities of the world feem at this timeto be directed.

If your Royal Highneis would but very curforily examine the hiftory of Europe, you would find, in almoft every page, inftaiaces and acts of power, prerugative, and privilege, to the difadvant:age and injury of fucicty. Thefe acts have excited convulfions, which hare been denominated rebellion or patriotifm, according to their effects. It feems at this time to be the general purpofe of political philofophy-not to expel or degrade conAlitutional kings-but to demoliin thofe fpurious and pernicious beings which are the ofspring of privilege, and whofe operations are capricious, arbitrary, and mifehievous.

The great it:quiry before the philofophical world is-not the aature of God, the mechanifm of the uaiverfe, or the compofition of its elements, bui the principles of fociety. The world has been flooded wi:h the blood of its inhabitants by the caprices of
tyrants, under the denomination of emperor, king, conful, fewate, parliamert, and popular affembly; and the miferies of millions demand of wifdom, "Where is the power which efta" blinies and connets all the orders of a commanity, and on: " which they all depend? Where is the centre to which every "thing tends, the principle from which all is derived, the fove"reign that can do cvery thing ? Who can point out to us the "form, the organization of that moral perfon, a fociety or com" munity, to which unity is neceffary, and of which Liberty is " the effect :"

What anfixers have been made to this demand, may deferve the attenticn of your Roral Highn fs; as it may enable you to form an opinion on the $\dot{\text { King }}$, predicion.

The fophiftry of folitical writers has been exhaufted on the comparative merits of monarchies, arifecracies, and democracies, Eut mo model has been exhibited, no form delineated, of a focicty which may protect and defend with its whol: force the perfon and property of every one of its members, and in which each individual, by uniting himfelf to the whole, fhall neverthelfis be obedient only to himfelf, and remain fuilv at liberty to every thing but :njury.

The general refult, however, of inquiry and experiment on political fubjects is, -an opinion or principle that the fupreme power of every fate is in the body of the people; becaufe it can have no interet' contrary to that of individuals, and ftands not in need of guarantees: for it is impoffible the body fhould attempt to hurt itfelf, or have a difpoftion to injure its members.

But how is the general will to be obtained? Individuals may have private wil's regarding private interelt; but the general will is directed only to the general good.

Hiftory will not greatly affitt us. Defpotic and monarchic States are out of the inquiry. Inded every lawful government is neceffarily a republic; for no other can have the public intereft for its object: but thofe denominated republics in ancient and modern hittory, have not the puilic interell for their object, and are not formed to promote it. Athens, Lacedemon and Rome were ruled by idle and profiggate mobs in contention with privileged fenates. Ariftotle feems to prefer the conflitution of Carthage to any other; but he juftiy obferves, it was highly reprehenfible, becaufe the fame perfon might be appointed to feveral offices; and a certain revenue or birth was neceffary to civil fituations - virtue being eftimated as nothing.

Modern politics have admitted, in a few flates, that the general voise fhould have a mode of exprefing itfer, and that the mode

Should be a part of the confitution: this has given rife to the idea of reprefentation and the appointment of deputies.

But the supreme power or the actuti soverfigity of a state cannot berepresentedordeputed. Powers may be delegated of vaious and extenfive effect ; but the omnipo. tence of fociety, if any where, is in itielf. In the attempt to de. legate fovereign power, the community wrould confign to its priaces or its parliaments the difp fition of life and property-on what condition? 'I hat they may difnofe of them as they pleafe.

The aet which conititutes government is not, cannot be cven a contract ; it is the will, the arbitrary law of an abfolute fovereign. The deoifraries of delegated power, whether called princes, fenates, or parliaments, are not proprietors or matters; the; are labject to the people, who form and fupport the fociety; by an eternal law of nature, which has ever fubjected a part to the whole.

But your Royal Highnefs may fay, Why pesplex me with fuch inquiries: "I have always been inftructed, the confitution of " England is the utmoft effort of human wildom; and I hoa! " anfwer you by a reference to that conflitution."

## LESSONIV.

## CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

Cunctas nationes et urbes, populus aut prinores aut finguli regunt. Delecta ex his et conitituta Reipub. forma, laudar;, facilius quam evenire; vel fi evenerit, haud diuturna effe poteft.「ас.

All nations and cities are governed either by the prople, the nobles, or by fingle rulers. $A$ Republic confituted by an union of thefe, is to be wilbed fur rather than accomplißed; or if accomplijbed, it would not be lafting.

THIS is fuppofed to be the plan on which the conftitution of England is formed; hut the fuppofition is groundlefs. The Englifh government has fluctuated more than any other in Europe; and the fluctuations have been wholly owing to the operation of moral and political caufes.

Violent imprudencies of defpotifm produced fome apparent and fome real improvements in the adminitatation of law ; but
the corfitution of the ligifature is a fraudulent deception; and the people of Eagland have in reality no more choice or will in the election of their pretended reprefentatives, than the people of Hinduitan, Perfia, or Turkey.

Let your Royal Highnefs be at the trouble of looking into Middlefex and Wefteminiter; and no parts of England are fo free-deduct from the electors all the tradefinen who are obliged to rote with their cuflomers: the tenants who are appendages to houfes; and the freeholders who are entangled with the ariftoracy or with government; and you may be furprized at the remainder.

Sir-a fece people, that can neither form itfelf into a community, nor execute any operation; but is abfolutely fubjected in its actions and energics, and in the fulicetis on which it is permitted to think and ipeak-to powers corftitutionally fubor-dinate-is an abfurdity.

No prople can be free, whofe deputiss may be enflaved by the executive power, who fee the pretended conflitntion and laws refgened to its merey without being able to oppofe the abufes by any thing but petitions and complaiats to thofe who have an intercft in thofe abufes.

If I wifhed to give a fummary of the Englifh conflitution, as it has exitted fome time in practice, I would not make extracts from the romances of Montefquieu or Blackitone-l would invoke the pious mufe of a Marquis 'Towmbend or of an Edmund Burke, when warmed by the long-fourgt rays of royal favour; and as every thing is at this time covered by reigion, I would place the mofl popular of your beparted anceltoto; and each in his day has beeficalled thre best of kings- before the Ged* of israer, to whom he fhould offer the following devotions:
" If it hath been our obiect to difpute with an arifocracy "the government of a yoople who luppurt us, and to render " liberty, property, and lite, at the difcretion of difciplined * majorities, in thofe affemblics which ibould proteft them" if to fecure a fure though imperceptible dominion over the " legulature, and to add the power of making to that of execeit" ing the laws, fecrefy and craft have been fubftituted for " authority and power, thou wilt furgive the neceffity, as in *t the mof faroured of thy acointed ferranas of ancient time:"We thank thee, that the afliduity and labour of many jcars " have not been fruitlefs; and that we have a loyaland di-

- To what are we to aficibe, that priefs never addrefo masiomal prayers to the God of Nature, Truth, and Virtue?
moit urprincipled and moft infamous of men. On a national
" fettival, the mouth of the congregation fall be the moft ce-
" lebated for deception; the same being equivalent to a falfe-
" hood in every !pct of the world: Yet the holy bandage is
" tinctured and tranfparent; it renders good evil, and evil
" By the prefent fyfem of finance, the intereits of the treafury are fo entwined with the gerieral-praperty, that it requires the molt delicate hand to lay the axe at any of the roots of corruption. The moft oppreflive minititer, if the ufe the language of reluctance and candour, may be eilechually fupported by the numerous yactors of his adminiltration; by fpeculators in fuads, by contrattors, brokers, tiiket dealers; by the timid. the weak, the fickle, the fordid, the indelent porefors of nione: : thefe form powerful and extenfive faftions in favour of the nichiteft whifper from the treafury; they raite clasmours againft the complaints of parrictitn, and they fmother the melanchoiy murmurs of the nation. Yet occa\{onal difficultics ariic. 'Ti.c wants of venality are inferies; and though we contratt decins with one hand to accumulate with the cther, the avarice r! * * * * is an un!arhomable and infatiable aby fs.- Enlig! ten the foul of our geavesi-bor:, ninifict with the ficnedi rays of invention, but furround lis t:eatit witi ice; let it netes palpitate with any pafton that does l:at fpring fect fy fematio
"depredation; iet him be dead to all rieafuri and all joy, for he

"Prose? thole focieties, acaciemies, fehoris, and oniverfities, " where every thing may ve taugh:, except ti:e deties of kings, " the rish:s of focit:ies, and the gencral privileges of mankint.
" Le: the retainers of wiflom feek ontolation in viatoous
"By the wiflom inipired by the God or Jacos we have con"t veried cur bitter it enemy into a friend. The liberty of the
"they cordiaily aiperfe.-We laud and praife thee for mercenary " feribblers in ail the provinces of literature; 'Thou hast made " no. Vermis in vain; thofe who feed on cur reputation and " happinisis, as well as thofe who burrow in our flefh: their of"forts are lefs offenfive than the willai:ies of lawyers in alperfing "popular and afpiing men, when in cppofition to the tiealury, " and vilifying or detaming thoie who ccunicratt the machinati" ons of the cabinet.
"We thank the for thofe proftituted multitudes io eafily ob" taired in this town, who fpread rumours, excite fufpicions, and
" ruin all pablic confidence in the pretenfions of virtue: thou hade
"enabled us 10 devife thole fnares wnich entangle popular cha-
"racers, and induce them to ditgrace themilues.
"Our pious bruther Louis XIV. when he withed to deceive "the French nation, had recourfe to fettivals called religious, and
" the difplay of the fine arts, which encourage thofe orly who " fubfilt by the fellies of the opulent, and the induftry of whofe
" profefiors attaches them to no country. While the inconfiderate
" mukitade is devoted to joy, they perceive nce the chains whicis
" we cover with flowers, or the remote confequences that threaten
" them, and by which every controuling checis en our power is to " be cut down.
" By felliva's, fiews, and cxhibitions, wise politicians extin" guifted in Reme that reflels love of liberty, fo inconvenient " to power. The progreis of the arts has been ever accompanied " with the progrefs of navery, and even fciences of a ledentary " and pucrile hiad have famlar tendencies. Hence the fervile " devotion of academies, focieties, and learned corporations.
" It requires the ligheit portion of widom from Thee to :en-
": der the arm; therable to feditious Englifhmen: foldiers have
- been gradibiliy fubftituted every where for civil officers;
": Shey arreit cilicnders, they attend malefactors, or they clear the
" hizh-i:a:s; :Ac: are placed at the entrance of theatres, andion
" and exhibition agans; they watch the people wherver they
" reet, and ierve as nicitly guards where any thing vaiuabie is
"t to be proteced. they have tried infuits and injuries on the reo-
" ple, who are nor fiffered to deferd themfelves.-When the
"whole of this good werk is perfected, our foul will fing halle-
" lujan to Thee, O God of Aamize!
"In this complicated fyttem of policy, if any errors are com-
" mitted, thou knoweft we can do no wrong; the hlame is on
" bad counfellors. Let the evils of a deteftable and difgracefui
" war be on I.ord North; we have changed our adminittration,
"s and if we fucceed not in any of our views by thi inftumer.

> LESSONS TOA PRINCE.
"s tality of our prefent fervants, we will repent of the unfaccers" ful irea ures, difmifs the uniuccefsful minitter with the guilt of "failure on his head; and, without the apprehenfion of future " confequences, direct all our high prients to call the God or " Israel in witrefs our intentions. In a!l thefe things we "trace the freps of the Plous Martyr, and of all the nurs" ing fathers and aursing mothers of thy church."

But I will ceicineate the Eigliß Conflitution more explicitly, than can be done py initation of the prefent falhionable deviction.

## LESSONV.

THE SUDJECT CONTINUED.
ILicn Princes, wiko ougitt to be comnon parents, make themfilives n tarty, and ican 10 a jade-it is a beat that is overtbrown by wn:reen acriglt.

Lord Bacon.

WITH all tie boaked learning and improvement of mankinc', no focie: y has been yet io conftituted or organized as to produce that genuine public principle, whoie object is the fec:rity and happinets of the community without injury to the Th hats c: the wor'd.

As men cmerge from favage into civilized concitions, fome ipecies of taleats obtain a preference, and the general labour is taxed to fupport privilege, or to calfil the iniquitous anci menfrous engagemeats of heicciain and perpetual rewards.

Hence the origin of dignities, rands, and familics, the various combinations of which have formed ail the governments of Europe.

The gradations of moderate opprefion, or of cruel tyranny in thofe goveruments, have been owing to the various modes of combination or conffiracy in the oppreffors; and thofe modes have been inaccurately, but commonly cienominated Constitutions.

I with not to teize your Royal Highnefs on the fuppoted origin and flructure of the Englifh government: it has no other origin tinan that of all artifices, to fubjeEt the general induftry to ine caprice, convenience, and plealure of fortunate adventurers. The internal agitations of flates, and their external wars, though attriuuted to
other canfes, have been wholly owing to the operations of thefe comoinations, or to competitions for their unjuftifable prerogatices.

When tar Saxons bad fubdued England, they inftituted as many governments as there were powerful heads of armies; the common foldiers of which itry adm:ted to privileges, on the conditu $n$ of holding in the molt wretched davery the peafants of the country : this extended the pravileged combination: widely; and the jarrirg interefts, claims, and principles produced by the union of the he pearchy, furnimed the vigorves and compry ive mind of Altrid with the fref correat and rational idea of political conflututica which is recorded in hiflory.

The circumfatees of the country requiring the feady and continced exertion of its utmoft force, he had the genius to difecrn, that the erertion of that force ccuid not be obcained but by the adual co currence and exercile of the general will : he, therefore, organized the free rarts of the community ints a political conftitution, the heft imagined and the moff effectual that has hitherto been exhibited in the world.

To fave your Royal Highnefs the trouble of difcovering this invention by any decicription, I will exhibit it in a diagram.

## [See Plate No. I.]

By an atentive glance your Royal Highnefs may anderfand the excellencies and detets of this wondertiul fabric, and learn to revere the memory of a prince, who in an age deemed dark and ignorant could look further into a feience which has hitherto baffled the ftrongett cfforts of human reafon, than any philofopher or ftatefman of ancient or modern times.

Your Royal Highnefs will obierve, there can be but two (pecies of government-by the gencral w.ll, or by the will of one or more pertons controuling the general will. The latter, in all poffible variations, mor being juftified hy reafun, the neceffary princifles of jutice, or by experience-a general acknowiledgment has been obtained, that the reafonable, equitable, and beneficial princiole of every policical conttitution is the public will; but the mode of forming or obcaining that will was a problem imexplicable until it attracted the powers of the immortal Alired.

The polirical frudure of that great priace has all the neceffary properties and effetts of an organized body. The head and the exremiries are permanentiy onited; nor by oceafional clections, or by pretended oelegations of national power. The whole furface of the body, by minute fubdivifions, is formed to receive and \$qumi: intzatacecus impreffions, external and internal; all the

## 




 ThitimpMen cerosually.
 g ilachoodreds.

- TheMycle Gamel Fidknete or an mual Afsembly of wll the Fraven in thriation in whish ite ordivanplcts of the Legislature t. Tovermencenwene actringed.
Ci. Hinencopmel The ortivirn Tieqislaturr consistingopthe King Ramar Biolapar ir.
TThe Excrodive inerlefiniticalPowers m-ontivate.

AIVCIIS/I GOLERATMENTAT the REVOLITYON


1. The A nislerracyuncgenaly divided the Majority having the (romn in tutelose
2. The Lacoislatuse unequally etividest apopointed by the zenerqual divciaver of the Iniftorincy.
3. Lord Lievitncants Sheriffs Anchlishops Biskopeske qopointed by the Aristocracy the Magority using the Name of the Crown 1. Turtices of the Peace Rectors Vinarrs Ac appornted by the Anistocracy Lom Licutcnatetriv.
4. The horlyg ine Alople varionesly ope rated upon \& amused by form.r buthaving really noelection archoice and no share in the Patitical Government.

ELGLASM GOTERRMMEMTIII7.9O.


1. The Crown considerably esmancy:nted is influencing a small majonity of che 1 ririrocraat.
2. The Aristocracy diveded almost equeally
3. The Lequilature apointed ty the crown s. the 1nistorracy \& influenced i thicided in the same manver.
4. Lord Lieutenarits - 1 rrbbishops Bishops t a appainted influenced didivited in the manner. 9 Pritiamsent.
5. Fustaces of the Peare, Recarr, Ficars ine appointed, ingluenceds divided by their Pntrorw.
6. The Body of the People variounly goenated upros feameared by forms, bue having no election, choice, or share in che Pditical Government.
parts are held to their offices by the general force, without commotion and without vioience; and the public will being enforeed by the pablic firength, is a law which nothing in the cummunity can dilpute or refiat.

Tivo difeafes remained in the aetual fociety organized by Alfred, which his power pould not eradicate, but which the political contisution arold have gradually expelled-the fuperftitious domi. ion of ecclefiattics, and the Ravery of the peafants. The appointmens of eralefistics, by any ipecies of patronage, is abfolutely inconfiftent with pubice liberty, as it is with the private honour and virtue of shofe who are appointed; and the community that admits of חavery, even in the molt obfcure and unfortunate of its members, is a mon. fter, the off-prirg of ignorance or injuftice.

The luccellors of Altred inherited not his genius, and the general coritufion and mifery which enfued on his deceafe, impaired the E.ruture he had firmed; the Norman conquelt completed its ruin, and a mode of government took place, in which the general will was $n x$ coniul.ed.

The internal agitations of the flate from the Conqueft to the Revolution were thofe of princes and barons, as competitors for 2 prize. or as beafts for prey; and if your Royal Highnefs will candidly confi ier the celebrated Revolution, you will find it a compatt between the Prince and Princefs of Orange and the heads of certain fanslies, attended by the Mayor of Londan and other peris.ins in the exercife of authority.

I have no dnubt, that the meaiure had the general approbation; but the nation had no organ by which it might form or exprefs the public will: defpotifin and violence had decompofed it as a body; and factions, more or lefs exceptionable, affumed its name, offices, and privileges.

Government for fome time was conducted by the advice, direcsinn, and infiuence of the great families, which placed the houfes of Orange and Brunfivict on the throne; long poffeflion formed the idea of an bereditary claim in thofe families to occupy the principal offices of the Scate, and a refitazece to that claim, by perions who had an further views than to percicipate its advantages, has occafioned all th factions and contentions of the late reigns.

The government of England-ror Evoland ans no politat. cal constitution-may be thus delineated:
[Sec Prates No. II. Ev III.]
not at all confidered, or they have left in doubt and uncertainty the problem mett important to the happinets of mankine, and which an ancient fage "has thus expreficd: "The only Rill and knc.. " iedge ot any value in politics, is that of governing All by All."

The government of E:gland exiibited to their view every actual effect of defsotiom, while it preierved the forms and even the repustion of Liverty. They propofed temporary remedies for par. tial evils; but no man can turni $\AA_{\text {a }}$ a piain, practicable ided of a lice Conftitution, a fociety organized into a moral body, animated by principles, and directed hy ite own will.-Mr. Locke's oblervations are in tavour of liberty ; but they are general; they ftate rights which oppreffive governments inay not dilpute: but the mode of afferting, recovering, or preferting them, he does not point out. His mind had conceived the general and certain rearedy of focial dioorders, and the onivecrigen of political liberty, in the formation of the whole fociety into 3 mordl being.

Muntefquieu, as a philolophical hiftorian, is cxtremely valusble ; as a politician, he is ufelefs or he is pernicicus: the opilion that climate thould produce and modify government, is fanciful, pertaps puerile; but the idea that any natural and neceflary caule Chould generace a slave, is unphiloiophic, untrue, and detctabic.

Mr. Hume had talents for political inquiries; but he was principally foliciteus for his own fortune and his own fame: his temper and heart were cold; and ine apologized for tyranny with as much zeal, as he would have felt in deicribing the deflruction of the Baftile, or the demolition of the infernal dungeons of the Irqu fition.

Ir the enumeration of the origin and effects of moral caules Hume is a philofopher; in the following important opinion, I fear he is an interefted fophilt: "It will be found, if I miftake not, that the "two extremes in government, Liberty and Siavery, commonly " approach nearelt to each orher; and that as you depart from the " extremes, and mix a litle Morarcly with Liberty, the govern"E ment alvays becomes free and ic contra." Efiay II.-In the fourth Eflay he salls it an "univerfal axiom, that an hereditary prince, 7 "nobility without valfa:s, and a people voing by their repreferta. " uves, form the beft monarchy, ariiocracy, and democracy."

In his idea of a perfeet commonwealth, there are many ufeful ameliorations of what is called the Englifh Contitution; and in the laft quotation I Ohall fubmit frum his works, he fhuns the great difficulty of the queftion under confideration, for a reaion which may make your Royal Highneis fmile-" Having intended in this Effay, " (XV.) to make a fuil compartion of civil liberty and abiolute

- Heraclitus, in Sir W. Temple's Mife el!.
"c government, and to have 免ewn the great advantages of the " former above the latter, I began to fuipect, that no man in thris " age ivas futicicently qualified tor this undertaking; and that what-- ever any one Mould adrance, would in all probability be refuted " by farther experience, and be rejetted by polterity."

Rouffeau's heart atoned for the caprices of his head; and his fenfivility to injury, if commited on a wo:m, diew his peretrating eye into the receffes of political intrigue.

Though the fuppofition et locial compact, the frundation of his oreatiie, be wholly fanciful, for the idea of a political ennftitution is producei like that of a wheelbarrow ", it is wonderful how trequently he approaches the truth.
"When the penple have chofen depuries, are they defunct, are " they annihilated? Though they cannot tpeak by the laws, they "foould adve a mote of attending to their acminiftration.""The general voicc thould have a mode of exertir.g itfelf, or it is " ufelefs, and that mode th. uld be a fart of abe Confitution: the " whoie of the State Bonuld ever acecmpany the general Will."

This isca swas fuggeited to Roufieau by the feriodical councils of Geneva, which had a power to cblige the magiftrates, and all the orders of the State, to confine themlelves within the bounds preicribed by arrangements denominated the Conftitution.

He obfeives, "The general Will thould flow from All to be " agreeable to All-every ane fubjedts himfelf to the conditions he " impores on others: this is equitatie, becaute common to all: " ufeful, becaufe it can have no object but the general good; and "d durable, becauie refting on the public ftrength."-Eur,
"Hath the body poitic an organ to make knoun its Will? --" The general will is always in the right; hut the judgment ty "c which it is direCted, is not always fufficient!y informed.-Indi--6 viduals often lee the good they reje? ; the pubiic is defircus of " that which it may be incapable of rece:ving: both ccqually ftand " in need of a guide. Hence arifes the niceffity of a legiflator." B. II. c. 6._Roufiean is thus beaatifully aid pertinently fentencious; but his genius leaves him, where alone ise exertions could have effintially benefitted fociety: he is taken ut by his dec)amatory dxmon; refers to P!aro and Lycurgus; and w: Thes for deaties to regulate affairs which are alioted only to mortals. The principles and maxims be has fcattered through his :reatice, a.e all inva-

- I do not mean any thing lodicrous or degrading by this allufion: but that, as men difcovered the ufe of the wheelbarrow by reaton and experience, they difcover he principles of governament in the fame manner: and pr:aciples are applied to a fuciety to form $\mathbf{z}$ confitution, as wiofe of meshan.ics are applird to iron or timber, to form machines.
didated by a declaration, that "to inveltigate thofe concitions of * fociory which may belt aniwer the purpofes of nations, would s* require the abilities of fome fuperior inielligerice, who hould $\mu$ be ivitnefs so all the paifions of men, but be fubject to none. " He who undertakes to form a body politic, ought to perceive $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ himielf capable of working a total change in human naturc." fite does not bear in mind, that government is the principal inftru: ment of that change; and that the public will, being expreffed by a permasent Conltitution, would form that public judgment and public reafon, by the neceffity of reflection on the events it produced : elfeets would decome caufes, and crrors inltructions.
'The Inquiry of Sir James Stcuart is learned and profound; but $\dot{x}$ is elogged with prejudices, and obicured by a filie uncouth and ainoolt uninieiligible; it has therefore been of more utility to aushans than to tic pubice: and Adam Smith, with interior powers and leds informatirn, but with more art of arrangement, and greater perfpicuity of language, has attraded unve atcution, and been of greater fervice in fimulating political inquaries-But no plan fimidar to that of Aifred had been fuggefted to controul the defpoti/m of all difcretionary delegations, and in conduct the community by tbe impulie of its own will, when the American Revolution invited poileical philofophers to difplay their taients and knowledge.

As I woud dininguifh fpeculations from facts, I thall render the Confitution of the American States the materials of another Leffon

## iESSON VII.

Munsa relïgicniuus at aïvino jure populum ársiuxit.
Tac. Ann. iii. ${ }^{2}$ '。

TRUTHS are never controveried witi paffion and maliznity, if not erjoined as articies of belief. In the demonfrative foierices, truths not univerfally underthood are not received, and never enjoined, though immediatciy tending to public advantage. It would be thus in religicus inguiries, if rcligion were left by men as it is left by Gcd.-Your Royal Highnefs will eafily imagine, I dn not mean by the word God any of thofe immoral, mifchicvous, maiignan: phantoms the patro:is of particular nations, whether Jcw;
or Gentile-I do not mean any of the divinities, with whom the molt exceptionajle of your ancedors have affectec particular inti-macies-n do not mean any of the beings who may be called upon by venal and unprincipled priefts, to throw the varied veils of contradictory fupertitions over the infernal intrigues which may tinge the earth with human blood from the fheres of the Danule to Nootka.Sound-I mean the God of all natore, of ail mankindof whofe exiltence no mind can doubr, without being invelved in incxiricable abfurdities-but
"In fearch of whom, o'erfiretct'd idea burfts,
"Aind sbougbt rolls lack on darkne,'s." $\qquad$

The power, wifdom, ard goodrefs of this inefible Being have been afiociated with the moft pernicious vices, in the charabters of an indefinite number of geds; the fear and worthip of which have been deened neceiiary auxiiaries to rarious forms of poltical government. The fupertition beirg involved in the conftitution, fumetimes its inftrument, fometimes its direfor, it was theltered from the approsches of reafon or incuiry by the fuppoted expedience of supiortirg that Conflitution.-Among the fuccelsful impoftures of this kind, the Roman Catholic fuperitition is remarkable: it approached the civil governmert in the garb of luwly meeknefs and difinterefted humility; it bught toleration, then protection, then deminion : it nearly obtaned the wifh of Caligula; for mankind fecmed to have one neck, on whith it iet its foot.

In any infticution, as in any private mind, the fpirit of intolerance and perfecution is in prepurtion to its eppefition to reafon and the enormity of its abfurditics. The cruelties of the church of Rome have, therefore, been fo horrible, that they will ieave on the character of human nature a ftain which no time or virtue can efface.

When the oppreflions of this pernicious defpotifm became intolerable, tome ameliorations took place, under pretences of reformation, on :he gerieral principle, that in order to preferve the prefifts and at-
 ful abinfes foould be relinquifised.

Hence the moderation and prudence of thofe ecclefiaftical policies denominated reformed; and thofe qualities are to be found among feetaries in a graduated ftate, as their power is diminifled, or they are forced by reciprocal contentions rowards the cerfines of reafon. But in all Chriftian feets, the Quakers only excepted, the principle of periecution is to te diferned, under fome pretcace or difguif,
and in a dorman: or adtive fute; and it will ever remain, while a Gngle privilegeci impolkor, whether he he cailed a Pope, a Bithop, a Duf̈enting Clergyiman, or a Metheditt Exhorter, oan find his advantege in amexing or affecting to annex merit or demerit to the veheí of any propeficions.

In the inftitution of the Chureh of England, the Englifh refor mers could not agree in all the Popifh abuies to be relinquifted, and the Puritan sactivn arofe, which has continued to this time, under varicus !orm:, the fathtul repolitory of interetted difcontent, viruient zeal for ta curfite opinionis, and a fincere, though generally n: $:$ asi:en iove of inberty.

In the ciamiy engine ca!led the Englifh Government at the Reformation, the Church haj confiderable effect, and was in important part. Government, theref,re, exercited feveritics on thofe who aifturbed its operations, and the foundations of the American tiaies were laid by a ipecies of intcierance in England, :he natural cffic of an i! !-conftrueted and vicicus conltitution.

It would lead me teo far out of my way to trace the charafter of each American flate in its origin: in the objects, manners, and ingitutions of its firt planters; and in the lucceeding operations of their various charters.

This is an inquiry as important to an Arecrican flatefman, as it weculd be inftruetive to the world-But I only with to point out to your Royal Highoefs, that an American, crawing in with his firlt breath a jult abhorrence of thofe arittocratic and eccleciattic privileges, which held Europe in perpetual warfare, opprefion, and mi-icry-and the American thaies having happi!y deteated all the arts of Britain to introduce thein under any pretences, or in any formst inay be expected, their conltitutions would be confiderable imrrovements un that of Eugland. By a candid and lair cyamination, Luis experation will not be great! ditarpointed.

On the emancipati n of Amenca, the exhibied feveral extraordinary characters; and the meitituds is ever difpoied to afcribe great everts to refuted great neen: than which there is mot an error anore peraicious in the regions of eredulity.

The Americans tecame free by exercifing a vers moderate portion of palfice pradence, ard that prodence was the offspring of ueceffity. Walhingten aeted the part of Fabius, becaule he had mot Yabius's army ; for the Americans would ofien have fought; and by fighting have loft their country.

With Frankin I was in great intimacy, when that event svas Qrugg!: ing in the womb.-I ipeak not Ironi fancy, bui frem certain knowledge, that he fincerely wifhed t.) prevent it; and when forced


confifted in prudent patience. The Revolution of America was crmple:ely managed in England; and its principal authors were Lord Bute, Lord North, Lord Sackville, and Mr. Jenkinfon. The American wat originated in parliampptary jobbing; the principat objeft of it was to iransfer enormous'malles bt Englifh property into loans, fonds, and taxes, to furm that corrupt minitterial phalanx called the friends of government. While this fagion, like a malignant difcafe, was draining the vital fublances of Britain, and even armies and nacies were merely its ramifications, the cabinet of France obeyed the fentiments of the nation without intending to gratify it, and America obtained its liberty.

When the leade 15 of the Americ ${ }^{-}$- States afiembled to form the Conftitution of the Republic, not one of them difcovered the genius of a great Hatefman. - But the Anserican character ferved them on that oecafion : they had patience; information flowed in from every part of the world; and they formed with confiderable fill the tederative conftitution of the American States.

In this great cvent it is but jultice to abferve, that the perions molt celebrated were not the molt ufeful; that almont all important hint; were taken from communications, the authors of which may never be mentioned; and that the plan was adopted, not invented, by thofe who will have the hiftorical fame of it.

The Americans formed the outlines of their conflitution, under the preffure of a calamitous war; it is not wonderful, therefore, they had not the refolution, fince exhibited by the French, to level all provincial diftinctions, and to organize the whole nation into a body.

On a vicw of the annexed plate [fee plate No. IV.] your Royal Hghnefs may difcern the unequal magnitudes of the bodies, which are connceted with the central circle, and contribute a numerical proportion towards the widom and power of Congrefs.

1. New-Hamphire.-2. Mafiachufetts.-3. Rhode.Inand.4. Connellicut.-5. New.York.-6. New-Jerfey.-7. Pennfyl-vanid.-8. Now-Cafte.-9. Kent and Suffex.-11. Virginia.12. North-Carolina.-1 3. South-Carolina:*

But each body has a dititinct character, intereft, and will; produced by the pecnliarities of its internal organization; and the federative conftitution is a body, formed of thirteen complete bodies.

This is the defeet of the American State; and not as Mr. Adams has afferted, the want of that balance by the counteraction of three

[^2]powers, on which Montefquien has taught him to imagine the liberties of Englifhmen depend.

The idea vecorated by the Ityle of Montefquien, is pretty; buit it is groundiefs.

The three powers in England are feldom, perhaps never balanced by counteration. The Minifter of the day, by an opiate of infal. lible ettect, detuoys their tendency to diverge, diliagrie, or oppofs each other.

If this were not the eafe, liberty woold not be the effeet of three independent powers in ary fate. For two moft unite to govern the third ; or corruption mult manage the whole.

The public will is the only law of political liberty; and the public fosce arifing from the organization of the whole nation, is its only lecurity. The head, the limbe, of fuch a body-its delibe. rative and executive powers-would have no occafion for the imaginary balances recommended by Montefquieu-as the natural body is not affifted or improved by ftays, fteel collars, and cork rumps. Thefe are the indications and aids of deformity, which no real anatomift would recominend in the production or education of a vigorous, uleful, and beautiful body.

But Mr. Adams, has been Ambalfador in Engiand; he drank at the fountain at St. James's: and he feems difpoied to conviace his country (very difsutereftedy I muft fuppofe) that the evils occafioned by the Englifh Government, would not be evils in America ; or that the prerogatives and privileges which in England render liber:y a tantalizing Ghadow, an infulting name, would be bleffings in America, it cunferred on the virtues of Adams, Hancock, and Lee: who will infure the tranfmiffion of them in their pofterity to the day of judgment.

But America will not ateend to this antiquated fophiary, whether decorated by the gaudy ornaments of a Burkes the curious ratch-work of a Parr ; to which all antiquity may have contributed its prettieft rags and tatters; or the homely, ungraceful garb which has been furni/hed her by Mr. John Adams.

The Americans are too well informed, not to perceive they have wifely avoided the mistery of the three powers. All the deviations from the Engligh Government are improvements: and I exprefs my cpinion of any deteds in the American Conititution, in a manner, I hope, perfetly confittent with my real refpect for the talents and virtues which errapecipated America.

Thie incenveniencies of difparit: and incongruity in the bodies to be united (not incorporated) were perecived, and fome proviíon made for them in the proporicnate delegations of every State to the general Congrefs. Duf I apa copvinced the whole wants that unity,
harmony, capacity of common judgment and general will, which would have refulted from a general organization of the republic into one body; and that in time, the varions charaEters and interefts of the American States will difunite and alienase them.

The American Governments, feparately confidered, are improvements on the Government of England.

Their parliamentary reprefentations have more realitys their councils and governors have fewer pernicious privileges than the Nobles and Kings of Englands and the buds of induftry are not blighted by the difeafed breath of an indolent hierwechy. Security, liberty, and happinefs are more diffufed; and indead of fesing a parifh \&arving in rags, while the Julice of the Peare, the Rettor, and the Attorney are racking off at every joint the direful effects of gluttony and intemp:rance, every family is ctothed and fad consfortably, and health and happivefs are generally enjoyed.

When the French cabinet affifted in the emancipation of America, its objett was merely to fever it from England, and to divide the empire of a rival power. It happily had aot the penetration to difcern all the confequences.

The partial liberty of the Englith Prefs had been extremely ufeful to the American capfe; and the French were peraitiod to difculs the quefions from which it originated, both in converfation and in their public writings. Government miftcok the fubmiffion of France for a natire and fixed torpor; and apprecheaded that Gavery and fupertition were the habirs of Frenchanen, howiver rbey miglit chatter on Liberty and Philofophy. The French anxijiaries rerorned from Aunerica fully changed with eiectric fire; difaffected Englith affociated with Americans at Paris; and Atimulated philofophy to approach the ancient and mouldering fabric of defporifm. The fparks of Liberty fell on roach-wood, and the whoic at once blazed into ables.

## LESSON VIII.

CORSTITUTION OF FRANCE.
Sententia Platonis femper in ore fuit, "Florere civitate", fo Pijilojopbi "imperarent, cat -Imperatores philofopharentur."

$$
\text { Jul. Cap. in Marc. Aurel. § } 27 \text {. }
$$

Marcus Auraline bed alwass or lis lips that fontenie of Plato, "Comanuritices nuould fosuri/b if Pbilijopders ralici tbem, or their "r rilers bectame: Philyjopbers.".

IDO not meas to give in daisil the extern i? uesurrerces of the French Reveustion: they are to be found in nuincrous pablica8.ors:; and they are aocurately ttated.

My iatentio is te delimeate the object of the National Affembly: which is movpaderfbod in England, and is not clearly and perinanently kept in view by the leading mearbers of that refpectable body.

Burke may declaim, " that a blcordy and ferocious democracy es is demolifining ancient and venerable inflitutions:"-the eye of phitotophy will: pils. the Etrcights of Dover, and fix on the path of his ambition.-Stanhopermay rummage convencicles for faints to hail an appronctioug millenium, ou the principles of the Englif Revolution! when Priefley, with the zeal and verbofity of a Baxter, and Price, with the meek and bobs ambition of Praile God-Barebomes, may trample on the Lauds, the Bonners, the Horfeys, and the Barsingtoms of the time. Yitt mav. affeet to rejoice in the improvements of a feience that vvouid le latal to the platifibility of bis im-pintions-and even Brand I ilis, emancipated from the jult punifhment of detefted bribery, may gratalate the immaculate purity of future Pariiaments.-Thete are the artifices of cli-interctled empirics; who, like the fly in the table, place thenifelves on the wheel of human events, and buz to the ideuis aruand them, tias ahey influence and regulite its rotations.

The purpofe of the National Afembly of France is-ntt to in troduce a democracy in any fenfe familiar to a mind fo perverted by talfe philofophy, fuperitition, a. $\mathrm{d}_{\text {fordid* feifinuicts as that of Ed }}$ mund Burke-is not to imitate the meafures of tice Engiina revoluti. $n$, the political principles of which they de?pif-it is nut to fubftirute Janfenifm for Piopery, Prelbyierianifm for Epifonpacy, or

[^3]to aid the pretended impromements of a fyfleab of itupofition by the fophinms of Arians and Sccinian:-it is not .o adopt the creeda of our policical parties, 48 to julity the principlea of Whige or Taries -It is to abolifh cvery contrivance and pretecce hay whish one or a few may be privileged, fitto bonctit, then so injure mition:-mo oeftroy that principle of all meders governmenstio that a. part is greater than the ohole $i$ and inftead of applying a machine denos mirated either Monarchic, Auplocratic, or Dcmetratic-10 govern the eonmmatity for the advantage of incividuals, orders or profel-fions-to crgainize the cormonizy ifell; sa form it into in actual Lody; to diffuse a lively and puignant ferfabiliyy amar, ire furface; to coancet the extremities with the feat of rełe Qien and thoughe s and to inirrduce that gereral if mpathy, whisia cever prevenis. a well-corilructed body ficm.injuitg any of iss. fass.

The teg this plan may have frme novely, the iden of it has beon ling fuggefied, and the general cuthres given:

Hittory will not enable us to juige of the whoke of the views of Alired: we learn, however, fir on the general tradiciens of Eumpe in his time, d.at ideas of a cen-nsunity were entétuined Joperjor to Kire:s or the Ccuncils of Kings. In thmie afermbiliss of the Franks, from which the cfiates of Frarice are denemitated, thet determined on peace or wass. and examined athe reguiasions which the King or Marre of the palace pubiithed. The ordornances cslled capitularies had not the force of laws, were not enrolled int the Salic code, til! fauctioned by the conient of the eftates. The iffemitics confited of all the free clafies, or deputations from them; tut the peaiants were gaves.

The Mycle-gemot-cf Altred was fimilar to thofe Affemblies. Modern Governments have avoided every thing alalogqus to them. In the original conttitution of Geneva, periodical councils were provided with a compulfory power tooklige the magiluates and; all the orders of the fiste to corinne themielics witimin the-preferibed bounds; but by the intuigues of the magiftrates they were dificontinued.

In the long and various Aruggles of the Englith Commona, before and fince tinc seiebrated Revolution of $\mathbf{1 6 8 8}$, they obtained no more than a pretended reprelentation for the ordinary purpoles of governmeat, and the removal of tome abules in the aderipiftration of the laws.

Compared with other nations, the condition of an Englifhmen. was advantageous; but no man is free, whofe property and life are at the dificretion of others, in whote appointment he has no real choice, and over whofe conduct he has no exatroul; and no man can be harpy, while half the fruits of his indultry are forced from
him to foo:he the pride and fofter the profligacy of aumerous ufeleis and oppreffivo orders.

At the accefirion of the Foure of Hanover, the pretended repreSentation, callod an Eaglifh Parliament, was appointed by thofe who that the power, for chree years. To prove thai the public was nothing, even at the time when it was proclaimed through Europe the Natione had made choice of your Royal Highnets's family, Gsorge the Firt had been bat a few years on the throne, when it had the profigave andacity to render three years feven, and to enact this violation of faith and right the future law of Parliament. The Roman. Decemvirate, or college of ten, is juftly configned to perpertual infany for atting on a fimilar principle with the Enghin Hoore of Commons; being eltablimed for a limited time, for a ipecific purpofic; and attempting to turn a temporary trutt into a perpecual rysaniy.

He who commits a trof, parts only with adminifiration; it is ser pofible to convert a truft into an abfolute right, or into a dif-- crecionary and independent power.

The Eaglifa Parliament, intoxicated with fuerefs, arowed a doctrine defluctive of the firtt principles of free government: it was doclared; the people when affembled (and they never were affembled) were every thing: when they had made their election, they were nothing; and Parliament became amnipotent. Though the fopreme power in every community formed to be free mutt be indivifille and ialicnate ; though it be impoffible it fhould fubmit is fovereiguty to an Enperor, a King, or a Senate, without violating the att by which it exilts as a community, without annihilating it-fetf-amd out of nothing, mothing can arife-yet Parliament maintained that its power and prerogatives were paramount, diferetionary, and incontroulable, not only over the perfons from whom it precended a delegation, but over ihofe provinces and colonies which were not inclused in the farce of reprefentation.

The defpotic violence with which every thing was conduEted in the propofed fabjugation of America- the political maxims avowed, and the fanguine meafures executed, ronfed the attention of the world.

England faw itfelf, as well as its dependencies, trampled with imponity, by pretended delegates aff. ing the prerogatives of defpric mafters. Peticions and remonftrances were prefented, and afleciations formed, to induce the munfter to moderate its ravages, and to pervil on Parliament to reform itfelf.

The pafillaaimity and abfurdity of thele meafures, in a powerful commonaity pretending to be free, gave rife in a pamphlet, entitled, Lettiers on political Literty, addreffed to the Aflociations;

## 



1. The Pagole civided invo Carmenvs but Chase whop bay no 7uxes.ichnorwhoar in Scomitut have noboles ('ll Ir nol Cilizens The cilizeur in ibrir Coutcur chouse
2.27e E Eeabers by may of eminerse dirded into lisistricts. This Eminesice or chstiection arises frum the privelege of electing

3.7 he Depertonents The same Electors chuse
\& The National aspenbly
2. The Enocentive Power-having the Pivilege of sridisug Com--miprovers to prefide at the Afsern thies of the Districts.
that peamphlet firft drev my attention to the poffible mode of organ. ising a community inte a free, active, and powerful body 3 having and retaining a permanent judgment and will; and exercifing thofe powers, without tumult or difonder, over all its delegations; whether Kings, Senates, of Magifrates." The Auther calls ca the nation, in a tone of earnelk enthefafm, to refore the conflitation of Alfred with foch improvements as fuit the prefent condition of pero foal liberty: and by thefe means to remove the numerous evils of the police, and the grofs abuite of leginative quthority.- The Affociatiots were alonibed, bet not adviled. A tranfation was circtlated in France with great rapidity; and I was at Paris when the trandutor of that pamphlet was fent into the Barile-l formed, in company with my opinions on the conflitution of a free fate. Ifound the phibofophers of France berter infructed in this fubject than thefe of England ; $\dagger$ but they had no apprechenfiop that the general difpofition of the French nation would admit of their ideas and wifhes.

When the diftreis of the tresfary threatened a bankruptcy, and Necker advifed the proviacial affemblies and the meeting of the Norables, he had no intention to form a free conftitution: his chjea was fimilar to that of the Kings of England, who fummoned the depories of boroughs to devife modes of conveying their contributions without trouble. Necker was not aware, that the faires of Voltaire on the Clergy had rendered them jufly and univerfally odious; that the numarous and oppreffive privileges of the Nobles were deep! y , though filently refented; and that France abounded with philofophers, who would promptly feize the firft occafion in develope and excente their political ideas.-This ocealion arofe, and the conltitution of France was imagined.
[Sec Piate No. V.]
F

[^4]It is hardly fair to offer a delineation of a fabric not yet formed; fome parts of which may not be determined upon, and fome may be altered. But if this littie work fhould ever be honoured with any attention in France, I hope my purpofe will not be mifunderftood. Though I do not join in any of thofe complisents to the National Afiembly, which are fent from this country, to alfilt private views, and to give confequence to interefted parties-the defigns and efforts of real patriotifm in France have not a warmer friend in the world than myfelf: and if I offer remarks on an event the moft beneficial to humanity in all the records of mankind, it is to: afford affiftance, and to induce the philofophic politicians of the Nasiomal Afiembly to re-confider their fundamental laws.

In the definition and appointment of citizens, there is a want of juftice; and in the conAruction of a political ftate, as in that of a private character,

> "Want of Virtue is want of fcesfe."

The firf and general purpofe of fociety is to guard the weak againg the ftrong, and the poor againft the rich.-The firt divifion of all the people of Frarce is into Cantons; but in voting for the next rank of citizens called electors, thore who do not pay a certain fum towards the public expence are excluded, i. e. they are enflaved.

The burthen of labour and of military fervice is on the poor, and if philofophy had produced its full effeet in the National Aifembly, we fhould have had this reproach of political conßtitutions removed. For the, like

## The gencine mufe removes the thin difguife,

Tbat cbeats the rworld, whene'er jle deigns to fing ;' And full as meritcrious to ber ejes Seems the foor foldier as the mighty king.

In the prefent conflitution of France, the moft helplefs of the people are deprived of the only conlolation or ground of hope, the only ftimulus to conteni, honefty, and virtue in their lituations-the cboice of tbeir mafers. . It is this condemnation to a ipecies of llavery, that renders fervants a feparate and profligate corps; and a fimilar injuftice to thofe of the people, whofe poverty is a fufficient evil, tuill be a difeafe in the conititusion, which no palliatives can remove.

The Affemblies in the cantons are too numerous. Montefquieu (Let. Perf.) obferves, "The heads of the greatelt men feem to be " narrowed (retrecies) when they are affembled; and in the greateft 4t number of wife men, there is the leaft widom."

Alfred was aware of this truth; and the firlt divifions" of his political body, like the capillary veffels on the furface of the natural, were fmall, and formed to execute their offices without violence. The tithings confifted only of ten families. I never faw an affembly, exceeding twenty, whatever the abilities of the members, that was not more difpofed to pafion and tumult, than to reafon and judgment.

The diftinction of the Electors in the diftricts, and the privilege of eleeting both into the departments and into the National Affernbly, is without reafon.- The graduated elections are not to equitable, or fo well imagined, as thofe in the conflitution of Alfred.

The National Affembly, if chofen in the departments, would be every thing defigned by Alfred in the inftitution of the Mycle ge. moi: but if its number could be reduced, and bufinefs done more by open committe's and pinted propofitions, than by oratory, it would be improved. It fhould alfo openly and decidedly avow its competency to form, and enadt all conftitutional and fundamental la:s: withnut any permiffion of the executive power. A period Should be as fixed as the conftitution, in which a fimilar affembly might always be chofen, and meet without fummons or leave from any other power; and its bufinefs thould be to revife and correct all fundamental regulations, to infpect the conduet of the ordinary government and legiflation, and to redrefs or remove all national grievances.

The interference of the executive power by commiffioners in the diftricts, is a privilege of fatal effect; and if not withdrawn, will foon render the conftitution of France as corrupt, as vicious, and as much a deception, as the pretended of England.

THIS account of the French conftitution in the $f$ at edition, has been thought too concile to remove prejudice or to inftruct ignosance in the people of this country.

They who have made this juft remark, fhould recollect-the leffons were iunmediately addreffed to an informed, though a young and diffipated perfonage ; and that it did not occur even to the vanity of the author, they would be rapidly circulaied through the nation.

To remove the objection, it will be neceflary to explain the terms mycle-gemot and wittenage-mot in the conftitution of Alfred; the firft meaning the folk-mot, or great affembly of the nation by its deputies, which he intended fhould ever meet annually on Salifbiry plain, to revife and adjult the acts of the executive power, and of the legiflature called the wittenage-mot, or the affembly of wife men, analogous to the Firench idea of notables.*

[^5]When the meafures of the King ard his great council, his wit-tenage-mot or notables, were deemed conducive to the public welfare, they were fancticaed as the permanent laws of the lands when adjudzed athervile, they were torbidden and abregited. The anarcly from Danifh vivience and deprccation, nearly obliteFaied thafe wise and admirable inflitutions: and William the Canqueror, while his prudence fuggefled the expedience of not exaperating the nation by wholly renouncing then, was induced, by a fagacious ipirit of defpoufan, to prefer the wittenage-mot to the folk-mot or nycle-gemot; as the former was manageable by his power or his weaith; the later mult have reftrained him within the limits of ufefa! laws, and meafures of obvious national ad. vantage.

The Englim parliament is the cffspring of the wittenage-mot, the chaice of the Conqueror, with fome luppored advantages from the addition of the Houte of Cummons: but fill recaining its origiual charatter refpecting the crown, and perpetually exemplifying in its extravagast pretenfions and exceptionable conduat, the necelfity of pational revifion, contmul and correction, in Juchan annual deputation as the folk-moot. When the neceflities of the French King renderod expedient fome kind of application to the nation, its ancier: secords were examined, and a f(pirit, analognus to that of the Norman, induced him to ca!l the Notables the wittenagemot, not a reprefentation of the country, or any thing fimilar to the mycte-gemot-But the inflitution of the proviacial affemblies was an error of Necker's, molt forturate to the French nation; it was matioiog apertures in the great dyles of arbitrary power; and when the waters burit their bounds, they foon became irrefitible. Whetiser the griat extent and population of France, or the documents of the ancient inftitutions of the Franks, or the fuggeftions of any late fpeculations, induced the French reformers to adopt a plas. fimilar to that of Alfred, ${ }^{1}$ am $n \cdot t$ qualified to determine.

They have in Come degree, thcugb not fully adopted this idea of depurations, which are abfolutely neceflary to render the aetual reprefentation of populous anci extenfive hingioms confiftent with their indeftry and peace. They ha:e ditu appointed ail choice and e!edtion to be by daifions of the ferge; to crizinate in the lower clafs, and to preceed upwards. Tiuis ie eficnial to liberty. But

Letrers on Politicai Liberty, and a sery excellent little work ou Saxan inEicutions, by the late Pr. Squire, Bifhop of St. David; who feems to have renounced the ipicit of his orier, and like the prefent Bifhop, D'Autun, to have funk all epifcopal properties in the enlarged views of a good citizen and the bamanc qualities of an amiable man.
chey have differed from Alfred; and where they have differed, I think they have erred.

To have attempted abolihing Qavery, or the porver of the church, woald probably have involved Alfred in ruin. But every fricman, without exception, was an eledor. This is not the cafe in France; and I object to the exclufion of thofe who are unable to pay a imall rate or tax; not in the fipirit of criticifm, but from a convietion of injultice and impolicy; in depreffing mere incapacity, fligmatizing the uafortunate, giving additional power to the por. fetion of property, which in iffelf is power-while all the genuine principles and reguiations of jufice are wholly directed aguinft the injurious exertions of power or force.

The firt divifions of the people are into cantons; and their firt voring affemblies confift of fix or feven hundred. Thefe are maltitudes, incapable of judgment or choice, whatever the charader of the individuals may be: and for this opinion, I appeal to the experience of the world, for not a fingle affembly has exited as an exception. What then is to be expeeted but pafiun or diforder from fuch mingled multitudes of French peafanss? Alfred pe:ceived this truth; and his firt affemblies confitted only of ten houfholders.

The French reformers, as if fenfible of their error in the firft divifion, atcempt to remedy it by another; which I am truly forry to confider as the commifion of another injury-the cantons elect into the diaricts: and the electors in the diftrias are formed into a numerous extenfive ariftocracy; for they are derominated, by way of eminence, the EleCtors; they chule iato the departments, into the rectories, bifhoprics, the various offices of magifracy, and even into the National Affembly.

This, befides being an injultice to the clectors in the cantons below and the departments above, is facilitating the future intrigucs of the executive power, by directing them to a particular fpot, and to infure the mifchief they have committed to the King, the nomination of commiffioners to prefide in the elections. The National Afiembly firt met at Verfailles to afift the King to provide for the public exigencies; and to devile, in conjunction with him, fuch regulations as wouid prevent fimilar evils. It therefore affembled sa a wittenage-mot, or an Englifh Parlianmert, for fpecifed purpeles, and with limited powers: but when a few incidenss had Shaken to the dutt the remains of ancient delpotifm, the Affembly gradually changed its tone; and from being a municipal kegillative commiffon, like the britifif legilature, if affumed confticuionai powers, and became analogous to the mycle-gemot of Alfred.

In this new character, the aflembly has agted with a prudence
verging on timidity, and fometimes defeending to equivocation. The myele-gemot of Alfred was in effect the nation: it was open to every freeman who had a complaint againft the government: and the members at a fignal could have produced the nation in arms on Salibury plain. That poffibility was the firm bafis of its conlituticaal influence over the exccutive and legifative powers, and the knorvledge of it rendered its exercife always unncceflary: it was like the inflicence of the whole bady over its limbs, the fource of order and general harmony, never of dilagreement or confufion.When the National Atembly aflumed new powers and a new cha-rafter-when it appeared as the mycle-gemot of Alfred, a conflitutional affemily to decree fundamental laws, and to affign the prorinces of executive, legiflative, and municipal authority, there was juft as much reafon in their confulting the King and requiring h:is iandion, as in coniulting the fur:ure magitrates of the projected municipalities.

The members of the National Affembly often infinuate, that future legiflatures will not have their powers; but will they not, like the Englifh Parliament, affume them? And are $n$ 't the ftronget hopes of a connter revolution tounded on the probaibility that a future affembly may repeal the atts of the pretent?

To prevent this evil, the National Afiembly fhould feparate its confitutional from its icgifative adts. In the termer, the executive power fnould never be confulted. The mode of rhufing the ordinary legiflature thould he diftinguifhed from that of appointing the National Affembly, which ihould be elected annually, and meet on a certain day, like the mycle-gemot of Alfred, to Gignify the nationsl approbation or difapprobation of the proce:dings of government and acts of the leginature, and to revile, corrett, and improve ail conititutional regulations or fundamental laws.

## LESSON IX.

PRINCIPLES OF I.EGISLATION.
> ——Suadere Principi quod oporteat, inslti laboris; affentatio erga i'rimeipem quemenseque fine affecfu peragitur. Tac.

> It is difficult to adevije Princes-It is not difficult to flatter them.

ACQUIESCING in the fentiment of Tacitus, I thall not long decain your Royal Highnefs on the ufe to be made of the intormation I have :aken the liberty to lay before you.

An attentive view of the political conflitutions I have delineated, will convince your Royal Highnefs, that the principles of kegilation and government are fludied; and that political and eccluciaftical impoltures will be generally deteeted and deftroyed.

The difference of the French and Englith Nation will be that of an organized body acting for itfilf, and a pafive mafs acted upon. I need not point out the adrantage to France, belides that of its chomate and population.

But as this may be a truth of magnitude, not to be readily admitted, your Royal Highnefs will perait me to fuggell the immediate effett of emigration, from caulies which you fould be anxicus to remove, if you regard the future population and ftate of the country.

The conflruction of the French government implics a perfect police ; for the magiftrates are cbojon in all the neighbourhoots, and their offices are annual : inceed the whoie bedy guards and protects itself. This will be foon krewn to thofe prodigious multitudes of timid and female houtholders in England, who aie plundered by every device that avarice can luggett to thote afpointed to proicct them.

Perfect liberty of opinion, both in thought and words, will carry orer conicientious and indultrious diffenters, who are liere fubject t.) difadvantages, from circumftances which do them honour. To prevent the coniequences of this evii, I do not mean that Puritanifm thould be fubitituted for the eflabiifhed rites; but that the government is unjult, when it engages in one religious faction to the inconvenience of another; and that by avoiding this error, France wiil draw from England great numbers of its uleful citizens.*

I will not weary your Royal Highnets by 2 minute detail of the difadvantages under which England muit act, if its government be not improved, in proportion as France adyances in the judicious corftruction of its political conftirution.

Your Royal Highnefs will recollect, that the Englifi Government is a machine acting on the people, and :anaged at the will and for the intereft of particular orders; whereas the constitution of a

[^6]coovirar, to bear even a definition, flould comprehend the people; to prodace Liberty, it Should allow them a choice of the Legilature and Magiftrates.

When that choice is made, a power thould remain in the community, by the appointment of a periodical afiembly, to prevent all abures of trult; and all interference of the ordiaary or municipal legidatare in fundamental laws.

The Mycle-gemot of Alfred and the National Affembly of France are calculated for this purpofe; their objeets are conftitutional: but we have no affembly in England bearing the Ilighteft analogy to them. Hence the abfurdities perpetually recurring in Englinh legilation; the power of making laws for temporary purpoles confounded with the national fovereignty; ${ }^{*}$ and the molt iniquitous ufurpations jußtified by affimilating the ideas of truf and rigite : infamous and audacious adventurers, the tools of feudal defpocs, of mercancile companies and corrupt minifters, in marketable boroughs, holding the langasge of mafters to fix millions of peopie, and contending for the lucrative privilege of defpoiling them.

The laws, whea made, would be equitably and expeditioully adminittered by judges and magittrates chofen and approved by the vicinages; and the periodical vilitations of loquaniuas and urprincipled tawyers would not act on the country as pernodical patilences. $\dagger$

The jufices of the peace, the mof numerous and important magitrares, would not be, as they now are, the devored inttruments of devoced intruments. And the Clergy, emancipated from an humiliating and difmonourable patronage, which muft ever have an intereft in exalting fycophants and depreffing manly and afeful talean, would aflume a new character, and from being the tools of corrupt influence, would become che real minitters of religion and virtoc.

Improvements of this kind $m m f$ take place, if the Conftitation of France be eftablifted, or this counery will inmediately lofe its rank.

Though I do not fubferibe to the opinion of your Royal Father, thas the meadures at Paris have a tendency to deprive Europe of its

- Daring the late illnefs of the King, minifterial majorities in a tcmpo rary legilature chaimed the abfolute fovereigrty of the itate.
$\dagger$ The peatice of atooraim, called Pettifingsers, is to inftruat evidence in fafe mill foccoffial moder of perjory. The council are often in colluffion with thafe memine; they favoup their prepared evidences, and abufe thofe who are anpeppared with a degree of profigare impudence and asprincipled vilhiay, which de jodges trould corred with more determined fercrity. IF ebey with, as 由rey certainly miva, wo proferve reverecree for the lawe


Rings in thirty years, I am fure that in a very few, they will render the duty and office of a: Kitig of England very ditlerent fromi that of a fplendid partifan, directing the fervility and avarice of ranks, claffes, and profections to private purpotes; encountering taction bú fection; invoiving trimfelf in the inextricable labitinth of ineffectual expedients. It you keep your eye on the conftitution of France, you may prepire youriflf for the character you may have to futtain: and if yoiu favour the neceflary jomprovements of the government of yrur country, joll will fecure its jult rank among the nations of Europe, fix your oivn happ:nets on a certain foundation ${ }_{2}$ and caroll ycur.name among the great bencfactors of manlind.
Thefe are wifhes which will never be exprefied in your hearing, by the parafites of your Court, or the objects of your political conridence. I have no private intereft in the trouble I have aken. I fe 1 no ambition to be the competitor of your favcurites. I have no defire that a moment of my peace fhould depend, cven on a Prince, who can, one day, take pains to engage and captivate; induce, generous youth, to cilift under his banners, and wear his uniform ; and the next, not recolicet or know them. If feek not your favour, Sir; and in the decent and legal exercife of my abilitics, I refpeeffully prefume I need not fear your difipieafure. In all the imaginable fluctuations of parties my name will never be brought to your Royal Highnel's in the lifts of candidatcs for places. And in the temporary confufion and anarchy of any poffible revclution, my age, my infrmities, my inclinations, and my habits, preclude all effort and hope for my own advantage.

If, therefore, in the hints I have ventured to fubmit to you, I have crred-the fault is in my judgment, not in my heart: if I have fuggefted any thing that may influence your mind, the benefit will be-not to me, but to your Royal Highnefs and to your Country.

LESSONX.

ON THE MODE OF STUDYING AND PROFITING

## 87 <br> Mr. BURKE's REFLECTIONS

ON THE
LATE REVOLUGION INFRANCE.

For criticifun, or at ability to judge of arritings, is the laft cbild of. long experience. Longinus, 17.

THIS is my apology for prefuming to point out to your Royal Highnefs, the important fublimities, and caftivating beauties of a great work; deltined by the Author, to cbeck the progrefs of democratic licence, and impious infidelity, and to reftore the original and facred principles, on which the Governments of Europe were firt eftablithed.

On the firt view of a performance, fo inimical to thofe rights for which I have pleaded, and thofe principles I have attempted to eftablif, in the preceding Leflons, I was inclined to difpute the pofitions of the writer.

I had been accuftomed to thirk eloquence inferior to wifdom"c Aaron Ohall be thy fpeaker ; and thou Malt be to him as God."I thought I had perceived a material diftinction between profound inquiry, and the art of popular periuafion-the formicr, the object of the higheft, the beft philofophy, l confivered as forming the nobleft charatiers in human nature: and I deemed the pofition of Plato, "that an Orator thould be a Fhiloopher," as the mere homage of Pcetry and Eicquence at the fhrine of widiom. Humanlife is too Chort, to unite the accompligments of the two charakiers. Cicero attemped it : out Cicero in pinilofophy, was merely a man of knc.wledge. Who could combine the profound thought of a Montefquieu with the tajents of a Chatham or a Mansfield? I had confidered the melioration of Gothic fyftems, and the laws and cuftoms which have been lately furpored to produce public happi-nef-, as owing-not to natural hiftorians, or experimental philoiophers ; not to poetry, paining, mufic, or oratory; not to arithmetic, mathematics, or ceren the difcoveries of Newton-but to the
works of fuch men as Sidney, Harrington, Locke, Montefquieu, Steuart, and Smith : and I thought it a duty to defend the philofo. phy they had profeffed from the verbofe fcurrilities of a popular writer.

But on the perufal of Mr. Burke's "wonderful" Letter, your Royal Highnefs will perceive I have been miltaken; you will judge that widdom hould give place to eloquence; that "the wife in " heart fhall be called prudent, but the fiveet in tongue fhall find " greater things."

I was alio deterred by the information, that a competitor in the fame art had feen the letter of Mr. Burke, fome months before its publication, and was preparing an anfwer.

A contention of practiled prize-fighters would irrefifibly attract the literary rabble; and the gentle voice of reafon, would not be heard.

But having mentioned Mr. Burke, in a former Leffon, with epithets of difapprobation and reproach; and having imbibed from his work that principle of exquifite fentiment and fine feeling which alternately with religion is the fubftitute of honour and virtue, I find it my duty to exhibit his character on the belt, viz. on hisown authority.

To ferve the double purpofe of relieving my " penitent fenfibi" lity"- and to familiarize your Royal Highnefs with the principles of criticifm, I hope to imprefs on your mind, that a knowledge of the author is neceffary to that of his work; and that you mould take it from himfelf, for this indifputable reafon, "that every mas " mull know his own chracter."

Great critics refemble their authors. Longinus delineates the beauties of Homer, in paffages cqually beautiful-I, therefore, siew Mr. Burke, not as the morning flar, dropping gentle and beneficient dow ; not as a regular planet, in that wonderful fyftem, the daily bleffings of which we participate; but a blazing eccentric comet, of myftic and menacing omen, and my eye is led to furvey it from the tail.

I the laft page of his "divine rhaprody" he thus deferibes him-felf-and your Royal Highnefs is intreated to obferve, the exemplary modefty of fo greas a man. When public objects fill his "difinterefted" mind, it foars like an infernal fury, and fcatters vengeance and mifery over "difobedient" nations-when he retires within himfelf, we difeern only the humility of a Chrittian, and a gentlenef; and bathfulneís truly feritimental.
"I," the great man fays, " have litte to recommend my opini"ons, but long obfervation and much impartiality." My Lord Mansfield, whin fill poffeffes his mental faculties in great vigour,
pronounces the French Revclution, an event in hiftory tcta.i'y neve, to which no former facts and incidents can apply. Here is, long obfervation againft long obfervation : but I thall prefently flate the circumftance which may induce Mr. Burke to give the preference to himfelf. On the fubject of his "impartiality" there can be wo doubt. Has any man converfed with, or heard this orator, and fappofed him capable of harbouring prejudice ?
" They came from one who has been no tocl of power, no flat"t terer of greatnefs, and who, in his latt acts, does not wifh to beijf " the tenour of his life."

It mualt give ycur Royal Highnefs pleafure, to learn from the authority of this great man himfelf, that the opinion of his implicit devotion to a late Marquis, for good and fubitantial confiderati ns, is groundlefs; that he furchated his villa and cftate at Beaconsfied with the accumulations ot l is own patrimony ; that he reprefents a borough in parliament, by the free uninfluenced election of the burgeffes; and, though whit in office, he offered incente of adoration at the fhrine of royalty, he conicienticully balanced it out of cffice, by fronouncing on the masiancholy and afflicting indip. fition of your Royal Father, " that the Almighty had hurled him from his "t throne." He remarks on the proccedinge of the Kevulution Society, " that the misfortunes of Kings make a delicious repalt to "fome fort of palates"-The repalt luits not the palate of Mr. Burks, unlefs it be fimulated by dilappointement, or by fome ftrong ohftacle to the attainmen: of his wimes. This, I am fure, your R'yal Highnefs wiil think a fufficient caufe, and, to uie his own fhrate, not to belye the tennur of his life.
"' They come from ene, aimont the whine of whofe public life "has been a llreggle for the liberty of cthers; from onc, in whofe "breaft no anger durable or vehement has ever been kindled, but " by what he confiders as tyranny; and lito fnatches from tii fiare " in the ercieavours which are uled by grod men to diffredit opu" lent opprcfion, the hatrs he has cmployed on your afdirs; ard "who in fo doing perfuades himelf he has not cifarted from his " ufual office."

Your Rojal Highnefs will here acmire the moden addefs with which the great orator mingles the diltinguifted parts he ha aktec, in oppelition to the American war, and in the impecthmert of Mr. Haftings. To place thefe great adions in a true ightr, your Reyal Highnefs mult be informed that the Declaratory Bill, the very brand which fe: America on Gire, was fabricatcd in councile of which this orator participated. But you will take with you, tio moment Mr. Burke was difmified, he became a determined rppapent to the Minifter, and the war he condugted; tee exectiated
hima as a traitor to the conftitution; and pledged his honour and character to impeach him. When events indicated the advantage of a coalition with that Minifter, the wonderfal placability of our Author's nature was difplayed. He paffed inftantly from mortal hatred in the moft enthuliaftic friendinip, and from bitter reproacin to fublime panegyric. I am fenfible, if fuch apparent contradiction and fuch dereliction of all principle, were fairly chargeable on a philofopher, Mr. Burke would annex to his name the molt infamuus $\epsilon$ pithets. But a Chriflian, a believer of thofe doetrines which fo amicably blend high church tories with the votaries of the church of Rome, has advantages which moralifts cannot enjoy. By rites, ceremonies, and external atonements, confcience may be fet, on a pivot, like a weather-vane, to turn with the airy current of felf-interett.

I would imprefs thefe hints the more carefully on your Royal Fiighnets, as I underftand the alternate councils of Cumberland and the little White houfe (on the late re-eflabl:ifhment of which I congratulate your Royal Highnefs) difcover a reluctance and timidity relpecting this admirable and expedient religion. If any future event thould give the power, I thould advife its avowal; and if the facred bench would admit of a preaching prelate, that Mr. Burke be feated on it, referving an annual portion of every parliamentary feafon for the impcachment.

In the profecution of Mr. Haftings, the conduct of this great and good man is equally admirable with his oppofition to the American war. The Houfe of Commons thated a certain number of propofitions, referring to acts which, in Mr. Haftings were or were not, violations of law, or violations of a fpecificd truft. But of what advaniage would determinations on fuch quettions have been on the learning of the country. The hiflory and antiquity of Hindultan; the various politics of its ftates; its ancient, complex, and extenfive mythology; the dodrines, rites, ard carcmonies of its rel:gicn; its population, ranks, cafls, cufloms, ard manners; have been minutcly detailed-and the widom ard hnowleage of ages have been comprefled into a morning entertainment; have been arranged into fpeeches, which have contributed greatly to the improvement of the attending audience; and by the induftry and paregyries of newfpaper reporters have been difiufed through the nation to its great advantage.

The flacability and orcrey of our author appear in this tranfadion, but with the more dignity, as every ofject is magnified by foggy interpofitions.

While the menaces of virtue, perfonated by Mr. Burke, hu"g puer the head of Hafings, a confidential friend and afociatc orator
carried a White Flag to the agent of the ofender; but whether from all the enemies to Indian optreflion, which he here calls "good men"-whether to avert the impending florm, or genc'rourfy to emable the fufferer to prepare for it-we can enly conjec-'turc-the agent, being naturally a Marploi, having fully anfivered the main queftion, when a previous hint had cnly been given.

Charity, however, will incline us to fuppofe, that the genercfity, bimolt fupernatural, which eraied from the author's mind, all the refentment, rage, and abhorrence, excited by the conduct of Lord North; and introduced the gentle paffions of forgivenefs and friendflip; would not have been, and will not yet be, ablolutely and eternally implacable to Mr. Haftings; though in intercourles of chicane and corruption wi:h Beganas, Nabobs, and $\mathrm{R}_{\mathrm{i}}$ ahs, he may have forgotten the laws of his country, or violated the univer. fal maxims of virtue.

In refpect to France, a fimilar difpofition to placability is difco. verable even in the higheft paroxyfm of the author's rage. For after warming his imagination into trevizy on the royal fufferings; and execrating the National Aftembly, the philoiophers, the jacobins, and idll the real and imagiuary caufes of the facrilegious difhennur; be admits a pollibility that royalty might devife or commir ants that would require examination and inquiry. Here is a fair opening for reconciliation between the offe ding people of France and this great orator. Let the National Atiembly evose an Impeachment: and if they give Mr. Burke the management, they may be affured, not ohly of his forgivenefs and friendmip, but that the King and Queen will be difpofed of for life. What a glorivus fate! What a charatterittic appointment! Ail Europe would be occupied on hits orations, and flled with his fame: and when Providence calls him -it is hoped very late-from the trophies of his virtues and dury here; his future reward, to give effect to the cultivation of his prefent talents, we may humbl; faprofe, will be-To Impeaci the Devil to ale Eternity!

The "gond" man procceds-_". They corre from one who defires ac honours, diftinctions, and cmoluments, tut dittle; and who ex" pelts them not at a.i.".

The advantage of religion is in nothing fo great, as in veiling foctet infirmities or crimes. It is true, the cye of $G$ od is fuproted to penetrate all difguife and all darkneets; but his minifters are placable, 'and every thing has its price. Mr. Luile was the only partifan twho flipulated with tie Pall-Mall Cabal, previous to an oration on the Regency which enreecflarily piecipitated your Royal Highnefs into unpopalarity. How many of the Burkes were to be provided 50: zad how Indian peculation might be reconciled to virtue and
humanity in that holy fimily, "I will not tell in Gath or publifa " in the firects of Akkaion, left the ungodly thould blafpheme:" Dr. Pare wiuld have been endued with the faculty of confecrating the traniaction, and guarding it from the feoffs of "agheiftic" patriot:fm or of profligate impertinerce.

It mutt be expected, an orator " has no contempr" of fame.; "bus Mr. Buake" never facrificed his intereft to it: and he " has "as fear of obloquy," though he has profecuted newfpapers, and expretied apprehenfion, and alarm, at paragraphitts, in a manner that would be deemed pufillanimous in an Abbeis of King's Place. Bu: it is to be obferved that Mi. Burke trembies only for the caufe of liberty and humanity, for the facred and auguft fabric of gor. vernment, which is to be forcibly entered only by his party, and. then to the eternally preferved from profanation and ruin.

Th: Speaker of the Houfe of Commons will atteft, that "he " Mhuns contention," though he will "hazard an ofinion"— That " he wikes to preierve confiftency," the world is difpofed to doubt; not knowing that " he would preferve confittency, by "varying his means to fecure the unity of his end, and that when " the equipoife of the vefiel in which he fails may be eniangered " by overloading it upon ons fide, he is defirous of carrying the "fmall weight of bis reafons :o that awhich may preferve its. " equipoife.".

Yuur Royal Highnefs wiil regret with me, that even fo beautiful: a fenience Thould conclude the account the great orator condefcends to give of himfelf. It ailudes to the condition of a paffenger on the river Thames, where the difference in the various contents of his pockets obliges him to thift and change pofitions; and it furnifhes an exact image of Mr. Burke's life.

The modelly of the author would not permit him to hint at the exertion of mind which produced this great work. His mighty brain teemed with it, nearly twelve months-I wihh I could fully devore as many days, to render your Royal Highnefs fenfible of all its merits.

That any man, not educated an inquifitor, and not long aceuftomed to derive his pleafure from torture and mifery, hould be able to turn his eyes with malignant averfion on four and twenty millicns. of his fellow-creatures, fuddenly emancipated from oppreffive tyranny, and apxiounly feeking their future fecurity in the deliberations of. reafon and the provifions of prudent humanity-would be improbable in theory. It would be incredible, that a civilized citizen; participating the bleffings of freedom under a mild government; cultivating letters and pretending to philofophy-Chould, without diltraction and frenzy, harbou: a whole ycar in his mind,
ideas fo horrible, wifhes fo diabolical, as are expreffed in almoft every page of this work. But the operations of felf-interctt, fab. limed by religion," produce miracles.

Mr. Burke wrote his "wonderful" Letter, immediately on receiving the fanetion of the Minifter $\dagger$ to his fentiments in Parlizment. As events fluctuated in France, the production was corrected, and the author has been alternately agitated and tortured by hope and defpondence, "that the evils of the revolution might or " might not juttify his opinions." At laft, the Arittocratic Oracle gave the fignal. Calonne announced the plan of a counter-rcunlution. Burke put on his magic fpectacles, dillinstly daw the Auftrians marching through Flanders, the Spaniards in the Pyrennees, the Savoyards and Sivifs in the Alps, and German and Englifh officers fneaking off fingly and reluctantly from poverty in England, to affiat in the projected maffacre and devaltation.Burke grew frantic with joy: he inulfed the murky air, loaded with the exhalations of twenty millions of atheillic and patriotic carcales. "The incenfe is divine!" exclaimed the "holy" man"My prophecies and revelations Mhall be honoured;" and lothe Book was publifhed.

When your Royal Highncis is, thus, in poffiction of the author's character ard motives, you may eafily judge of his work.

I have intimated, in a previous letion, the principal caufes of the French Revolution. When the fortrefs of defpotifm was carried, the viftors were not content with flpulations to prevent future annoyance, they rized it to the ground, and projected a new and ufeful ftrukture.

The genius of England, in political defign, had been folong the theme of panczyric, that it was not imagined, the French would prefume to attempt any thing beyond an humbie imitation of the Englifh Govcrnment. Your Royal Highnefs will j=dge of the feelings of "mere Englifhmen," by thofe which actuate Mr. Burk:, when it was underftood, they projefted a new conftitution, and meant to claim the merit of originality.

[^7]In " the Revelations" of the author, your Rcyal Highnefs may be inftructed to confider this prefumption as a "national infult," and a caufe of war as juftifiable as any that has determined our cabinets.

But if it fhould not rouze that mational hat id, which political fraud and pious artifice have affiduoufly generated and preferved-the dangers of the example furnifhed by France, are extremely numerous and alarming, to thofe who occupy (difintereftedly without doubt) the various departments of our "wonderful conftitation," which is peculiarly " excellent" in its faults, proiluces equality by the common and neceffary caufes of inequaEty, and ionfers benefits and bieffings by injuflice and injury.

Whence are derived thefe myftic advantages? Your Royal Highnefs will perceive, in a former leffon, I traced the genuine principles of Englifh liberty, in Saxon inftitutions: but the Saxons being heathens, confequently atheits or philofophers, according to our author's learned and liberal ufe of the terms, I took liberties with their rude fketches, and endeavoured to form into * elements the principles that have immortalized the name of Alfred. In thefe, there is an evident diftinction of government and fovereienty. Government has the power of musicipal legiflation, zind its laws are obligatory on individuals, corporate bodies, Sc. The nation arranged, organized,' and acting as fovereign, has conflitutional authority over the power of governmeat.

The firftiaw, in this Species of conflitution, is the gereral will ; and it muft be the determination of the general will, that every citizen without diftinction of birth, poffeffions or talents, enjoy the great objects of fociety-liberty, property and fecurity.

Liberty, is a power, obtained for every citizen by the difpofition and engagements of the gencral force, to act for his own happinefs, without injuring others, and all beyond it, is licence.

The right of property, dues not relate merely to the tenement or land which forms may convey, but to the neceffary juftice, that men of every condition thould enjoy the advantages of their honeft induftry, and not be obliged to facrifice them to the pride and pleafure of others :

And fucial fecurity, arifes from the engagement of the whole community to preferve the perfon, property, and liberty of every individual, untouched while unoffending.

- The politial Diagrams of thefe leffons are ufed, by intelligeat pasemex, to give ideas of political conftitutions to youth, which they might not oberia by perufing differtations.


## LESSONSTOAPRINCE.

That the general wiH may be expreffed, without affembling the nation, or invefling the people with the executive powerwnich is the vulgar idea of democracy-is not only rendercd probable, but demonftrated, by the diagram of the conftitution of Alfred. For though the Mycle-gemot was called the Foinmot, and every freeman might attend who found fubject of complaint in any aet of gorernment, the Mycle-gennot was not a part of government : it enzited no liws, but fach as were conHitutional; it performed no office of the executive power, but adjudged it ; and the Affembly of the National Deputics was never too numerons for deliberation.

The Englin Houfe of Lords is a remnant of that Afferbly: and its claims of judging, in dernier refort, \&c. are derived from it. But the Houfe of Lords are funk, by the regulations of William the conqueror, into a branch of the ordinary government ; the minifters or managers of which, in all departments, affiduoully difcredit every mode of expreffing the general will : being fenfible, the numerous abufes which render their fituations lucratire, would be abolifhed, and that no meafures could obtain its fanction, not farorable to the general intereft.

The National Affembly, having altumed powers fimilar to thofe of the Mycle-gemot, I rejoiced in the hope that France would furnifh the example of a facicty organifed into a political body, to which the head and the limbs would be vitally annexed; which would be actuated by a common principle of intereft, by a common reafon, judgment, and will; and that England, timulated by generous emulation, might be induced to revife its government, correct its errors, and remove its inconveniencies. I entertained thefe hopes, without the profpect of any advantage to mffelf, my fon, my brother, or my coufin, but in common with all my fellow citizens; without eftimating the injuries that might enfue to thofe orders which had privileges by inheritance, thofe priells wio :vere creeping up the tertuous paths of fervile ambition, or thofe fplendid adventurers who had talked and written credulous multitudes isto an opinion, that the general induftry muft be deeply taxed ts gratify and fupport them.

But your Rojal Highatfs will conceive my fituation and feel for me, when the voice of Burke, fike that of the angel in the fiery coud, entranced my facultics, and wholly changed the direstion of my imagination.

Farewell reafon-fcience-truth-all ideas of thofe rights, or of that juittice, claimed for all mankind by a foft and whimpering philofoplis ! Weicome, confecrated defpotifm-whether
cloathed in the dreadful armour of kings, the foft lawn of biThops, or the various garbs of fenators, magillrates, lawyers, orators, parafites, panders, or pimps. From thy caprices are derived law, the fecurity of property, the patronage of talents. the encouragement of indultry; and from thy authority or command, arife independence and liberty.
By this new information or new light, I mean to conduct your Royal Highnefs through the claborate, intricate, and myftic produstion of Mr. Edmund Burke; as through a luxuriant wildernefs, where tyranny, privilege, fupertition, and intoletance, diflay their magic rites, and combine, with their own, the fuppofed interefts of heaven and hell.

As the induttrious mechanic, whofe fancy has been limited by the horizon of his humble ftate; on looking into the divine co pofitions of the northern prophet, lofes his common faculties, and deigns to convarfe only with fpirits-fo it befel me, having peruked the unparalleled work of the political Swedenbourg, I no longer traced principles from facts, or fought truth in the lons, the cautions, the laborious procefles of demonttration: I law the dreadful precipices of Atheifin terminating all the paths of fcience: and I piounly funk into the bofom of intuitive credulity, where I found all truths on heavenly authorities; riches, ran's, and diftinctions without the requifitions of merit ; the happinefo of liaman nature at the will of the fortunate ; and nations, as herds of cattle, tranfmitted by inheritance. How grateful, this flate of things, to the indolence, the felfinnefo, aad the love of power, fo eatily excited in the human mind: luu vill not woinder I quited the fimple paths of inquiry and inveltigation, for thefe enchanted labyrinths into which political maticim conducted me.

Yior Roval Highneis is particularly requefted to obferve ilie acinirable addrets, with which this great writer introduces : i:e fubject of his work.

It is fiequently the misfortune of focictics or clubs in London, whate le's prati rece than good intention.

Ia the ufe of thofe rites " of pious" magic, which are thought to encrage the deity cven in the moft fordid ofices of human life. a clut, calling itfelf the Revolution Society, empleyed a nouconfurmift clergyman as its masician : and he folcmuly invoked his God, on a feftival dettined to another purpofe, in behalf of thufe "levelling furiss" in France, who, in demolifhing the ancient and "facred" temple of abfolute monarchy, nearly buricd the king, the queen, the nobility, and the clergy in ule ruins.

But the magician does not worfip the god of the country.* He is therefore liable to the charge of Atheifm, as I fhall prefently demonftrate to your Ruyal Highnefs: His incantations are impieties; and, if the true fpirit of Mr. Burke's religion could have its proper effect, he would be foon filenced by the *holy feverities" of the inquifition. This circumftance alone would invalidate his pofitions; and render null, the refolutions and proceedings of a Suciety, of which he affects to be the Pontiff.

But, in the luxuriance of our author's fublime generofity, and in the ebullitions of "holy zeal," he condefeconds to conlider his principles, and to confute his arguments: And your Royal Highnefs will fee with pledfing exultation, this "incomparable" orator proves, on the authority of the Revolution-that the Englifh cannot clect their kings; cannot cafhier them for mif. conduct, or form a government for themfelves.

Your Royal Highnefs will admire his manncr of paffing over or expunging every idea of clection in the appointment of William the Third, though he was actually chofen king, and the crown made hereditary in his family by the queen.

His dexterity muft be deemed important and aftonifhing, when he tranfmutes the delicacy of the convention, in the ufe of the word abdication, into a proof that if James had not fled, the nation in arms, affitited by tine Prince of Orance, could not have dethroned him without incurring the guilt of treafon.

Here the doctrise of Hoblees is ininuated with all the art of the author's eloquence: But he do:s no: refer to the Leviathan; for Hobbes was au atheif. Your Koyal Highaefs mult perceive another privilege of myftic piety. No inttruments in earth or hell, are forbidden to a Saint, if condacive to his intereft. Fiends are not fo horrible to our author as athcilt:. But as the Devil is faid to believe, or to har: faith, Mr. Hubbes, though an athe: A , coincided with tiae orthodoxy of Mr. Burke in the creed of abfolute monarchy, his fentiments may be adopted without contaminating the author's foul, or fallyng his " rightcous" reputation. But it was highly prudent nut to mention Hobbes; and gratitude is not among the obligations of myfticifm.

Suich the author deems to be the depraved condition of Europe, from Philofuphy and Atheifm, that if he had derived royalty directly from heaven, he might have been embarraffed by heralds and genealogifts; he therefore mingles and jumbles the fubjects of goverament, hereditary munarchy, and myltic religion. This is done with wonderful art and chation - lice cep-

## LESSONSTOA PRINCE.

tic, philofopher, patriot, or atheift-all fynonimous terms-is accultomed to view and examine all contrivances in their principles, and all compofitions in their elements. The united $\mathrm{Nkill}^{2}$ and penetration of Europe, could not analyze, without completely diffipating the work before us. It feems, fometimes, air ; fometimes fire: It affumes fantaftic thapes, which vary in every point of view. and will not bear the touch of impertinent and profane philofophy.

I exercife the privilege of the initiated, when I prefume to affit your Royal Highnefs in contemplating this wonderful fabric.

Mr. Burke has given his "unparalleled" work all the properties and effects of a camera obfcura, or of a magic lanthorn. Government and royalty are difplayed, not as arifing from the mud and filth of popular interpofition; but defcending from heaven, at the command of Religion, which waves her wand from a turret of the Inquifition, and awes the nations into inplicit faith and unconditioned loyalty.-Kings and queens are glorious funs and chatte moons. The beauty of holinefs is exhibited in all the gradations of the hierarchy; the Pope being dightly veiled. The varied effects of noble birth, exalted rank, knight-errantry, and chivalry-all the fruits of all the virtues are charmingly engrafted on all the vices; while the multitude is irretrievably and eternally fixed to the earth, and forms the immeafureable pavement fupporting the privileged and confecrated fcene!

What would be the demonftrations of a Newton to the confequences of fuch a fpeetacle, on the majorities of all nations:Who would turn an eye to the natural, unornamented delineations of mathematicians, Economiftes, $\dagger$ patriots and atheifts!

Hail, heavenly enthufiafm!-parent of myltic defpotifn and arbitrary power !-How fublime thy ordinances; how captivating thy arrangements, compared with the cold tenets of philofophy, and the grovelling principles of patriotifm !
$\dagger$ The author (Mr. Burke, has been criticifed for cerfuring ceconomitts, while his own regulations in the Royal Kitchen are fplendid proofs of his own love of economy. But, the Economittes of France are political, and they are affociated, not to infpect fauce-pans, mops, and difh-clouts, but to produce and collect fuch facts and experiments as may furnifh principles of political aconomy. Dr. Snith, the author of the Hiftory of the Wealch of Nations, derived the principal materi=ls of his excellent work from th:s Sociciy. Dut as their labcurs have not a tendeacy to promote Popery, the 1-cciefiaftics, particularly the Monks, brand them as Atheifts; and cur asthor, in his reprehenfions, and infamous in putaticns, clicily inatione t.e glowing lingerge of lue Monks.

Having given kings, queens, nobles, and high priefts, a heavenly origin, without directly afferting it -and having by confecration rendered them unaflailable-he rifes into a frain of fublime fcurrility againft the National Afembly-for violences to which they were not acceflary, and fome of which never exifted except in his own imagination. But the purpofe juftines the means. The King of France is the fun thorn of his beams; the Queen is the morning flar precipitated from her orbit: And the authors of their degradation are not entitled to the exceptions of truth, on that principle of religion, which keeps no faith with heretics.

It is true, the National Affembly, the Economittes, the patriots, and the atheifts of France, were as little concerned in the violences at Verfailles, in the humiliating proceffion of the King and Queen, and in their confinement to the Louvre, as the moft enlightened and virtuous citirens of England in the riot and conflagration of 1780 . The principal iniligators and agents were truly catholic fifh-women; as orthodox, as prejudiced, and almcit as bigotted as our author. But in holy crimination-as in love and war-all advantares are to he feized, and all means are juftifiable.-In the defcriptions of the condition of France: of a general abfence of all govcrnment, a.l law, and all orderof bloody democrats, feeking the facred remnants of an "honourable" nobility and " holy" clergy, and murthering them in multitudes: In thefe defcriptions, the author avails himferf of the jultifiable licence of an orator; and almont every page of the declamation contains a mifreprefentation, or an untruth. Ecfides, Mr. Eurke is fuppoited by the arittocratic newfpapers of France and Encland; and this, in any cafe, is fufficient ground for that fyecits of oratory we call Billingfgate.

Your Royal Hignefs will obferve, without contrait, the difplay of royalty would have no effect. 'l'he fate of the Quecin, like that of a itar, fiould be at the incantation of the demion of patriotifm ifining from a charncl-houle; at every itep martheri:ig millions, and his path a river of human blood. If I might prefume to biame an author of fuch exalted abilities, I would fay 1.I-. Burke has been fqueamifa, timid, too attentive to probabili$t y$, and has not ? iven fufficient fope to his creative inag:uation in his atrocinns defeription of France.

Your Kojal Highaefs will confide، this obfervation as an anfwer to thofe little critics; who have caailled at his defcription of the queen, as defective in cofiume; contradicting papular ideas of character and manners, and indicating impiety; for it is a plagiarifn: from an office to the holy Virgin, adored as the morn-
ing ftar appearing on the horizon, and promifing a hearenly day, Sic. But minutix are unworthy a great genius, and the bíitory of canonizations abounds with examples of a fimilar nature.

St. Grill, bifhop of Alexandria, affaffinated the beautiful and fublime Hypathia; yet was canonized.

The hands of Charlemagne werc loathfome with the blood of the Saxons, whom he maffacred without the pretence of jukice. He robbed his nepheivs of their patrimony $;$ mafried four wives, yet committed incelt: but he increafed the territory of the church, and the church made him a faint. In another edition, I hope the author will paint him at length; give him the attrie butes of an evening itar; and place him as a companion to the moft brilliant production of his peucil.

Having thrown a luitre oe his doctrines concerning royalty; which will more rapialy promote their circulation than a demonfration of their truth-and having harrowed up, at lealt his own foul, on the impiety, the facrilege, aad the villainy, of degrading and limiting its prerogatives in France-he denied the right of the people to forn or model a government ; for a reafon which muit be convincing to every man of equal piety with the author. that government is an inftitution of God; tranfmitted from one generation to another, in all its forms and privileges. In this matter he ås as gambiery do at play-by guarding againft paf fible chanccs. He ufes the phrafe "Government is human invention :" but deaies the neceffity of aeacral approbation or general will. He places religion as the bafis of fuciety: and if religion be a hum, an inveution-it is that of priefte, who are the initruments of the divinity, and fpeak his will. Thus an apparent contradiction may be explained; as in this manner, govern ${ }_{F}$ ment may be at the fame time the intitution of God and the invention of man.

I was the more embarraffed on this part of the fubjoin, as I had been long accuttomed to think the virtwes of men had no deperadence on thair mode of workipping God, that the opinion had been propagated by political hypocrites, who enforced without believing it; and had bees adopted by the commen people in circumftances fo deprelfed, that they thought themfelves obliged to believe without examination whatever was enjoiaed them.

On a general viex of hiftory, by reafon alone, the profperity of nations had appeared to me, to depend only on the excellence of their government and legilation.

The Jewe were eminently pure in their worthip; and the Enyptians and Perfians to them were atheiftorthe morala of the latter were good; thofe of the furmer abominable.

Rome, when it produced the virtues of Decius and Fabricius, was pagan and atheittic : Conftantinopie was the refervoir of all the molt deteflable vices, after Conitantine had introduced the chriftian religion.-We have apofolic, catholic, and mott chriftian kings; but no 'Titus, no Trajan, no Antoninus.

The Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguefe, have more religion than all Europe : but are their morals proportionably diftinguifked ?-What chriftian would compare ancient and modern Greece, or ancient and modern Rome, in refpect to religion; what philofopher would compare them in refipect to talents indultry, or merit?

My reafon therefore concluded that religion was not virtue.-
Why (I have exclaimed with regret and anguith) ar: priefts fuffered to light up the torch of intolerance; to ftrew kiingdoms with the familhed or mangled carcafes of thofe honeft inhabitants who would have cultivated them, if the goodnefs of man in fociety be wholly the effeet of the laws? I therefore earneftly wifhed, that government might have the wifdom to permit religion privately to regulate the faith of individuals; and that manners and virtues might be wholly configned to the laws.

My prefumptuous philofophy proceeded farther. The government of priefts, as in Jerufalem, in modern Rome, in Madrid, in Lifbon, \&c. has always debafed the nations which have fubmitted to it.
Under every form of religion, I concluded, mau muft become wicked, if his intereft be detached from the public: if he cannot procure his own happinels but by the miliery of others ; and if the government negleet virtue, ressard vice, or elevate it to honors and opulence.

Your rogal hignefs will therefore imagine my pleafure, when all thefe conclufions of reafon, and all the anguifh with which they had induced me to view the principles and proceedings of modern governmenta-were diffipated bya heavenly ray from the myttic genius of our political Swedenbourg.

He has taught me that nations are "corporate bodies" by confecrated charters from heaven: and that my concern for she condition or qualities of the people has been fanciful and fuperfluor:s ; for their laappinefs is not the object of the prefent difpenfations of pro-idence.-They are irrevocably predeftined to a ftate of perpetual labour and induftry ; the beft produce of which is to alcend for the ufe and gratification of higher orders and claffes, which are entitled by "facred" claims to the various privileges of the mytterious corporations.

I wondered no longer at the glowing epithets of reproach, execration, and horror, with which our "pious" author reprobated the national affembly of France for demolifhing an ancient government, the inftitution of the Deity, and degrading royal, noble, facred, and privileged ranks, in favour of wretched, favagre animals, called the people ; juft emerged from mere brutality; and, to be difciplined, under the direction of their mafters, by labour and mifery here, for corporate privileges hereafter.

But the patriotifm of this great man is fuperior even to his benevolence. The poffibility that the deftructive demon of profane philofophy may be wafted over to England, has diftracted him almoft into infanity; and his fpirit often flies to the cliffs of Dover, waving that of his "immortal work" in the form of a flaming fword, and guarding the "incomparable ftructure of the Englih conftitution" from the impious affaults of democratic atheifts and infernal furies. Befides, the good man has been thirty years climbing its lofty towers, and dragging up the knights of his family for its defence.

This patriotifm induces him, at intervals, to give fublime and myftic hints concerning the origin and formation of that conftitution. We are to be content with hints, until the enormities of the times be fubfided, and he may be at leifure to afcend that region of the feven heavens, where the records of earthly corporations are preferved. $\dagger$ - If I live to the mra of his afcenfionhave more leifure from indifpenfible engagements, and more refpite from the pains and infirmities of ag:-I fhall not as I now do, throw rockets to light him on his way ; but I will patiently furvey the full effect of his miffion; and ferioully examine the records he produces; by the beft abilities that remain with me.In the mean timi, I cannot help expreffing my aftonifhment, that he has only obfcurely hinted the origin of our government, and has not defcribed it with that frantic eloquence, which every man of learning and tafte, on the perufal of the work before usmuft pronounce "unparalleled" in all the productions of ancient and modern literature.

An opinion is never fo effectually impreffed on the public, as when accompanied by terror and aftonifhment. I cannot imagine a reafon, that a writer of Mr. Burke's talents and princi-
$\dagger$ It was in 2 an excurfion to that region he difcovered, the neceffity of deAtroying the charter of the Eaft-India company; and in confequence of the difiovery, furnifhed the theads of Mr. Fos's India bill; the rejection of which lies as a fin on the nation.
ples, fhould have omitted an occafion fo fplendid, as is offered by the God of the country*. defcending in flaming clouds on Snowdon or Skiddow, and giving into the bloody hands of the " pious" and intrepid conqueror, the permanent conititution and everlafting inheritance of the land. Here the diadem of defpotifm is held, as it ought to be, by the Vicar of God on earth. While the illand is ftrewed with the dead and dying, it is divided among chitts whom avarice and a fpirit of rapine induced to accompany their leader ; and the grandeur of the church and the dignity of its minifters are provided for, by ettates wrelted from the wretched inhabitants.

No fubject can efcape cavil. All the kingdom was in effect confifcated, and all rights funk before the regulations of that recolution: but every thing was fanctioned, not as in France at this time, by views of public reli ff and the benefit of all the people, but by the power of the fword confecrated by God's Vicar on earth.

This is the origin of the conftitution, for which our author fo violently contends; and here the rights of royalty, nobility and the church, received that facred character, that pepetual inviolability, which render all attempts at reform or innovationtreafon and facrilege. - The author, with commendable prudence, avoids cenfuring the reformation with feverity-as interefts and prejudices having been created by it, too numerous to be oppofed. But he approaches it circuitoully, and brands with infamy the horrible facrilere of the eighth Henry in defpoiling the church of its property. Whether it be practicable to remove the guilt of that tranfaction, " which preffes heavily on the land," I will not determine. The prefent adminiftration has been merciful to the defcendants of men who had incurred forfeitures by rebellion. If Mr. Burke fhould be reftored to power, and it mult be the wifh of every " pious" man he may-the Leatt to be expected from his fervid zeal is a complete reftoration of the property of the church.

But waving this "feductive" hope, I mult obferve to your Royal Highnefs, that the "facred" privileges and rights lately violated in France, have a fimilar origin to thofe of England, and were repeatedly fanctioned by God's vicar on earth.

In England, feveral events have gradually encroached on them. The reformation had fome effect : but the wound inflicted would have been foon healed, if the "diabolical" art of printing had not been invented. That diffufed knowledge into

[^8]claffes dedined to be ignora:at ; forced literature out of the refrulating hands of the clergy ; and produced thofe enemies to :ill fixed inttitutions, thofe parents of impertinent enquiry, inveftigation, difufion, knowledge, and feience, the literati,* the free thinkers, a.d the philufophers

Thefe "Atheints"-for, after the example of my author I thall comprefs them iato one odious denomination: Thefe "Atheifs" have wared perpetual war with privileges, inttitutions and prejudices-and your Royal Highnets will fhudder, when informed, they haive nearly oltained a power, the moft fatal to al "facred" pritentions-" the legal libert:" of the prefs. $\dagger$ "

Another principle of inaoration, on the conflitution of the conqueror, was proinced hy the "incautious" intruduction and impucient encouragemeni of iaduftry.

The beautiful oder of thofe provifions, made by Wilinam, for a flrong, effective governmen, muft have often ftruck the imagination of you: Royal Iighnefs. The divifion of tice kingdom into fixty thoufand portions, or, in effect, into fo many properties - the fummary mode of difpofing of the common people, and excluding them from all political queftionsthe "complcie repreferitation" of the country "in maffes" by the chiefs of theic divifions; and above all, the fanction and cooperation of an opulent clergy, firmly pledged to preferve the people in implicit obedience and perpetual labour Dy the hopes of future reward:: Thofe arrangements formed a contlitution, which is conidered by our author, as an inheritance, for the defence of which Enguifhmen thould fhed the laft drop of their blood.

[^9]Human ingenuity, however devifed means to elude a power it could not refift. Small fettlements at the mouths of rivers produced mechanics and artitts, who could not be induced to exert their talents at the command of the King, the Barons, the Clergy, or in any mode, but by obtaining an equivalent. Thus fprung up induftry and trade-mortal enemies to pri.ilege and arbitrary power.

Finding thefe new gueits convenient to the revenue, princes "imprudently" encouraged them-intil general opinion was diffufed, that ingenuity and induftry hould not be cierted by the people, without obtaining an equivalent.

To favour the progrefs of tinat opinion, alienations of fiefs were allowed-lands were thrown into circulation-trade and commerce were eftablifhed-new orders were generated; and that fyltem of political occonomy was imagined which produced numerous innovations in England, [fach as the Houfe of Commons, the Habcas Corpus act, the Revolution, \&c. \&c.] and had fome effects in France, befides forming that Society called Eionomifes ; the peculiar objects of our author's abhorrence.

Mr. Burke fays, he cannot dittinctly cnumerate the crimes and enormities which muft have called down the vengeance of heaven on the monarchy of France, and which he feems to think mav affect that of Englind.

It would be "impious" to imagine that any errors of royalty, of the nobility or clergy-and thofe facred orders are incapable of crimes-nould have effects fos oppofite to what our author affects to know to be the will of "heaven."

The caufes cert oilly are-the partial liberty of the prefsthe introduction of the ideas of neceffary equivalents for all fer-vices-and the encouragement of induftry, trade and commerce.

The fociety called Economiftes, in correlpondence with ingenious men in every ftate of Eirope, adopted thofe caufes as principles-and they contributed confiderably to all the late improvements in agriculture, and in the ufful arts; and particeslarly to the diffufion of and encouragement of the opinion, that induatry is intitled to an equivalent from thofe who enjoy its effects, and that government fhould treat it as property to be taied only by the confent of its poffeflors.

This opinion has emancipated from feodal vafalage thofe portions of the people, who enjoy civil or political liberty. A nd if it be examined, only by reafon, it will prove demonfratively t:ue. For, if the Barons and Knights, who receivad fiodal poffefions, coiatributed to the public fervice on confultation or by evafeat, coury man who emerged f:om villainage and excrcifod
his tale:ts for an equivalent, became a free citizen, and could not realonably or juftly be taxed without his confent.

The difficuley of giving that confent without confufion, produced various efforts towards reprelentation; which 1 fhall not confider at this time. It is fufficient, that induftry is the parent of modern liberty, and conftitutes a claim to it, at leaft as indifputable as the poffeffion of land, or the will of a conqueror, or the bull of a Pope.

As indultry took place of villainage, and every fpecies of fervile dependence upon the king, the nobility and the clergynations urged their claims to be confidered and confulted in all the important occurrences of government.

Herc is the foundation of reproach and execration againft the philofophical and political Economittes, The people would have acquired the rights of citizens, and the conftitutional power of chuling their malters and governors without underltanding or exerting them-if thefephilofophers had not urged them to their duties, often with hazard and injury, from the oppreffors and the oppreffed.

Plans for the improvement of agricuiture, and for the direction of genius and ingenuity into all the ufeful arts, were formed and promoted by the Economiftes throughout Europe ; and the names of all the real benefactors of human nature, in the late progrefs of civil improvements, are to be found in their focieties or among their correfpondents. Lut they proceeded in a direction, oppolite to that of all feodal inflitutions: all their efforts were intended to elevate the people, and by deftroying the e::ormous inequalities which blended barbarous fplendor with loathfome mifery, and the molt unbounded licence with the molt abject navery.

But this does not conftitute their principal offence. The Economilles, enthufialts in the contemplation of nature ; and of all me:a, the muit fincere adorers of the ineffable principle which actuates it, abhorred the monks, for their ignorance, impufinious, and vices; and mere negligence of a malignant monk enfües tiue imputation of Atheifm.

If it be crue, that " none by fearching can find out God,"cury man on earth is an diheift. If difference of opinion con. canig the deity be a ground of imputation, the Triatarian mufe be an Atheit to the Arian, and the Socinian to both; the Mahometan to the Chriitian; the Chriltian to the Jew; the Jew to tire Hindu; the Hinda to tie Chincle, Sc. \&c. for they do not worthip the fane Gods, and the duties of medern religio:., do nut rioogniici, and acknowlodge each other.

It is thus in fat-all men are Atheifts, in the cftimation of particalar fects. sxcept the members of thofe fects; and they are Atheits to the relt of the world.

Thi: ociafion of diford, ill-will, and latrad, is of adrantage only to the priefts of the innumcrable feits that divide the aworld.

But your rojai highnefs will admire the addrefs and oratorical art of our great anthor, who empoys the moit odions epithet in all the languages we Europe to diferedit the principal authors of the French revolution. Jf he had played on them the engines that have annoyed the political party in which he is cmbarked; if he had laid of them what the public firongly aflirm of all the members of the Engisish Conlition, that all their plais and meafurcs are directed to their immediate or renote advantage : Every movement in the French revolution would have demonftrated the fallehood. No arrangements in the lifilory of mankind, bave been made arible vieaus fo clifinterffed and fo generous. All $\mathrm{r}^{n}$ wer gradually arifes from the people, and by clection. The elected hold their places for very moderate advantares and for Bor: peiods, and are incapacitated for office during a conliderable interval. This is, probably, a meafure of wifiom; it is certainly a proof of difintereflednefs and generofity:

But whither am I fraying? Have the charms of philofophy again fafinated me: Our author has pronounced the Economiftes, Atheifts, with the views of a brutal boy, who configns a dog to dellruction, by calling him mad. But your Rojal Highrefs will not woader at this charge, when you inderftans, the firf meafure fuggetted by thefe votarics of impicty was the facrilegions fcizure of eccletiatical property.

In England, this is a new idea : but in the author's opinion, we are bat Semi-Chrillians. We confider bereficer, tithes, \&e. as appropriated to certain nfes, and confirned toa certain order in trutt but not in ripht, and not as property. No doubt is here entertained, that pailiament may regulate, controul, and correct the abiefos of fuch a truft, and even cianne the ufes of its fuads, when dotimental to the pubhic.

A learaed prelate, by no means infenfible to the dirnity, or eninformed in the rights of his order, has folicited his metrophitan to obtain a law, that would afiect the condlitution, and dalpoie oct the riches of the charci.

But in ther churs of Rome, and in the opinion of Mr. Burke, trafe ant ri, ht are confounded. Whatever may be alledged on :ise ceftanaion of tothes; whatever frauds and vila nies have bern prathed to aramulate ceclefia? ical riches: Being approini.: do the atar, tare are fared, and the application of


Your Royal Highnefs mould alfo be informed, that fome young men of this School have lately derided the Roman Catholic religion-and propofed various means of introducing a popular fyltem of morality.

To jultify the invectives of our author, I will produce a creed, which they attempted to fubftitute for that of St. Athanafius; and they wihed the Bithon D'Autun to pronounce it at the grand feitival of the National Federation.

I need not defcribe to your Royal Highnefs the proceedings of that Federation. The Bifhop D'Autun, attended by a lurse body of clergy, performed the fervice called High Mals, at the Altar; and wherever a creed was to be introduced the youthful Economiftes propofed the following.

Bifhop D'Autun (looking at the Clergy.)
No longer a confederation againft the public--no longer devouring the harvefts and fruits, like the grafshoppers of Egypt -we, the minifters of a religion which is truly catholic, confign our minds and hearts to the glorious objects of a free conititution --and this we fwear
W. believe that God created man to be the friend, not the cppriffor of man-that he has given him fenfibility, memory and reafun.

It is the will of God, that human reafon, roufed by want, and inthected by experience, fhall provide our fuftenance, fhall lead I: to cultivate the earth, invent and improve the inftruments of labour, and perfect all the fciences of real noceffity.

It is the will of God, that by gradually cultivating the fame reafon, not by fubmitting to the opinions of others, all men flould difiover and practife the focial duties, the means of maintainiag order, and the knowledge of the beft legination.

This being thic whole of the will of God, and implying every thing neceffary to the formation of a good citizen, we hope the motives to merit, either in heaven or carth, the rewards of genins and activity will never more be fought in trifling operations, praying, faftiing, hair cloth, and felf caltigation, which have not the merit of leaping, dancing, and walking on the rupe.

The throne of the Monarch of the Univerfe fhall no more be farrounded by Saints; enemies to fociety, and the glooniy adverfaries of human happinefs. We thall celebrate only the behefactors of mankind, Lycurgus, Solon, Butus, Sydney; the inventors of uleful arts or of fome pleafure conformable to the gencral intereft.

No moral inftruction fhall have authority in the State, but fuch as is fanctioned by the Senate, the real and unequivocal reprefentation of the whole people. It is from fuch a body only, a beieficen ${ }^{+}$government can be expected; perfectly tolerant, not expenfive, offering no ideas of the divinity but fuch as are grand, folema or amiable; exciting in the human mind the love of talents and virtuc, and having no objett but the happinefs of the people.

The magiftrates of the nation, being fucceffively appointed. and frequently intructed by the public will, muft gradually become fagacious and juft, and will be cloathed with temporal and fpiritual powers; all contradiaion between religion, morality, and patriotifm, will difappear ; all the people, after temporary divifions and differences, will have the fame principles, and the fame idea of the fcience of morals, in which it is important that all of them Ihould be equally inftructed. Amen.
Mr. Burke, on reading a compofition fo unomamented, fo fimple, referring to objects fo grovelling as morality and the public good; and recolleiting the mytic fublimity and fupernatural language of the divine Athanafius, would throw from him the Economitic creed with unutterable fcorn ; and accelerate the volubility of his expreffions, in execrating philofophical impiety, which would fubttitute reafon for religion, and diveft human life of the confolations of myfery and fuperfition.

It is wonderful, therefore, he has taken large draughts of the fiery fpirit produced by his own infernal alembic-and in the paroxyfms of holy fury, applied every infamous and horrible epithet in the Englifh language to thofe facrilegious robbers, and traiterous innovators the Phiiofophers and Economittes of Fiance?
Having exhaufted his ftrength in this dreadful manner-at the conclufion of the work, he leads the reader, wearied and terrified, to confider the fructure of the French Cunltitution and the condition of the Freach Finances.
By this artifice he enfures the reader's difguft, at the delineation of organic arrangements, where tive author is fometimes miftaken; fometimes mifreprefents and always animadverts with unequivocal expreflions of hatred.

The obfervations on the paper morey of the National Affembly are alfo the ebullitions of mere zeal. The fubject of money is as well undertood in France as in England. The mode of iffuing the Affignats is the offspring of necefiity, not o: ignorance; and I have fome apprehenfions for the reafon of our author, when his prophecies concerning the future condition of

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France are compared with events that may foon buift on his view.

But let us hope " better" things_-So wonderful a portion of the fpirit of prophecy could not have been given in vain. If we may have faith " to remove mountains"- Why not to coincile with the pious apofle of defpotifm, in all his wifhes and expectations?

His "matchlefs" eloquence may induce all the powers of Eumpe to unite-to publith a crufade agraint Philufophy, Freethinsing, and Democratic Patriotifm-to pour innumerable armies into the be:at of France-to facrifice the majority of the mation at the farine of the dified queen ; to reftore the nobility and clergy to their honours and riches; to rebuild the Baftile, and fill it to the fummit of its towers with Jacobine $\dagger$ and $\Lambda$ the-ifts;-and to recover the military, clerical, and ancient government of the country.

I have thus endearored to delineate the general purpofe, and point out the excellencics and beauties of this great work.

My furvey of it has beea haft y-my time berag unfortunately engaged-and infirmities checking my ardour and activity. I tra!t, however, no parts of confiderable importance have been omitted; and that your Royal Highnefs will not be difpleafed at ny humble efforts to fave you fome trouble in examining thein.

The fun has fpots-and the aifronomer mentions them without the imputation of impiety.-Your Royal Highnefs will belieac I mean not to detract from the author's fame, by producing fone peculiarities of his fyle and compofition, when I affare yo:, I think the eloquence, imagery and phrafeolngy of the work, admirably calculated to diffufe the principles of it among the " great vulgar, and the little"-and that no man fince the ceath of the "t:amortal" Whitield, could enter into competition with him in this fpecies of compofition.
$\dagger$ The Jacobins are Patriots, inclined to conflitutional democracy, and Furmed into a club. The reader hould bear in mind, that by democracy in France is meant the power of elcetion and controul in the people, not, as in circece and $\mathbf{R}$ ame, the facultics of actual government. The author confuand thefe idea-, : n 1 the Patrintic Club being his averfion, he compares it to the "Lords of Articles" who prepared bills for the ancient governmert of Scotand. The Jacubins probably fette their mode of proceeding in the National Afcmbly at their club; But they are "I ords of Articles" only as the affemblies at the Duke of Portand's, at Brookes's, at Cumberland Houfe, or Mr. Fitzherbert's, may be callid "Lords or Ladies of saticlen"

But as your Royal Highnefs is young; and may not hare much attended to the varieties of Engi.i.h ftyle ; and I have had the prefumpt:on to aflume the tone of an inttructor-I will fubmit the following paffages, as proofs of the validity of general opinion and literary fame.

1. Bombaft fubftituted for Philofophy.

Pase 68. "This preponderating weight being added to the force of the body chicane in the Ticis Etat, compleated that momentum of $\mathrm{i}_{5}$ aorance, rafnnefs, prefumption, and lult of plunder which nothing has been able to s.lift."
2. Vulgarity to heighten admiration.

Page 71. "It is a thing to be wondered at, to fee,how ve:y foon France, when the had a moment to reipire, recovereb :and conerged from the longeit and moft dreadful civil war that ever was known.
3. A claffic paffage, difgraced by its accompaniments.

Page 86. "I have nothing to fay to the clumfy fubtilty of their political metaphyfics. Let them be their amulement in the fchools-' Illa fe jaciet in aula-ADolus, et claufo arentorum carcere regnet'-but let them not break prifon to burt like a Levanter, to fweep the earth with their hurricane, and to break up the fountains of the great deep, to overwhelm us."
4. A paradux, moft convenient when a falfehood is to be covered, or ignorance conccaled,

Page 91. "The pretended rights of thefe theorifts are all extremes; and in proportion as they are metaphyfically truc, they are morally and politically falle."
5. Indelicate allifions, to alfint the fale of the work.

Page 23. "I confofs to you, Sir, I neiver liked this continual talk of refiftance and revalution, or the practice of making the extreme medicine of the conflitution its caily bread. It renders the habit of fociety dangeroully valetudinary : it is taking periodical dofes of mercury fublimate, and fwallowing down repeated provocatives of cantharides to our love of liberty.
6. Borrowed from a Taylur; and cxpreffed correctily in his manner.

Page 104. "We are faid to learn manners at ficond-hand frem your fide of ti:c water; and that we drefs our hehaviour in the frippery of France. If fo, we are fiii in the uld cut."
7. The following gould have been harmonized by Sir Jolbua Reywolds:

Page 10R. "A groupe of regicide and facrilegious ilaughter, was indeed boldly fectched, but it was only fketched. It unhappily was left unfinifhed in this great hiftory piece of the maffacre of innocents. What hardy pencil of a great mafter, from the fchool of the rights of men, will finif it, is to be feen hereafter."
8. This will offend his countrymen, the common Irifh, who refent any farcatic reference to their fellow-creatures.

Page 117. " Happy if learsing, not debauched by ambition, had been fatisfied to continue the inftructor, and not afpire to be the fiafter! Along with its natural protectors and guardians, learning will be calt into the mire, and trodden down under the hoofs of a fwimijb muititude.
9. This paragraph being deftined for the people, is defignedly obfcure, if not unintelligible. The chuscy has declared that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

Page 140. "When the people have emptied themfelves of all the lutt of felfifh will, which without religion it is utterly impofible they ever fhould, when they are confcious that they exercife: and exercife perhaps in an higher link of the order of delegation, the power, which to be legitimate muft be according to that eternal immutable law, in which will and reafon are the fame, they will be more careful how they place power in bafe and incapable hands."
10. How beautifuliy this is perplexed ! the works of a prophet always require an interpreter.

Page 145. Perfuaded that all things ought to be done with refercrice, and referring ail to the point of reference to which all thould be directed, they think themfelves bound, not only as individuals in the fanduary of the heart, or as congregated in that perional capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and calt."
11. Naity, without occafion :

Page 151. "They are not repelled through a faftidious delicacy, at the ftench of their arrogance and prefumption, from a mouiciadi atiention to their nacntal blotches and iunning fores."

To conflruct fentences of feurrilons epithets, the author feems to have turned to the words ' Atheit', Traitor and Robber, in Johnfon's dictionary ; and by the conjunction 'and' to have connected them and all their fyonomis-when a patrict or a philofopher occurred to his imagination.

The work, on the whole, wants that lucid order, that air of demonfration, which real fcience gives to every fpecics of argument.

The author's anger throughout, is not the emotion of a great and good mind : it is that of Milton's fiend contemplating the innocence of our firit parents, and the puffuble happinefs of their race.

His imagery is incorrect, often diftorted; and his language is rumbling, noify, and inharmonious.

But all myltic productions fhould have thefe "feeming" faults, to produce their cifects on the multitude, who are always convinced if fufficiently territied; who are highly edificd by unintelligible enigmas; and often adore a lequacious impoltor, who by foothing their prejudices, invades their rights; and on their credulity and mifery erects his fplendid fortune and his fame.


[^0]:    - Lord Nirth's confidential fecretary.
    + If the conduet of the min!ter were thoroughly underfood in this tu, finefs; if the motives of his fuddesi converfion to the opinion that Haftings Shruld be impeacher, were flated to parliament and the country by an able and honelt fewstor, we might fee what we have loag wanted, a minifter renuered actually refponfible.

[^1]:    - Mifs B- $\mathbf{P} \rightarrow$ and Capt. Pagne are in the family without appointment, ar.d hope to be the Madame Schwelleaburgh and Jenkinfon of Carlion Houle.

[^2]:    - See votes of Congrefs in 1774. The form of the Republic has fince been altered; but the alteration does not remedy the difparity and provincial incongruities; which I coclider as the defege of the Conftitution,

[^3]:    - IThe Prince will recollect the fipulations made by this frothy and fen$\therefore$ :mental declainer, before he proncunced bis oration on the Regency.

[^4]:    - A fimilar pamplee wid pablified alork the Thene tirate, and cortairing firibr ideas, called, A Plem of Affociation on Cooftivatimal PriticiPhesf, and I fulpen, by the language, it was written by the fime Author. . -
    4 I excepe a gemileman who has dodicated workt to your Royal Highnefs, in the plain and manly language of Virtue. In lectures on Political
     all climates, esc. are oppofed to thofe of Montefyeicm with great addrefs and effect. Bux the Author, bold as be in otprefleahimictr is the langugge of Ipeculation, little imagining that the Nationtl Aimenty of Enatio would imnediatcly publikh to glorions a Commentary on his work.

[^5]:    - See numerous authorities in Bede, Sprlman, Selden, Wilkins, Wright,

[^6]:    - Princes aod magiftrates chould fcorn to be apparitors to ambitious, fel\& th, and ufelefs priefts, or the minitters of their intolerant and cruel purpofes. Darius hearing of difpites in Perfia, of fimilar importance with thofe which now agitate the fupertitious world, aked the Greeks, What thoms they would take to eat their parents? They exclaimed, Not all the gold in the world! He alked the Callattii, a people inhabiting a part of India, and who eat their parents, What they would take to burn them? $-\infty$ The propofal produced crics of borror.--" Go to your hahitationa," faid the King; " and eat or not eat your parents, as you like; hot do not meoljf earb efber." -The priefls of both parties murmured at the laft injunction.

[^7]:    - The reader is to obferve, that the Author ofes the word Religion, as fignifying the varied fuperitition which governments employ to mppoverifh and enfave the yeople
    $\dagger$ Common minds thould cautioully pronounce concerning Mininers who are born Scatefmen, or Heaven-bora: but it is certain Mr. Pitt's approbation of Mr. Burke's fpecth on che French Revolution occafioned all thofe meafures of Frince, which embarrafed his Spanith negociation.

    The National Affembly had been inftruted from England, to diftinguilh the wifhes of the Englifh Adminiftration from thofe of the Nation: the meafures of France roald otherwife have been more decifive, and a war muft have enfued.

[^8]:    - This phrafe will foon be explained.

[^9]:    * The beft inmiar of tiois conatry, in the nind finfe of the word, and cne of its beat men, died in the thoufe of a fieriff's officer. This affect:ng crent gave rife to the fociey for the eflablifument of a iterary fund. Mr. Burke was requefted to affil in the inflitution; but he treated the application wi.h fuch angry rudenef, and with fuch abufe of Jiterature, that the gentleman who conveyed the meffage of the focicty tho:aght him inlane. No-fait ane of his political friends-bur he hates every man who would participite with him, the fmalleth portion of literary fame.
    + Mr. B"rke lias ercatly cunfoled the "pious votaics" of ancient orjer and privilece, by amouncing the converfon of Newgate into a Batilic.The runilument of h.ord Gcorge Gordon has been generally thougit too fevere, while Mr. ard Mifadame l.a Motte difributed volumes with impunity nn the fame fuiject. P'ullic difapprobation would have enfued, if I.nrd (George latd not hecn peculiarly unpppular. It was not howecver im-:hici., usti! Mr. Burte difidefed the fecret, that future informations ex offin. where farali: and privileges are concerned, may dirve che purpof: of Lettres de Cachet.

