LESSONS

то А

YOUNG PRINCE,

BY AN

OLD STATESMAN,

🕒 N THE

PRESENT DISPOSITION IN EUROPE

то А

GENERAL REVOLUTION.

His David Stallaring

THE SEXTH EDITION.

With the addition of a Leffon on the

MODE OF STUDYING AND PROFITING

BY THE REFLECTIONS ON THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE

E D M U N D B U R K E.

EMBELLISHED WITH FIVE COPPERPLATES, DELINEATING FIVE POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS IN A MODE ENTIRELY NEW.

Quod munus reipublicæ afferre majus meliusque possus, quam si docemus atque crudimus juventutem his præsertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa cil, ut omnium opibus restrænanda atque coercenda sit. Crc. de Div. lib. ii. ver. 4.

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-1791.-

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE doarines inculcated in the following " Leffons" fo nearly coincide with those ideas that have jo long prevailed in this country, relative to the natural and political rights of man, and furnifb fo excellent and striking a commentary upon those great principles of republican equality, which formerly gave birth to the American, and more recently to the French Revolution, that the Publishers of THIS AMERICAN EDITION determined, upon first fight of the work, to re-print it with all the expedition that circumflances would admit.-It may not be improper to add, that the quiet, unmolefted, and unmenaced publication and circulation of this book, Mr. Paine's Rights of Man, Ec. through Great Britain, evidently proves that a Revolution has already been effectuated on the minds of the people there, which must foon pervade the rotten parts of their government and procure as thorough a reform, both civil and ecclefiafical, as has already taken place in France : It being an indifputable truth, that the enlightened spirit of England will never suffer the French to exist for any length of time, a freer nation than themfelves.

THE PUBLISHERS.

INTRODUCTION.

E VERY writer wishes to have fomething understood, though he may feldom fuggest the truth, respecting himself.—— That I am approaching the extremity of life, may be eredited, from my garrulity, from a general recurrence to distant events, as authorities, and from an affectation of prophecy or prediction.

That I am difinterested, will not be fupposed, at a time when the possibility of difinterestedness is disputed. Concealing my name even from the Printer and publisher; laying indiscriminately before the exalted perfonage I address, the truths that occur to me; and confuring equally his friends and opponents: It will be difficult, for it is difficult to myself, to imagine any interests actuating my mind, besides those of a public nature.

That I have not been a fpectator only of the incidents of this age, every man of bufinels will differ by internal evidence— That I am not an author by profeffion, will be perceived by the loweft retainer of periodical criticifm—my great object is to roufe latent principles in a mind I think excellent, which has been neglected, or mifled with defign. If I fucceed, I shall filently carry the fatisfaction to the tomb that awaits me——If I fail, my laft, will only share the fate of fome former efforts and their inefficacy will reconcile me to their oblivion. CONTENTS.

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LESSONS

LESSONS TOA PRINCE.

LESSON I.

VIEW OF THE PRINCE'S EDUCATION, AND ITS EFFECTS.

Privatas spes agitantes, sine publica cura. Tac.

DEMETRIUS Phalereus advised Ptolemy to study books; because things might be written in them, which his triends dared not advise.

Your Royal Highnels is respectfully requested to confider the present section as an historical picture, in which you are the principal figure.

It is the reproach of English education, that ornamental objects are preferred to those of utility; and an invariable mode of forming a scholar is applied to all the purposes of life. The preceptors of your Royal Highnels are not answerable for the defects of a plan, in the formation of which they were not confulted*. They may be sufficiently justified by your proficiency in the belles lettres, and in the general accomplishments of a gentleman.

In moral arrangements, and in prudential preparations for the first impressions of society, the royal system was extremely defective. The education of the King had been monastic; and the Queen, bred up in the acconomy of a little court, introduced a species 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 Highnefs's emancipation was that of a prifoner from confinement : you plunged into the joys of fociety, with the avidity of one who had never tafted joy.

B

* The question, "Whether it was expedient the Princes should be scholars" greatly agitated the cabinet of B— house almost a year. Dr. M a..d Mr. J— had engaged them in the road of knowledge. Lord H traversed their endeavours;—and they were exchanged for the supple H— d and the infignificant A—. The firing contrast formed by the pleafurable world and Buckingham-house; and the petty fpirit of reproach and crimination incident to parents of recluse dispositions—generated that opposition, of which the great factions of the time availed themfelves, and to which alone it can be beneficial. It was taste rather than judgment that determined your opinion on every thing fostered at Buckingham-house; and the maxims of that house, which precipitated you into the arms of party, will shortly be differend to have no affinity with those of real prudence, or real wifdom.

That I am not devoted to the party at Buckingham-houfefor I call every combination a party, which is not formed on public principles-you will often in these lucubrations have occafion to perceive. The great evil of the opposition that boalts your Royal Highness's fanction is, that by an odium which time and talents have not abated, it fhadows an administration incapable, ignorant, and at enmity with the effential principles of a free constitution. The prefent ministry embrace every plaufible pretence to circumferibe and abolifh the trial by jury; beflow honors and benefices with views of corrupt influence flightly difguifed; employ the pretence of paying off the national debt, to encrease taxes and multiply establishments for private purposes: and they involve the country in a predatory war, in hopes fome chances may furnish pretences for checking the progress of that liberty, which at this time menaces equally the infidious chicane of one leading partizan, and the imperious audacity of another; which may call Britain as well as France to its ftandard ; and bestow on its ministers the fate of Breteuil, Brienne, Launay, and Calonne. With this actual character, and with these known views, ministers are secure of their places, and may proceed without danger, in advancing the interests of their connections, and injuring those of the public; in infults to all rank, merit, and service, not submissive to their will; and in the because they are protected by your Royal Father-not from their interest or connections in the country-not by their abilitics and talents----BUT MERELY BY THE UNIVERSAL DREAD OF THE DEPREDATIONS OF A NEEDY AND PROFLIGATE CABAL. Let this dread be removed ; let the people of England be convinced, that the confequence of difmiffing the prefent administration will not be the introduction of this cabal into power, Pitt, and the corrupt cluster furrounding him, would instantly fink under the weight of the public refertment of his perfidious fervility in all the malqued and cowardly machinations of delpotilm.

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

Your Royal Highnels will think me miltaken, because you will not eafily imagine L have more wildom or better information than the perfons on whole talents you rely.

"What !" your Royal Highnels may fay, "fhall I attend to the opinions of an unknown writer, who may be a dotard, in opposition to those of a Fox, a Burke, a Sheridan, whose abilities are acknowledged to be superlative, and who are forced from the public helm, only by the malignity of fortune ?"

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 Highness. That the abilities of the gentlemen you protect are brilliant and splendid, I will allow; but that they are superlative, or of the first order of human talents, I will examine; and if you will have the patience to attend me, I will enable your Royal Highness to judge.

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

I am going to hazard an opinion, on which I would hazard my life-that Fox, by far the superior man of the party, is remarkably defective in the great and inventive properties of wifdom--schemes, plans, information, or materials, have ever been collected for Fox by all the talents and indukry of a powerful party; and he has, above all men, the faculty of inftantly giving order and expression to uncouth and enormous masses: but his mind not embracing the origin of measures, it is a chance that he directs them to the ruin or to the advantage of his party. L 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 has incurred it, not from difhonefty, for if there be an honeft 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 the coalition, I am not informed. By internal evidence, I should adjudged it to be the idea of Burke: the extravagant abfurdity of it fuits no other mind.

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

The doctrine of hereditary regency was furnished by Lord Loughborough (the well-known Wedderburne) with abundant promises of authorities and reasons, which were never fulfilled.

in the trial of Haftings, eloquence has been employed, like water in an inundation, without judgment and without advantage.

All the objects in the contemplation of Mr. Fox on these celebrated occasions, might have been obtained—not only without infamy, but with applause.

Pitt has obtained 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 Kabinfon * from his old mafter. He bes acquired more power in India than Mr. Fox aimed at, by only faving appearances with the King: he has acquired popularity by a doctrine respecting the power of two estates in Parliament, which if advanced by Mr. Fox, would have procured his impeachment; and he has rendered his opponents the inftruments of his own purposes respecting Mr. Hastings †.

Such are the *fuperlative* abilities of your Royal Highnels's principal, though, perhaps, not your favorite counfellor,

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

Sheridan, with equal imagination, has more art; and being educated on the flage, underflands the method of giving effect to every fentiment, action, and expression. But he is a mere artificer of scenes: his orations are plays in a new form; and they produce amusement and admiration, never conviction or respect.

The abilities and accomplithments of the three united would not conftitute a flatefman, or a truly great man. Their fancies or imaginations are not balanced by fcience, or by that high and exalted reaton which is formed by the calm and patient fludy of

* Lord North's confidential fecretary.

+ If the conduct of the minister were thoroughly understood in this buy fines; if the motives of his fudden conversion to the opinion that Hastings should be impeached, were stated to parliament and the country by an able and honest femator, we might see what we have long wanted, a minister renuered actually responsible. philosophy, a profound acquaintance with history, and the frict discipline of mathematics.

Your Royal Highness will therefore derive no real advantage from the boasted talents of these orators, unless they should answer Rabelais' opinion of Pantagruel, who covered his whole army with his tongue, and sheltered it from inclemencies and inconveniencies.

LESSON II.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Rebus minoribus quisque tendentes. Tac.

I KNOW your Royal Highness 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 subject of the first leffon I meant to submit to your perusal.

If the champions of the party you have espoused are such as I have described—if the combined talents of the phalanx have not produced public respect—what can your Royal Highness hope from a system of favouritism for the elevation of the most exceptionable—I do not concur in the trivial objections to Mr. Sheridan's origin, education, and destination—If these were more exceptionable than they are represented to be; they are circumstances 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 strong passions.

I believe not one half of the common catalogue of his stratagems 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 every thing to every man; is unfusceptible of real attachment; and though he may have protectors and admirers, Sheridan is without a friend.

You may peculiarly diffinguish such a man-you may, on fome future occasion, give him the lead in your councils: but the power of a throne would not suffain him in the situation.

Recollect the manner in which propositions from him have been received in Parliament, that would have covered another with glory. Recollect the principal cause, in the obtrusion of his interference during the illusion of your Royal Father, and in the method of managing your paffions to the purpoles of his ambition.

The artifices of that period were fo clearly and inflantaneoufly perceived, that the nation felt to its utmost extremities a repugnance and detellation, which the amiable character and manners of your Royal-Highness could hardly restrain within the limits of peace.

Can your Royal Highness imagiae, the country was agitated or interested by the question of right? Do you suppose the probable accession of the respectable and patriotic families of Devonshire and Portland occasioned alarm? Or can your Royal Highness conceive, that exchanging Pitt for Fox in the offices of venality, could excite the general terror, which fanctioned resolutions of Parliament the most absurd, the most unconstitutional, the most inimical to Liberty; which embalmed the numerous and important errors of your Father's reign; directed the public wishes to the royal couch with a fervour little short 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 shall foon give fome description.

As it may be neceffary to allude to A LADY, I hope nothing can eleape 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 feason of love. I am incapable of an act fo daftardly, as to fully the fame, 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 fascinations of the *Perdita*,* prudence fmiled, and the error was justified by taste: but *Cleopatra*+ never faw, never will see in Anthony, any thing besides the probable master of the world.

: Every measure, from the first moment of acquaintance, has been fystematic: the experienced dame practifed from art the leffon which Nature taught Daphne; fhe fled, that Apollo might follow; and by combining a flight and fickle inclination with Royal impatience, the formed a pation, which had been in vain attempted by charms and talents infinitely fuperior.

These things would not have been worth the trouble of recording, if the great object of the fystem had not been political power.

^{*} Mrs. Robinfon. + Mirs. Fitzherbert.

You will perceive the truth, if your Royal Highness will recollect, that when impelled by filial duty to attend your Royal Parent on a fick bed, the Lady fixed herself at Bagshot, under the sympathetic wing of a Royal Dutchess,* and attended by her faithful, difinterested friends, Mr. and Mrs. Sheridan.

Conceive, Sir, the public fentiment, when a question of the utmost importance was depending, no access to your Royal Highness was to be had, no message delivered, not a word to be spoken without the knowledge of one or more of these respectable Perfonages. The nation lost all judgment on the subjects under confideration: the people faw only the cabal; the little White Houset in Pall Mall was regarded with the feelings of Syracuse at the ear of Dionysius; and the minister might have marched his parliamentary adherents over propositions more absurd and pernicious, than those which assigned to prepared majorities in a vicious and inadequate representation, the whole political power of a free state.

The projected Court of the Regent did not escape the public knowledge; and the great Dutchels had planned it on the model of that of Comus. The LADY was to be ennobled, to have her evening drawing rooms, in the manner of the Countels of Yarmouth, and the modes of venality which diffinguished the politics of that favourite would not have been inexpedient to the circumstances, or unfuitable to the principles of the Cabal.

To accultom the public eye to the purposed inversion of rank and order, the great Dutchels introduced the lady into the accellible purlieus of royalty, and she was frequently displayed, as one of its possible appendages, within the envied rails of Rotten-Row. I faw the effect of that display on the crowd which obferved it; and if Pitt or Dundas had formed the stratagem, it could not have been more to their purpose. The heads of all the first families in the kingdom were offended at the appearance of Sheridan in the foreground, during the preparatory transactions for a Regency; but their wives and daughters felt an infult when the great Dutchels conveyed the Lady in triumph to breathe the royal dust of Rotten-Row.

^{*} Dutchefs of Cumberland. '† Mrs. Fitzherbert.

[†] Mrs. Fitzherbert's.

This is another inftance of the judgment of your counfellors, who difeern 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 most respectsible and valuable of your friends.

Since the Recovery of your Royal Father, these friends just fave appearances ; they frequently express their apprchentions, 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 Highnels is frequently compared, indulged his eccentricities at eighteen; your Royal Highness 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 interefled, fordid fet; their advice, their suggestions, their meafures would be a profanation of every thing princely : the modes of expence, the fratagems for obtaining money, the intermixture of Royal Spies^{*} and princely confidants, the familiarities of adventurers, &c. are not respectable, and being long continued, imprefs on the nation an idea of characteristic and incurable frivolity. This idea has been entertained by the most enlightened and valuable of your former friends; and their ablence from your private parties, or nocturnal confultations, has given an artful and defigning adventurer an opportunity of railing himself into confequence, to the great offence of those old and respectable families who actually placed on the throne the House of Brunswick, and supported it against foreign and domestic foes at a great expense of blood and treasure.

I entreat your Royal Highnels to confider the circumftances which menace the peace and prosperity of this country, however advantageous its present situation.

It has escaped 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 measures, though folly may ascribe them to its Ministers and Councils : those events will foon have their effects; and a state of general peace, which even war must shortly produce, will favor that general disposition in Europe for which philosophy has been long preparing it, which must soon reach this island, and the nature of which I have undertaken to explain to you.

* Mils B- P-t and Capt. Payne are in the family without appointment, and hope to be the Madame Schwellenburgh and Jenkinson of Carlton House.

To contemplate this disposition, to mark its approaches, and to judge of its effects, may be an employment as worthy your abilities, as it may be interesting to your future fate. But this is not to be done among the puerile and petty distractions of your present situation. Confect to the wishes of your Royal parents—yield to the earnest desires of your country, by a marriage becoming your dignity, and by the establishment of a respectable houshold: and then your Royal Highness may look forward, with thoughtful confideration to the incidents and dutics that probably await you.

 $\mathbf{L} \in \mathbf{S} \otimes \mathbf{O} \mathbf{N}^{\mathsf{p}}$ III.

What ! what ! if they go on at this rate. in thirty years they will not leave a King in Europe !

GEORGE III.

I F his Majefty meant arbitrary kings, or perfons invefted with numerous differentionary powers, I am inclined to adopt the opinion.

Whether the executive power of the State should be in one or in many, is not with me a question: but that the executive should controul, direct or influence the legislative; or that any species of power, prerogative, or privilege should be independent of the public will, is a question to which the abilities of the world feem at this time to be directed.

If your Royal Highnets would but very curforily examine the hiftory of Europe, you would find, in almost every page, instances and acts of power, prerogative, and privilege, to the difadvantage and injury of fociety. These acts have excited convultions, which have been denominated rebellion or patriotifm, according to their effects. It feems at this time to be the general purpose of political philosophy—not to expel or degrade constitutional kings—but to demoliss those fourious and pernicious beings which are the offspring of privilege, and whole operations are capricious, arbitrary, and mischievous.

The great inquiry before the philosophical world is - not the nature of God, the mechanism of the universe, or the composition of its elements, but the principles of society. The world has been flooded with the blood of its inhabitants by the caprices of

tyrants, under the denomination of emperor, king, conful, feuate, parliament, and popular affembly; and the miferies of millions demand of wifdom, "Where is the power which efta-"bliftes and connects all the orders of a community, 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 every thing? Who can point out to us the "form, the organization of that moral perfou, a fociety or com-"munity, to which unity is neceffary, and of which Liberty is "the effect ?"

What anfwers have been made to this demand, may deferve the attention of your Royal Highnefs; as it may enable you to form an opinion on the King's prediction.

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The fophiltry of political writers has been exhausted on the comparative merits of monarchies, ariftocracies, and democracies, but no model has been exhibited, no form delineated, of a fociety which may protect and defend with its whole force the perfon and property of every one of its members, and in which each individual, by uniting himfelf to the whole, shall nevertheles be obedient only to himfelf, and remain fully at liberty to every thing but injury.

The general refult, however, of inquiry and experiment on political fubjects is,—an opinion or principle that the fupreme power of every flate is in the body of the people; becaufe it can have no interest contrary to that of individuals, and flands not in need of guarantees: for it is impossible the body should attempt to hurt itfelf, or have a disposition to injure its members.

But how is the general will to be obtained? Individuals may have private wills regarding private interest; but the general will is directed only to the general good.

Hiftory will not greatly affift us. Defpotic and monarchic fates are out of the inquiry. Indeed every lawful government is neceffarily a republic; for no other can have the public intereft for its object: but those denominated republics in ancient and modern hiftory, have not the public interest for their object, and are not formed to promote it. Athens, Lacedemon and Rome were ruled by idle and profligate mobs in contention with privileged fenates. Aristotle seems to prefer the conflictution of Carthage to any other; but he justify observes, it was highly reprehensible, because the same person might be appointed to feveral offices; and a certain revenue or birth was necessary to civil fituations—virtue being estimated as nothing.

Modern politics have admitted, in a few states, that the general voice should have a mode of expressing itself, and that the mode

should be a part of the constitution: this has given rife to the idea of representation and the appointment of deputies.

BUT THE SUPREME POWER OR THE ACTUAL SOVEREIGHTY OF A STATE CANNOT BE REPRESENTED OR DEPUTED. Powers may be delegated of various and extensive effect; but the omnipotence of fociety, if any where, is in itfelf. In the attempt to delegate fovereign power, the community would confign to its princes or its parliaments the difp fition of life and property—on what condition? 'I hat they may difpofe of them as they pleafe.

The act which conflitutes government is not, cannot be even a contract; it is the will, the arbitrary law of an abfolute fovereign. The depositaries of delegated power, whether called princes, fenates, or parliaments, are not proprietors or mailers; they are fubject 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 Highness may fay, Why perplex me with such inquiries? "I have always been instructed, the constitution of "England is the utmost effort of human wildom; and I should " answer you by a reference to that constitution."

LESSON IV.

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

- Cunctas nationes et urbes, populus aut primores aut finguli regunt. Delecta ex his et constituta Reipub. forma, laudari, facilius quam evenire; vel si evenerit, haud diuturna esse potest. Tac.
- All nations and cities are governed either by the people, the nobles, or by fingle rulers. A Republic conflituted by an union of thefe, is to be wijked for rather than accomplifhed; or if accomplifhed, it would not be lafting.

THIS is supposed to be the plan on which the conflictution of England is formed; but the supposition is groundlefs. The English government has fluctuated more than any other in Europe; and the fluctuations have been wholly owing to the operation of moral and political causes.

Violent imprudencies of despotism produced some apparent and some real improvements in the administration of law; but the confliction of the legislature is a fraudulent deception; and the people of England have in reality no more choice or will in the election of their pretended reprefentatives, than the people of Hindustan, Perfia, or Turkey.

Let your Royal Highnels be at the trouble of looking into Middlefex and Weltminster; and no parts of England are fo free-deduct from the electors all the tradefinen who are obliged to vote with their cuffomers; the tenants who are appendages to houses; and the freeholders who are entangled with the aristocracy or with government; and you may be furprized at the remainder.

Sir—a free people, that can neither form itfelf into a community, nor execute any operation; but is abfolutely fubjected in its actions and energies, and in the fubjects on which it is permitted to think and fpeak—to powers conflictutionally fubordinate—is an abfurdity.

No people can be free, whole deputies may be enflaved by the executive power, who fee the pretended conflictation and laws refigned to its mercy without being able to oppose the abuies by any thing but petitions and complaints to those who have an interest in those abuses.

If I wished to give a summary of the English constitution, as it has existed some time in practice, I would not make extracts from the romances of Montesquieu or Blackstone-I would invoke the PIOUS muse of a Marquis Townshend or of an Edmund Burke, when warmed by the long-sought rays of royal favour; and as every thing is at this time covered by religion, I would place the most popular of your LEFARTED ancestors; and each in his day has beeg called THE BEST OF KINGS- before the GeD* OF ISRAEL, to whom he should offer the following devotions:

"If it hath been OUR object to difpute with an ariftocracy the government of a people who import us, and to render liberty, property, and life, at the differentiation of diffiplined majorities, in those affemblies which flouid protect them--if to fecure a fure though imperceptible dominion over the legiflature, and to add the power of making to that of executing the laws, fecrefy and craft have been fubfiltuted for authority and power, thou wilt forgive the neceffity, as in the most favoured of thy amounted fervanes of ancient times. "We thank thee, that the affiduity and labour of many years have not been fruitlefs; and that we have A LOYAL AND DU-

* To what are we to afcribe, that priefts never addrefs maximal prayers to the God of Nature, Truth, and Virtue?

" TIFUL PARLIAMENT. To fuit temptations to the vain, the " ambitious, the needy; to practife the various arts which influ-" ence vicious affemblies; to have the supposed representatives " of the people in the confidence of our fervants; to induce them " to declaim on national interests, while they propose the in-" dulgence of their passions; to forget their country in defiance " of engagements, yct to fave appearances, or even to affume " the fame of virtue.--These are objects of magnitude and " merit. The penfioners of OUR court and their numerous con-" nections; those who watch for occasional doceurs; those " who make speeches to force stipulations; and the flying squa-" drons which fluctuate between duty and temptation.---We " thank thee, that we have nothing to fear from fuch guardians. " The grand fecret in the management of political bodies is " that of dividing them, and pailing the profituted parts for " the whole. Every thing is accomplished when the legislature " is involved in the faction of the court, partaking our bounty, " or hoping to partake it, and joining in any measures the pup-" pet we fix at the helm.-Foster, in thy goodness, the general " disposition to fervility: The SACRED tribe has ever been ready " to diffuse pompous titles, sublime names, and divine honours, " as involved in the ideas of royalty; and if the Prince confent " to be their apparitor, to patronize their oppressions, or to " execute their cruelties, they foon inftruct the credulous multi-" tude to confider him, as he may be, the reprefentative of THEIR " God ; his decrees as oracles from heaven, and blind fubmiffion " as the most facred duty. When Samuel hewed Agag into 45 pieces, and when Nero murdered his mother, the priefts led " the people to their temples, to thank THEIR GODS for actions, " and to offer incenfe for crimes, which human nature abhorred. " The enchantment of superstition renders serviceable the " moit unprincipled and most infamous of men. On a national * fellival, the mouth of the congregation shall be the most ce-" lebrated for deception; the name being equivalent to a falfe-" hood in every fpot of the world: Yet the holy bandage is " tinctured and transparent; it renders good evil, and evil " good. The voke of the priesthood, though the most galling " is the leaft hazardous of all the inftruments of despotic power; " that lyftem of civil tyranny is the most practicable, which is " grafted on affections supposed to be religious; and this, " through the world, is the defired ALLIANCE OF CHURCH AND " STATE.

"HISTORY furnifies leffons on the events attributed to thy " providence. Our pictur predeceffor Henry VII. now with ⁶⁶ thee, always ruled by a faction; and, according to the *inffired* ⁶⁷ Burke, it is the conflictional government of the land: It is ⁶⁷ true, he erred in the open appointment of the Empfon and ⁶⁷ Dudley of the day; for he did not mark their vices by oftenfible ⁶⁷ innocence and honeity; the judicious interpolition of unfullied ⁶⁶ purity and blunt brutality would have enabled them, as it ⁶⁷ enables the inftruments of OUR power to pervert forms, and ⁶⁸ to diffribute among OUR and THEIR friends the fruits of gene-⁶⁹ ral induftry.

"Catt a HOLY miß before the cycs of the people; give our minifiers wildom, to lull them into fecurity. Let determined profligacy and profanencis, in the molt favoured of our fervants, appear as flern integrity; let juvenile ignorance be called candour, and the want of natural pations be deemed puricy; and let a cautious fythem of avaricious artifice, which eradicates every fibre by which a child is held to a mother's heart, be celebrated by all the bands of venality, as inpernatural and divine prudence. —The people never forefee their fate: it is the peculiar faculty of our pretent fervants to render illufive the birthmoft faceed liberties: the laborious peatant, or the induffrious mechanic, preceives not his fervitude until he is fprinkled by the blood of his fellow-fubject, or feels himfelf unexpectedly crufhed.

" By the prefent system of finance, the interests of the treasury " are fo entwined with the general-property, that it requires the " most delicate hand to lav the axe at any of the roots of corrup-The most oppressive minister, if he use the language of « tion. " reluctance and candour, may be effectually supported by the e numerous FACTORS of his administration; by fpeculators in " funds, by contractors, brokers, ticket dealers; by the timid, " the weak, the fickle, the fordid, the indelent polleflors of money : " these form powerful and extensive factions in favour of the flight-" eft whilper from the treasury; they raise clamours against the « complaints of patrictifm, and they fmother the melancholy " murmurs of the nation. Yet occafional difficulties arife. The " wants of venality are infinite; and though we contract debts **44 with one hand to accumulate with the other, the avarice of** • • • • • • is an unfarhomable and infatiable aby is..... Enlight " ten the foul of our BEAVEN-BORN minifter with the flionget " rays of invention, but furround his heart with ice; let it never " palpitate with any paffion that does not fpring from fystematic " depredation; let him be dead to all pleafure and all joy, for he " might otherwife be moved by pity at the crite of want in the

" fangs of excife. Concentrate all his affections in the ambition of ferving us with the hope of immeafurable reward; confirm him in the exquisite hypocrify by which fallacious hopes are held out, that the public burdens will be removed, and the public vexations mitigated: may he live without ties, avoid the inconveniencies of generous paffions, AND WE WILL EXTIN-GUISH HIS FAME, LIKE THE IMPOSTURE OF CHATHAM, BY REWARDS THAT SHALL RENDER HIM INFAMOUS!

"We thank thee, that by his affiduity the arms of the cuftoms and excile nearly embrace the land. Inftruct their numerous retainers to infinuate the maxims of subjection, to abuse by fear, to feduce by hope, to cortupt by avarice; to diffipate all averfion of power, and all horror of tyranny; to expetiate on our sacred UNDERTAKINGS, and to beflow encominants on deeds which profane, and audatious patriotism would brand with infamy. "We now hear little of fensible, fober, or wife men; of that

" elevation which feorns fervility to power, or of that generofity which, in every form, would effoure the caule of Liberty: we fee only ambition, variously marked, anxiously marking the fources of wealth; wretches who hope to prosper by public diforder; ATHEISTIC priefts in the garb of piety fervile academicians, disputatious pedants, and the variegated herds of political and ecclefisitical profitutes.

" Protect those focieties, academies, fehools, and universities, where every thing may be taught, except the DUTIES of kings, the rights of focieties, and the general privileges of mankind.

"Let the retainers of wildom feek confolation in virtuous poverty; give us fupple penfioners, brilliant fophifts, and proftituted fycophants; the praifes they beflow are profule, and they fly on LAUREATED wings through every climate to cull the flowers of adulation, while oblitinate integrity fuffers in filence, or the fighs of fuffering virtue are enclosed by the walls of its wretched habitation.

"By the wildom infpired by the GOD OF JACOB we have converted our bitteralt enemy into a friend. The liberty of the prefs, our averfion and horror, is now our advantage: for inflead of using the chicane and fraud of law, which are pernicious to friend and foe, we directed into that province. OUR BENIGN AND ROYAL INFLUENCE; it inflantly attracted the fecondary swarms of literati, whose existence, like that of reptiles, depends on depredation and injury: defitute of virtue, they will not afcribe it without reward; and their shafts of ridicule are poisoned by envy; glorious deeds they depress with allerity; good actions ficken them, and the triends of liberty " they cordially alperfe.—We laud and praife thee for mercenary feribblers in all the provinces of literature; THOU HAST MADE NO. VERMIN IN VAIN; thole who feed on our reputation and happiness, as well as thole who burrow in our flesh: their efforts are less offensive than the villainies of lawyers in alpersing popular and aspiring men, when in opposition to the treasury, and vilifying or detaming those who counteract the machinations of the cabinet.

"We thank thee for those profituted multitudes so easily obtained in this town, who spread rumours, excite suspicions, and ruin all public confidence in the pretensions of virtue: thou hask enabled us to devise those snares which entangle popular characters, and induce them to disgrace themselves.

"Our PIOUS brother Louis XIV. when he wifhed to deceive the French nation, had recourfe to feftivals called religious, and the difplay of the fine arts, which encourage those only who fublish by the fellies of the opulent, and the industry of whose professions attaches them to no country. While the inconfiderate mukitude is devoted to joy, they perceive not the chains which we cover with flowers, or the remote confequences that threaten them, and by which every controuling check on our power is to be cut down.

"By feflivals, fliews, and exhibitions, WISE politicians extinguiffied in Rome that refilets love of liberty, fo inconvenient to power. The progress of the arts has been ever accompanied with the progress of flavery, and even sciences of a sedentary and puerile kind have similar tendencies. Hence the service devotion of academies, societies, and learned corporations.

" It requires the higheit portion of wildom from THEE to render the army tolerable to *feditious* Englishmen: foldiers have been GRADUALLY substituted every where for civil officers; they arreit offenders, they attend malefactors, or they clear the high-ways; they are placed at the entrance of theatres, auction and exhibition rooms; they watch the people wherever they meet, and ferve as nightly guards where any thing valuable is to be protected, they have tried infults and injuries on the people, who are not suffered to defend themselves.—When the whole of this good work is perfected, our foul will fing halleular to THEE, O GOD OF ARMIDS!

"In this complicated fystem of policy, if any errors are committed, thou knowest we CAN DO NO WRONG; the blame is on bad counsellors. Let the evils of a detestable and difgraceful war be on Lord North; we have changed our administration, and if we succeed not in any of our views by the instrumentality of our prefent servants, we will repent of the unsuccessful measures, distributes the unsuccessful minister with the guilt of
failure on his head; and, without the apprehension of future
confequences, direct all our high priests to call the GOD of
JSRAEL to witness our intentions. In all these things we
trace the steps of the PIOUS MARTYR, and of ALL THE NURSING FATHERS AND NURSING MOTHERS OF THY CHURCH."

But I will delineate the Eiglish Constitution more explicitly, than can be done weapy initation of the present fashionable desocion.

LESSON V.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

When Princes, who ought to be common parents, make themfolves a party, and lean to a fide—it is a boat that is overthrown by uneven aveight.

LORD BACON.

W ITH all the boaked learning and improvement of mankind, no fociety has been yet to conflict or organized as to produce that genuine public principle, whose object is the fecurity and happiness of the community without injury to the rights of the world.

As men emerge from favage into civilized conditions, fome species of talents obtain a preference, and the general labour is taxed to support privileges, or to culfil the iniquitous and monfrous engagements of hereditary and perpetual rewards.

Hence the origin of dignities, ranks, and families, the various combinations of which have formed all the governments of Europe.

The gradations of moderate oppression, or of cruel tyranny in those governments, have been owing to the various modes of combination or conspiracy in the oppressors; and those modes have been inaccurately, but commonly denominated CONSTITUTIONS.

I with not to teize your Royal Highnels on the supposed origin and structure of the English government: it has no other origin than that of all artifices, to subject the general industry to the caprice, convenience, and pleasure of fortunate adventurers. The internal agitations of states, and their external wars, though attributed to other causes, have been wholly owing to the operations of these combinations, or to competitions for their unjustifiable prerogatives.

When the Saxons had induced England, they inflituted as many governments as there were powerful heads of armies; the common foldiers of which they admitted to privileges, on the condition of holding in the most wretched flavery the peafants of the country: this extended the privileged combinations widely; and the jarring interests, claims, and principles produced by the union of the heptarchy, furnished the vigorous and compatibilities mind of Altred with the first correct and rational idea of the political constitution which is recorded in history.

The circumstances of the country requiring the fieldy and continued exertion of its utmost force, he had the genius to differn, that the exertion of that force could not be obtained but by the actual co-currence and exercise of the general will : he, therefore, organized the free parts of the community into a political constitution, the heft imagined and the most effectual that has hitherto been exhibited in the world.

To fave your Royal Highness the trouble of discovering this invention by my description, I will exhibit it in a diagram.

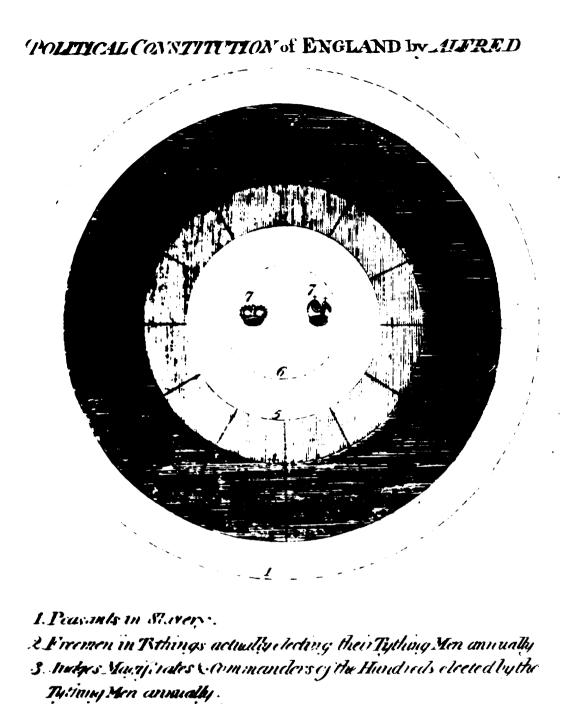
[See PLATE No. I.]

By an attentive glance your Royal Highnefs may understand the excellencies and detects of this wonderful fabric, and learn to revere the memory of a prince, who in an age deemed dark and ignorant could look further into a science which has hitherto bastled the strongest efforts of human reason, than any philosopher or states and of ancient or modern times.

Your Royal Highness will observe, there can be but two species of government-by the general will, or by the will of one or more perions controuling the general will. The latter, in all pessible variations, not being justified by reason, the necessary principles of justice, or by experience-a general acknowledgment has been obtained, that the reasonable, equitable, and beneficial principle of every political constitution is the public will; but the mode of forming or obtaining that will was a problem inexplicable until it attracted the powers of the immortal Alired.

The political firsture of that great prince has all the neceffary properties and effects of an organized body. The head and the extremities are permanently united; not by occafional elections, or by pretended oelegations of national power. The whole furface of the body, by minute fubdivitions, is formed to receive and transmit inflantanceus impressions, external and internal; all the

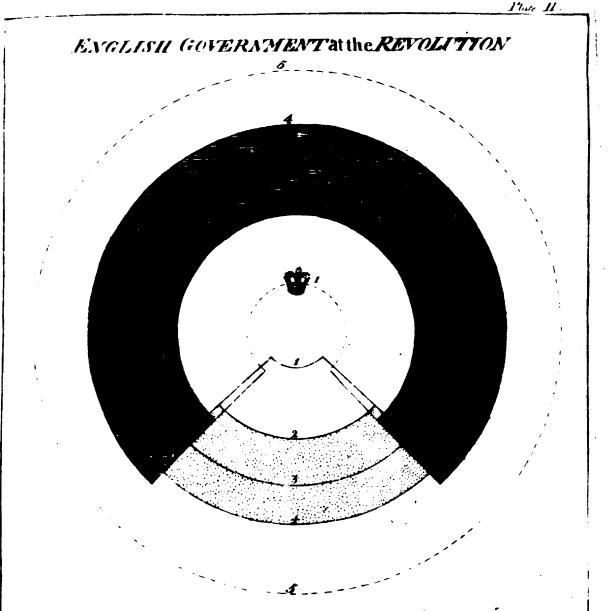




- J.Commanders S. Mugist rates of Countries elected annually by those of ile thendreds.
- 5. The Mycle Gumet Folkmete or annual Afsembly of all the Fremen in the Nation in which the ordinary Acts of the Legislature & Government were adjudged .

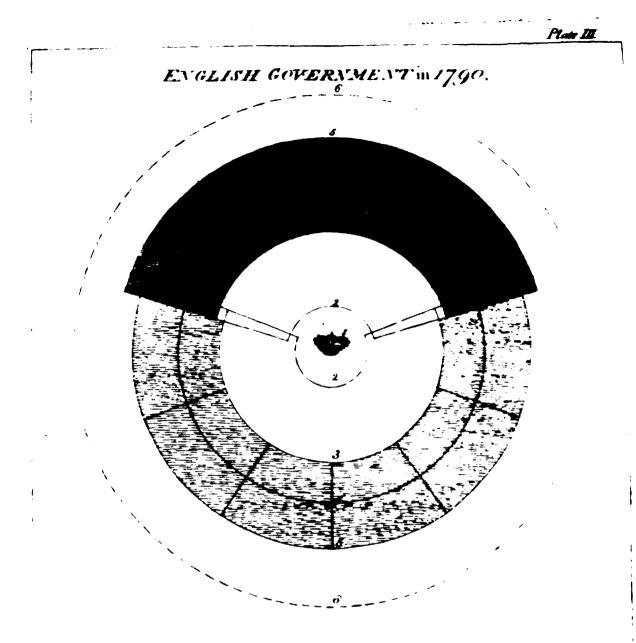
6. Wittenagamet The ordinary Legislature consisting of the King Barns Bishops & c.

7 The Executive & Ecclefiastical Powers co-ordinate.



- 1. The Aristocracy unequally divided the Majority having the Crown in tute lage
- 2. The Legislature unequally divided sappointed by the unequal divisions of the Infloenacy.
- 3. Lord Lieutenants Sheriffs Archlishops Bishops &c appointed by the Anistocracy the Majority using the Name of the Crown 4. Justices of the Peace Rector's Vicars &c appointed by the
- Anistocracy Lord Lieutenants &c.

5. The body of the People variously operated upon & amused by forms but having really no election c: choice and no share in the Political Government.



- 1. The Crown considerably emancy: aled & influencing a small majority of the Aristocracy.
- 2. The Aristocracy divided almost equally
- 3. The Legislature appointed by the Crown & the Instocracy & influenced & divided in the same manner
- 4. Lord Lieutenants Archbishops Bishops & c. appointed influenced & davided in the manner of Parliament.
- 5. Justices of the Peare, Rectors, Vicars &c. appointed, influenced & durided by their Patrons.
- 5. The Body of the People variously operated upon, Camused by forms, but having no electron, choice, or share in the Political Government.

parts are held to their offices by the general force, without commotion and without violence; and the public will being enforced by the public firength, is a law which nothing in the community can dispute or refut.

Two difeates remained in the actual fociety organized by Alfred, which his power could not eradicate, but which the political conflitution a full have gradually expelled—the fuperfittious domision of ecclefiattics, and the flavery of the peafants. The appointment of ecclefiattics, by any species of patronage, is abfolutely inconfiftent with public liberty, as it is with the private honour and virtue of those who are appointed; and the community that admits of flavery, even in the most obscure and unfortunate of its members, is a monfler, the off-pring of ignorance or injustice.

The fucceffors of Altred inherited not his genius, and the general contufion and milery which enfued on his decease, impaired the firucture he had formed; the Norman conquest completed its ruin, and a mode of government took place, in which the general will was not conful.ed.

The internal agitations of the flate from the Conquelt to the Revolution were those of princes and barons, as competitors for a prize, or as bealts for prey; and if your Royal Highnels will candidly confilier the celebrated Revolution, you will find it a compact between the Prince and Princels of Orange and the heads of certain families, attended by the Mayor of London and other perions in the exercise of authority.

I have no doubt, that the measure had the general approbation; but the nation had no ORGAN by which it might form or express the public will: despotism and violence had decomposed it as a body; and factions, more or less exceptionable, assured its name, offices, and privileges.

Government for some time was conducted by the advice, direction. and influence of the great families, which placed the houses of Orange and Brunswick on the throne; long possession formed the idea of an hereditary claim in those families to occupy the principal offices of the State, and a refistance to that claim, by perions who had no further views than to participate its advantages, has occasioned all the factions and contentions of the late reigns.

The government of England—FOR ENGLAND HAS NO POLITI-CAL CONSTITUTION—may be thus delineated :

[See PLATES No. II. & III.]

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not at all confidered, or they have left in doubt and uncertainty the problem molt important to the happinets of mankind, and which an ancient fage " has thus expressed: " The only skill and know-" ledge of any value in politics, is that of governing All by All."

The government of England exhibited to their view every actual effect of defpotism, while it preferved the forms and even the reputation of Liberty. They proposed temporary remedies for partial evils; but no man can turnish a plain, practicable idea of a free Constitution, a fociety organized into a moral body, animated by principles, and directed by its own will.—Mr. Locke's observations are in favour of liberty; but they are general; they flate rights which opprefive governments may not dispute: but the mode of affecting, recovering, or preferving them, he does not point out. His mind had conceived the general and certain remedy of focial diforders, and the only origin of political liberty, in the formation of the whole fociety into a moral being.

Montesquieu, as a philosophical historian, is extremely valuable; as a politician, he is useless or he is pernicious: the opinion that climate should produce and modify government, is fanciful, perhaps puerile; but the idea that any natural and necessary cause should generate A SLAVE, is unphilosophic, untrue, and detestable.

Mr. Hume had talents for political inquiries; but he was principally folicitous for his own fortune and his own fame: his temper and heart were cold; and he apologized for tyranny with as much zeal, as he would have felt in defcribing the deftruction of the Bastile, or the demolition of the infernal dungeons of the Inquisition.

In the enumeration of the origin and effects of moral caufes Hume is a philofopher; in the following important opinion, I fear he is an interested fophist: " It will be found, if I mistake not, that the " two extremes in government, Liberty and Slavery, commonly " approach nearest to each other; and that as you depart from the " extremes, and mix a little *Monarchy* with Liberty, the govern-" ment always becomes *free* and *è contra*." Essay II.—In the fourth Essay he calls it an " univerfal axiom, that an hereditary prince, a " nobility without vafials, and a people voting by their representa-" tives, form the best monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy."

In his idea of a perfect commonwealth, there are many useful ameliorations of what is called the English Constitution; and in the last quotation I shall submit from his works, he shuns the great difsculty of the question under confideration, for a reason which may make your Royal Highness smile—" Having intended in this Essay, " (XV.) to make a full comparison of civil liberty and absolute

• Heraclitus, in Sir W. Temple's Mifcell.

" government, and to have fhewn the great advantages of the former above the latter, I began to fulpect, that no man in this age was fufficiently qualified for this undertaking; and that whatever any one fhould advance, would in all probability be refuted by farther experience, and be rejected by potterity."

Rouffeau's heart atoned for the caprices of his head; and his fenficility to injury, if committed on a worm, drew his penetrating eye into the receffes of political intrigue.

Though the supposition of social compact, the foundation of his treatife, be wholly fanciful, for the idea of a political constitution is produced like that of a whoelbarrow, it is wonderful how trequently he approaches the truth.

"When the people have chosen deputies, are they defunct, are they annihilated? Though they cannot speak by the laws, they *foodd* have a mode of attending to their administration."—— The general voice should have a mode of exerting itself, or it is uselets, and that mode should be a part of the Conflicution: the whole of the State should ever accompany the general Will."

This idea was suggested to Rousseau by the periodical councils of Geneva, which had a power to oblige the magistrates, and all the orders of the State, to confine themselves within the bounds prescribed by arrangements denominated the Constitution.

He observes, " The general Will should flow from All to be " agreeable to All—every one subjects himself to the conditions he imposes an others: this is equitable, because common to all; useful, because it can have no object but the general good; and durable, because refting on the public strength."—But,

"Hath the body politic an organ to make known its Will ?---"The general will is always in the right; but the judgment by "which it is directed, is not always fufficiently informed.--Individuals often fec the good they reject; the public is defirous of that which it may be incapable of receiving: both equally fland in need of a guide. Hence arifes the neceffity of a legiflator." B. II. c. 6.----Rouffeau is thus beautifully and pertinently fententious; but his genius leaves him, where alone its exertions could have effectially benefitted fociety: he is taken up by his declamatory dæmon; refers to Plato and Lycurgus; and wiftes for denies to regulate affairs which are allotted only to mortals. The principles and maxims he has feattered through his treatife, are all inva-

• I do not mean any thing ludicrous or degrading by this allufion : but that, as men different the use of the wheelbarrow by reason and experience, they different he principles of government in the fame manner : and principles are applied to a fociety to form a conflictution, as those of mechanics are applied to iron or timber, to form machines. didated by a declaration, that " to investigate those conditions of fociety which may belt answer the purposes of nations, would require the abilities of some superior intelligence, who should be witness to all the passions of men, but be subject to none. " He who undertakes to form a body politic, ought to perceive himself capable of working a total change in human nature." He does not bear in mind, that government is the principal instrument of that change; and that the public will, being expressed by a permanent Constitution. would form that public judgment and public reason, by the necessity of reflection on the events it produced : effects would become causes, and errors instructions.

The Inquiry of Sir James Steuart is learned and profound; but it is clogged with prejudices, and obscured by a file uncouth and about unintelligible; it has therefore been of more utility to aushors than to the public: and Adam Smith, with interior powers and less information, but with more art of arrangement, and greater perfpicuity of language, has attracted more attention, and been of greater fervice in flimulating political inquiries—But no plan fimilar to that of Alfred had been fuggested to controul the despotism of all discutionary delegations, and to conduct the community by the impulse of its own will, when the American Revolution invited political philosophers to display their talents and knowledge.

As I would diffinguish speculations from facts, I shall render the Constitution of the American States the materials of another Lesion

LESSON VII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Numa religianious et divino jure populum dovinait. Tac. Ann. iii. 70.

RUTHS are never controverted with paffion and malignity, if not enjoined as articles of belief. In the demonstrative foiences, truths not universally understood are not received, and never enjoined, though immediately tending to public advantage. It would be thus in religious inquiries, if religion were left by men as it is left by God.—Your Royal Highness will easily imagine, I do not mean by the word God any of those immoral, mischievous, malignant phantoms the patrons of particular nations, whether Jews

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or Gentiles—I do not mean any of the divinities, with whom the most exceptionable of your ancestors have affected particular intimacies—I 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 carth with human blood from the shores of the Danube to Nootka-Sound—I mean the God of all nature, of all mankind of whose existence no mind can doubt, without being involved in inextricable absurdities—but

> " In fearch of whom, o'erstretch'd idea bursts, And thought rolls lack on darkness."-----

The power, wildom, and goodnels of this ineffable Being have been affociated with the most pernicious vices, in the characters of an indefinite number of gods; the fear and worship of which have been deemed necessary auxiliaries to various forms of political government. The superstition being involved in the constitution, sometimes its instrument, sometimes its *director*, it was Incluered from the approaches of reason or inquiry by the supposed expedience of supporting that Constitution.—Among the successful impostures of this kind, the Roman Catholic superstition is remarkable: it approached the civil government in the garb of lowly meeknels and difinterested humility; it sought toleration, then protection, then deminion: it nearly obtained the wish of Caligula; for mankind seemed to have one neck, on which it set its foot.

In any inflitution, as in any private mind, the fpirit of intolerance and perfecution is in proportion to its opposition to reason and the enormity of its absurdities. The cruelties of the church of Rome have, therefore, been so horrible, that they will leave on the character of human nature a stain which no time or virtue can efface.

When the opprefions of this pernicious despotism became intolerable, some ameliorations took place, under pretences of reformation, on the general principle, that in order to preferve the profits and adwantages of ecclesiaftical impossure, some of its most enormous and shameful abuses should be relinquished.

Hence the moderation and prudence of those ecclesiastical policies denominated reformed; and those qualities are to be found among sectaries in a graduated state, as their power is diminissed, or they are forced by reciprocal contentions towards the confines of reason. But in all Christian sects, the Quakers only excepted, the principle of perfecution is to be differend, under some pretence or diffusile, and in a dormant or active flate; and it will ever remain, while a fingle privileged impostor, whether he be called a Pope, a Bifhop, a Differing Clergyman, or a Methodilt Exhorter, can find his advantage in annexing or affecting to annex merit or demerit to the behef of any propentiens.

In the inflitution of the Church of England, the English reformers could not agree on all the Popish abuses to be relinquished, and the Puritan faction arose, which has continued to this time, under various former, the faithful repository of interested discontent, virulent zeal for facourite opinions, and a fincere, though generally unifiation love of liberty.

In the clumiy engine called the English Government at the Reformation, the Church had confiderable effect, and was in important part. Government, therefore, exercised severities on those who assured its operations, and the foundations of the American states were laid by a species of intelerance in England, the natural effect of an ill-constructed and vicious constitution.

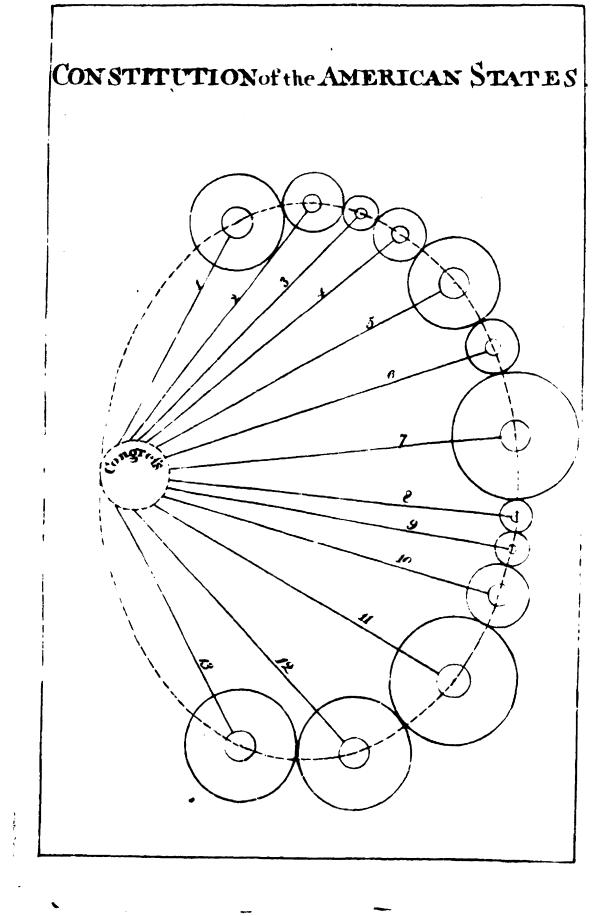
It would lead me too far out of my way to trace the character of each American flate in its origin: in the objects, manners, and inflitutions of its first planters; and in the succeeding operations of their various charters.

This is an inquiry as important to an American flatesman, as it would be influctive to the world—But I only wish to point out to your Royal Highness, that an American, drawing in with his first breath a just abhorrence of those aritheeratic and eccletiattic privileges, which held Europe in perpetual warfare, oppression, and mitery—and the American states having happily deteated all the arts of Britain to introduce them under any pretences, or in any forms t may be expected, their constitutions would be considerable improvements on that of England. By a candid and fair examination, this expectation will not be greatly disappointed.

On the emancipation of America, the exhibited feveral extraordinary characters; and the multitude is ever disposed to aferibe great events to reputed great men: than which there is not an error more permicious in the regions of credulity.

The Americans became free by exercifing a very moderate portion of paffive prudence, and that prudence was the offspring of neceffity. Washington acted the part of Fabius, because he had not Fabius's army; for the Americans would often have fought; and by fighting have lost their country.

With Franklin I was in great intimacy, when that event was fruggling in the womb.—I ipeak not from fancy, but from certain knowledge, that he fincerely wifhed to prevent it; and when forced into political negociations, for which he had no talouts, his merit



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confisted in prudent patience. The Revolution of America was completely managed in England; and its principal authors were Lord Bute, Lord North, Lord Sackville, and Mr. Jenkinfon. The American was originated in parliamentary jobbing; the principal object of it was to transfer enormous malles of English property into loans, funds, and taxes, to form that corrupt ministerial phalanx called the friends of government. While this faction, like a malignant difcase, was draining the vital substances of Britain, and even armies and navies 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 leaders of the Americar States affembled to form the Conftitution of the Republic, not one of them difcovered the genius of a great flatefman. But the American character ferved them on that occasion: they had patience; information flowed in from every part of the world; and they formed with confiderable skill the tederative conftitution of the American States.

In this great event it is but juffice to obferve, that the perfons most celebrated were not the most useful; that almost all important hints were taken from communications, the authors of which may never be mentioned; and that the plan was adopted, not invented, by those who will have the historical fame of it.

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

On a view of the annexed plate [see plate No. W.] your Royal Highnefs may differ the unequal magnitudes of the bodies, which are connected with the central circle, and contribute a numerical proportion towards the wildom and power of Congress.

1. New-Hampshire.—2. Massachusetts.—3. Rhode Island. 4. Connecticut.—5. New-York.—6. New-Jersey.—7. Pennsylvania.—8. New-Castle.—9. Kent and Sussex.—11. Virginia.— 12. North-Carolina.—13. South-Carolina.*

But each body has a diffinct character, interest, and will; produced by the peculiarities of its internal organization; and the federative constitution is a body, formed of thirteen complete bodies.

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

^{*} See votes of Congress in 1774. The form of the Republic has fince been altered; but the alteration does not remedy the disparity and provincial incongruities; which I confider as the defects of the Constitution.

powers, on which Montesquieu has taught him to imagine the liberties of Englishmen depend.

The idea decorated by the ftyle of Montesquieu, is pretty; but it is groundlefs.

The three powers in England are feldom, perhaps never balanced by counteraction. The Minister of the day, by an opiate of infallible effect, deturoys their tendency to diverge, dilagree, or oppose each other.

If this were not the case, liberty would not be the effect of three independent powers in any state. For two must unite to govern the third; or corruption must manage the whole.

THE PUBLIC WILL is the only law of political liberty; and the public FORCE arifing from the organization of the whole nation, is its only fecurity. The head, the limbs, of fuch a body—its deliberative and executive powers—would have no occafion for the imaginary balances recommended by Montesquieu—as the natural body is not affifted or improved by flays, fleel collars, and cork rumps. These are the indications and aids of deformity, which no real anatomift would recommend in the production or education of a vigorous, ufeful, and beautiful body.

But Mr. Adams has been Ambaffador in England; he drank at the fountain at St. James's: and he feems disposed to convince his country (very diffuterestedly I must suppose) that the evils occasioned by the English Government, would not be evils in America; or that the prerogatives and privileges which in England render liberty a tantalizing shadow, an infulting name, would be bleffings in America, it conferred on the virtues of Adams, Hancock, and Lee: who will infure the transmission of them in their posterity to the day of judgment.

But America will not attend to this antiquated sophistry, whether decorated by the gaudy ornaments of a Burke; the curious ratch-work of a Parr; to which all antiquity may have contributed its prettiest rags and tatters; or the homely, ungraceful garb which has been furnished her by Mr. John Adams.

The Americans are too well informed, not to perceive they have wifely avoided the MYSTERY of the three powers. All the deviations from the English Government are improvements: and I exprefs my opinion of any defects in the American Conditution, in a manner, I hope, perfectly confistent with my real respect for the talents and virtues which emancipated America.

The inconveniencies of disparity and incongruity in the bodies to be united (not incorporated) were perceived, and some provision made for them in the proportionate delegations of every State to the general Congress. But I am convinced the whole wants that unity,

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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 various characters and interests of the American States will difunite and alienate them.

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

Their parliamentary representations have more reality; their councils and governors have fewer pernicious privileges than the Nobles and Kings of England; and the buds of industry are not blighted by the discafed breath of an indolent hierarchy. Security, liberty, and happiness are more diffused; and instead of seeing a parish starving in rags, while the Justice of the Peace, the Rector, and the Attorney are racking off at every joint the directul effects of gluttony and intemperance, every family is clothed and fed comfortably, and health and happiness are generally enjoyed.

When the French cabinet affifted in the emancipation of America, its object was merely to fever it from England, and to divide the empire of a rival power. It happily had not the penetration to difern all the confequences.

The partial liberty of the English Prefs had been extremely useful to the American capie; and the French ware permitted to discuts the questions from which it originated, both in conversation and in their public writings. Government mistaok the submission of France for a native and fixed torpor; and apprehended that slavery and superstition were the habits of Frenchmen, however they might chatter on Liberty and Philosophy. The French suxiliaries returned from America fully charged with electric fire; disaffected English affociated with Americans at Paris; and stimulated philosophy to approach the ancient and mouldering fabric of desposition. The sparks of Liberty fell on touch-wood, and the whole at once blazed into ashes.

LESSON VIII.

CONSTITUTION OF FRANCE.

Sententia Platonis semper in ore fuit, "Florere civitates, fs Philosophi "imperarent, aut Imperatores philosopharentur."

Jul. Cap. in Marc. Aurel. § 27.

Murcus Aurolius bad always on Lis lips that fentence of Plato, "Communities would flourish if Philosophers ruled them, or their "rulers become Philosophers."

DO not mean to give in detail the external occurrences of the French Revolution: they are to be found in numerous publications; and they are accurately thated.

My intention is to delineate the object of the National Affembly; which is normaderflood in England, and is not clearly and permanently kept in view by the leading members of that respectable body.

Burke may declaim, " that a bloody and ferocious democracy " is demolifying ancient and venerable inflitutions:"-the eye of philolophy will pais the streights of Dover, and fix on the path of his ambition.-Stanhope may rummage conventicles for faints to hail an approaching millenium, on the principles of the English Revolution ! when Priefley, with the zeal and verbofity of a Baxter, and Price, with the meek and boly ambition of Praile God Barebones, may trample on the Lands, the Bonners, the Horfleys, and the Barringtons of the time. Fitt may affect to rejoice in the improvements of a feience that would be fatal to the plaufibility of his impolitions-and even Brand Hollis, emancipated from the juft punifhment of detected bribery, may gratulate the immaculate purity of future Parliaments.-Thefe are the artifices of felf-interefled empirics; who, like the fly in the table, place themfelves on the wheel of human events, and buz to the ideots around them, that they influence and regulate its rotations.

The purpose of the National Assembly of France is—not to introduce a democracy in any sense familiar to a mind so perverted by talle philosophy, superstition, and fordid# selfisses that of Edmund Burke—is not to imitate the measures of the English revolution, the political principles of which they despise—it is not to substitute Jansenism for Popery, Presbyterianism for Episcopacy, or

• The Prince will recollect the ftipulations made by this frothy and fentimental declaimer, before he proneunced his oration on the Regency.

to aid the pretended improvements of a fysich of impolition by the fophilms of Arians and Sceinians—it is not to adopt the creeda of our political parties, or to jullity the principles of Whigs or Thries —it is to abolifh every contrivance and pretence destwhich one or a few may be privileged; field to benefit, then to injure million:—to deftroy that principle of all moders governments, that a part is greater than the whole; and inflead of applying a machine denominated either Monarchic, Aniflocratic, or Democratic—to govern the community for the advantage of individuals, orders or profefions—to organize the community itfelf; to form it into an actual body; to diffuse a lively and poignant ferfibility over, itt_furface; to connect the extremities with the fest of reflection and thought; and to introduce that general fympathy, which ever prevents a well-confirueted body from injurity any of its rass.

Though this plan may have fome novelty, the idea of it has been long fuggefled, and the general outlines given.

Hiltory will not enable us to judge of the whole of the views of Alfred: we learn, however, from the general tradicions of Europe in his time, that ideas of a community were entertained Imperior to Kirgs or the Councils of Kings. In those affemblies of the Franks, from which the cliates of France are denominated, they determined on peace or wars, and examined the regulations which the King or Maire of the palace published. The ordonnances called capitularies had not the force of laws, were not enrolled in the Salic code, till fauctioned by the confent of the cliates. The Affemblics confilted of all the free claffes, or deputations from them; but the pealants were flaves.

The Mycle-gemot_of Altred was fimilar to thole Affemblies. Modern Governments have avoided every thing analogous to them. In the original conflictution of Geneva, periodical councils were provided with a compulsory power to oblige the magifirates and all the orders of the flate to confine themielves within the-preferibed bounds; but by the intrigues of the magifirates they were diffeontinued.

In the long and various ftruggles of the English Commons, before and fince the celebrated Revolution of 1688, they obtained no more than a pretended repretentation for the ordinary purpoles of government, and the removal of tome abuses in the administration of the laws.

Compared with other nations, the condition of an Englishmenwas advantageous; but no man is free, whole property and life are at the differentiation of others, in whole appointment he has no real choice, and over whole conduct he has no controul; and no man can be happy, while half the fruits of his industry are forced from him to foothe the pride and fofter the profligacy of numerous ufeleis and opprefive orders.

At the accellion of the House of Hanover, the pretended representation, called an English Parliament, was appointed by those who had the power, for three years. To prove that the public was nothing, even at the time when it was proclaimed through Europe the Nation had made choice of your Royal Highnets's family, George the First had been but a few years on the throne, when it had the profligate audacity to render three years seven, and to enact this violation of faith and right the future law of Parliament. The Roman Decemvirate, or college of ten, is justily configned to perpertual infamy for acting on a fimilar principle with the English House of Commons; being established for a limited time, for a sperpetual tyrancy.

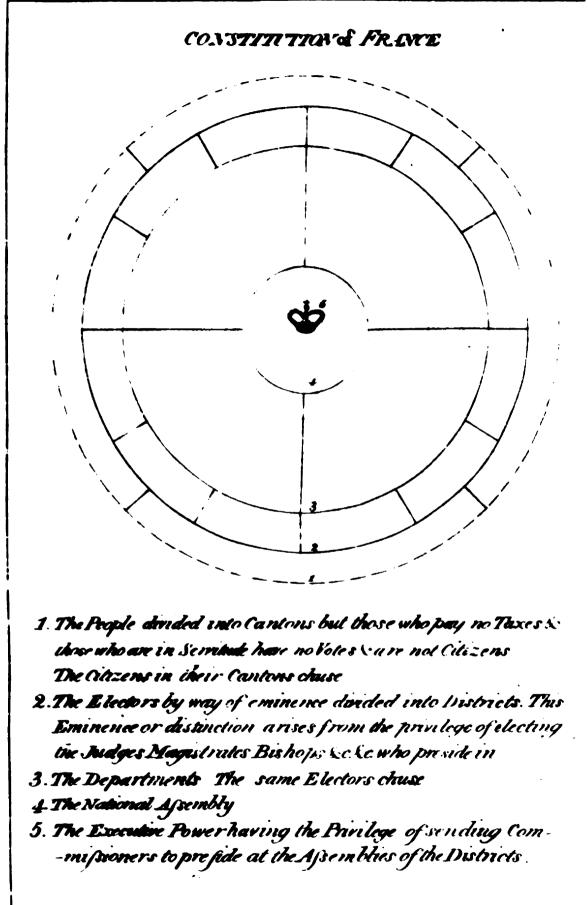
He who commits a truft, parts only with administration; it is not possible to convert a truft into an absolute right, or into a discretionary and independent power.

'The English Parliament, intoxicated with fucces, avowed a doctrine dettructive of the first principles of free government: it was doclared; the people when allembled (and they never were allembled) were every thing: when they had made their election, they were nothing; and Parliament became omnipotent. Though the supreme power in every community formed to be free must be indivisible and inalienate; though it be impossible it should submit its fovereignty to an Emperor, a King, or a Senate, without violating the act by which it exists as a community, without annihilating itfelf-and out of nothing, nothing can arise-yet Parliament maintained that its power and prerogatives were paramount, different ary, and incontroulable, not only over the perfons from whom it pretended a delegation, but over those provinces and colonies which were not included in the farce of representation.

The defpotic violence with which every thing was conducted in the propoled fubjugation of America— the political maxims avowed, and the fanguine measures executed, roused the attention of the world.

England faw itfelf, as well as its dependencies, trampled with impunity, by pretended delegates aff. ing the prerogatives of defpotic mafters. Petitions and remonstrances were prefented, and aflociations formed, to induce the monster to moderate its ravages, and to prevail on Parliament to reform itfelf.

The pufillanimity and absurdity of those measures, in a powerful community pretending to be free, gave rise to a pamphlet, entitled, LETTERS ON POLITICAL LIBERTY, addressed to the Associations;



that pamphlet first drew my attention to the possible mode of organ. izing a community into a free, active, and powerful body ; having and retaining a permanent judgment and will; and exercising these powers, without tumult or diforder, over all its delegations, when ther Kings, Senates, or Magistrates.* The Author calls on the nation, in a tone of earnell enthusiasin, to reflore the conflictution of Alfred with fuch improvements as fuit the prefent condition of perfonal liberty: and by these means to remove the numerous evils of the police, and the gross abules of legislative authority .- The Allociations were affonished, but not adviled. A translation was eireulated in France with great rapidity; and I was at Paris when the tranflator of that pamphlet was fent into the Baffile-I formed, it company with _____ my opinions on the constitution of a free state. I found the philosophers of France better instructed in this subject than these of England; + but they had no apprehension that the general disposition of the French nation would admit of their ideas and wifhes.

When the diffress of the treasury threatened a bankruptcy, and Necker advised the provincial assemblies and the meeting of the Notables, he had no intention to form a free conflictution: his object was fimilar to that of the Kings of England, who summoned the deputies of boroughs to devise modes of conveying their contributions without trouble. Necker was not aware, that the fasires of Voltaire on the Clergy had rendered them justly and universally odious; that the numerous and oppressive privileges of the Nobles were deeply, though filently refented; and that France abounded with philosophers, who would promptly feize the first occasion to develope and execute their political ideas.—This oceasion arose, and the constitution of France was imagined.

[See PLATE No. V.]

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A fimilar pamphlet was publified about the fime title, and containing fimilar ideas, called, A Plan of Affociation on Configurational Principles; and I fusped, by the language, it was written by the fame Author.

† I except a gentleman who has dedicated works to your Royal Highnels, in the plain and manly language of Virtue. In ledures on Political Principles, by David Williams, ideas of organised souldistillers fuited to all climates, sec. are opposed to those of Monteliguica with great address and effect. But the Author, hold as he is, expression infelf in the language of speculation, little imagining that the National Assaulty of Branto would immediately publish to glorious a Commentary on his work. 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 little work fhould ever be honoured with any attention in France, I hope my purpole will not be mifunderflood. Though I do not join in any of those compliments to the National Assembly, which are fent from this country, to assist private views, and to give consequence to interested parties—the defigns and efforts of real patriotism in France have not a warmer friend in the world than myself: and if I offer remarks on an event the most beneficial to humanity in all the records of mankind, it is to afford affistance, and to induce the philosophic politicians of the National Assembly to re-consider their fundamental laws.

In the definition and appointment of citizens, there is a want of justice; and in the construction of a political state, as in that of a private character,

"Want of Virtue is want of fense."

The first and general purpose of society is to guard the weak against the strong, and the poor against the rich.—The sirst division of all the people of France is into Cantons; but in voting for the next rank of citizens called electors, those who do not pay a certain sum 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 philosophy had produced its full effect in the National Asfembly, we should have had this reproach of political constitutions removed. For she, like

The genuine mule removes the thin disguiste, That cheats the world, where'er she deigns to sing 3' And full as meritorious to her eyes Seems the poor soldier as the mighty king.

In the present constitution of France, the most helpless of the people are deprived of the only consolution or ground of hope, the only stimulus to content, honessy, and virtue in their situations—the choice of their massers. It is this condemnation to a species of slavery, that renders servants a separate and profligate corps; and a similar injustice to those of the people, whose poverty is a sufficient evil, will be a discase in the constitution, which no palliatives can remove.

The Affemblies in the cantons are too numerous. Montesquieu (Let. Perf.) observes, " The heads of the greatest men seem to be " narrowed (retrectes) when they are assembled; and in the greatest " number of wise men, there is the least wisdom."

Alfred was aware of this truth; and the first divisions of his political body, like the capillary vessels on the furface of the natural, were small, and formed to execute their offices without violence. The tithings confisted only of ten families. I never faw an assembly, exceeding twenty, whatever the abilities of the members, that was not more disposed to passion and tumult, than to reason and judgment.

The diffinction of the ELECTORS in the diffricts, and the privilege of electing both into the departments and into the National Affeinbly, is without reason.—The graduated elections are not so equitable, or so well imagined, as those in the constitution of Alfred.

The National Affembly, if chofen in the departments, would be every thing defigned by Alfred in the inftitution of the Mycle gemot: but it its number could be reduced, and bufinefs done more by open committe's and printed propositions, than by oratory, it would be improved. It should also openly and decidedly avow its competency to form, and enact all constitutional and fundamental laws without any permission of the executive power. A period should be as fixed as the constitution, in which a fimilar affembly might always be chosen, and meet without summons or leave from any other power; and its bufiness should be to revise and correct all fundamental regulations, to inspect the conduct of the ordinary government and legislation, and to redress or remove all national grievances.

The interference of the executive power by commissioners in the districts, is a privilege of fatal effect; and if not withdrawn, will soon render the constitution of France as corrupt, as vicious, and as much a deception, as the pretended of England.

THIS account of the French conflitution in the f it edition, has been thought too concife to remove prejudice or to instruct ignorance in the people of this country.

They who have made this just remark, should recollect—the leffons were immediately addressed to an informed, though a young and diffipated perforage; and that it did not occur even to the vanity of the author, they would be rapidly circulated through the nation.

To remove the objection, it will be neceffary to explain the terms mycle-gemot and wittenage-mot in the confliction of Alfred; the first meaning the folk-mot, or great assembly of the nation by its deputies, which he intended should ever meet annually on Salisbury plain, to revise and adjust the acts of the executive power, and of the legislature called the wittenage-mot, or the assembly of wise men, analogous to the French idea of notables.*

• See numerous authorities in Bede, Spelman, Selden, Wilkins, Wright,

When the measures of the King and his great council, his wittenage-mot or notables, were deemed conducive to the public welfare, they were fancticated as the permanent laws of the land; when adjudged otherwife, they were forbidden and abregated. The anarchy from Danish violence and depredation, nearly obliterated these wile and admirable influctions: and William the Conqueror, while his prudence suggested the expedience of not exasperating the nation by wholly renouncing them, was induced, by a fagacious spirit of despots of the former was manageable by his power or his wealth; the latter must have restrained him within the limits of uses, and measures of obvious national advantage.

The English parliament is the offspring of the wittenage-mot. the choice of the Conqueror, with some supposed advantages from the addition of the House of Commons: but still retaining its original character respecting the crown, and perpetually exemplifying in its extravagant pretentions and exceptionable conduct, the necelfity of national revision, controul and correction, in such an annual deputation as the folk-mot. When the necessities of the French King rendered expedient fome kind of application to the nation, its encient records were examined, and a foirit, analogous to that of the Norman, induced him to call the Notables the wittenagemot, not a representation of the country, or any thing fimilar to the avcle-gemot-But the inftitution of the provincial affemblies was an error of Necker's, most forturate to the French nation; it was making apertures in the great dykes of arbitrary power; and when the waters burft their bounds, they foon became irrefittible. Whether the great extent and population of France, or the documents of the ancient inflitutions of the Franks, or the suggestions of any late speculations, induced the French reformers to adopt a plan fimilar to that of Alfred, I am not gualified to determine.

They have in some degree, though not fully adopted this idea of deputations, which are absolutely necessary to render the actual representation of populous and extensive kingdoms consistent with their industry and peace. They have also appointed all choice and election to be by divisions of the people; to originate in the lower class, and to proceed upwards. This is effectual to liberty. But

Letters on Political Liberty, and a very excellent little work on Saxon inflicutions, by the late Dr. Squire, Bifhop of St. David; who feems to have renounced the spirit of his order, and like the prefent Bifhop, D'Autun, to have funk all epifcopal properties in the enlarged views of a good citizen and the humane qualities of an amiable man.

they have differed from Alfred; and where they have differed, I think they have erred.

To have attempted abolifhing flavery, or the power of the church, would probably have involved Alfred in ruin. But every freeman, without exception, was an elector. This is not the cafe in France; and I object to the exclusion of those who are unable to pay a small rate or tax; not in the spirit of criticism, but from a conviction of injuffice and impolicy; in depressing mere incapacity, stigmatizing the unfortunate, giving additional power to the polfession of property, which in itself is power—while all the genuine principles and regulations of justice are wholly directed against the injurious exercions of power or force.

The first divisions of the people are into cantons; and their first voting affemblies confist of fix or feven hundred. These are multitudes, incapable of judgment or choice, whatever the character of the individuals may be: and for this opinion, I appeal to the experience of the world, for not a fingle affembly has existed as an exception. What then is to be expected but passion or diforder from such mingled multitudes of French peasants? Alfred perceived this truth; and his first assemblies confisted only of ten housholders.

The French reformers, as if fenfible of their error in the first division, attempt to remedy it by another; which I am truly forry to confider as the commission of another injury—the cantons elect into the districts: and the electors in the districts are formed into a numerous extensive aristocracy; for they are denominated, by way of eminence, the Electors; they chuse into the departments, into the rectories, bishoprics, the various offices of magistracy, and even into the National Asiembly.

This, befides being an injuftice to the electors in the cantons below and the departments above, is facilitating the future intrigues 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 Affembly first met at Verfailles to affift the King to provide for the public exigencies; and to devile, in conjunction with him, fuch regulations as would prevent fimilar evils. It therefore affembled as a wittenage-mot, or an English Parliament, for specified purposes, and with limited powers: but when a few incidents had shaken to the dust the remains of ancient despotism, the Affembly gradually changed its tone; and from being a municipal legislative commission, like the British legislature, it assumed constitutional powers, and became analogous to the mycle-gemot of Alfred.

In this new character, the affembly has acted with a prudence

verging on timidity, and fometimes defeending to equivocation. The mycle-gemot of Alfred was in effect the nation : it was open to every freeman who had a complaint against 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 conflicutional influence over the executive and legiflative powers, and the knowledge of it rendered its exercise always unnecessary : it was like the influence of the whole body over its limbs, the fource of order and general harmony, never of difagreement or confusion. When the National Affembly affumed new powers and a new character-when it appeared as the mycle-gemot of Alfred, a conflitutional affembly to decree fundamental laws, and to affign the provinces of executive, legiflative, and municipal authority, there was just as much reason in their consulting the King and requiring his fanction, as in confulting the future magiltrates 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 English Parliament, affume them? And are not the strongest hopes of a connter-revolution founded on the probability that a future affembly may repeal the acts of the prefent?

To prevent this evil, the National Affembly fhould feparate its conflitutional from its legiflative acts. In the former, the executive power fnould never be confulted. The mode of chufing the ordinary legiflature fhould be diffinguished from that of appointing the National Affembly, which should be elected annually, and meet on a certain day, like the mycle-gemot of Alfred, to fignify the national approbation or difapprobation of the proceedings of government and acts of the legiflature, and to revise, correct, and improve all conflitutional regulations or fundamental laws.

LESSON IX.

PRINCIPLES OF LEGISLATION.

-----Suadere Principi quod oporteat, multi laboris; affentatio erga Principem quemenmque fine affectu peragitur. Tac.

It is difficult to advise Princes-It is not difficult to flatter them.

A CQUIESCING in the fentiment of Tacitus, I shall not long detain your Royal Highness on the use to be made of the intormation I have taken the liberty to lay before you.

An attentive view of the political conflitutions I have delineated, will convince your Royal Highnels, that the principles of legiflation and government are fludied; and that political and ecclulaftical impoflures will be generally detected and deftroyed.

The difference of the French and English Nation will be that of an organized body acting for itfelf, and a pallive mass acted upon. I need not point out the advantage to France, besides that of its climate and population.

But as this may be a truth of magnitude, not to be readily admitted, your Royal Highnels will permit me to fugget the immediate effect of emigration, from caules which you should be anxious to remove, if you regard the future population and state of the country.

The confiruction of the French government implies a perfect police; for the magistrates are *chojen* in all the neighbourhoods, and their offices are annual: indeed the whole bedy guards and protects ittelf. This will be foon known to those prodigious multitudes of timid and female housholders in England, who are plundered by every device that avarice can suggest to those appointed to protect them.

Perfect liberty of opinion, both in thought and words, will carry over conficientious and industrious differences, who are here subject to difadvantages, from circumstances which do them honour. To prevent the consequences of this evil, I do not mean that Puritanism should be substituted for the established rites; but that the government is unjust, when it engages in one religious faction to the inconvenience of another; and that by avoiding this error, France will draw from England great numbers of its useful citizens.*

I will not weary your Royal Highness by a minute detail of the difadvantages under which England must act, if its government be not improved, in proportion as France advances in the judicious confiruction of its political confirution.

Your Royal Highness will recollect, that the English Government is a machine acting on the people, and managed at the will and for the interest of particular orders; whereas the CONSTITUTION OF A

• Princes and magifirates fhould form to be apparitors to ambitious, felffa, and ufelefs priefts, or the ministers of their intolerant and cruel purpofes. Darius hearing of difputes in Perfia, of fimilar importance with those which now agitate the fuperflitious world, asked the Greeks, What fums they would take to cat their parents? They exclaimed, Not all the gold in the world! He asked the Callattii, a people inhabiting a part of India, and who cat their parents, What they would take to burn them ?---The proposal produced cries of horror.---" Go to your habitations," faid the King; " and eat or not cat your parents, as you like; but do not melf each other."---The priefts of both parties murmured at the last injunction. country, to bear even a definition, should comprehend the people; to produce Liberty, it should allow them a choice of the Legislature and Magistrates.

When that choice is made, a power should remain in the community, by the appointment of a periodical sslembly, to prevent all abuses of trust; and all interference of the ordinary or municipal legislature in fundamental laws.

The Mycle-gemot of Alfred and the National Affembly of France are calculated for this purpole; their objects are conftitutional: but we have no affembly in England bearing the flighteft analogy to them. Hence the abfurdities perpetually recurring in English legislation; the power of making laws for temporary purpoles confounded with the national fovereignty;^{*} and the most iniquitous usurpations justified by affimilating the ideas of trust and right: infamous and audacious adventurers, the tools of feudal defpors, of mercantile companies and corrupt ministers, in marketable boroughs, holding the language of mafters to fix millions of people, and contending for the lucrative privilege of defpoiling them.

The laws, when made, would be equitably and expeditioufly administered by judges and magistrates chosen and approved by the vicinages; and the periodical visitations of loqueeious and unprincipled lawyers would not act on the country as periodical pactilences.

The juffices of the peace, the most numerous and important magistrates, would not be, as they now are, the devoted inftruments of devoted inftruments. And the Clergy, emancipated from an humiliating and diffionourable patronage, which must ever have an interest in exalting sycophants and depressing manly and useful taleats, would assume a new character, and from being the tools of corrupt influence, would become the real ministers of religion and virtue.

Improvements of this kind must take place, if the Constitution of France be established, or this country will immediately lose its rank.

Though I do not subscribe to the opinion of your Royal Father, that the measures at Paris have a tendency to deprive Europe of its

• During the late illnefs of the King, ministerial majorities in a temporary legiflature claimed the absolute fovereignty of the state.

† The practice of attornish, called Pettifoggers, is to inftruct evidence in fale and faccalsful modes of perjury. The council are often in collution with their supervises; they favour their prepared evidences, and abufe thole who are apprepared with a degree of profligate impudence and apprincipled villainy, which the Judges should correct with more determined feverity, if they with, as they certainly mult, to preferve reversuee for the Laws and sufport for thele who administer them.

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Kings in thirty years, I am fure that in a very few, they will render the duty and office of a King of England very different from that of a fplendid partifan, directing the fervility and avarice of ranks, claffes, and proteffions to private purpoles; encountering faction by faction; involving himfelf in the inextricable labyrinth of ineffectual expedients. If you keep your eye on the conflictuation of France, you may prepare yourfelf for the character you may have to fultain; and if you favour the neeeffary improvements of the government of your country, you will fecure its juft rank among the nations of Europe, fix your own happinels on a certain foundation, and enroll your name among the great benefactors of mankind.

These are wishes which will never be expressed in your hearing, by the parafites of your Court, or the objects of your political confidence. I have no private intereft in the trouble I have taken. I fe I no ambition to be the competitor of your favourites. I have no defire that a moment of my peace should depend, even on a Prince, who can, one day, take pains to engage and captivate; induce, generous youth, to enlift under his banners, and wear his uniform; and the next, not recollect or know them. I feek not your favour, Sir; and in the decent and legal exercise of my abilitics, I respectfully prefume I need not fear your displeasure. In all the imaginable fluctuations of parties my name will never be brought to your Royal Highnels in the lifts of candidates for places. And in the temporary confusion and anarchy of any possible revolution, my age, my infirmities, 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 erred—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.

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LESSON X.

ON THE MODE OF STUDYING AND PROFITING

BY

MR. BURKE'S REFLECTIONS

ON THE

LATE REFOLUTION IN FRANCE.

For criticism, or an ability to judge of writings, is the last child of. long experience. Longinus, 17.

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

On the first view of a performance, fo inimical to those rights for which I have pleaded, and those principles I have attempted to establish, in the preceding Lessons, I was inclined to dispute the positions of the writer.

I had been accustomed to thirk eloquence inferior to wildom-"Aaron shall be thy speaker; and thou shalt be to him as God."----I thought I had perceived a material diffinction between profound inquiry, and the art of popular periualion-the former, the object of the highest, the best philosophy, I confidered as forming the nobleft characters in human nature : and I deemed the polition of Plato, " that an Orator should be a Philosopher," as the mere homage of Poetry and Eloquence at the fhrine of wildom. Human life is too fhort, to unite the accomplishments of the two characters. Cicero attempted it : but Cicero in philosophy, was merely a man of knewledge. Who could combine the profound thought of a Montesquieu with the talents of a Chatham or a Mansfield ? I had confidered the melioration of Gothic lyftems, and the laws and cuftoms which have been lately supposed to produce public happinel, as owing-not to natural historians, or experimental philolophers; not to poetry, painting, music, or oratory; not to arithmetic, mathematics, or even the discoveries of Newton-but to the

works of fuch men as Sidney, Harrington, Locke, Montesquieu, Steuart, and Smith: and I thought it a duty to defend the philosophy they had professed from the verbose scurrilities of a popular writer.

But on the perusal of Mr. Burke's "wonderful" Letter, your Royal Highness will perceive I have been mistaken; you will judge that wildom should give place to eloquence; that "the wife in "heart shall be called prudent, but the sweet in tongue shall find "greater things."

I was also 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 answer.

A contention of practifed prize-fighters would irrefiftibly attract the literary rabble; and the gentle voice of reason, would not be heard.

But having mentioned Mr. Burke, in a former Leffon, with epithets of disapprobation and reproach; and having imbibed from his work that principle of exquisite sentiment and fine feeling which alternately with religion is the substitute of honour and virtue, I find it my duty to exhibit his character on the best, viz. on his own authority.

To ferve the double purpose of relieving my " penitent sensibi-" lity"— and to familiarize your Royal Highness with the principles of criticism, I hope to impress on your mind, that a knowledge of the author is necessary to that of his work; and that you should take it from himself, for this indisputable reason, " that every man " must know his own character."

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

I the last page of his "divine rhapsody" he thus describes himfelf—and your Royal Highness is intreated to observe, the exemplary modesty of so great a man. When public objects fill his "difinterested" mind, it soars like an infernal fury, and scatters vengeance and misery over "disobedient" nations—when he retires within himself, we discern only the humility of a Christian, and a gentleness and bashfulness truly sentimental.

"I," the great man fays, " have little to recommend my opinions, but long observation and much impartiality." My Lord Mansfield, who still possesses his mental faculties in great vigour, pronounces the French Revolution, an event in hiftory totally neve, to which no former facts and incidents can apply. Here is, long observation against long observation: but I shall prefently state the circumstance which may induce Mr. Burke to give the preference to himself. On the subject of his "impartiality" there can be no doubt. Has any man conversed with, or heard this orator, and supposed him capable of harbouring prejudice?

"They came from one who has been no tool of power, no flatterer of greatness, and who, in his last acts, does not wish to bely? "the tenour of his life."

It must give your Royal Highness pleasure, to learn from the authority of this great man himfelf, that the opinion of his implicit devotion to a late Marquis, for good and substantial confiderati ns, is groundlefs; that he purchased his villa and effate at Beaconsfield with the accumulations of his own patrimony; that he reprefents a borough in parliament, by the free uninfluenced election of the burgeffes; and, though while in office, he offered incenfe of adoration at the fhrine of royalty, he conficienticully balanced it out of office, by pronouncing on the melancholy and afflicting indipolition of your Royal Father, " that the Almighty had hurled him from his " throne." He remarks on the proceedings of the Revolution Society, " that the misfortunes of Kings make a delicious repair to " fome fort of palates"-The repail fuits not the palate of Mr. Burks, unlefs it be flimulated by difappointment, or by fome ftrong obstacle to the attainment of his wiftes. This, I am fure, your Royal Highnels will think a fufficient caule, and, to use his own phrate, not to belye the tenour of his life.

"They come from one, almost the whole of whole public life has been a struggle for the liberty of others; from one, in whole breast no anger durable or vehement has ever been kindled, but by what he confiders as tyranny; and who fnatches from his flare in the endeavours which are used by good men to diferedit opulent oppression, the hours he has employed on your affairs; and who in so doing persuades himself he has not departed from his usual office."

Your Royal Highnefs will here admire the modelt addiels with which the great orator mingles the diffinguished parts he has acted, in opposition to the American war, and in the impeachment of Mr. Haftings. To place these great actions in a true light, your Royal Highnels must be informed that the Declaratory Bill, the very brand which set America on fire, was fabricated in councils of which this orator participated. But you will take with you, the moment Mr. Burke was disfinished, he became a determined oppapent to the Minister, and the war he conducted; he executed

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him as a traitor to the conflictuion; and pledged his honour and character to impeach him. When events indicated the advantage of a coalition with that Minister, the wonderful placability of our Author's nature was displayed. He passed instantly from mortal hatred to the most enthuliastic friendship, and from bitter reproach to sublime panegyric. I am sensible, if such apparent contradiction and such dereliction of all principle, were fairly chargeable on a philosopher, Mr. Burke would annex to his name the most infamous epithets. But a Christian, a believer of those doctrines which so amicably blend high church tories with the votaries of the church of Rome, has advantages which moralists 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-interest.

I would impress these hints the more carefully on your Royal Highness, as I understand the alternate councils of Cumberland and the little White house (on the late re-establishment of which I congratulate your Royal Highness) discover a reluctance and timidity respecting this admirable and expedient religion. If any future event should give the power, I should advise 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 feason for the impeachment.

In the profecution of Mr. Haftings, the conduct of this great and good man is equally admirable with his opposition to the American war. The House of Commons stated a certain number of propositions, referring to acts which, in Mr. Haftings were or were not, violations of law, or violations of a specified truft. But of what advantage would determinations on fuch questions have been to the learning of the country. The hiftory and antiquity of Hindullan; the various politics of its states; its ancient, complex, and extensive mythology; the doctrines, rites, and coromonies of itsreligion; its population, ranks, cafls, cuffoms, and manners; have been minutely detailed—and the wildom and knowledge of ages have been compressed into a morning entertainment; have been arranged into speeches, which have contributed greatly to the improvement of the attending audience; and by the industry and panegyrics of newspaper reporters have been diffused through the nation to its great advantage.

The placability and mercy of our author appear in this tranfaction, but with the more dignity, as every object is magnified by foggy interpolitions.

While the menaces of virtue, perfonated by Mr. Burke, hung over the head of Haffings, a confidential friend and affociate orator carried a White Flag to the agent of the offender; but whether 'from all the enemies to Indian opprefion, which he here calls "good men"—whether to avert the impending florm, or gene-'roufly to enable the fufferer to prepare for it—we can only conjec-'ture—the agent, being naturally a Marplot, having fully anfwered the main queftion, when a previous hint had only been given.

Charity, however, will incline us to suppose, that the generofity, almost supernatural, which erased from the author's mind, all the reference, rage, and abhorence, excited by the conduct of Lord North; and introduced the gentle passions of forgiveness and friendship; would not have been, and will not yet be, absolutely and eternally implacable to Mr. Hastings; though in intercours of chicane and corruption with Begums, Nabobs, and Rajahs, he may have forgotten the laws of his country, or violated the univerfal maxims of virtue.

In respect to France, a fimilar disposition to placability is discoverable even in the highest paroxysm of the author's rage. For after warming his imagination into freuzy on the royal fufferings; and execrating the National Assembly, the philosophers, the jacobins, and all the real and imaginary caufes of the facrilegious difference; he admits a poffibility that royalty might devife or commit acts that would require examination and inquiry. Here is a fair opening for reconciliation between the offer ding people of France and this great Let the National Aliembly vote an Impeachment : and if orator. they give Mr. Burke the management, they may be affured, not only of his forgiveness and friendship, but that the King and Queen will be difposed of for life. What a glorious fate! What a characteristic appointment! All Europe would be occupied on his orations, and filled with his fame : and when Providence calls him here; his future reward, to give effect to the cultivation of his prefent talents, we may humbly fappole, will be-'To IMPEACH THE DEVIL TO ALL ETERNITY!

The "good" man proceeds—" They come from one who defires " honours, diffinctions, and 'emoluments, but little; and who ex-" pects them not at all."

The advantage of religion is in nothing to great, as in veiling fectet infirmities or crimes. It is true, the eye of God is fuppoled to penetrate all difguife and all darkneis; but his ministers are placable, and every thing has its price. Mr. Burke was the only partifan who flipulated with the Pall-Mall Cabal, previous to an oration on the Regency which unneceffarily precipitated your Royal Highnefs into unpopularity. How many of the Burkes were to be provided for; and how Indian peculation might be reconciled to virtue and humanity in that holy family, " I will not tell in Gath or publich "in the fireets of Afkalon, left the ungodly fhould blafpheme." Dr. Parr would have been endued with the faculty of confectating the transaction, and guarding it from the fcoffs of " atheiftic" patriot: fm or of profligate impertinence.

It must be expected, an orator " has no contempt" of fame.; " but Mr. Burke" never facificed his interest to it: and he " has " no fear of obloquy," though he has profecuted newspapers, and expressed apprehension, and alarm, at paragraphists, in a manner that would be deemed pussillanimous in an Abbels of King's Place. But it is to be observed that Mr. Burke trembles only for the cause of liberty and humanity, for the facred and august fabric of government, which is to be forcibly entered only by his party, and then to be eternally preferved from profanation and ruin.

The Speaker of the Houfe of Commons will atteft, that "he "fhuns contention," though he will "hazard an opinion" That "he wiftes to preferve confiftency," the world is difpofed to doubt; not knowing that "he would preferve confiftency, 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 endangered "by overloading it upon one fide, he is defirous of carrying the "fmall weight of his reafons to that which may preferve its. "equipoife."

Your Royal Highness will regret with me, that even so beautifula sentence should conclude the account the great orator condescends to give of himself. It alludes to the condition of a passenger on the river Thames, where the difference in the various contents of his pockets obliges him to shift and change positions; and it furnishes an exact image of Mr. Burke's life.

The modelty 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 with I could fully devote as many days, to render your Royal Highness sensible of all its merits.

That any man, not educated an inquisitor, and not long accustomed to derive his pleafure from torture and misery, should be able to turn his eyes with malignant aversion on four and twenty millions of his fellow-creatures, suddenly emancipated from oppressive tyranny, and anxiously seeking their surre security in the deliberations of reason and the provisions 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 philosophy—should, without distraction and frenzy, harbour a whole year in his mind, ideas so horrible, wishes so diabolical, as are expressed in almost every page of this work. But the operations of self-interest, sublimed by religion, produce miracles.

Mr. Burke wrote his "wonderful" Letter, immediately on receiving the fanction of the Minister + to his fentiments in Parliament. As events fluctuated in France, the production was corrected, and the author has been alternately agitated and tortured by hope and despondence, " that the evils of the revolution might or " might not justify his opinions." At last, the Arithocratic Oracle gave the fignal. Calonne announced the plan of a counter-revolution. Burke put on his magic spectacles, diffinctly saw the Austrians marching through Flanders, the Spaniards in the Pyrennees, the Savoyards and Swifs in the Alps, and German and English officers sneaking off singly and reluctantly from poverty in England, to affift in the projected maffacre and devaltation.----Burke grew frantic with joy: he inuffed the murky air, loaded with the exhalations of twenty millions of atheillic and patriotic carcafes. " The incenfe is divine !" exclaimed the " holy" man-" My prophecies and revelations shall be honoured;" and lothe Book was published.

When your Royal Highness is, thus, in possible of the author's character and motives, you may easily judge of his work.

I have intimated, in a previous leilon, the principal caules of the French Revolution. When the fortrefs of defpotifm was carried, the victors were not content with flipulations to prevent future annoyance, they razed it to the ground, and projected a new and uleful flructure.

The genius of England, in political defign, had been to long the theme of pancy ric, that it was not imagined, the French would prefume to attempt any thing beyond an humble imitation of the English Government. Your Royal Highness will judge of the feelings of "mere Englishmen," by those which actuate Mr. Burke, when it was understood, they projected a new constitution, and meant to claim the merit of originality.

• The reader is to observe, that the Author vscs the word Religion, as fignifying the varied superstition which governments employ to impoverish and enflave the people

† Common minds fhould cautioufly pronounce concerning Miniflers who are born Statefmen, or Heaven-born: but it is certain Mr. Pitt's approbation of Mr. Burke's speech on the French Revolution occasioned all those measures of France, which embarraffed his Spanish negociation.

The National Affembly had been instructed from England, to distinguish the wishes of the English Administration from those of the Nation: the measures of France would otherwise have been more decisive, and a war must have ensued.

In "the Revelations" of the author, your Royal Highnefs may be inftructed to confider this prefumption as a "national infult," and a caufe of war as justifiable as any that has determined our cabinets.

But if it should not rouze that NATIONAL MAT 2D, which political fraud and pious artifice have assiduously generated and preferved—the dangers of the example furnished by France, are extremely numerous and alarming, to those who occupy (difinterestedly without doubt) the various departments of our " wonderful constitution," which is peculiarly " excellent" in its faults, produces equality by the common and necessary causes of inequakty, and confers benefits and bleffings by injustice and injury.

Whence are derived these mystic advantages? Your Royal Highness will perceive, in a former lesson, I traced the genuine principles of English liberty, in Saxon institutions: but the Saxons being heathens, consequently atheits or philosophers, according to our author's learned and liberal use of the terms, I took liberties with their rude sketches, and endeavoured to form into * elements the principles that have immortalized the name of Alfred. In these, there is an evident distinction of government and fovereignty. Government has the power of municipal legislation, and its laws are obligatory on individuals, corporate bodies, &c. The nation arranged, organized, and acting as fovereign, has conflictutional authority over the power of government.

The first law, in this species of constitution, is the general will; and it must be the determination of the general will, that every citizen without distinction of birth, possessions or talents, enjoy the great objects of society—liberty, property and security.

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

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

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

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• The political Diagrams of these lessons are used, by intelligent parents, to give ideas of political conflicutions to youth, which they might not obtain by perusing differtations.

The English House of Lords is a remnant of that Assembly: and its claims of judging, in dernier refort, &c. are derived from it. But the House of Lords are funk, by the regulations of William the conqueror, into a branch of the ordinary government; the ministers or managers of which, in all departments, affiduously discredit every mode of expressing the general will: being sensible, the numerous abuses which render their situations lucrative, would be abolished, and that no measures could obtain its fanction, not favorable to the general interest.

The National Affembly, having affumed powers fimilar to those of the Mycle-gemot, I rejoiced in the hope that France would furnish the example of a faciety organised into a political body, to which the head and the limbs would be vitally annexed; which would be actuated by a common principle of interest, by a common reason, judgment, and will; and that England, fimulated 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 myfelf, my fon, my brother, or my coulin, but in common with all my fellow citizens; without estimating the injuries that might enfue to those orders which had privileges by inheritance, those priests who were creeping up the tortuous paths of fervile ambition, or those splendid adventurers who had talked and written credulous multitudes into an opinion, that the general industry mult be deeply taxed to gratify and support them.

But your Royal Highness will conceive my fituation and feel for me, when the voice of Burke, like that of the angel in the fiery cloud, entranced my faculties, and wholly changed the direction of my imagination.

Farewell reafon-fcience-truth-all ideas of those rights, or of that justice, claimed for all mankind by a fost and whimpering philosophy ! Welcome, confectated despotism-whether cloathed in the dreadful armour of kings, the foft lawn of bifhops, or the various garbs of fenators, magistrates, lawyers, orators, parafites, panders, or pimps. From thy caprices are derived law, the fecurity of property, the patronage of talents. the encouragement of industry; 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 elaborate, intricate, and myftic production of Mr. Edmund Burke; as through a luxuriant wildernefs, where tyranny, privilege, fuperflition, and intolerance, difplay their magic rites, and combine, with their own, the fuppofed interefts of heaven and hell.

As the industrious mechanic, whole fancy has been limited by the horizon of his humble flate; on looking into the divine compositions of the northern prophet, loses his common faculties, and deigns to converfe only with fpirits-fo it befel me, having perused the unparalleled work of the political Swedenbourg, I no longer traced principles from facts, or fought truth in the long, the cautious, the laborious proceffes of demonstration: I law the dreadful precipices of Atheilin terminating all the paths of fcience : and I pioufly funk into the bosom of intuitive credulity, where I found all truths on heavenly authorities; riches, ranks, and diffinctions without the requisitions of merit; the happiness of human nature at the will of the fortunate ; and nations, as herds of cattle, transmitted by inheritance. How grateful, this flate of things, to the indolence, the felfifinefs, and the love of power, fo eafily excited in the human mind ! You will not wonder I quitted the simple paths of inquiry and invefligation, for these enchanted labyrinths into which political myfticitm conducted me.

Your Royal Highness is particularly requested to observe the admirable address, with which this great writer introduces the subject of his work.

It is frequently the misfortune of focieties or clubs in London, to have lefs prudence than good intention.

In the use of those rites "of pious" magic, which are thought to engage the deity even in the most fordid offices of human life, a club, calling itself the Revolution Society, employed a nonconformist clergyman as its magician: and he folemuly invoked his God, on a festival defined to another purpose, in behalf of those "levelling furies" in France, who, in demolishing the ancient and "facred" temple of absolute monarchy, nearly baried the king, the queen, the nobility, and the clergy in the ruins. But the magician does not worship the god of the country.* He is therefore liable to the charge of Atheism, as I shall prefently demonstrate to your Royal Highness: His incantations are impicties; and, if the true spirit of Mr. Burke's religion could have its proper effect, he would be soon silenced by the "holy severities" of the inquisition. This circumstance alone would invalidate his positions; and render null, the resolutions and proceedings of a Society, 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 condefeends to confider his principles, and to confute his arguments: And your Royal Highnels will fee with pleafing exultation, this "incomparable" orator proves, on the authority of the Revolution—that the English cannot elect their kings; cannot cashier them for mifconduct, or form a government for themselves.

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

His dexterity must be deemed important and astonishing, when he transmutes the delicacy of the convention, in the use of the word abdication, into a proof that if James had not sted, the nation in arms, assured by the Prince of Orange, could not have dethroned him without incurring the guilt of treason.

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Here the doctrine of Hobbes is inlinuated with all the art of the author's eloquence: But he does not refer to the Leviathan; for Hobbes was an atheift. Your Royal Highaels mult perceive another privilege of myftic piety. No inffruments in earth or hell, are forbidden to a Saint, if conducive to his intereft. Fiends are not fo horrible to our author as atheifts. But as the Devil is faid to believe, or to have faith, Mr. Hobbes, though an atheift, coincided with the orthodoxy of Mr. Burke in the creed of abfolute monarchy, his fentiments may be adopted without contaminating the author's foul, or fullying his "rightcous" reputation. But it was highly prudent not to mention Hobbes; and gratitude is not among the obligations of myfticifm.

Such the author deems to be the depraved condition of Europe, from Philosophy and Atheism, that is he had derived royalty directly from heaven, he might have been embarrassed by heralds and genealogists; he therefore mingles and jumbles the subjects of government, hereditary monarchy, and mystic religion. This is done with wonderful art and defigu.—The scop-

* Dr. Price is a professed Arian,

tic, philosopher, patriot, or atheist—all synonimous terms—is accultomed to view and examine all contrivances in their principles, and all compositions in their elements. The united skill and penetration of Europe, could not analyze, without completely diffipating the work before us. It seems, sometimes, air; fometimes fire: It assures fantastic shapes, which vary in every point of view, and will not bear the touch of impertinent and profane philosophy.

I exercife the privilege of the initiated, when I presume to affist your Royal Highness 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 interpolition; but defcending from heaven, at the command of Religion, which waves her wand from a turret of the Inquifition, and awes the nations into implicit faith and unconditioned loyalty.—Kings and queens are glorious funs and chafte moons. The beauty of holinefs is exhibited in all the gradations of the hierarchy; the Pope being flightly 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 immeafurcable pavement fupporting the privileged and confectated fcene !

Hail, heavenly enthuliafm !---parent of myllic defpotifm and arbitrary power !---How fublime thy ordinances; how captivating thy arrangements, compared with the cold tenets of philofophy, and the grovelling principles of patriotifm !

† The author (Mr. Burke, has been criticifed for cenfuring aconomilis, while his own regulations in the Royal Kitchen are fplendid proofs of his own love of aconomy. But, the Economiltes 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 furnish principles of political aconomy. Dr. Smith, the author of the History of the Wealth of Nations, derived the principal materials of his excellent work from this Society. But as their labours have not a tendency to promote Popery, the Ecclediaftics, particularly the Monks, brand them as Atheifts; and our author, in his reprehensions, and infamous in putations, clefely induces the glowing language of the Monks. Having given kings, queens, nobles, and high priefts, a heavenly origin, without directly afferting it—and having by confectation rendered them unaffailable—he rifes into a ftrain of fublime fcurrility against the National Affembly—for violences to which they were not acceffary, and fome of which never existed except in his own imagination. But the purpose justifies the means. The King of France is the fun shorn of his beams; the Queen is the morning star 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 Economiftes, the patriots, and the atheifts of France, were as little concerned in the violences at Verfailles, in the humiliating procession of the King and Queen, and in their confinement to the Louvre, as the most enlightened and virtuous citizens of England in the riot and conflagration of 1780. The principal initigators and agents were truly catholic fifth-women; as orthodox, as prejudiced, and almest as bigotted as our author. But in holy crimination-as in love and war-all advantages are to he feized, and all means are justifiable.-In the descriptions of the condition of France ; of a general absence of all government, all law, and all orderof bloody democrats, feeking the facred remnants of an "honourable" nobility and "holv" clergy, and murthering them in multitudes: In these descriptions, the author avails himself of the jultifiable licence of an orator; and almost every page of the declamation contains a misrepresentation, or an untruth. Besides, Mr. Burke is supported by the arithocratic newspapers of France and England; and this, in any cafe, is fufficient ground for that species of oratory we call Billingsgate.

Your Royal Hignels will observe, without contrait, the difplay of royalty would have no effect. The fate of the Queen, like that of a flar, flould be at the incantation of the demon of patriotifm iffuing from a charnel-house; at every step murthering millions, and his path a river of human blood. If I might prefume to blame an author of fuch exalted abilities, I would fay Mr. Burke has been squeamish, timid, too attentive to probability, and has not given fufficient scope to his creative imagination in his atrocious description of France.

Your Royal Highnefs will confider this observation as an anfwer to those little critics; who have cavilled at his description of the queen, as defective in costume; contradicting popular ideas of character and manners, and indicating impiety; for it is a plagiarifn: from an office to the holy Virgin, adored as the morning star appearing on the horizon, and promising a heavenly day, Sc. But minutize are unworthy a great genius, and the history of canonizations abounds with examples of a similar nature.

St. Grill, bishop of Alexandria, assafinated the beautiful and fublime Hypathia; yet was canonized.

The hands of Charlemagne were loathfome with the blood of the Saxons, whom he maffacred without the pretence of juffice. He robbed his nephews of their patrimony; married four wives, yet committed inceft: but he increased 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 attributes of an evening itar; and place him as a companion to the most brilliant production of his pencil.

Having thrown a luitre on his doctrines concerning royalty; which will more rapidly promote their circulation than a demonfration of their truth-and having harrowed up, at leaft his own foul, on the implety, the facrilege, and the villainy, of degrading and limiting its prerogatives in France-he denied the right of the people to form or model a government; for a reason which muit be convincing to every man of equal piety with the author that government is an inflitution of God; transmitted from one generation to another, in all its forms and privileges. In this matter he acts as gamblers do at play-by guarding against paffible chances. He uses the phrase "Government is a human invention :" but denies the necessity of general approbation or general will. He places religion as the basis of society; and if religion be a hum, an invention-it is that of pricits, who are the instruments of the divinity, and speak his will. Thus an apparent contradiction may be explained; as in this manner, governer ment may be at the fame time the inflitution of God and the invention of man.

I was the more embarrafied on this part of the fubjest, as I had been long accuftomed to think the virtues of men had no dependence on their mode of worfhipping God 1 that the opinion had been propagated by political hypocrites, who enforced without believing it; and had been adopted by the common people in circumflances fo depreffed, that they thought themfelves obliged to believe without examination whatever was enjoined them.

On a general view of history, by reason alone, the prosperity of nations had appeared to me, to depend only on the excellence of their government and legislation.

The Jews were eminently pure in their worship; and the Egyptians and Persians to them were atheists-the morals of the latter were good; those of the former abominable.

Rome, when it produced the virtues of Decius and Fabricius, was pagan and atheiftic : Conftantinople was the refervoir of all the most detestable vices, after Constantine had introduced the christian religion.——We have apostolic, catholic, and most christian kings; but no Titus, no Trajan, no Antoninus.

The Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, have more religion than all Europe : but are their morals proportionably distinguisked ?-----What christian would compare ancient and modern Greece, or ancient and modern Rome, in respect to religion; what philosopher would compare them in respect to talents industry, or merit ?

My reason therefore concluded that religion was not virtue.-

Why (I have exclaimed with regret and anguith) are priefts fuffered to light up the torch of intolerance; to ftrew kingdoms with the familhed or mangled carcafes of those honeft inhabitants who would have cultivated them, if the goodness of man in fociety be wholly the effect of the laws? I therefore earness with that government might have the wisdom to permit religion privately to regulate the faith of individuals; and that manners and virtues might be wholly configned to the laws.

My prefumptuous philosophy proceeded farther. The government of priefts, as in Jerusalem, in modern Rome, in Madrid, in Lisbon, &c. has always debased the nations which have submitted to it.

Under every form of religion, I concluded, mau must become wicked, if his interest be detached from the public : if he cannot procure his own happiness but by the milery of others; and if the government neglect virtue, reward vice, or elevate it to honors and opulence.

Your royal hignels will therefore imagine my pleafure, when all these conclutions of reason, and all the anguish with which they had induced me to view the principles and proceedings of modern governments—were diffipated by a heavenly ray from the mystic genius of our political Swedenbourg.

He has taught me that nations are "corporate bodies" by confecrated charters from heaven: and that my concern for the condition or qualities of the people has been fanciful and fuperfluous; for their happinels is not the object of the prefent difpenfations of pro-idence.—They are irrevocably predeftined to a flate of perpetual labour and industry; the best produce of which is to afcend for the use and gratification of higher orders and classes, which are entitled by "facred" claims to the various privileges of the mysterious 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, favage animals, called the people; just emerged from mere brutality; and, to be difciplined, under the direction of their masters, by labour and misery 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 philosophy may be wafted over to England, has distracted him almost into infanity; and his spirit often flies to the cliffs of Dover, waving that of his "immortal work" in the form of a flaming sword, and guarding the "incomparable structure of the English constitution" from the impious assults of democratic atheists and infernal surfaces. Besides, 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 myflic hints concerning the origin and formation of that conftitution. We are to be content with hints, until the enormities of the times be fublided, and he may be at leifure to afcend that region of the feven heavens, where the records of earthly corpora-have more leifure from indifpenfible engagements, and more refpite from the pains and infirmities of ag :--- I shall 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 ferioufly examine the records he produces; by the best abilities that remain with me.---In the mean time, I cannot help expressing my aftonishment, that he has only obscurely hinted the origin of our government, and has not described it with that frantic eloquence, which every man of learning and tafte, on the perufal of the work before usmust pronounce "unparalleled" in all the productions of ancient and modern literature.

An opinion is never to effectually imprefied on the public, as when accompanied by terror and aftonifhment. I cannot imagine a reason, that a writer of Mr. Burke's talents and princi-

[†] It was in an excursion to that region he discovered, the necessity of deftroying the charter of the East-India company; and in consequence of the discovery, furnished the heads of Mr. Fox'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 conflictution 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 ifland is ftrewed with the dead and dying, it is divided among chiefs 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 effates wrefted from the wretched inhabitants.

No fubject can escape cavil. All the kingdom was in effect confiscated, and all rights funk before the regulations of that revolution: but every thing was fanctioned, not as in France at this time, by views of public relief 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 conflitution, 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 innovation---treafon 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 opposed. But he approaches it circuitously, and brands with infamy the horrible facrilege of the eighth Henry in defpoiling the church of its property. Whether it be practicable to remove the guilt of that transaction, " which preffes heavily on the land," I will not determine. The prefent administration has been merciful to the descendants of men who had incurred forfeitures by rebellion. If Mr. Burke should be restored to power, and it must be the wish of every "pious" man he may-the kast to be expected from his fervid zeal is a complete restoration of the property of the church.

But waving this "feductive" hope, I must observe to your Royal Highness, that the "facred" privileges and rights lately violated in France, have a fimilar origin to those 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

* This phrase will soon be explained.

classes defined to be ignorant; forced literature out of the regulating hands of the clergy; and produced those enemies to all fixed inflitutions, those parents of impertinent enquiry, inveftigation, discussion, knowledge, and science, the literati, * the free thinkers, and the philosophers

These "Atheiss"—for, after the example of my author I shall compress them into one odious denomination: These "Atheists" have waged perpetual war with privileges, inflitutions and prejudices—and your Royal Highness will shudder, when informed, they have nearly obtained a power, the most fatal to all "facred" pretensions—" the legal liberty of the prefs.+"

Another principle of innovation, on the conflictution of the conqueror, was produced by the "incautious" introduction and impudent encouragement of industry.

The beautiful order of those provisions, made by Wilham, for a flrong, effective government, must have often flruck the imagination of your Royal Highnels. The division of the kingdom into fixty thousand portions, or, in effect, into so many properties ——the summary mode of disposing of the common people, and excluding them from all political questions the "complete representation" of the country "in masses" by the chiefs of those divisions; and above all, the fanction and cooperation of an opulent clergy, firmly pledged to preferve the people in implicit obedience and perpetual labour by the hopes of fature rewards: Those arrangements formed a constitution, which is considered by our author, as an inheritance, for the defence of which Englishmen should shed the last drop of their blood.

• The belt ichoiar of this country, in the usual fense of the word, and one of its best men, died in the house of a face of a face. This affecting event gave rise to the fociety for the establishment of a literary fund. Mr. Burke was requested to affist in the inflitution; but he treated the application with such angry rudenels, and with such abuse of literature, that the gentleman who conveyed the message of the fociety thought him infane. No-faid one of his political friends-but he hates every man who would participate with him, the fmallest portion of literary fame.

† Mr. Burke has greatly confoled the "pious votaties" of ancient order and privilege, by autouncing the conversion of Newgate into a Bastile.— The punishment of Lord George Gordon has been generally thought too fevere, while Mr. and Madame La Motte distributed volumes with impunity on the same subject. Public disapprobation would have ensued, if Lord George had not been peculiarly unpopular. It was not however imagined, until Mr. Burke disclosed the secret, that suture informations exofficio, where families and privileges are concerned, may serve the purposes of Lettres de Cachet. Human ingenuity, however devifed means to elude a power it could not refift. Small fettlements at the mouths of rivers produced mechanics and artifts, 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 industry and trade—mortal enemies to privilege and arbitrary power.

Finding these new gueils convenient to the revenue, princes "imprudently" encouraged them—until general opinion was diffused, that ingenuity and industry should not be exerted by the people, without obtaining an equivalent.

To favour the progress of that opinion, alienations of fiefs were allowed—lands were thrown into circulation—trade and commerce were established—new orders were generated; and that fystem of political œconomy was imagined which produced numerous innovations in England, [fuch as the House of Commons, the Habeas Corpus act, the Revolution, &c. &c.] and had fome effects in France, besides forming that Society called *Economifles*; the peculiar objects of our author's abhorrence.

Mr. Burke fays, he cannot diffinctly enumerate the crimes and enormities which must have called down the vengeauce of heaven on the monarchy of France, and which he feems to think may affect that of England.

It would be "impious" to imagine that any errors of royalty, of the nobility or clergy—and those facred orders are incapable of crimes—fhould have effects so opposite to what our author affects to know to be the will of " heaven."

The caufes cert inly are—the partial liberty of the prefs the introduction of the ideas of neceffary equivalents for all fervices—and the encouragement of industry, trade and commerce.

The fociety called Economiftes, in correspondence with ingenious men in every flate of Europe, adopted those causes as principles—and they contributed confiderably to all the late improvements in agriculture, and in the useful arts; and particularly to the diffusion of and encouragement of the opinion, that industry is intitled to an equivalent from those who enjoy its effects, and that government should treat it as property to be taxed only by the confent of its possible.

This opinion has emancipated from feodal vallalage thole portions of the people, who enjoy civil or political liberty. And if it be examined, only by reafon, it will prove demonstratively true. For, if the Barons and Knights, who received feodal poffessions, contributed to the public fervice on confultation or by confent, every man who emerged from villalanage and exercised his talents for an equivalent, became a free citizen, and could not reafonably or juffly be taxed without his confent.

The difficulty of giving that confent without confusion, produced various efforts towards representation; which I shall not consider at this time. It is sufficient, that industry is the parent of modern liberty, and constitutes a claim to it, at least as indifputable as the possession of land, or the will of a conqueror, or the bull of a Pope.

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

Here is the foundation of reproach and execration against the philosophical and political Economistes, The people would have acquired the rights of citizens, and the constitutional power of chusing their matters and governors without understanding or exerting them—if these philosophers had not urged them to their duties, often with hazard and injury, from the oppress and the oppressed.

Plans for the improvement of agriculture, 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 correspondents. But they proceeded in a direction, opposite to that of all feodal inflitutions : all their efforts were intended to elevate the people, and by deftroying the enormous inequalities which blended barbarous fplendor with loathfome mifery, and the most unbounded licence with the most abject flavery.

But this does not conflitute their principal offence. The Economilles, enthulialts in the contemplation of nature ; and of all men, the most fincere adorers of the ineffable principle which actuates it, abhorred the monks, for their ignorance, impositions, and vices; and mere negligence of a malignant monk enforces the imputation of Atheilm.

If it be crue, that "none by fearching can find out God,"---every man on earth is an Atheift. If difference of opinion concerning the deity be a ground of imputation, the Trinitarian muft be an Atheift to the Arian, and the Socinian to both ; the Mahometan to the Chriftian ; the Chriftian to the Jew ; the Jew to the Hindu ; the Hindu to the Chinefe, &c. &c. for they do not worthip the fame Gods, and the duties of modern religious do not recognize, and acknowledge each other. It is thus in fact—all men are Atheifts, in the effimation of particular fects except the members of those fects; and they are Atheists to the rest of the world.

This occasion of discord, ill-will, and hatred, is of advantage only to the priefts of the innumerable feels that divide the world.

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But your royal highnefs will admire the addrefs and oratorical art of our great author, who employs the molt odious epithet in all the languages of Europe to diferedit the principal authors of the French revolution. If he had played on them the engines that have annoyed the political party in which he is embarked; if he had faid of them what the public ftrongly affirm of all the members of the ENGLISH COALITION, that all their plans and measures are directed to their immediate or remote advantage : Every movement in the French revolution would have demonstrated the fallehood. No arrangements in the hiflory of mankind, bave been made with views fo difinterefled and fo generous. All power gradually arifes from the people, and by election. The elected hold their places for very moderate advantages and for fhort periods, and are incapacitated for office during a confiderable interval. This is, probably, a measure of wisdom; it is certainly a proof of diffutereftedness and generofity.

But whither am I flraying? Have the charms of philosophy again fascinated me? Our author has pronounced the Economistes, Atheists, with the views of a brutal boy, who configns a dog to destruction, by calling him mad. But your Royal Highness will not wonder at this charge, when you understand, the first measure suggested by these votaries of impiety was the facrilegious feizure of eccletiattical property.

In England, this is a new idea: but in the author's opinion, we are but Semi-Chrislians. We confider benefices, tithes, &c. as appropriated to certain uses, and configned to a certain order in trust but not in right, and not as property. No doubt is here entertained, that parliament may regulate, controul, and correct the abuses of such a trust, and even change the uses of its funds, when detrimental to the public.

A learned prelate, by no means infenfible to the dignity, or uninformed in the rights of his order, has folicited his metropolitan to obtain a law, that would affect the conflictution, and dispose of the riches of the church.

But in the church of Rome, and in the opinion of Mr. Burke, truft and right are confounded. Whatever may be alledged on the defination of tythes; whatever frauds and villalnies have been practified to accumulate ecclefial ical riches: Being appropriat d to the altay, they are faceed, and the application of them to national purpoles, is robbery and facellege. Your Royal Highnefs should also be informed, that some young men of this School have lately derided the Roman Catholic religion—and proposed various means of introducing a popular system of morality.

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

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

Bishop D'Autun (looking at the Clergy.)

No longer a confederation against the public---no longer devouring the harvests and fruits, like the grafshoppers of Egypt ---we, the ministers of a religion which is truly catholic, confign our minds and hearts to the glorious objects of a free constitution---and this we fwear----

We believe that God created man to be the friend, not the oppression of man-that he has given him fensibility, memory and reason.

It is the will of God, that human reafon, roufed by want, and influcted by experience, shall provide our fustenance, shall lead us to cultivate the earth, invent and improve the inftruments of labour, and perfect all the sciences of real necessity.

It is the will of God, that by gradually cultivating the fame reafon, not by fubmitting to the opinions of others, all men should difcover and practife the focial duties, the means of maintaining order, and the knowledge of the best legislation.

This being the 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 earth, the rewards of genius and activity will never more be fought in trifling operations, praying, fafting, hair cloth, and felf caffigation, which have not the merit of leaping, dancing, and walking on the rope.

The throne of the Monarch of the Universe shall no more be furrounded by Saints; enemies to fociety, and the gloony adversaries of human happines. We shall celebrate only the benefactors of mankind, Lycurgus, Solon, Brutus, Sydney; the inventors of useful arts or of some pleasure conformable to the general interest. No moral inftruction shall 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 beneficen⁺ government can be expected; perfectly tolerant, not expensive, offering no ideas of the divinity but fuch as are grand, folemu or amiable; exciting in the human mind the love of talents and virtue, and having no object but the happines of the people.

The magistrates of the nation, being successively appointed. and frequently instructed by the public will, must gradually become sagacious and just, and will be cloathed with temporal and spiritual powers; all contradiction between religion, morality, and patriotism, will disappear; all the people, after temporary divisions and differences, will have the same principles, and the same idea of the science of morals, in which it is important that all of them should be equally instructed. Amen.

Mr. Burke, on reading a composition fo unornamented, fo fimple, referring to objects fo grovelling as morality and the public good; and recollecting the mystic fublimity and supernatural language of the divine Athanasius, would throw from him the Economistic creed with unutterable fcorn; and accelerate the volubility of his expressions, in execrating philosophical impiety, which would substitute reason for religion, and divest human life of the consolations of mystery and superstition.

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 English language to those facrilegious robbers, and traiterous innovators the Philosophers and Economistes of France ?

Having exhausted his strength in this dreadful manner—at the conclusion of the work, he leads the reader, wearied and terrified, to confider the structure of the French Constitution and the condition of the French Finances.

By this artifice he enfures the reader's difguft, at the delineation of organic arrangements, where the author is fometimes mistaken; fometimes misrepresents and always animadverts with unequivocal expressions of hatred.

The observations on the paper morey of the National Assembly are also the ebullitions of mere zeal. The subject of money is as well understood in France as in England. The mode of issuing the Assignates is the offspring of necessary, not or ignorance; and I have some apprehensions for the reason of our author, when his prophecies concerning the future condition of

France are compared with events that may foon built 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 coincide with the pious apoftle of defpotifm, in all his wiftes and expectations?

His "matchlefs" eloquence may induce all the powers of Europe to unite—to publifh a crufade againft Philofophy, Freethinking, and Democratic Patriotifm—to pour innumerable armies into the heart of France—to facrifice the majority of the nation at the farine of the defied queen; to reflore the nobility and clergy to their honours and riches; to rebuild the Baftile, and fill it to the fummit of its towers with Jacobins† and Atheifts;—and to recover the military, clerical, and ancient government of the country.

I have thus endeavored to delineate the general purpole, and point out the excellencies and beauties of this great work.

My furvey of it has been hafty—my time being unfortunately engaged—and infirmities checking my ardour and activity. I truft, however, no parts of confiderable importance have been omitted; and that your Royal Highnefs will not be difpleafed at my humble efforts to fave you fome trouble in examining them.

The fun has fpots—and the altronomer mentions them without the imputation of impiety.—Your Royal Highnefs will believe I mean not to detract from the author's fame, by producing fome peculiarities of his ftyle and composition, when I affure you, I think the cloquence, imagery and phraseology of the work, admirably calculated to diffuse the principles of it among the "great vulgar, and the little"—and that no man fince the death of the "immortal" Whitfield, could enter into competition with him in this species of composition.

† The Jacobins are Patriots, inclined to conflicational democracy, and formed into a club. The reader should bear in mind, that by democracy in France is meant the power of election and controul in the people, not, as in Greece and Rome, the faculties of actual government. The author confounds these ideas, and the Patriotic Club being his aversion, he compares it to the "Lords of Articles" who prepared bills for the ancient government of Scotland. The Jacobins probably fettle their mode of proceeding in the National Affembly at their club; But they are "Lords of Articles" only as the affemblies at the Duke of Portland's, at Brookes's, at Cumberland House, or Mrs. Fitzlierbert's, may be called "Lords or Ladies of Articles," But as your Royal Highnefs is young; and may not have much attended to the varieties of English ftyle; and I have had the prefumption to affume the tone of an inftructor—I will fubmit the following paffages, as proofs of the validity of general opinion and literary fame.

1. Bombast substituted for Philosophy.

Page 68. "This preponderating weight being added to the force of the body chicane in the Tiers Etat, compleated that momentum of ignorance, rafhnefs, prefumption, and luft of plunder which nothing has been able to refift." ,

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2. Vulgarity to heighten admiration.

Page 71. " It is a thing to be wondered at, to fee how very foon France, when the had a moment to refpire, recovered and emerged from the longest and most 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 fubtility of their political metaphyfics. Let them be their amulement in the fchools—' Illa fe jactet in aula—Æolus, et claufo ventorum carcere regnet'—but let them not break prifon to burft 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 paradox, molt convenient when a falfehood is to be covered, or ignorance concealed,

Page 91. " The pretended rights of these theorists are all extremes; and in proportion as they are metaphysically true, they are morally and politically false."

5. Indelicate allusions, to affiit the fale of the work.

Page 23. "I confess to you, Sir, I never liked this continual talk of refistance and revolution, or the practice of making the extreme medicine of the conflitution its daily bread. It renders the habit of fociety dangerously valetudinary: it is taking periodical doses of mercury sublimate, and swallowing down repeated provocatives of cantharides to our love of liberty.

6. Borrowed from a Taylor; and expressed correctly in his manner.

Page 104. "We are fuid to learn manners at fecond-hand from your fide of the water; and that we drefs our behaviour in the frippery of France. If fo, we are full in the old cut." 7. The following should have been harmonized by Sir Joshua Reynolds:

Page 108. "A groupe of regicide and facrilegious flaughter, was indeed boldly sketched, but it was only sketched. It unhappily was left unfinished in this great history piece of the maffacre of *innocents*. What hardy pencil of a great master, from the school of the rights of men, will finish it, is to be seen hereafter."

8. This will offend his countrymen, the common Irish, who resent any farcastic reference to their fellow-creatures.

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Page 117. "Happy if learning, not debauched by ambition, had been fatisfied to continue the inftructor, and not afpire to be the mafter! Along with its natural protectors and guardians, learning will be caft into the mire, and trodden down under the hoofs of a *fwinifb multitude*.

9. This paragraph being defined for the people, is defignedly obscure, if not unintelligible. The CHURCH has declared that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

Page 140. "When the people have emptied themfelves of all the luft of felfifh will, which without religion it is utterly impoffible they ever should, when they are conficious that they exercise: and exercise perhaps in an higher link of the order of delegation, the power, which to be legitimate must be according to that eternal immutable law, in which will and reason are the same, they will be more careful how they place power in base and incapable hands."

10. How beautifully this is perplexed ! the works of a prophet always require an interpreter.

Page 145. Perfuaded that all things ought to be done with reference, and referring all to the point of reference to which all thould be directed, they think themfelves bound, not only as individuals in the fanctuary of the heart, or as congregated in that performal capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and caft."

11. Naity, without occasion :

Page 151. " They are not repelled through a fastidious delicacy, at the stench of their arrogance and prefumption, from a medicinal attention to their mental blotches and running fores."

To confiruct fentences of fourrilous epithets, the author feems to have turned to the words ' Athenit', Traitor and Robber, in Johnfon's dictionary; and by the conjunction ' and' to have connected them and all their fynonomes—when a patriot or a philofopher occurred to his imagination.

The work, on the whole, wants that lucid order, that air of demonstration, which real science gives to every species 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 first parents, and the possible happiness of their race.

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

But all mystic productions should have these " seeming" faults, to produce their cifects on the multitude, who are always convinced if fufficiently terrified; who are highly edified by unintelligible enigmas; and often adore a loquacious impostor, who by soothing their prejudices, invades their rights; and on their credulity and misery creets his splendid fortune and his fame.

THE END.

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