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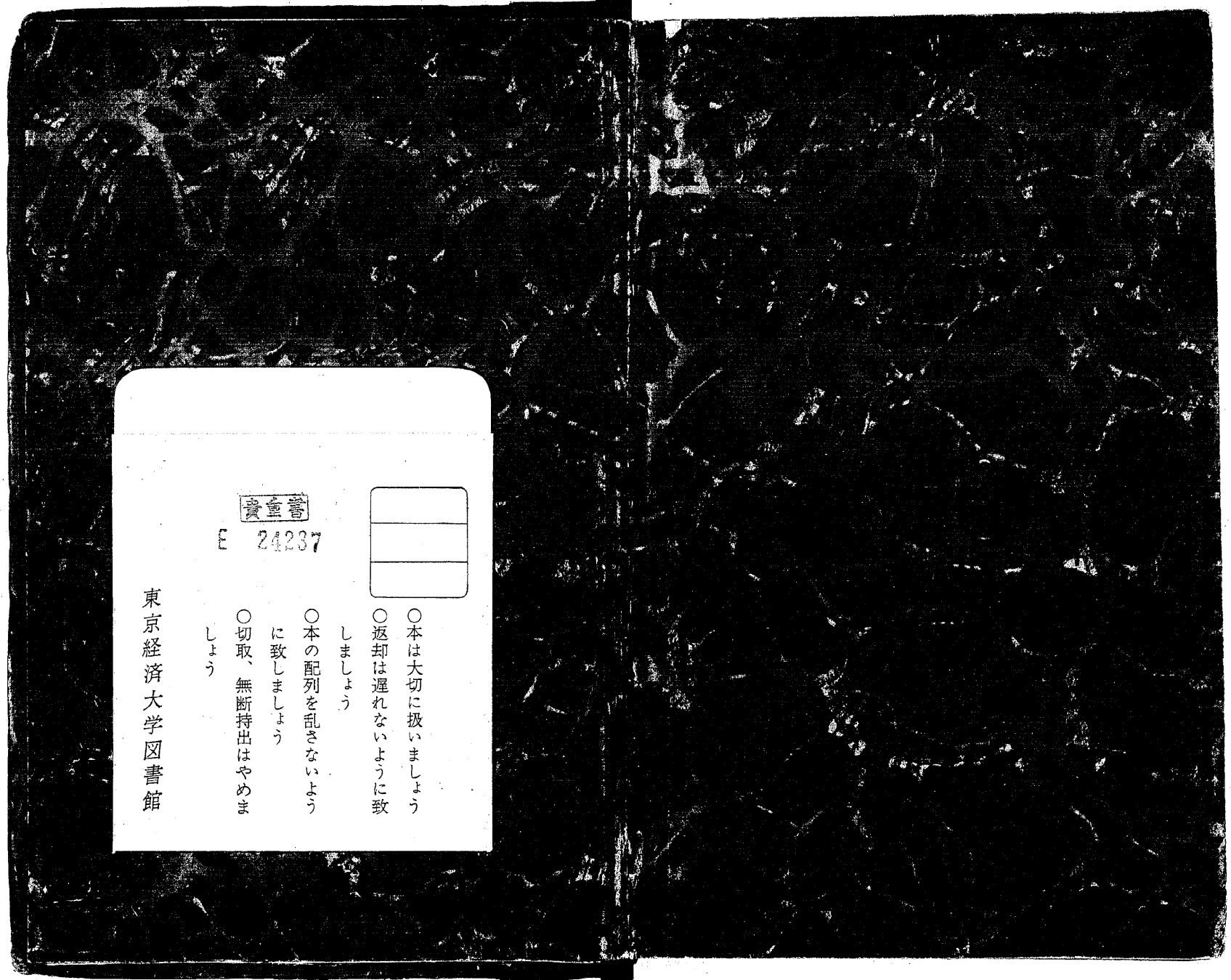


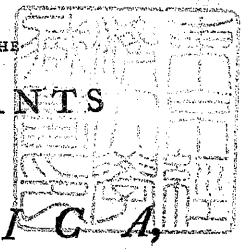
# COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

# INHABITANTS

OF

# *AMERICA,*



On the following intereſting

## SUBJECTS:

I. Of the Origin and Deſign of Government in general, with conciſe Remarks on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion.

III. Thoughts on the Preſent State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the preſent Ability of America, with ſome miſcellaneous Reflections.

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A NEW EDITION, with ſeveral Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added, an APPENDIX; together with an Addreſs to the People called QUAKERS.

N. B. The New Edition here given increaſes the Work upwards of One-Third.

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By THOMAS PAINE,

Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs to Congreſs, during the American War, and Author of The Rights of Man, and a Letter to the Abbe Raynal.

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M.DCC.XCI.

# INTRODUCTION.

*PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not* yet *sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favour; a long habit of not thinking a thing* wrong, *gives it a superficial appearance of being* right, *and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason.*

*As a long and violent abuse of power is generally the means of calling the right of it in question, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the sufferers been aggravated into the inquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his* own right, *to support the Parliament in what he calls* theirs, *and as the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the they have an undoubted privilege to inquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the of either.*

*In the following sheets the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves.*

*Compliments as well as cenſure to individuals make no part thereof. The wiſe, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and thoſe whoſe ſentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will ceaſe of themſelves, unleſs too much pains are beſtowed upon their converſion.*

*The cauſe of America is in a great meaſure the cauſe of all mankind. Many circumſtances hath, and will ariſe, which are not local, but univerſal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which their affections are intereſted. The laying a country deſolate with fire and ſword, declaring war againſt the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which claſs, regardleſs of party cenſure, is the* AUTHOR.

P. S. *The publication of this new edition hath been delayed, with a view of taking notice (had it been neceſſary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of independence. As no anſwer hath yet appeared, it is now preſumed none will, the time needful for getting ſuch a performance ready for the public being conſiderably paſt.*

Philadelphia, Feb. 14, 1776.

COM-



# COMMON SENSE.

*Of the Origin and Deſign of Government in general; with conciſe Remarks on the Engliſh Conſtitution.*

SOME writers have ſo confounded ſociety with government, as to leave little or no diſtinction between them: whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedneſs; the former promotes our happineſs *poſitively*, by uniting our affections; the latter *negatively*, by reſtraining our vices. The one encourages intercourſe, the other creates diſtinctions. The firſt is a patron, the laſt a puniſher.

SOCIETY in every ſtate is a bleſſing, but government, even in its beſt ſtate, is but a neceſſary evil; in its worſt ſtate, an intolerable one; for when we ſuffer, or are expoſed to the ſame miſeries *by a government*, which we might expect in a country *without government*,

*ment*, our calamity is heightened by reflecting, that we furniſh the means by which we ſuffer. Government, like dreſs, is the badge of loſt innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradiſe. For were the impulſes of conſcience clear, uniform, and irreſiſtibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the caſe, he finds it neceſſary to ſurrender up a part of his property to furniſh means for the protection of the reſt; and this he is induced to do by the ſame prudence which in every other caſe adviſes him out of two evils to chuſe the leaſt. *Wherefore* ſecurity being the true deſign and end of government, it unanſwerably follows, that whatever *form* thereof appears moſt likely to enſure it to us with the leaſt expence and greateſt benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and juſt idea of the deſign and end of government, let us ſuppoſe a ſmall number of perſons ſettled in ſome ſequeſtered part of the earth, unconnected with the reſt; they will then repreſent the firſt peopling of any country, or of the world. In this ſtate of natural liberty, ſociety will be their firſt thought. A thouſand motives will excite them thereto; the ſtrength of one man is ſo unequal to his wants, and his mind ſo unfitted for perpetual ſolitude, that he is ſoon obliged to ſeek aſſiſtance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the ſame. Four or five united would be able to raiſe a tolerable dwelling in the midſt of a wilderneſs; but *one* man might labour out the common period of life without accompliſhing any thing; when he had felled



felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Diſeaſe, nay even misfortune, would be death; for though neither might be mortal, yet either would diſable him from living, and reduce him to a ſtate in which he might rather be ſaid to periſh than to die.

Thus, neceſſity, like a gravitating power, would ſoon form our newly arrived emigrants into ſociety, the reciprocal bleſſings of which would ſuperſede, and render the obligations of law and government unneceſſary while they remained perfectly juſt to each other; but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen, that in proportion as they ſurmount the firſt difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cauſe, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and this remiſſneſs will point out the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome form of government to ſupply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a ſtate-houſe, under the branches of which the whole colony may aſſemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable, that their firſt laws will have the title only of Regulations, and be enforced by no other penalty than public diſeſteem. In this firſt parliament every man, by natural right, will have a ſeat.

But as the colony increaſes, the public concerns will increaſe likewiſe, and the diſtance at which the mem-

members may be ſeparated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occaſion as at firſt, when their number was ſmall, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their conſenting to leave the legiſlative part to be managed by a ſelect number choſen from the whole body, who are ſuppoſed to have the ſame concerns at ſtake which thoſe have who appointed them, and who will act in the ſame manner as the whole body would act, were they preſent. If the colony continue increaſing, it will become neceſſary to augment the number of the repreſentatives; and that the intereſt of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found beſt to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part ſending its proper number; and that the *elected* might never form to themſelves an intereſt ſeparate from the *electors*, prudence will point out the neceſſity of having elections often; becauſe, as the *elected* might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the *electors* in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be ſecured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themſelves. And as this frequent interchange will eſtabliſh a common intereſt with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally ſupport each other; and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *ſtrength of government, and the happineſs of the governed.*

HERE, then, is the origin and riſe of government; namely, a mode rendered neceſſary by the inability





of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the deſign and end of government, viz. freedom and ſecurity. And however our eyes may be dazzled with ſhow, or our ears deceived by ſound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or intereſt darken our underſtanding, the ſimple voice of nature and of reaſon will ſay, it is right.

I DRAW my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more ſimple any thing is, the leſs liable it is to be diſordered, and the eaſier repaired when diſordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the ſo much boaſted conſtitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and ſlaviſh times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was overrun with tyranny, the leaſt remove therefrom was a glorious riſque. But that it is imperfect, ſubject to convulſions, and incapable of producing what it ſeems to promiſe, is eaſily demonſtrated.

ABSOLUTE governments, (though the diſgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are ſimple; if the people ſuffer, they know the head from which their ſuffering ſprings, know likewiſe the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of cauſes and cures. But the conſtitution of England is ſo exceedingly complex, that the nation may ſuffer for years together without being able to diſcover in which part the fault lies; ſome will ſay in one and ſome in another, and every political phyſician will adviſe a different medicine.

I KNOW it is difficult to get over local or long ſtanding prejudices; yet if we will ſuffer ourſelves to examine the component parts of the Engliſh conſtitution, we ſhall find them to be the baſe remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with ſome new republican materials.

*Firſt.*—The remains of monarchical tyranny in the perſon of the King.

*Secondly.*—The remains of ariſtocratical tyranny in the perſons of the Peers.

*Thirdly.*—The new republican materials in the perſons of the Commons, on whoſe virtue depends the freedom of England.

THE two firſt, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a *conſtitutional ſenſe* they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the ſtate.

TO ſay that the conſtitution of England is a *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical; either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

TO ſay that the Commons is a check upon the King, pre-ſuppoſes two things:

*Firſt.*—That the King is not to be truſted without being looked after, or, in other words, that a thirſt for abſolute power is the natural diſeaſe of monarchy.

*Secondly.* That the Commons, by being appointed for that purpoſe, are either wiſer or more worthy of confidence than the Crown.

BUT



BUT as the ſame conſtitution which gives the Commons a power to check the King by withholding the ſupplies, gives afterwards the King a power to check the Commons by empowering him to reject their other bills, it again ſuppoſes that the King is wiſer than thoſe whom it has already ſuppoſed to be wiſer than him. A mere abſurdity!

THERE is ſomething exceedingly ridiculous in the compoſition of monarchy; it firſt excludes a man from the means of information, yet impowers him to act in caſes where the higheſt judgment is required. The ſtate of a King ſhuts him from the world, yet the buſineſs of a King requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, by unnaturally oppoſing and deſtroying each other, prove the whole character to be abſurd and uſeleſs.

SOME writers have explained the Engliſh conſtitution thus: the King, ſay they, is one, the People another; the Peers are an houſe in behalf of the King, the Commons in behalf of the People; but this hath all the diſtinctions of an houſe divided againſt itſelf; and though the expreſſions be pleaſantly arranged, yet when examined, they appear idle and ambiguous; and it will always happen, that the niceſt conſtruction that words are capable of, when applied to the deſcription of ſomething which either cannot exiſt, or is too incomprehenſible to be within the compaſs of deſcription, will be words of ſound only, and though they may amuſe the ear, they cannot inform the mind, for this explanation includes a previous queſtion, viz. *How came the*

*King by a power which the People are afraid to truſt, and always obliged to check?* Such a power could not be the gift of a wiſe people, neither can any power *which needs checking* be from God; yet the proviſion which the conſtitution makes, ſuppoſes ſuch a power to exiſt.

But the proviſion is unequal to the taſk; the means either cannot or will not accompliſh the end, and the whole affair is a *felo de ſe*; for as the greater weight will always carry up the leſs, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the conſtitution has the moſt weight, for that will govern; and though the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phraſe is, check the rapidity of its motion, yet ſo long as they cannot ſtop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual; the firſt moving power will at laſt have its way, and what it wants in ſpeed, is ſupplied by time.

That the Crown is this overbearing part of the Engliſh conſtitution, needs not to be mentioned, and that it derives its whole conſequence merely from being the giver of places and penſions, is ſelf-evident; wherefore, though we have been wiſe enough to ſhut and lock a door againſt abſolute monarchy, we at the ſame time have been fooliſh enough to put the Crown in poſſeſſion of the key.

The prejudice of Engliſhmen in favour of their own government, by Kings, Lords, and Commons, ariſes as much or more from national pride than reaſon. Individuals are undoubtedly ſafer in England than in ſome



ſome other countries, but the *will* of the King is as much the *law* of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that inſtead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the moſt formidable ſhape of an Act of Parliament. For the fate of Charles the Firſt hath only made kings more ſubtle—not more juſt.

Wherefore, laying aſide all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the conſtitution of the people, and not to the conſtitution of the government*, that the Crown is not as oppreſſive in England as in Turkey.

An inquiry into the *conſtitutional errors* in the Engliſh form of government is at this time highly neceſſary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing juſtice to others, while we continue under the influence of ſome leading partiality, ſo neither are we capable of doing it to ourſelves while we remain fettered with an obſtinate prejudice. And as a man who is attached to a proſtitute, is unfitted to chooſe or judge a wife, ſo any prepoſſeſſion in favour of a rotten conſtitution of government will diſable us from diſcerning a good one.

## *Of Monarchy and hereditary Succeſſion.*

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtances; the diſtinctions of rich and poor, may in a great meaſure be accounted for, and that without having recourſe to the harſh and ill-ſounding names of oppreſſion and avarice. Oppreſſion is often the *conſequence*, but ſeldom or never the *means* of riches; and though avarice will preſerve a man from being neceſſitouſly poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

BUT there is another and greater deſtruction, for which no truly natural or religious reaſon can be aſſigned, and that is, the diſtinction of men into KINGS and SUBJECTS. Male and female are the diſtinctions of nature, good and bad, the diſtinctions of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world ſo exalted above the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed like ſome new ſpecies, is worth inquiring into, and whether they are the means of happineſs or of miſery to mankind.

IN the early ages of the world, according to the ſcripture chronology, there were no kings; the conſequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throw mankind into confuſion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this laſt century than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the ſame remark:



remark: for the quiet and rural lives of the firſt patriarchs hath a happy ſomething in them, which vaniſhes away when we come to the hiſtory of Jewiſh royalty.

GOVERNMENT by kings was firſt introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Iſrael copied the cuſtom. It was the moſt proſperous invention the devil ever ſet on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, and the Chriſtian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the ſame to their living ones. How impious is the title of ſacred majeſty applied to a worm, who in the midſt of his ſplendour is crumbling into duſt.

As the exalting one man ſo greatly above the reſt cannot be juſtified on the equal rights of nature, ſo neither can it be defended on the authority of ſcripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expreſſly diſapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of ſcripture have been very ſmoothly gloſſed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form. "*Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's,*" is the ſcripture doctrine of courts, yet it is no ſupport of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a king, and in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the Romans.

NEAR three thouſand years paſſed away from the Moſaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a

national deluſion requeſted a king. Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary caſes, where the Almighty interpoſed) was a kind of republic adminiſtered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held ſinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hoſts. And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the perſons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honour, ſhould diſapprove of a form of government which ſo impiouſly invades the prerogative of Heaven.

MONARCHY is ranked in ſcripture as one of the ſins of the Jews, for which a curſe in reſerve is denounced againſt them. The hiſtory of that tranſaction is worth attending to.

THE children of Iſrael being oppreſſed by the Midianites, Gideon marched againſt them with a ſmall army, and victory, through the Divine interpoſition, decided in his favour. The Jews, elate with ſucceſs, and attributing it to the generalſhip of Gideon, propoſed making him a king, ſaying, *Rule thou over us, thou and thy ſon, and thy ſon's ſon.* Here was temptation in its fulleſt extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one. But Gideon in the piety of his ſoul replied, *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my ſon rule over you*; THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU. Words need not be more explicit. Gideon doth not decline the honour, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the poſitive ſtile of a prophet



phet charges them with diſaffection to their proper ſovereign, the King of Heaven.

ABOUT one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the ſame error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Heathens, is ſomething exceedingly unaccountable; but ſo it was, that laying hold of the miſconduct of Samuel's two ſons, who were entruſted with ſome ſecular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, ſaying, *Behold thou art old and thy ſons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us, like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but obſerve that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be *like* unto other nations, i. e. the Heathens, whereas, their true glory laid in being as much *unlike* them as poſſible. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel when they ſaid, Give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord ſaid unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me,* THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM. *According to all the works which they have done ſince the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day; wherewith they have forſaken me and ſerved other Gods; ſo do they alſo unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice, howbeit, proteſt ſolemnly unto them, and ſhew them the manner of the king that ſhall reign over them,* i. e. not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Iſrael was ſo eagerly copying after. And notwithſtanding the great difference of time and diſtance of manners, the

character is ſtill in faſhion. *And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that aſked of him a king. And he ſaid, This ſhall be the manner of the king that ſhall reign over you; he will take your ſons and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his chariots,* (this deſcription agrees with the preſent mode of impreſſing men) *and he will appoint him captain over thouſands and captains over fifties, and will ſet them to ear his ground, and to reap his harveſt, and to make his inſtruments of war, and inſtruments of his chariots; and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers,* (this deſcribes the expence and luxury as well as the oppreſſion of kings) *and he will take your fields and your olive yards, even the beſt of them, and give them to his ſervants; and he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his ſervants,* (by which we ſee that bribery, corruption, and favouritiſm are the ſtanding vices of kings) *and he will take the tenth of your men ſervants and your maid ſervants, and your goodlieſt young men, and your aſſes, and put them to his work; and he will take the tenth of your ſheep, and ye ſhall be his ſervants; and ye ſhall cry out in that day becauſe of your king which ye ſhall have choſen,* AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY.

THIS accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived ſince, either ſanctify the title, or blot out the ſinfulneſs of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him *officially as a king,*



*king,* but only as a *man* after God's own heart. *Nevertheleſs the people refuſed to obey the voice of Samuel, and they ſaid, Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.* Samuel continued to reaſon with them, but to no purpoſe: he ſat before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and ſeeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord, and he ſhall ſend thunder and rain* (which then was a puniſhment, being in the time of wheat harveſt) *that ye may perceive and ſee that your wickedneſs is great which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord,* IN ASKING YOU A KING. *So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord ſent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel. And all the people ſaid unto Samuel, pray for thy ſervants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for* WE HAVE ADDED UNTO OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK A KING. Theſe portions of ſcripture are direct and poſitive. They admit of no equivocal conſtruction. That the Almighty hath here entered his proteſt againſt monarchical government is true, or the ſcripture is falſe. And a man hath good reaſon to believe that there is as much of king-craft as prieſt-craft, in withholding the ſcripture from the public in popiſh countries. For monarchy in every inſtance is the popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary ſucceſſion; and as the firſt is a degradation and leſſening of ourſelves, ſo the ſecond, claimed as a matter of right, is an inſult and an impoſition on

poſterity. For all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to ſet up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever; and though himſelf might deſerve *ſome* decent degree of honors of his cotemporaries, yet his deſcendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the ſtrongeſt *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature diſapproves it, otherwiſe ſhe would not ſo frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *aſs for a lion*.

SECONDLY, as no man at firſt could poſſeſs any other public honors than were beſtowed upon him, ſo the givers of thoſe honors could have no right to give away the right of poſterity. And though they might ſay, "We chooſe you for our head," they could not, without manifeſt injuſtice to their children, ſay, "that your children and your children's children ſhall reign over *ours* for ever," becauſe ſuch an unwiſe, unjuſt, unnatural compact might, perhaps, in the next ſucceſſion put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Moſt wiſe men, in their private ſentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of thoſe evils which, when once eſtabliſhed, is not eaſily removed; many ſubmit from fear, others from ſuperſtition, and the moſt powerful part ſhares with the king the plunder of the reſt.

THIS is ſuppoſing the preſent race of kings in the world to have had an honorable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their firſt riſe,



riſe, that we ſhould find the firſt of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of ſome reſtleſs gang, whoſe ſavage manners, or pre-eminence in ſubtility, obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increaſing in power, and extending his depredations, over-awed the quiet and defenceleſs to purchaſe their ſafety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his deſcendants, becauſe ſuch a perpetual excluſion of themſelves was incompatible with the free and unreſtrained principles they profeſſed to live by. Wherefore hereditary ſucceſſion in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as ſomething caſual or complimental; but as few or no records were extant in thoſe days, and traditionary hiſtory ſtuffed with fables, it was very eaſy, after the lapſe of a few generations, to trump up ſome ſuperſtitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the diſorders which threatened, or ſeemed to threaten, on the deceaſe of a leader, and the choice of a new one (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at firſt to favour hereditary pretenſions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened ſince, that what at firſt was ſubmitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

ENGLAND ſince the Conqueſt hath known ſome few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones, yet no man in his ſenſes can ſay that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very

very honorable one. A French baſtard landing with an armed banditti, and eſtabliſhing himſelf King of England againſt the conſent of the natives, is, in plain terms, a very paltry, raſcally original. It certainly hath no divinity in it. However, it is needleſs to ſpend much time in expoſing the folly of hereditary right; if there are any ſo weak as to believe it, let them promiſcuouſly worſhip the aſs and the lion, and welcome; I ſhall neither copy their humility, nor diſturb their devotion.

YET I ſhould be glad to aſk, how they ſuppoſe kings came at firſt? The queſtion admits but of three anſwers, viz. Either by lot, by election, or by uſurpation. If the firſt king was taken by lot, it eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary ſucceſſion. Saul was by lot, yet the ſucceſſion was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that tranſaction, there was any intention it ever ſhould. If the firſt king of any country was by election, that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next; for to ſay that the *right* of all future generations is taken away by the act of the firſt electors, in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of ſcripture but the doctrine of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free will of all men loſt in Adam; and from ſuch compariſon, and it will admit of no other, hereditary ſucceſſion can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to ſovereignty; as our innocence was loſt in the firſt, and





our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from re-aſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows, that original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion are parallels. Diſhonourable rank! Inglorious connection! Yet the moſt ſubtle ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter ſimile.

As to uſurpation, no man will be ſo hardy as to defend it; and that William the Conqueror was an uſurper, is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of Engliſh monarchy will not bear looking into.

BUT it is not ſo much the abſurdity as the evil of hereditary ſucceſſion which concerns mankind. Did it inſure a race of good and wiſe men, it would have the ſeal of divine authority; but as it opens a door to the *fooliſh*, the *wicked*, and the *improper*, it hath in it the nature of oppreſſion. Men who look upon themſelves born to reign, and others to obey, ſoon grow inſolent; ſelected from the reſt of mankind, their minds are early poiſoned by importance, and the world they act in differs ſo materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true intereſts, and when they ſucceed to the government, are frequently the moſt ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

ANOTHER evil which attends hereditary ſucceſſion is, that the throne is ſubject to be poſſeſſed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement to betray their truſt. The ſame national misfortune happens, when a king, worn out with age

and infirmity, enters the laſt ſtage of human weakneſs. In both theſe caſes, the public becomes a prey to every miſcreant, who can tamper ſucceſsfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

THE moſt plauſible plea which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that it preſerves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas, it is the moſt barefaced falſity ever impoſed upon mankind. The whole hiſtory of England diſowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that diſtracted kingdom ſince the Conqueſt, in which time there have been (including the Revolution) no leſs than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore, inſtead of making for peace, it makes againſt it, and deſtroys the very foundation it ſeems to ſtand on.

THE conteſt for monarchy and ſucceſſion, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, laid England in a ſcene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, beſides ſkirmiſhes and ſieges, were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry priſoner to Edward, who in his turn was priſoner to Henry. And ſo uncertain is the fate of war, and temper of a nation, when nothing but perſonal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a priſon to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as ſudden tranſitions of temper are ſeldom laſting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward recalled to ſucceed him: the Parliament always following the ſtrongeſt ſide.

THIS



THIS conteſt began in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and was not entirely extinguiſhed till Henry the Seventh, in whom the families were united; including a period of ſixty-ſeven years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

IN ſhort, monarchy and ſucceſſion have laid, not this or that kingdom only, but the world in blood and aſhes. It is a form of government which the word of God bears teſtimony againſt, and blood will attend it.

IF we inquire into the buſineſs of a king, we ſhall find that in ſome countries they have none; and after ſauntering away their lives without pleaſure to themſelves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the ſcene, and leave their ſucceſſors to tread the ſame idle ground. In abſolute monarchies the whole weight of buſineſs, civil and military, lies on the king; the children of Iſrael in their requeſt for a king, urged this plea, "that he may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, , a man would be puzzled to know what *is* his buſineſs.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the leſs buſineſs there is for a king. It is ſomewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but in its preſent ſtate it is unworthy of the name, becauſe the corrupt influence of the Crown, by having all the places in its diſpoſal, hath ſo effectually ſwallowed up the power, and eaten out the

virtue of the Houſe of Commons (the republican part in the conſtitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without underſtanding them: for it is the republican, and not the monarchical part of the conſtitution of England, which Engliſhmen glory in, viz. the liberty of chooſing an Houſe of Commons from out of their own body; and it is eaſy to ſee, that when republican virtue fails, ſlavery enſues. Why is the conſtitution of England ſickly, but becauſe monarchy hath poiſoned the republic, the Crown hath engroſſed the Commons?

In hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which, in plain terms, is to impoveriſh the nation, and ſet it together by the ears. A pretty buſineſs, indeed, for a man to be allowed eight hundred thouſand ſterling a year for, and worſhipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honeſt man to ſociety, and in the ſight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

*Thoughts*



*Thoughts on the preſent State of American Affairs.*

IN the following pages I offer nothing more than ſimple facts, plain arguments, and common ſenſe; and have no other preliminaries to ſettle with the reader, than that he will diveſt himſelf of prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, and ſuffer his reaſon and his feelings to determine for themſelves; that he will put *on*, or rather that he will not put *off* the true character of a man, and generouſly enlarge his views beyond the preſent day.

VOLUMES have been written on the ſubject of the ſtruggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controverſy, from different motives, and with various deſigns: but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is cloſed. Arms, as the laſt reſource, decide the conteſt: the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

IT hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham, who, though an able miniſter, was not without his faults, that on his being attacked in the Houſe of Commons, on the ſcore, that his meaſures were only of a temporary kind, replied, "*they will laſt my time.*" Should a thought ſo fatal and unmanly poſſeſs the colonies in the preſent conteſt, the name of

anceſtors will be remembered by future generations with deteſtation.

THE ſun never ſhined on a cauſe of greater worth. It is not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of, at leaſt, one eighth part of the habitable globe. It is not the concern of a day, a year, or an age, poſterity are virtually involved in the conteſt, and will be more or leſs affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the ſeed-time of continental union, faith, and honor. The leaſt fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak: the wound will enlarge with the tree, and poſterity read it in full grown characters.

BY referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politics is ſtruck, a new method of thinking hath ariſen. All plans, propoſals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, i. e. to the commencement of hoſtilities, are like the almanacks of the laſt year; which, though proper then, are ſuperſeded and uſeleſs now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either ſide of the queſtion then, terminated in one and the ſame point, viz. an union with Great Britain; the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it, the one propoſing force, the other friendſhip; but it hath ſo far happened, that the firſt hath failed and the ſecond hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been ſaid of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath paſſed



paſſed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we ſhould examine the contrary ſide of the argument, and inquire into ſome of the many material injuries which theſe colonies ſuſtain, and always will ſuſtain, by being connected with, and dependent on Great Britain. To examine that connection and dependence, on the principles of nature and common ſenſe, to ſee what we have to truſt to, if ſeparated, and what we are to expect, if dependent.

I HAVE heard it aſſerted by ſome, that as America hath flouriſhed under her former connection with Great Britain, that the ſame connection is neceſſary towards her future happineſs, and will always have the ſame effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well aſſert, that becauſe a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the firſt twenty years of our lives are to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I anſwer roundly, that America would have flouriſhed as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce by which ſhe hath enriched herſelf, are the neceſſaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the cuſtom of Europe.

BUT ſhe has protected us, ſay ſome. That ſhe has engroſſed us is true, and defended the continent at our expence as well as her own, is admitted; and ſhe would have defended Turkey from the ſame motive, viz. the ſake of trade and dominion.

ALAS! we have been long led away by ancient

prejudices, and made large ſacrifices to ſuperſtition. We have boaſted the protection of Great Britain, without conſidering that her motives was *intereſt*, not *attachment*; that ſhe did not protect us from our *enemies* on *our account*, but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from thoſe who had no quarrel with us on any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *ſame account*. Let Britain wave her pretenſions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we ſhould be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miſeries of Hanover laſt war ought to warn us againſt connections.

It has lately been aſſerted in Parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i. e. that Pennſylvania and the Jerſeys, and ſo on for the reſt, are ſiſter colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very roundabout way of proving relationſhip, but it is the neareſt and only true way of proving enemyſhip, if I may ſo call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be, our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *ſubjects of Great Britain*.

But Britain is the parent country, ſay ſome. Then the more ſhame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor ſavages make war upon their families: wherefore the aſſertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly ſo, and the phraſe *parent* or *mother country* hath been jeſuitically adopted by the and his paraſites, with a low papiſtical deſign



ſign of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakneſs of our minds. Europe and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the aſylum for the perſecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monſter; and it is ſo far true of England, that the ſame tyranny which drove the firſt emigrants from home, purſues their deſcendants ſtill.

In this extenſive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and ſixty miles, (the extent of England) and carry our friendſhip on a larger ſcale; we claim brotherhood with every European Chriſtian, and triumph in the generoſity of the ſentiment.

It is pleaſant to obſerve by what regular gradations we ſurmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into pariſhes, will naturally aſſociate moſt with his fellow-pariſhioners, becauſe their intereſts in many caſes will be common, and diſtinguiſh him by the name of *neighbour*; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a ſtreet, and ſalutes him by the name of *townſman*; if he travel out of the country, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor diviſions of ſtreet and town, and calls him *countryman*, i. e. *countyman*; but if in their foreign excurſions they ſhould aſſociate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would

would be enlarged into that of *Engliſhman*. And by a juſt parity of reaſoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are *countrymen*; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, ſtand in the ſame places on the larger ſcale, which the diviſions of ſtreet, town, and country, do on the ſmaller ones; diſtinction too limited for continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants even of this province, are of Engliſh deſcent. Wherefore I reprobate the phraſe of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being falſe, ſelfiſh, narrow, and ungenerous.

BUT admitting that we were all of Engliſh deſcent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain being now an open enemy, extinguiſhes every other name and title: and to ſay that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The firſt King of England, of the preſent line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are deſcendants from the ſame country; wherefore by the ſame method of reaſoning, England ought to be governed by France.

MUCH hath been ſaid of the united ſtrength of Britain and the colonies; that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere preſumption; the fate of war is uncertain: neither do the expreſſions mean any thing; for this continent would never ſuffer itſelf to be drained of inhabitants, to ſupport the Britiſh arms in either Aſia, Africa, or Europe.

BE-



BESIDES, what have we to do with ſetting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will ſecure us the peace and friendſhip of all Europe; becauſe it is the intereſt of all Europe to have America a *free port*. Here trade will always be a protection, and her barrenneſs of gold and ſilver ſecure her from invaders.

I CHALLENGE the warmeſt advocate for reconciliation, to ſhew a ſingle advantage that this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain; I repeat the challenge, not a ſingle advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods muſt be paid for, buy them where you will.

BUT the injuries and diſadvantages we ſuſtain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourſelves, inſtruct us to renounce the alliance. Becauſe, any ſubmiſſion to, or dependence on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels, and ſet us at variance with nations, who would otherwiſe ſeek our friendſhip, and againſt whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true intereſt of America to ſteer clear of European contentions, which ſhe never can do, while by her dependence on Britain ſhe his made the make-weight in the ſcale of Britiſh politics.

EUROPE is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade

of America goes to ruin, *becauſe of her connection with Britain.* The next war may not turn out like the laſt, and ſhould it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wiſhing for ſeparation then, becauſe neutrality in the caſe, would be a ſafer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for ſeparation. The blood of the ſlain, the weeping voice of nature cries, IT IS TIME TO PART. Even the diſtance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a ſtrong and natural proof, that the authority of the one over the other was never the deſign of Heaven. The time, likewiſe, at which the continent was diſcovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increaſes the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the diſcovery of America, as if the Almighty graciouſly meant to open a ſanctuary to the perſecuted in future years, when home ſhould afford neither friendſhip nor ſafety.

THE authority of Great Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which ſooner or later muſt have an end: and a ſerious mind can draw no true pleaſure by looking forward, under the painful and poſitive conviction, that what he calls "the preſent conſtitution" is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that *this government* is not ſufficiently laſting to enſure any thing which we may bequeath to poſterity: and by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwiſe we uſe them meanly and pitifully. In order to diſcover the line



line of our duty rightly, we ſhould take our children in our hands, and fix our ſtation a few years farther into life; that eminence will preſent a proſpect, which a few preſent fears and prejudices conceal from our ſight.

THOUGH I would carefully avoid giving unneceſſary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all thoſe who eſpouſe the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following deſcriptions. Intereſted men, who are not to be truſted; weak men, who *cannot* ſee; prejudiced men who *will not* ſee; and a certain ſet of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deſerves; and this laſt claſs, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cauſe of more calamities to this continent than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live diſtant from the ſcene of ſorrow; the evil is not ſufficiently brought to *their* doors to make *them* feel the precarioufneſs with which all American property is poſſeſſed. But let our imaginations tranſport us for a few moments to Boſton; that ſeat of wretchedneſs will teach us wiſdom, and inſtruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no truſt: the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in eaſe and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to ſtay and ſtarve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the ſoldiery if they leave it. In their preſent condition they are priſoners without the hope of redemption, and in a gene-

ral attack for their relief, they would be expoſed to the fury of both armies.

MEN of paſſive tempers look ſomewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and ſtill hoping for the beſt, are apt to call out, "*Come, come, we ſhall be friends again for all this.*" But examine the paſſions and feelings of mankind, bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchſtone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully ſerve the power that hath carried fire and ſword into your land? If you cannot do all theſe, then are you only deceiving yourſelves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon poſterity. Your future connection with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honour, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of preſent convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapſe more wretched than the firſt. But if you ſay, you can ſtill paſs the violations over, then I aſk, Hath your houſe been burnt? Hath your property been deſtroyed before your face? Are your wife and children deſtitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you loſt a parent or a child by their hands, and you yourſelf the ruined and wretched ſurvivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of thoſe who have? But if you have, and ſtill can ſhake hands with the murderers, then you are unworthy the name of huſband, father, friend, or lover; and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the ſpirit of a ſycophant.

THIS is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, by trying them by thoſe feelings and affections which nature





ture juſtifies, and without which we ſhould be incapable of diſcharging the ſocial duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpoſe of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly ſlumbers, that we may purſue determinately ſome fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if ſhe do not conquer herſelf by *delay* and timidity. The preſent winter is worth an age, if rightly employed, but if neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no puniſhment which that man will not deſerve, be he who or what, or where he will, that may be the means of ſacrificing a ſeaſon ſo precious and uſeful.

It is repugnant to reaſon, to the univerſal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to ſuppoſe that this continent can longer remain ſubject to any external power. The moſt ſanguine in Britain does not think ſo. The utmoſt ſtretch of human wiſdom cannot, at this time, compaſs a plan ſhort of ſeparation, which can promiſe the continent a year's ſecurity. Reconciliation is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature has deſerted the connection, and art cannot ſupply her place: for as Milton wiſely expreſſes, "Never can true reconcilement grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced ſo deep."

EVERY quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with diſdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obſtinacy in kings, more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed

more than that very meaſure to make the kings of Europe abſolute; witneſs Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, ſince nothing but blows will do, for God's ſake, let us come to a final ſeparation, and not leave the next to be cutting of throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To ſay, they will never attempt it again, is idle and viſionary; we thought ſo at the repeal of the ſtamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us: as well may we ſuppoſe that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent juſtice: the buſineſs of it will ſoon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power ſo diſtant from us, and ſo very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thouſand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an anſwer, which when obtained, requires five or ſix more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childiſhneſs—there was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to ceaſe.

SMALL iſlands, not capable of protecting themſelves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is ſomething very abſurd in ſuppoſing a continent to be perpetually governed by an iſland. In no inſtance hath nature made the ſatellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with reſpect to each other, reverſes the common order of nature, it is evident they belong



belong to different ſyſtems; England, to Europe; America to itſelf.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or reſentment, to eſpouſe the doctrine of ſeparation and independence. I am clearly, poſitively, and conſcientiouſly perſuaded, that it is the true intereſt of this continent to be ſo: that every thing ſhort of *that* is mere patch-work, that it can afford no laſting felicity—that it is leaving the ſword to our children, and ſlinking back at a time, when a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifeſted the leaſt inclination towards a compromiſe, we may be aſſured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treaſure we have been already put to.

THE object contended for ought always to bear ſome juſt proportion to the expence. The removal of N——, or the whole deteſtable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary ſtoppage of trade was an inconvenience which would have ſufficiently balanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had ſuch repeals been obtained: but if the whole continent muſt take up arms, if every man muſt be a ſoldier, it is ſcarcely worth our while to fight againſt a contemptible miniſtry only. Dearly, dearly do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a juſt eſtimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunkers-Hill price for law as for land. As I have always conſidered the independence

of

of the continent, as an event which ſooner or later muſt ariſe, ſo from the late rapid progreſs of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hoſtilities, it was not worth while to have diſputed a matter which time would have finally redreſſed, unleſs we meant to be in earneſt; otherwiſe it is like wanting an eſtate on a ſuit at law, to regulate the treſpaſſes of a tenant, whoſe leaſe is juſt expiring. No man was a warmer wiſher for reconciliation than myſelf before the fatal nineteenth * of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known,

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I anſwer, the ruin of the continent.—And that for ſeveral reaſons.

*Firſt.*—The powers of governing ſtill remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legiſlation of this continent.—And

is he, or is he not, a proper man to ſay to theſe colonies, "*You ſhall make no laws but what I pleaſe?*" And is there any inhabitant in America ſo ignorant as not to know, that according to what is

* Lexington.

called



called the *preſent conſtitution*, that this continent can make no laws, but what the king gives leave to: and is there any man ſo unwiſe as not to ſee, (conſidering what has happened) he will ſuffer no law to be made here, but ſuch as ſuits *his* purpoſe? We may be as effectually enſlaved by the want of laws in America, as by ſubmitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the Crown will be exerted to keep this continent as low and as humble as poſſible? Inſtead of going forward, we ſhall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculouſly petitioning.—

To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our proſperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever ſays *no* to this queſtion, is an *independent*; for independency means no more, than whether we ſhall make our own laws, or

But the King, you will ſay, has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his conſent. In point of right and good order, there is ſomething very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) ſhall ſay to ſeveral millions of people, older and wiſer than himſelf, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this ſort of reply, though I will never ceaſe to expoſe the abſurdity of it, and only anſwer, that England being the King's reſidence, and America

not ſo, makes quite another cauſe. The King's negative *here* is ten times more dangerous than it can be in England; for *there* he will ſcarcely refuſe his conſent to a bill for putting England into as ſtrong a ſtate of defence as poſſible, and in America he would never ſuffer ſuch a bill to be paſſed.

AMERICA is only a ſecondary object in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics. England conſults the good of this country, no farther than it anſwers her own purpoſe. Wherefore, her own intereſt leads her to ſuppreſs the growth of *ours* in every caſe which doth not promote her advantage, or in the leaſt interfere with it. A pretty ſtate we ſhould ſoon be in under ſuch a ſecond-hand government, conſidering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: and in order to ſhew that reconciliation *now* is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, *that it would be policy at this time to repeal the acts, for the ſake of reinſtating the government of the Provinces*; in order

SECONDLY. That as even the beſt terms which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianſhip, which can laſt no longer than till the Colonies come of age, ſo the general face and ſtate of things, in the interim, will be unſettled and unpromiſing. Emigrants of property will not chooſe to come to a country whoſe form of government hangs but



but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and diſturbance, and numbers of the preſent inhabitants would lay hold of the interval to diſpoſe of their effects, and quit the continent.

BUT the moſt powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independence, i. e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent, and preſerve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt ſomewhere or other; the conſequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

THOUSANDS are already ruined by Britiſh barbarity! Thouſands more will probably ſuffer the ſame fate! Thoſe men have other feelings than us who have nothing ſuffered. All they *now* poſſeſs is liberty; what they before enjoyed is ſacrificed to its ſervice, and having nothing more to loſe, they diſdain ſubmiſſion. Beſides, the general temper of the Colonies towards a Britiſh government, will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preſerve the peace, is no government at all, and in that caſe we pay our money for nothing: and pray what is it that Britain can do, whoſe power will be wholly on paper, ſhould a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard ſome men ſay, many of whom, I believe, ſpoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independence, fearing it would produce civil wars. It is but ſeldom

that our firſt thoughts are truly correct, and that is the caſe here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched-up connection, than from independence. I make the ſufferers caſe my own, and I proteſt, that were I driven from houſe and home, my property deſtroyed, and my circumſtances ruined, that, as a man ſenſible of injuries, I could never reliſh the doctrine of reconciliation, or conſider myſelf bound thereby.

THE Colonies have manifeſted ſuch a ſpirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is ſufficient to make every reaſonable perſon eaſy and happy on that head. No man can aſſign the leaſt pretence for his fears, on any other grounds than ſuch as are truly childiſh and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be ſtriving for ſuperiority over another.

WHERE there are no diſtinctions, there can be no ſuperiority; perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all, and we may ſay always, in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domeſtic: monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at reſt; the crown itſelf is a temptation to enterpriſing *ruffians* at *home*; and that degree of pride and inſolence, ever attendant on regal authority, ſwells into a rupture with foreign powers, in inſtances where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negociate the miſtake.

IF there is any true cauſe of fear reſpecting independence, it is becauſe no plan is yet laid down: men do not ſee their way out. Wherefore, as an opening into that buſineſs, I offer the following hints; at the ſame time modeſtly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myſelf, than that they may be the means of giving riſe to ſomething better. Could the ſtraggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wiſe and able men to improve into uſeful matter.



LET the Aſſemblies be annual, with a Preſident only. The Repreſentation more equal: their buſineſs wholly domeſtic, and ſubject to the authority of a Continental Congreſs.

LET each Colony be divided into ſix, eight, or ten convenient diſtricts, each diſtrict to ſend a proper number of Delegates to Congreſs, ſo that each Colony ſend at leaſt thirty. The whole number in Congreſs will be at leaſt 390. Each Congreſs to ſet and to chooſe a Preſident by the following method: When the Delegates are met, let a Colony be taken from the whole thirteen Colonies by lot; after which, let the whole Congreſs chooſe, by ballot, a Preſident from out of the Delegates of *that* Province. In the next Congreſs, let a Colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that Colony from which the Preſident was taken in the former Congreſs, and ſo proceeding on till the whole thirteen ſhall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may paſs into a law, but what is ſatisfactorily juſt, not leſs than three-fifths of the Congreſs to be called a majority. He that will promote

mote diſcord under a government ſo equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

BUT as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner this buſineſs muſt firſt ariſe; and as it ſeems moſt agreeable and conſiſtent that it ſhould come from ſome intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congreſs and the People, let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpoſe:

A COMMITTEE of twenty-ſix Members of Congreſs, viz. two for each Colony. Two Members from each Houſe of Aſſembly or Provincial Convention; and five Repreſentatives of the People at large, to be choſen in the capital city or town of each Province, for and in behalf of the whole Province, by as many qualified voters as ſhall think proper to attend from all parts of the Province for that purpoſe; or, if more convenient, the Repreſentatives may be choſen in two or three of the moſt populous parts thereof. In this Conference, thus aſſembled, will be united the two grand principles of buſineſs, *knowledge* and *power*. The Members of Congreſs, Aſſemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and uſeful counſellors; and the whole, being impowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

THE conferring members being met, let their buſineſs be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies, anſwering to what





is called the Magna Charta of England; fixing the number and manner of chooſing Members of Congreſs, Members of Aſſembly, with their date of ſitting, and drawing the line of buſineſs and juriſdiction between them: always remembering, that our ſtrength is continental, not provincial; ſecuring freedom and property to all men; and, above all things, the free exerciſe of religion, according to the dictates of conſcience; with ſuch other matter as is neceſſary for a Charter to contain. Immediately after which, the ſaid Conference to diſſolve, and the bodies which ſhall be choſen conformable to the ſaid Charter, to be the legiſlators and governors of this continent for the time being: whoſe peace and happineſs may God preſerve! *Amen.*

SHOULD any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or ſome ſimilar purpoſe, I offer them the following extracts from that wiſe obſerver on governments, *Dragonetti*: "The ſcience," ſays he, "of the poli-"tician conſiſts in fixing the true point of happineſs "and freedom. Thoſe men would deſerve the grati-"tude of ages, who ſhould diſcover a mode of go-"vernment that contained the greateſt ſum of indi-"vidual happineſs, with the leaſt national expence."

*Dragonetti on Virtue and Rewards.*

But where, ſay ſome, is the King of America? I will tell you, friend, he reigns above, and does not make havock of mankind

Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be ſolemnly ſet apart for proclaiming the charter; let it

be

be brought forth, placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know that ſo far we approve of monarchy, that in America, THE LAW IS KING. For as in abſolute governments the King is law, ſo in free countries the Law *ought* to be King; and there ought to be no other. But leſt any ill uſe ſhould afterwards ariſe, let the crown, at the concluſion of the ceremony, be demoliſhed, and ſcattered among the people whoſe right it is.

A GOVERNMENT of our own is our natural right; and when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the precarioufneſs of his human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiſer and ſafer, to form a conſtitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to truſt ſuch an intereſting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, ſome * Maſſanello may hereafter ariſe; who, laying hold of popular diſquietudes, may collect together the deſperate and the diſcontented, and by aſſuming to themſelves the powers of government, may ſweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again to the hands of Britain, the tottering ſituation of things will be a temptation for ſome deſperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in ſuch a caſe, what

* *Thomas Anello, otherwiſe Maſſanello, a fiſherman of Naples, who after ſpiriting up his countrymen in the public market-place, againſt the oppreſſion of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then ſubject, prompted them to revolt, and in the ſpace of a day became king.*

relief



relief can Britain give? Ere ſhe could hear the news, the fatal buſineſs might be done; and ourſelves ſuffering, like the wretched Britons, under the oppreſſion of the conqueror. Ye that oppoſe independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny.

THERE are thouſands and ten thouſands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and helliſh power, which hath ſtirred up the Indians and negroes to deſtroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherouſly by them.

To talk of friendſhip with thoſe in whom our reaſon forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thouſand pores, inſtruct us to deteſt, is madneſs and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reaſon to hope, that as the relationſhip expires, the affection will increaſe; or that we ſhall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

YE that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye reſtore to us the time that is paſt? Can you give to proſtitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The laſt cord now is broken, the people of England are preſenting addreſſes againſt us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; ſhe would ceaſe to be nature if ſhe did. As well can the lover forgive the raviſher of his miſtreſs, as the continent forgive the murderers of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted

in us theſe unextinguiſhable feelings, for good and wiſe purpoſes.

THEY are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They diſtinguiſh us from the herd of common animals. The ſocial compact would diſſolve, and juſtice be extirpated the earth, or have only a caſual exiſtence, were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer would often eſcape unpuniſhed, did not the injuries which our temper ſuſtains, provoke us into juſtice.

O YE that love mankind; ye that dare oppoſe, not only the tyranny
ſtand forth; every ſpot of the old world is overrun with oppreſſion. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Aſia and Africa have long expelled her, Europe regards her like a ſtranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an aſylum for mankind.

*Of*



## *Of the preſent* ABILITY *of* AMERICA, *with ſome miſcellaneous* REFLECTIONS.

I HAVE never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath not confeſſed his opinion, that a ſeparation between the countries would take place one time or other. And there is no inſtance in which we have ſhewn leſs judgement, than in endeavouring to deſcribe, what we call the ripeneſs or fitneſs of the continent for independence.

As all men allow the meaſure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us, in order to remove miſtakes, take a general ſurvey of things, and endeavour, if poſſible, to find out the *very* time. But we need not go far, the inquiry ceaſes at once, for, the *time hath found us*. The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things prove the fact.

IT is not in numbers, but in unity, that our great ſtrength lies; yet our preſent numbers are ſufficient to repel the force of all the world. The continent hath, at this time, the largeſt body of armed and diſciplined men of any power under heaven, and is juſt arrived at that pitch of ſtrength in which no ſingle colony is able to ſupport itſelf, and the whole, when united, can accompliſh the matter; and either more or leſs than this might be fatal in its effects.

Our land force is already ſufficient, and as to naval affairs, we cannot be inſenſible that Britain would never ſuffer an American man of war to be built, while the continent remained in her hands, wherefore we ſhould be no forwarder an hundred years hence in that branch, than we are now; but the truth is, we ſhould be leſs ſo, becauſe the timber of the country is every day diminiſhing, and that which will remain at laſt, will be far off and difficult to procure.

WERE the continent crouded with inhabitants, her ſufferings under the preſent circumſtances would be intolerable. The more ſea port towns we had, the more ſhould we have both to defend and to loſe. Our preſent numbers are ſo happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need to be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army, and the neceſſities of an army create a new trade.

DEBTS we have none, and whatever we may contract on this account, will ſerve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but leave poſterity with a ſettled form of government, and independent conſtitution of its own, the purchaſe at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the ſake of getting a few vile acts repealed, and routing the preſent miniſtry only, is unworthy the charge, and is uſing poſterity with the utmoſt cruelty; becauſe it is leaving them the great work to do, and a debt upon their backs, from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy a man of honour, and



and is the true characteriſtic of a narrow heart and a pedling politician.

THE debt we may contract doth not deſerve our regard, if the work be but accompliſhed. No nation ought to be without debt; a national debt is a national bond, and when it bears no intereſt, is in no caſe a grievance. Britain is oppreſſed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and fifty millions ſterling, for which ſhe pays upwards of four millions intereſt. As a compenſation for her debt, ſhe has a large navy; America is without a debt, and without a navy; yet for the twentieth part of the Engliſh national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth at this time, more than three millions and a half ſterling.

The firſt and ſecond editions of this pamphlet were publiſhed without the following calculations, which are now given as a proof that the above eſtimation of the navy is a juſt one. *See Entic's Naval Hiſtory, Intro.* page 56.

THE charge of building a ſhip of each rate, and furniſhing her with maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatſwain's and carpenter's ſea ſtores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, ſecretary to the navy, is as follows:

For

| | £. |
|---|---|
| For a ſhip of 100 guns | 35,553 |
| 90 | 29,886 |
| 80 | 23,638 |
| 70 | 17,785 |
| 60 | 14,197 |
| 50 | 10,606 |
| 40 | 7,855 |
| 30 | 5,846 |
| 20 | 3,710 |

And from hence it is eaſy to ſum up the value, or coſt rather, of the whole Britiſh navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greateſt glory, conſiſted of the following ſhips and guns:

| Ships. | Guns. | Coſt of one. | Coſt of all. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 100 | 35,553 | 213,318 |
| 12 | 90 | 29,886 | 358,632 |
| 12 | 80 | 23,638 | 283,656 |
| 43 | 70 | 17,785 | 764,755 |
| 35 | 60 | 14,197 | 496,895 |
| 40 | 50 | 10,606 | 424,240 |
| 45 | 40 | 7,558 | 340,110 |
| 58 | 20 | 3,710 | 251,180 |
| 85 | Sloops, bombs, and fireſhips, one with another | 2,000 | 170,000 |
| | | Coſt, | 3,266,786 |
| | Remains for guns, | | 233,214 |
| | | | £.3,500,000 |

No



No country on the globe is ſo happily ſituated, or ſo internally capable of raiſing a fleet, as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage, are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ſhips of war to the Spaniards and Portugueſe, are obliged to import moſt of their materials they uſe. We ought to view the building a fleet as an article of commerce, it being the natural manufactory of this country. It is the beſt money we can lay out. A navy, when finiſhed, is worth more than it coſt; and is that nice point in national policy, in which commerce and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not we can ſell; and by that means replace our paper currency with ready gold and ſilver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not neceſſary that one fourth part ſhould be ſailors. The Terrible privateer, Capt. Daſh, ſtood the hotteſt engagement of any ſhip laſt war, yet had not twenty ſailors on board, though her complement of men were upwards of two hundred. A few able and ſocial ſailors will ſoon inſtruct a ſufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ſhip. Wherefore, we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now while our timber is ſtanding, our fiſheries blocked up, and our ſailors and ſhipwrights out of employ. Men of war of ſeventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New England, and why not the ſame now? Ship building is America's greateſt

eſt pride, and in which ſhe will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the eaſt are moſtly inland, and conſequently excluded from the poſſibility of rivalling her. Africa is in a ſtate of barbariſm, and no power in Europe hath either ſuch an extent of coaſt, or ſuch an internal ſupply of materials. Where nature hath given the one, ſhe has withheld the other: to America only hath ſhe been liberal in both. The vaſt empire of Ruſſia is almoſt ſhut out from the ſea; wherefore, her boundleſs foreſts, her tar, iron, and cordage, are only articles of commerce.

In point of ſafety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people now, which we were ſixty years ago; at that time we might have truſted our property in the ſtreets, or fields rather, and ſlept ſecurely without locks or bolts to our doors or windows. The caſe now is altered, and our methods of defence ought to improve with our increaſe of property. A common pirate, twelvemonths ago, might have come up the Delaware and laid the city of Philadelphia under inſtant contribution for what ſum he pleaſed, and the ſame might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow, in a brig of fourteen or ſixteen guns, might have robbed the whole continent, and carried off half a million of money. Theſe are circumſtances which demand our attention, and point out the neceſſity of naval protection.

Some, perhaps, will ſay, that after we have made it up with Britain, ſhe will protect us. Can we be ſo





unwiſe as to mean that ſhe ſhall keep a navy in our harbours for that purpoſe? Common ſenſe will tell us, that the power which hath endeavoured to ſubdue us, is of all others the moſt improper to defend us. Conqueſt may be effected under the pretence of friendſhip: and ourſelves, after a long and brave reſiſtance, be at laſt cheated into ſlavery. And if her ſhips are not to be admitted into our harbour, I would aſk, how is ſhe to protect us? A navy three or four thouſand miles off can be of little uſe, and on ſudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore, if we muſt hereafter protect ourſelves, why not do it for ourſelves? Why do it for another?

The Engliſh liſt of ſhips of war is long and formidable, but not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for ſervice, numbers of them not in being, yet their names are pompouſly continued in the liſt, if only a plank be left of the ſhip; and not a fifth part of ſuch as are fit for ſervice can be ſpared on any one ſtation at one time. The Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts, over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and inattention, we have contracted a falſe notion reſpecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we ſhould have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reaſon ſuppoſed, that we muſt have one as large; which not being inſtantly practicable, have been made uſe of by a ſet of diſguiſed tories to diſcourage our beginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth than this; for if America had only a twentieth part of the

naval force of Britain, ſhe would be by far an overmatch for her, becauſe, as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force will be employed on our own coaſt, where we ſhould, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of thoſe who had three or four thouſand miles to ſail over before they could attack us, and the ſame diſtance to return in order to refit and recruit.—And although Britain, by her fleet, hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the Weſt Indies, which by laying in the neighbourhood of the continent, is entirely at its mercy.

SOME method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in the time of peace, if we ſhould not judge it neceſſary to ſupport a conſtant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants, to build and employ in their ſervice, ſhips mounted with twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty guns (the premiums to be in proportion to the loſs of bulk to the merchants) fifty or ſixty of thoſe ſhips, with a few guardſhips on conſtant duty, would keep up a ſufficient navy, and that without burdening ourſelves with the evil ſo loudly complained of in England, of ſuffering their fleet, in time of peace, to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the ſinews of commerce and defence is found policy; for when our ſtrength and our riches play into each other's hand, we need fear no external enemy.

IN almoſt every article of defence we abound. Hemp flouriſhes even to rankneſs, ſo that we need not want cordage. Our iron is ſuperior to that of other countries. Our ſmall arms equal to any in the world



world. Cannon we can caſt at pleaſure. Saltpetre and gunpowder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Reſolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forſaken us. Wherefore, what is it that we want? Why is it that we heſitate? From Britain we expect nothing but ruin. If ſhe is once admitted to the government of America again, this continent will not be worth living in. Jealouſies will be always ariſing; inſurrections will be conſtantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? Who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? The difference between Pennſylvania and Connecticut, reſpecting ſome unlocated lands, ſhews the inſignificance of a Britiſh government, and fully proves, that nothing but continental authority can regulate continental matters.

ANOTHER reaſon why the preſent time is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which, inſtead of being laviſhed by the King on his worthleſs dependants, may be hereafter applied, not only to the diſcharge of the preſent debt, but to the conſtant ſupport of government. No nation under heaven hath ſuch an advantage as this.

THE infant ſtate of the colonies, as it is called, ſo far from being againſt, is an argument in favour of independence. We are ſufficiently numerous, and were we more ſo, we might be leſs united. It is a matter worthy of obſervation, that the more a country is peopled, the ſmaller their armies are. In

military numbers, the ancients far exceeded the moderns; and the reaſon is evident, for trade being the conſequence of population, men become too much abſorbed thereby to attend to any thing elſe. Commerce diminiſhes the ſpirit both of patriotiſm and military defence: and hiſtory ſufficiently informs us, that the braveſt atchievements were always accompliſhed in the non-age of a nation. With the increaſe of commerce, England hath loſt its ſpirit. The city of London, notwithſtanding its numbers, ſubmits to continued inſults with the patience of a coward. The more men have to loſe, the leſs willing are they to venture. The rich are in general ſlaves to fear, and ſubmit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a ſpaniel.

YOUTH is the ſeed time of good habits, as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impoſſible, to form the continent into one government half a century hence. The vaſt variety of intereſts, occaſioned by the increaſe of trade and population, would create confuſion. Colony would be againſt colony. Each being able might ſcorn each other's aſſiſtance; and while the proud and fooliſh gloried in their little diſtinctions, the wiſe would lament, that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the *preſent time* is the *true time* for eſtabliſhing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendſhip which is formed in misfortune, are of all others the moſt laſting and unalterable. Our preſent union is marked with both theſe characters: we are young, and we have been



been diſtreſſed; but our concord hath withſtood our troubles, and fixes a memorable æra for poſterity to glory in.

THE preſent time, likewiſe, is that peculiar time which never happens to a nation but once, viz. the time of forming itſelf into a government. Moſt nations have let ſlip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, inſtead of making laws for themſelves. Firſt, they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas, the articles or charter of government ſhould be formed firſt, and men delegated to execute them afterwards: but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wiſdom, and lay hold of the preſent opportunity—*To begin government at the right end.*

When William the Conqueror ſubdued England, he gave them law at the point of the ſword; and until we conſent, that the ſeat of government in America be legally and authoritatively occupied, we ſhall be in danger of having it filled by ſome fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the ſame manner; and then, Where will be our freedom? Where our property?

As to religion, I hold it to be the indiſpenſable duty of all government to protect all conſcientious profeſſors thereof, and I know of no other buſineſs which government hath to do herewith. Let a man throw aſide that narrowneſs of ſoul, that ſelfiſhneſs of principle, which the niggards of all profeſſions are ſo unwilling to part with, and he will be at once delivered of his fears on that head. Suſpicion is the companion

companion of mean ſouls, and the bane of all good ſociety. For myſelf, I fully and conſcientiouſly believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there ſhould be a diverſity of religious opinions among us; it affords a larger field for our Chriſtian kindneſs. Were we all of one way of thinking, our religious diſpoſitions would want matter for probation; and on this liberal principle, I look on the various denominations among us, to be like children of the ſame family, differing only in what is called their Chriſtian names.

In page forty-ſix, I threw out a few thoughts on the propriety of a Continental Charter, (for I only preſume to offer hints, not plans) and in this place I take the liberty of re-mentioning the ſubject, by obſerving, that a charter is to be underſtood as a bond of ſolemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to ſupport the right of every ſeparate part, whether of religion, perſonal freedom, or property.—A firm bargain and a right reckoning make long friends.

In a former page I likewiſe mentioned the neceſſity of a large and equal repreſentation, and there is no political matter which more deſerves our attention. A ſmall number of electors, or a ſmall number of repreſentatives, are equally dangerous: but if the number of the repreſentatives be not only ſmall, but unequal, the danger is increaſed. As an inſtance of this, I mention the following: When the Aſſociators' petition was before the Houſe of Aſſembly of Pennſylvania, twenty-eight members only were preſent; all the Bucks county members, being eight, voted



voted againſt it, and had ſeven of the Cheſter members done the ſame, this whole Province had been governed by two counties only, and this danger it is always expoſed to. The unwarrantable ſtretch, likewiſe, which that Houſe made in their laſt ſitting, to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of that Province, ought to warn the people at large, how they truſt power out of their own hands. A ſet of inſtructions for the Delegates were put together, which, in point of ſenſe and buſineſs, would have diſhonoured a ſchool-boy; and after being approved by a *few*, a *very few*, without doors, were carried into the Houſe, and there paſſed *in behalf of the whole Colony:* whereas, did the whole Colony know, with what ill will that Houſe hath entered on ſome neceſſary public meaſures, they would not heſitate a moment to think them unworthy of ſuch a truſt.

Immediate neceſſity makes many things convenient, which, if continued, would grow into oppreſſions. Expedience and right are different things. When the calamities of America required a conſultation, there was no method ſo ready, or at that time ſo proper, as to appoint perſons from the ſeveral Houſes of Aſſembly for that purpoſe; and the wiſdom with which they have proceeded, hath preſerved this continent from ruin. But as it is more than probable that we ſhall never be without a Congress, every well-wiſher to good order muſt own, that the mode for chooſing members of that body, deſerves conſideration. And I put it as a queſtion to thoſe who make a ſtudy of mankind, whether *repreſentation*

and

and *election* is not too great a power for one and the ſame body of men to poſſeſs? When we are planning for poſterity, we ought to remember, that virtue is not hereditary.

IT is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims, and are frequently ſurpriſed into reaſon by their miſtakes. Mr. Cornwall, one of the Lords of the Treaſury, treated the petition of the New York Aſſembly with contempt, becauſe *that* Houſe, he ſaid, conſiſted but of twenty-ſix members; which trifling number, he argued, could not with decency be put for the whole. We thank him for his involuntary honeſty.*

TO CONCLUDE: however ſtrange it may appear to ſome, or however unwilling they may be to think ſo, matters not; but many ſtrong and ſtriking reaſons may be given, to ſhew that nothing can ſettle our affairs ſo expeditiouſly, as an open and determined declaration for independence. Some of which are:

*Firſt.* It is the cuſtom of nations, when any two are at war, for ſome other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to ſtep in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a peace; but while America calls herſelf the ſubjects of Great Britain, no power, however well-diſpoſed ſhe may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore, in our preſent ſtate, we may quarrel on for ever.

* *Thoſe who would fully underſtand of what great conſequence a large and equal Repreſentation is to a State, ſhould read Burgh's Political Diſquiſitions.*



*Second.*



*Secondly.* It is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that France or Spain will give us any kind of aſſiſtance, if we mean only to make uſe of that aſſiſtance for the purpoſe of repairing the breach, and ſtrengthening the connection between Britain and America, becauſe thoſe powers would be ſufferers by the conſequences.

*Thirdly.* While we profeſs ourſelves the ſubjects of Britain, we muſt, in the eye of foreign nations, be conſidered as rebels. The precedent is ſomewhat dangerous to *their peace*, for men to be in arms under the name of ſubjects; we, on the ſpot, can ſolve the paradox: but to unite reſiſtance and ſubjection, requires an idea much too refined for common underſtandings.

*Fourthly.* Were a manifeſto to be publiſhed, and diſpatched to foreign Courts, ſetting forth the miſeries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually uſed for redreſs; declaring, at the ſame time, that not being able any longer to live happily or ſafely under the cruel diſpoſition of the Britiſh Court, we had been driven to the neceſſity of breaking off all connection with her; at the ſame time aſſuring all ſuch Courts of our peaceable diſpoſition towards them, and of our deſire of entering into trade with them. Such a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ſhip were freighted with petitions to Britain.

UNDER our preſent denomination of Britiſh ſubjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad: the cuſtom of all Courts is againſt us, and will be ſo,

until, by an independence, we take rank with other nations.

These proceedings may at first appear ſtrange and difficult; but, like all other ſteps which we have already paſſed over, will in a little time become familiar and agreeable; and until an independence is declared, the Continent will feel itſelf like a man who continues putting off ſome unpleaſant buſineſs from day to day, yet knows it muſt be done, hates to ſet about it, wiſhes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its neceſſity.

APPEN-



# APPENDIX.

SINCE the publication of the firſt edition of this pamphlet, or rather on the ſame day on which it came out in this city, Had the ſpirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth at a more ſeaſonable juncture, or a more neceſſary time. The bloody-mindedneſs of the one, ſhew the neceſſity of purſuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And inſtead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of Independence.

Ceremony, and even ſilence, from whatever motive they may ariſe, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the leaſt degree of countenance to baſe and wicked performances: wherefore, if this maxim be admitted, it naturally follows,

deſerved, and ſtill deſerves, a general execration, both by the Congreſs and the People. Yet, as the

domeſtic tranquillity of a nation depends greatly on the *chaſtity* of what may properly be called NATIONAL MANNERS, it is often better to paſs ſome things over in ſilent diſdain, than to make uſe of ſuch new methods of diſlike, as might introduce the leaſt innovation on that guardian of our peace and ſafety. And, perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that _____ hath not, before now, ſuffered a public execution. The _____, if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful, audacious libel againſt the truth, the common good, and the exiſtence of mankind; and is as formal and pompous method of offering up human ſacrifices to the pride of tyrants. But this general maſſacre of mankind is one of the privileges, and the certain conſequences of [illegible] for as nature knows them *not*, they know *not her*; and although they are beings of our *own* creating, they know not *us*, and are become the gods of their creators. The _____ hath one good quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive; neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it; brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loſs; and every line convinces, even in the moment of reading, that He, who hunts the woods for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is leſs a ſavage than the [illegible]

SIR John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining, jeſuitical piece, fallaciouſly called, "*The Addreſs* "*of the People of* ENGLAND *to the Inhabitants of* AMERICA," hath, perhaps, from a vain ſuppoſition that the



the people *here* were to be frightened at the pomp and deſcription of a king, given (though very unwiſely on his part) the real character of the preſent one. "But," ſays this writer, "if you are inclined to pay "compliments to an adminiſtration, which we do not "complain of," (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's, at the repeal of the Stamp Act) "it is very "unfair in you to withhold them from that Prince, "*by whoſe* NOD ALONE, *they were permitted to do any* "*thing*." This is Toryiſm with a witneſs! Here is idolatry even without a maſk: and he who can calmly hear and digeſt ſuch doctrine, hath forfeited his claim to rationality—an apoſtate from the order of manhood; and ought to be conſidered—as one, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but ſunk himſelf beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawls through the world like a worm.

It is *now* the intereſt of America to provide for herſelf. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property, to ſupport a power who is become a reproach to the names of men and Chriſtians.—Ye, whoſe office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatſoever ſect or denomination ye are of, as well as ye, who are more immediately the guardians of the public liberty, if ye wiſh to preſerve your native country uncontaminated by Euro-

pean

pean corruption, ye muſt in ſecret wiſh a ſeparation. But leaving the moral part to private reflection, I ſhall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads:

FIRST. That it is the intereſt of America to be ſeparated from Britain.

SECONDLY. Which is the eaſieſt and moſt practicable plan, RECONCILIATION OR INDEPENDENCE; with ſome occaſional remarks.

IN ſupport of the firſt, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinion of ſome of the ableſt and moſt experienced men on this Continent; and whoſe ſentiments on that head are not yet publicly known. It is in reality a ſelf-evident poſition; for no nation in a ſtate of foreign dependence, limited in its commerce, and cramped and fettered in its legiſlative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progreſs which ſhe hath made ſtands unparalleled in the hiſtory of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what ſhe would be capable of arriving at, had ſhe, as ſhe ought to have, the legiſlative power in her own hands. England is, at this time, proudly coveting what would do her no good, were ſhe to accompliſh it; and the Continent heſitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce and not the conqueſt of America, by which England is to be benefited; and that would in a great meaſure continue, were the countries as independent of each other as France and Spain; becauſe, in many articles, neither can



can go to a better market. But it is the independence of this country on Britain or any other, which is now the main and only object worthy of contention; and which, like all other truths diſcovered by neceſſity, will appear clearer and ſtronger every day.

FIRST. Becauſe it will come to that one time or other.

SECONDLY. Becauſe the longer it is delayed, the harder it will be to accompliſh.

I HAVE frequently amuſed myſelf, both in public and private companies, with ſilently remarking, the ſpecious errors of thoſe who ſpeak without reflecting. And among the many which I have heard, the following ſeems the moſt general, viz. That had this rupture happened forty or fifty years hence, inſtead of *now*, the Continent would have been more able to have ſhaken off the dependence. To which I reply, that our military ability, *at this time*, ariſes from the experience gained in the laſt war, and which, in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent would not, by that time, have had a general, or even a military officer left; and we, or thoſe who may ſucceed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians. And this ſingle poſition, cloſely attended to, will unanſwerably prove, that the preſent time is preferable to all others. The argument turns thus: At the concluſion of the laſt war we had experience but wanted numbers, and forty or fifty years hence we ſhall have numbers without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time muſt be ſome particu-

lar point between the two extremes, in which a ſufficiency of the former remains, and a proper increaſe of the lattter is obtained: and that point of time is the preſent time.

THE reader will pardon this digreſſion, as it does not properly come under the head I firſt ſet out with, and to which I ſhall again return by the following poſition, viz.

SHOULD affairs be patched up with Britain, and ſhe to remain the governing and ſovereign power of America, (which, as matters are now circumſtanced, is giving up the point entirely) we ſhall deprive ourſelves of the very means of ſinking the debt we have or may contract. The value of the back lands, which ſome of the Provinces are clandeſtinely deprived of, by the unjuſt extenſion of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds ſterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty-five millions, Pennſylvania currency: and the quit-rents at one penny ſterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

IT is by the ſale of thoſe lands that the debt may be ſunk, without burden to any, and the quit-rent reſerved thereon, will always leſſen, and in time will wholly ſupport the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, ſo that the lands, when ſold, be applied to the diſcharge of it; and for the execution of which, the Congreſs, for the time being, will be the continental truſtees.

I PROCEED now to the ſecond head, viz. Which is the eaſieſt and moſt practicable plan, RECONCILIATION



TION or INDEPENDENCE, with ſome occaſional remarks.

HE who takes nature for his guide is not eaſily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I anſwer *generally*—*that* INDEPENDENCE *being a* SINGLE SIMPLE LINE, *contained within ourſelves; and Reconciliation, a matter exceedingly perplexed and complicated, and in which a treacherous, capricious Court is to interfere, gives the anſwer without a doubt.*

THE preſent ſtate of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by courteſy; held together by an unexampled concurrence of ſentiment, which is nevertheleſs ſubject to change, and which every ſecret enemy is endeavouring to diſſolve. Our preſent condition is, legiſlation without law, wiſdom without a plan, a conſtitution without a name; and what is ſtrangely aſtoniſhing, perfect independence contending for dependence. The inſtance is without a precedent; the caſe never exiſted before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is ſecure in the preſent unbraced ſyſtem of things; the mind of the multitude is left at random; and ſeeing no fixed object before them, they purſue ſuch as fancy or opinion ſtarts. Nothing is criminal; there is no ſuch thing as treaſon, wherefore, every one thinks himſelf at liberty to act as he pleaſes. The Tories dared not to have aſſembled offenſively, had they known that their lives, by that act, were forfeited to the laws of the State.

A line of diſtinction ſhould be drawn between Engliſh ſoldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The firſt are priſoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty, the other his head.

NOTWITHSTANDING our wiſdom, there is a viſible feebleneſs in ſome of our proceedings which gives encouragement to diſſentions. The Continental belt is too looſely buckled; and if ſomething is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we ſhall fall into a ſtate, in which neither *Reconciliation* nor *Independence* will be practicable. The
and his worthleſs adherents are got at their old game of dividing the Continent; and there are not wanting among us printers, who will be buſy in ſpreading ſpecious falſehoods. The artful and hypocritical letter which appeared, a few months ago, in two of the New York papers, and likewiſe in two others, is an evidence, that there are men who want either judgement or honeſty.

IT is eaſy getting into holes and corners, and talking of reconciliation: but do ſuch men ſeriouſly conſider, how difficult the taſk is; and how dangerous it may prove, ſhould the Continent divide thereon? Do they take within their view all the various orders of men, whoſe ſituations and circumſtances, as well as their own, are to be conſidered therein? Do they put themſelves in the place of the ſufferer whoſe *all* is *already* gone, and of the ſoldier who hath quitted *all* for the defence of his country? If their ill-judged moderation be ſuited to their own private ſituations only,



only, regardleſs of others, the event will convince them, "that they are reckoning without their hoſt."

PUT us, ſay ſome, on the footing we were on in ſixty-three. To which I anſwer, the requeſt is not *now* in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will ſhe propoſe it; but if it were, and even ſhould be granted, I aſk, as a reaſonable queſtion; By what means is ſuch a corrupt and faithleſs Court to be kept to its engagements? Another Parliament, nay, even the preſent, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretence of its being violently obtained, or unwiſely granted; and in that caſe, Where is our redreſs? No going to law with nations; cannon are the barriſters of crowns; and the ſword, not of juſtice but of war, decides the ſuit. To be on the footing of ſixty-three, it is not ſufficient that the laws only be put on the ſame ſtate, but that our circumſtances, likewiſe, be put on the ſame ſtate; our burnt and deſtroyed towns repaired or built up; our private loſſes made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) diſcharged; otherwiſe, we ſhall be millions worſe than we were at that enviable period. Such a requeſt, had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and ſoul of the Continent—but it is now too late, "the Rubicon is paſſed."

BESIDES, the taking up arms merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, ſeems as unwarrantable by the Divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce obedience thereto. The object on either ſide doth not juſtify

the means; for the lives of men are too valuable to be caſt away on ſuch trifles. It is the violence which is done and threatened to our perſons; the deſtructions of our property by an armed force; the invaſion of our country by fire and ſword, which conſcientiouſly qualifies the uſe of arms: and the inſtant in which ſuch a mode of defence became neceſſary, all ſubjection to Britain ought to have ceaſed; and the independency of America ſhould have been conſidered as dating its æra from, and publiſhed by *the firſt muſket that was fired againſt her*. This line is a line of conſiſtency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I SHALL conclude theſe remarks with the following timely and well intended hints. We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways, by which an independency can hereafter be effected; and that *one* of thoſe *three* will one day or other be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congreſs, by a military power, or by a mob. It may not always happen that our ſoldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reaſonable men: virtue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independency be brought about by the firſt of thoſe means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the nobleſt, pureſt conſtitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A ſituation, ſimilar to the preſent, hath not happened



happened ſince the days of Noah till now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men, perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. The reflection is awful—and in this point of view, how trifling, how ridiculous, do the little paltry cavilings of a few weak or intereſted men appear, when weighed againſt the buſineſs of a world.

SHOULD we neglect the preſent favourable and inviting period, and an independence be hereafter effected by any other means, we muſt charge the conſequence to ourſelves, or to thoſe rather, whoſe narrow and prejudiced ſouls are habitually oppoſing the meaſure, without either inquiring or reflecting. There are reaſons to be given in ſupport of independence, which men ſhould rather privately think of, than be publicly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we ſhall be independent or not, but, anxious to accompliſh it on a firm, ſecure, and honourable baſis, and uneaſy rather that it is not yet began upon. Every day convinces us of its neceſſity. Even the Tories (if ſuch beings yet remain among us) ſhould, of all men, be the moſt ſolicitous to promote it; for, as the appointment of committees at firſt, protected them from popular rage, ſo, a wiſe and well eſtabliſhed form of government will be the only certain means of continuing it ſecurely to them. *Wherefore*, if they have not virtue enough to be WHIGS, they ought to have prudence enough to wiſh for independence.

IN

In ſhort, independence is the only Bond that can tye and keep us together: we ſhall then ſee our object, and our ears will be legally ſhut againſt the ſchemes of an intriguing, as well as a cruel enemy. We ſhall then, too, be on a proper footing to treat with Britain; for there is reaſon to conclude, that the pride of that court will be leſs hurt by treating with the American States for terms of peace, than with thoſe whom ſhe denominates "rebellious ſubjects," for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conqueſt, and our backwardneſs tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redreſs of our grievances, let us *now* try the alternative, by *independently* redreſſing them ourſelves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and reaſonable part in England will be ſtill with us, becauſe, peace *with* trade, is preferable to war *without* it; and if this offer be not accepted, other courts may be applied to.

On theſe grounds I reſt the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favour of it are too numerous to be oppoſed. Wherefore, inſtead of gazing at each other with ſuſpicious or doubtful curioſity, let each of us hold out to his neighbour the hearty hand of friendſhip, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion, ſhall bury in forgetfulneſs every former diſſention. Let the names of Whig





and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, than thoſe of *a good citizen, an open and reſolute friend, and a virtuous ſupporter of the* Rights *of* Mankind *and of the* FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES OF AMERICA.

*To*

*To the Repreſentatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to ſo many of them as were concerned in publiſhing a late Piece entitled,* "*The* ANCIENT TESTIMONY "*and* PRINCIPLES *of the People called* QUA- "KERS *renewed, with reſpect to the* KING "*and* GOVERNMENT, *and touching the* COM- "MOTIONS *now prevailing in theſe and other* "*parts of* AMERICA, *addreſſed to the* PEO- "PLE IN ENGLAND."

THE writer of this is one of thoſe few, who never diſhonours religion, either by ridiculing, or caviling at any denomination whatſoever. To God, and not to man, are all men accountable on the ſcore of religion. Wherefore this epiſtle is not ſo properly addreſſed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the profeſſed quietude of your principles inſtruct you not to meddle with.

As you have, without a proper authority for ſo doing, put yourſelves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, ſo the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourſelves, is under the neceſſity of putting himſelf in the place of all thoſe, who approve the very writings and principles, againſt which your teſtimony is directed: and he hath choſen this ſingular



ſingular ſituation, in order that you might diſcover in him that preſumption of character which you cannot ſee in yourſelves. For neither he nor you can have any claim or title to *political repreſentation.*

WHEN men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they ſtumble and fall. And it is evident, from the manner in which ye have managed your teſtimony, that politics (as a religious body of men) is not your proper walk; however well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheleſs, a jumble of good and bad put unwiſely together, and the concluſion drawn therefrom, both unnatural and unjuſt.

THE two firſt pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the ſame civility from you, becauſe the love and deſire of peace is not confined to Quakeriſm, it is the *natural,* as well as the religious wiſh of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men labouring to eſtabliſh an independent conſtitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. *Our plan is peace for ever.* We are tired of contention with Britain, and can ſee no real end to it but in a final ſeparation. We act conſiſtently, becauſe, for the ſake of introducing an endleſs and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the preſent day. We are endeavouring, and will ſteadily continue to endeavour, to ſeparate and diſſolve a connection, which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cauſe of future miſchiefs to both countries.

WE fight neither for revenge nor conqueſt; neither from pride nor paſſion; we are not inſulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the ſhade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houſes, and in our own land, is the violence committed againſt us. We view our enemies in the character of highwaymen and houſebreakers; and having no defence for ourſelves in the civil law, are obliged to puniſh them by the military one, and apply the ſword, in the very caſe where you have before now applied the halter. Perhaps we feel for the ruined and inſulted ſufferers in all and every part of the continent, with a degree of tenderneſs which hath not yet made its way into ſome of your boſoms. But be you ſure that ye miſtake not the cauſe and ground of your teſtimony. Call not coldneſs of ſoul, religion; nor put the *Bigot* in the place of the *Chriſtian*.

O YE partial miniſters of your own acknowledged principles! If the bearing arms be ſinful, the firſt going to war muſt be more ſo, by all the difference between wilful attack and unavoidable defence. Wherefore, if ye really preach from conſcience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horſe of your religion, convince the world thereof, by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, *for they likewiſe bear* ARMS. Give us a proof of your ſincerity by publiſhing it at St. James's, to the commanders in chief at Boſton, to the admirals and captains who are piratically ravaging our coaſts, and to all the murdering miſcreants who are acting in authority under whom ye profeſs to ſerve. Had ye the honeſt ſoul of *Barclay*,* ye would preach repentance to *your* King; ye would tell the his ſins, and warm him of eternal ruin. Ye would not ſpend your partial invectives againſt the injured and the inſulted only, but, like faithful miniſters, would cry aloud and *ſpare none*. Say not that ye are perſecuted, neither endeavour to make us the authors of that reproach, which ye are bringing upon yourſelves; for we teſtify unto all men, that we do not complain againſt you becauſe ye are *Quakers*, but becauſe ye pretend to *be* and are NOT Quakers.

ALAS! it ſeems by the particular tendency of ſome part of your teſtimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if all ſin was reduced to, and comprehended in, *the act of bearing arms*, and that by the *people only*. Ye appear to us to have miſtaken party for conſci-

* "*Thou haſt taſted of proſperity and adverſity; thou knoweſt what "it is to be baniſhed thy native country, to be over-ruled as well as "to rule, and ſet upon the throne; and being* oppreſſed *thou haſt "reaſon to know how* hateful *the* oppreſſor *is both to God and man: "If after all theſe warnings and adverliſements, thou doſt not turn "unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered "thee in thy diſtreſs, and give up thyſelf to follow luſt and vanity, "ſurely great will be thy condemnation.—Againſt which ſnare, as "well as the temptation of thoſe who may or do feed thee, and "prompt thee to evil, the moſt excellent and prevalent remedy will "be to apply thyſelf to that light of Chriſt which ſhineth in thy conſcience, and which neither can, nor will flatter thee, nor ſuffer "thee to be at eaſe in thy ſins."

Barclay's Addreſs to Charles II.

ence; becauſe the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity: and it is exceedingly difficult to us to give credit to many of your pretended ſcruples; becauſe we ſee them made by the ſame men, who, in the very inſtant that they are exclaiming againſt the mammon of this world, are nevertheleſs hunting after it with a ſtep as ſteady as time, and an appetite as keen as death.

THE quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your teſtimony, that, "When a man's ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh "even his enemies to be at peace with him," is very unwiſely choſen on your part; becauſe it amounts to a proof that the , whom ye are ſo deſirous of ſupporting, do *not* pleaſe the Lord, otherwiſe his reign would be in peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your teſtimony, and that for which all the foregoing ſeems only an introduction, viz.

"IT hath ever been our judgement and principle, "ſince we were called to profeſs the light of Chriſt "Jeſus, manifeſted in our conſciences unto this "day, that the ſitting up and putting down kings "and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative, "for cauſes beſt known to himſelf: and that it is "not our buſineſs to have any hand or contrivance "therein; nor to be buſy bodies above our ſtation, "much leſs to plot and contrive the ruin, or over-"turn of any of them, but to pray for the king and "ſafety of our nation, and good of all men: that "we might live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs



"lineſs and honeſty; *under the government which God "is pleaſed to ſet over us.*"—If theſe are *really* your principles, why do ye not abide by them? Why do ye not leave that which ye call God's work, to be managed by himſelf? Theſe very principles inſtruct you to wait with patience and humility for the event of all public meaſures, and to receive *that event* as the Divine will towards you. *Wherefore*, what occaſion is there for your *political teſtimony*, if you fully believe what it contains? And therefore publiſhing it, proves, that either ye do not believe what ye profeſs, or have not virtue enough to practiſe what ye believe.

THE principles of Quakeriſm have a direct tendency to make the quiet and inoffenſive ſubject of any, and every government *which is ſet over him*. And if the ſetting up and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he moſt certainly will not be robbed thereof by us; wherefore the principle itſelf leads you to approve of every thing which ever happened, or may happen to kings, as being his work. OLIVER CROMWELL thanks you. CHARLES, then, died not by the hands of men; and ſhould the preſent Proud Imitator of him come to the ſame untimely end, the writers and publiſhers of the teſtimony are bound, by the doctrine it contains, to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by any other means than ſuch as are common and human; and ſuch as we are now uſing. Even the diſperſion of the Jews, though

though foretold by our Saviour, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as ye refuſe to be the means on one ſide, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other, but to wait the iſſue in ſilence; and unleſs ye can produce divine authority, to prove that the Almighty, who hath created and placed this *new* world at the greateſt diſtance it could poſſibly ſtand, eaſt and weſt, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheleſs, diſapprove of its being independent of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain; unleſs, I ſay, ye can ſhew this, how can ye on the ground of your principles juſtify the exciting and ſtirring up the people "firmly to unite in the *abhorrence* of all ſuch *writings* "and *meaſures* as evidence a deſire and deſign to "break off the *happy* connection we have hitherto "enjoyed with the kingdom of Great Britain, and "our juſt and neceſſary ſubordination to the King, "and thoſe who are lawfully placed in authority "under him." What a ſlap of the face is here! the men, who, in the very paragraph before, have quietly and paſſively reſigned up the ordering, altering, and diſpoſal of kings and governments into the hands of God, are now recalling their principles, and putting in for a ſhare of the buſineſs. Is it poſſible that the concluſion, which is here juſtly quoted, can any ways follow from the doctrine laid down? The inconſiſtency is too glaring not to be ſeen; the abſurdity too great not to be laughed at; and ſuch as could only have been made by thoſe, whoſe underſtandings were darkened by the narrow and crabby ſpirit of a deſpairing political party; for



for ye are not to be conſidered as the whole body of the Quakers, but only as a factional and fractional part thereof.

HERE ends the examination of your teſtimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly;) to which I ſubjoin the following remark; "That the ſetting "up and putting down of kings," moſt certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not ſo, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what hath this to do in the preſent caſe? We neither mean to *ſet up* nor to *put down*, neither to *make* nor to *unmake*, but to have nothing to *do* with them. Wherefore, your teſtimony, in whatever light it is viewed, ſerves only to diſhonor your judgement, and for many other reaſons had better have been left alone than publiſhed:

FIRST, Becauſe it tends to the decreaſe and reproach of all religion whatever, and is of the utmoſt danger to ſociety, to make it a party in political diſputes.

SECONDLY, Becauſe it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom diſavow the publiſhing political teſtimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

THIRDLY, Becauſe it hath a tendency to undo that continental harmony and friendſhip which yourſelves by your late liberal and charitable donations hath lent a hand to eſtabliſh; and the preſervation of which is of the utmoſt conſequence to us all.

AND

AND here without anger or resentment I bid you farewell. Sincerely wishing, that as men and Christians, ye may always fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be in your turn, the means of securing it to others: but that the example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion with politics, *may be disavowed and reprobated by every inhabitant of* AMERICA.

FINIS.

# *RIGHTS OF MAN:*

BEING AN

## ANSWER TO MR. BURKE'S ATTACK

ON THE

## *FRENCH REVOLUTION.*

THIRD EDITION.

BY

THOMAS PAINE,

SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO CONGRESS IN THE AMERICAN WAR, AND
AUTHOR OF THE WORKS INTITLED "*COMMON SENSE*," AND "*A LETTER TO THE ABBE RAYNAL.*"

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MDCCXCI.

TO

## *GEORGE WASHINGTON,*

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

SIR,

I PRESENT you a ſmall Treatiſe in defence of thoſe Principles of Freedom which your exemplary Virtue hath ſo eminently contributed to eſtabliſh.—That the Rights of Man may become as univerſal as your Benevolence can wiſh, and that you may enjoy the Happineſs of ſeeing the New World regenerate the Old, is the Prayer of

SIR,

Your much obliged, and

Obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

# PREFACE

## TO THE

## ENGLISH EDITION.

FROM the part Mr. Burke took in the American Revolution, it was natural that I ſhould conſider him a friend to mankind; and as our acquaintance commenced on that ground, it would have been more agreeable to me to have had cauſe to continue in that opinion, than to change it.

At the time Mr. Burke made his violent ſpeech laſt winter in the Engliſh Parliament againſt the French Revolution and the National Aſſembly, I was in Paris, and had written him, but a ſhort time before, to inform him how proſperouſly matters were going on. Soon after this, I ſaw his advertiſement of the Pamphlet he intended to publiſh: As the attack was to be made in a language but little ſtudied, and leſs underſtood, in France, and as every thing ſuffers by tranſlation, I promiſed ſome of the friends of the Revolution in that country, that whenever Mr. Burke's Pamphlet came forth, I would

would anſwer it. This appeared to me the more neceſſary to be done, when I ſaw the flagrant miſrepreſentations which Mr. Burke's Pamphlet contains; and that while it is an outrageous abuſe on the French Revolution, and the principles of Liberty, it is an impoſition on the reſt of the world.

I am the more aſtoniſhed and diſappointed at this conduct in Mr. Burke, as (from the circumſtance I am going to mention), I had formed other expectations.

I had ſeen enough of the miſeries of war, to wiſh it might never more have exiſtence in the world, and that ſome other mode might be found out to ſettle the differences that ſhould occaſionally ariſe in the neighbourhood of nations. This certainly might be done if Courts were diſpoſed to ſet honeſtly about it, or if countries were enlightened enough not to be made the dupes of Courts. The people of America had been bred up in the ſame prejudices againſt France, which at that time characterized the people of England; but experience and an acquaintance with the French Nation have moſt effectually ſhown to the Americans the falſehood of thoſe prejudices; and I do not believe that a more cordial and confidential intercourſe exiſts between any two countries than between America and France.

When





When I came to France in the Spring of 1787, the Archbiſhop of Thouloufe was then Miniſter, and at that time highly eſteemed. I became much acquainted with the private Secretary of that Miniſter, a man of an enlarged benevolent heart; and found, that his ſentiments and my own perfectly agreed with reſpect to the madneſs of war, and the wretched impolicy of two nations, like England and France, continually worrying each other, to no other end than that of a mutual increaſe of burdens and taxes. That I might be aſſured I had not miſunderſtood him, nor he me, I put the ſubſtance of our opinions into writing, and ſent it to him; ſubjoining a requeſt, that if I ſhould ſee among the people of England, any diſpoſition to cultivate a better underſtanding between the two nations than had hitherto prevailed, how far I might be authorized to ſay that the ſame diſpoſition prevailed on the part of France? He anſwered me by letter in the moſt unreſerved manner, and that not for himſelf only, but for the Miniſter, with whoſe knowledge the letter was declared to be written.

I put this letter into the hands of Mr. Burke almoſt three years ago, and left it with him, where it ſtill remains; hoping, and at the ſame time naturally expecting, from the opi-

nion

nion I had conceived of him, that he would find ſome opportunity of making a good uſe of it, for the purpoſe of removing thoſe errors and prejudices, which two neighbouring nations, from the want of knowing each other, had entertained, to the injury of both.

When the French Revolution broke out, it certainly afforded to Mr. Burke an opportunity of doing ſome good, had he been diſpoſed to it; inſtead of which, no ſooner did he ſee the old prejudices wearing away, than he immediately began ſowing the ſeeds of a new inveteracy, as if he were afraid that England and France would ceaſe to be enemies. That there are men in all countries who get their living by war, and by keeping up the quarrels of Nations, is as ſhocking as it is true; but when thoſe who are concerned in the government of a country, make it their ſtudy to ſow diſcord, and cultivate prejudices between Nations, it becomes the more unpardonable.

With reſpect to a paragraph in this Work alluding to Mr. Burke's having a penſion, the report has been ſome time in circulation, at leaſt two months; and as a perſon is often the laſt to hear what concerns him the moſt to know, I have mentioned it, that Mr. Burke may have an opportunity of contradicting the rumour, if he thinks proper.

THOMAS PAINE.

# RIGHTS OF MAN,

*&c. &c.*

AMONG the incivilities by which nations or individuals provoke and irritate each other, Mr. Burke's pamphlet on the French Revolution is an extraordinary inſtance. Neither the People of France, nor the National Aſſembly, were troubling themſelves about the affairs of England, or the Engliſh Parliament; and why Mr. Burke ſhould commence an unprovoked attack upon them, both in parliament and in public, is a conduct that cannot be pardoned on the ſcore of manners, nor juſtified on that of policy.

There is ſcarcely an epithet of abuſe to be found in the Engliſh language, with which Mr. Burke has not loaded the French Nation and the National Aſſembly. Every thing which rancour, prejudice, ignorance, or knowledge could ſuggeſt, are poured forth in the copious fury of near four hundred pages. In the ſtrain and on the plan Mr. Burke was writing, he might have written on to as many thouſands. When the tongue or the pen

pen is let looſe in a frenzy of paſſion, it is the man, and not the ſubject, that becomes exhauſted.

Hitherto Mr. Burke has been miſtaken and diſappointed in the opinions he had formed of the affairs of France; but ſuch is the ingenuity of his hope, or the malignancy of his deſpair, that it furniſhes him with new pretences to go on. There was a time when it was impoſſible to make Mr. Burke believe there would be any revolution in France. His opinion then was, that the French had neither ſpirit to undertake it, nor fortitude to ſupport it; and now that there is one, he ſeeks an eſcape, by condemning it.

Not ſufficiently content with abuſing the National Aſſembly, a great part of his work is taken up with abuſing Dr. Price (one of the beſt-hearted men that lives), and the two ſocieties in England known by the name of the Revolution Society, and the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

Dr. Price had preached a ſermon on the 4th of November 1789, being the anniverſary of what is called in England, the Revolution which took place 1688. Mr. Burke, ſpeaking of this ſermon, ſays, 'The Political Divine proceeds dogmatically to aſſert, that, by the principles of the Revolution, the people of England have acquired three fundamental rights:

'1. To chooſe our own governors.

'2. To caſhier them for miſconduct.

'3. To frame a government for ourſelves.'

Dr.



Dr. Price does not ſay that the right to do theſe things exiſts in this or in that perſon, or in this or in that deſcription of perſons, but that it exiſts in the *whole*; that it is a right reſident in the nation.—Mr. Burke, on the contrary, denies that ſuch a right exiſts in the nation, either in whole or in part, or that it exiſts any where; and, what is ſtill more ſtrange and marvellous, he ſays, 'that the people 'of England utterly diſclaim ſuch a right, and 'that they will reſiſt the practical aſſertion of it 'with their lives and fortunes.' That men ſhould take up arms, and ſpend their lives and fortunes, *not* to maintain their rights, but to maintain they have *not* rights, is an entire new ſpecies of diſcovery, and ſuited to the paradoxial genius of Mr. Burke.

The method which Mr. Burke takes to prove that the people of England have no ſuch rights, and that ſuch rights do not now exiſt in the nation, either in whole or in part, or any where at all, is of the ſame marvellous and monſtrous kind with what he has already ſaid; for his arguments are, that the perſons, or the generation of perſons, in whom they did exiſt, are dead, and with them the right is dead alſo. To prove this, he quotes a declaration made by parliament about a hundred years ago, to William and Mary, in theſe words: "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Com-"mons, do, in the name of the people aforeſaid, —(meaning the people of England then living)— "moſt humbly and faithfully *ſubmit* themſelves, "their *heirs* and *poſterities*, for EVER." He alſo

quotes a clauſe of another act of parliament made in the ſame reign, the terms of which, he ſays, "binds us—(meaning the people of that day)—"our *heirs*, and our *poſterity*, to *them*, their *heirs* "and *poſterity*, to the end of time."

Mr. Burke conceives his point ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by producing thoſe clauſes, which he enforces by ſaying that they exclude the right of the nation for *ever*: And not yet content with making ſuch declarations, repeated over and over again, he further ſays, 'that if the people of England 'poſſeſſed ſuch a right before the Revolution, (which he acknowledges to have been the caſe, not only in England, but throughout Europe, at an early period), 'yet that the *Engliſh nation* did, 'at the time of the Revolution, moſt ſolemnly 'renounce and abdicate it, for themſelves, and 'for *all their poſterity, for ever*.'

As Mr. Burke occaſionally applies the poiſon drawn from his horrid principles, (if it is not a profanation to call them by the name of principles), not only to the Engliſh nation, but to the French Revolution and the National Aſſembly, and charges that auguſt, illuminated and illuminating body of men with the epithet of *uſurpers*, I ſhall, *ſans ceremonie*, place another ſyſtem of principles in oppoſition to his.

The Engliſh Parliament of 1688 did a certain thing, which, for themſelves and their conſtituents, they had a right to do, and which it appeared right ſhould be done: But, in addition to this right, which they poſſeſſed by delegation, *they*



*they ſet up another right by aſſumption*, that of binding and controuling poſterity to the end of time. The caſe, therefore, divides itſelf into two parts; the right which they poſſeſſed by delegation, and the right which they ſet up by aſſumption. The firſt is admitted; but, with reſpect to the ſecond, I reply—

There never did, there never will, and there never can exiſt a parliament, or any deſcription of men, or any generation of men, in any country, poſſeſſed of the right or the power of binding and controuling poſterity to the "*end of time*," or of commanding for ever how the world ſhall be governed, or who ſhall govern it; and therefore, all ſuch clauſes, acts or declarations, by which the makers of them attempt to do what they have neither the right nor the power to do, nor the power to execute, are in themſelves null and void.—Every age and generation muſt be as free to act for itſelf, *in all caſes*, as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and preſumption of governing beyond the grave, is the moſt ridiculous and inſolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man; neither has any generation a property in the generations which are to follow. The parliament or the people of 1688, or of any other period, had no more right to diſpoſe of the people of the preſent day, or to bind or to controul them *in any ſhape whatever*, than the parliament or the people of the preſent day have to diſpoſe of, bind or controul thoſe who are to live a hundred or a thouſand years hence.

Every generation is, and muſt be, competent to all the purpoſes which its occaſions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated. When man ceaſes to be, his power and his wants ceaſe with him; and having no longer any participation in the concerns of this world, he has no longer any authority in directing who ſhall be its governors, or how its government ſhall be organized, or how adminiſtered.

I am not contending for nor againſt any form of government, nor for nor againſt any party here or elſewhere. That which a whole nation chooſes to do, it has a right to do. Mr. Burke ſays, No. Where then *does* the right exiſt? I am contending for the rights of the *living*, and againſt their being willed away, and controuled and contracted for, by the manuſcript aſſumed authority of the dead; and Mr. Burke is contending for the authority of the dead over the rights and freedom of the living. There was a time when kings diſpoſed of their crowns by will upon their deathbeds, and conſigned the people, like beaſts of the field, to whatever ſucceſſor they appointed. This is now ſo exploded as ſcarcely to be remembered, and ſo monſtrous as hardly to be believed: But the parliamentary clauſes upon which Mr. Burke builds his political church, are of the ſame nature.

The laws of every country muſt be analogous to ſome common principle. In England, no parent or maſter, nor all the authority of parliament, omnipotent as it has called itſelf, can bind



bind or controul the perſonal freedom even of an individual beyond the age of twenty-one years: On what ground of right, then, could the parliament of 1688, or any other parliament, bind all poſterity for ever?

Thoſe who have quitted the world, and thoſe who are not yet arrived at it, are as remote from each other, as the utmoſt ſtretch of mortal imagination can conceive: What poſſible obligation, then, can exiſt between them; what rule or principle can be laid down, that two non-entities, the one out of exiſtence, and the other not in, and who never can meet in this world, that the one ſhould controul the other to the end of time?

In England, it is ſaid that money cannot be taken out of the pockets of the people without their conſent: But who authorized, or who could authorize the parliament of 1688 to controul and take away the freedom of poſterity, and limit and confine their right of acting in certain caſes for ever, who were not in exiſtence to give or to withhold their conſent?

A greater abſurdity cannot preſent itſelf to the underſtanding of man, than what Mr. Burke offers to his readers. He tells them, and he tells the world to come, that a certain body of men, who exiſted a hundred years ago, made a law; and that there does not now exiſt in the nation, nor ever will, nor ever can, a power to alter it. Under how many ſubtilties, or abſurdities, has the divine right to govern been impoſed on the credulity of mankind! Mr. Burke has diſcovered a

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new one, and he has ſhortened his journey to Rome, by appealing to the power of this infallible parliament of former days; and he produces what it has done, as of divine authority: for that power muſt certainly be more than human, which no human power to the end of time can alter.

But Mr. Burke has done ſome ſervice, not to his cauſe, but to his country, by bringing thoſe clauſes into public view. They ſerve to demonſtrate how neceſſary it is at all times to watch againſt the attempted encroachment of power, and to prevent its running to exceſs. It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that the offence for which James II. was expelled, that of ſetting up power by *aſſumption*, ſhould be re-acted, under another ſhape and form, by the parliament that expelled him. It ſhews, that the rights of man were but imperfectly underſtood at the Revolution; for, certain it is, that the right which that parliament ſet up by *aſſumption* (for by delegation it had it not, and could not have it, becauſe none could give it) over the perſons and freedom of poſterity for ever, was of the ſame tyrannical unfounded kind which James attempted to ſet up over the parliament and the nation, and for which he was expelled. The only difference is, (for in principle they differ not), that the one was an uſurper over the living, and the other over the unborn; and as the one has no better authority to ſtand upon than the other, both of them muſt be equally null and void, and of no effect.

From





From what, or from whence, does Mr. Burke prove the right of any human power to bind poſterity for ever? He has produced his clauſes; but he muſt produce alſo his proofs, that ſuch a right exiſted, and ſhew how it exiſted. If it ever exiſted, it muſt now exiſt; for whatever appertains to the nature of man, cannot be annihilated by man. It is the nature of man to die, and he will continue to die as long as he continues to be born. But Mr. Burke has ſet up a ſort of political Adam, in whom all poſterity are bound for ever; he muſt therefore prove that his Adam poſſeſſed ſuch a power, or ſuch a right.

The weaker any cord is, the leſs will it bear to be ſtretched, and the worſe is the policy to ſtretch it, unleſs it is intended to break it. Had a perſon contemplated the overthrow of Mr. Burke's poſitions, he would have proceeded as Mr. Burke has done. He would have magnified the authorities, on purpoſe to have called the *right* of them into queſtion; and the inſtant the queſtion of right was ſtarted, the authorities muſt have been given up.

It requires but a very ſmall glance of thought to perceive, that altho' laws made in one generation often continue in force through ſucceeding generations, yet that they continue to derive their force from the conſent of the living. A law not repealed continues in force, not becauſe it *cannot* be repealed, but becauſe it *is not* repealed; and the non-repealing paſſes for conſent.

But Mr. Burke's clauſes have not even this qualification in their favour. They become null, by

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attempting to become immortal. The nature of them precludes conſent. They deſtroy the right which they *might* have, by grounding it on a right which they *cannot* have. Immortal power is not a human right, and therefore cannot be a right of parliament. The parliament of 1688 might as well have paſſed an act to have authorized themſelves to live for ever, as to make their authority live for ever. All therefore that can be ſaid of them is, that they are a formality of words, of as much import, as if thoſe who uſed them had addreſſed a congratulation to themſelves, and, in the oriental ſtile of antiquity, had ſaid, O Parliament, live for ever!

The circumſtances of the world are continully changing, and the opinions of men change alſo; and as government is for the living, and not for the dead, it is the living only that has any right in it. That which may be thought right and found convenient in one age, may be thought wrong and found inconvenient in another. In ſuch caſes, Who is to decide, the living, or the dead?

As almoſt one hundred pages of Mr. Burke's book are employed upon theſe clauſes, it will conſequently follow, that if the clauſes themſelves, ſo far as they ſet up an *aſſumed, uſurped* dominion over poſterity for ever, are unauthoritative, and in their nature null and void; that all his voluminous inferences and declamation drawn therefrom, or founded thereon, are null and void alſo: and on this ground I reſt the matter.

We



We now come more particularly to the affairs of France. Mr. Burke's book has the appearance of being written as inſtruction to the French nation; but if I may permit myſelf the uſe of an extravagant metaphor, ſuited to the extravagance of the caſe, It is darkneſs attempting to illuminate light.

While I am writing this, there are accidentally before me ſome propoſals for a declaration of rights by the Marquis de la Fayette (I aſk his pardon for uſing his former addreſs, and do it only for diſtinction's ſake) to the National Aſſembly, on the 11th of July 1789, three days before the taking of the Baſtille; and I cannot but be ſtruck by obſerving how oppoſite the ſources are from which that Gentleman and Mr. Burke draw their principles. Inſtead of referring to muſty records and mouldy parchments to prove that the rights of the living are loſt, "renounced and abdicated for ever," by thoſe who are now no more, as Mr. Burke has done, M. de la Fayette applies to the living world, and emphatically ſays, "Call to mind the ſentiments which "Nature has engraved in the heart of every citizen, "and which take a new force when they are ſolemnly recognized by all:—For a nation to love "liberty, it is ſufficient that ſhe knows it; and to "be free, it is ſufficient that ſhe wills it." How dry, barren, and obſcure, is the ſource from which Mr. Burke labours! and how ineffectual, though gay with flowers, are all his declamation and his argument, compared with theſe clear, conciſe, and ſoul-animating ſentiments! Few and ſhort as they

 are,

are, they lead on to a vaſt field of generous and manly thinking, and do not finiſh, like Mr. Burke's periods, with muſic in the ear, and nothing in the heart.

As I have introduced M. de la Fayette, I will take the liberty of adding an anecdote reſpecting his farewel addreſs to the Congreſs of America in 1783, and which occurred freſh to my mind when I ſaw Mr. Burke's thundering attack on the French Revolution.—M. de la Fayette went to America at an early period of the war, and continued a volunteer in her ſervice to the end. His conduct through the whole of that enterpriſe is one of the moſt extraordinary that is to be found in the hiſtory of a young man, ſcarcely then twenty years of age. Situated in a country that was like the lap of ſenſual pleaſure, and with the means of enjoying it, how few are there to be found who would exchange ſuch a ſcene for the woods and wilderneſſes of America, and paſs the flowery years of youth in unprofitable danger and hardſhip! but ſuch is the fact. When the war ended, and he was on the point of taking his final departure, he preſented himſelf to Congreſs, and contemplating, in his affectionate farewel, the revolution he had ſeen, expreſſed himſelf in theſe words: "*May this great "monument, raiſed to Liberty, ſerve as a leſſon to "the oppreſſor, and an example to the oppreſſed!*" —When this addreſs came to the hands of Doctor Franklin, who was then in France, he applied to Count Vergennes to have it inſerted in the French Gazette, but never could obtain his conſent. The fact



fact was, that Count Vergennes was an ariſtocratical deſpot at home, and dreaded the example of the American revolution in France, as certain other perſons now dread the example of the French revolution in England; and Mr. Burke's tribute of fear (for in this light his book muſt be conſidered) runs parallel with Count Vergennes' refuſal. But, to return more particularly to his work—

"We have ſeen (ſays Mr. Burke) the French "rebel againſt a mild and lawful Monarch, with "more fury, outrage, and inſult, than any people "has been known to riſe againſt the moſt illegal "uſurper, or the moſt ſanguinary tyrant."—This is one among a thouſand other inſtances, in which Mr. Burke ſhews that he is ignorant of the ſprings and principles of the French revolution.

It was not againſt Louis the XVIth, but againſt the deſpotic principles of the government, that the nation revolted. Theſe principles had not their origin in him, but in the original eſtabliſhment, many centuries back; and they were become too deeply rooted to be removed, and the augean ſtable of paraſites and plunderers too abominably filthy to be cleanſed, by any thing ſhort of a complete and univerſal revolution. When it becomes neceſſary to do a thing, the whole heart and ſoul ſhould go into the meaſure, or not attempt it. That criſis was then arrived, and there remained no choice but to act with determined vigour, or not to act at all. The king was known to be the friend of the nation, and this circumſtance was favourable to the enterpriſe. Perhaps no man bred up in the ſtile of an

abſolute King, ever poſſeſſed a heart ſo little diſpoſed to the exerciſe of that ſpecies of power as the preſent King of France. But the principles of the government itſelf ſtill remained the ſame. The Monarch and the Monarchy were diſtinct and ſeparate things; and it was againſt the eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm of the latter, and not againſt the perſon or principles of the former, that the revolt commenced, and the revolution has been carried.

Mr. Burke does not attend to the diſtinction between *men* and *principles*; and therefore, he does not ſee that a revolt may take place againſt the deſpotiſm of the latter, while there lies no charge of deſpotiſm againſt the former.

The natural moderation of Louis XVI. contributed nothing to alter the hereditary deſpotiſm of the monarchy. All the tyrannies of former reigns, acted under that hereditary deſpotiſm, were ſtill liable to be revived in the hands of a ſucceſſor. It was not the reſpite of a reign that would ſatisfy France, enlightened as ſhe was then become. A caſual diſcontinuance of the *practice* of deſpotiſm, is not a diſcontinuance of its *principles*; the former depends on the virtue of the individual who is in immediate poſſeſſion of the power; the latter, on the virtue and fortitude of the nation. In the caſe of Charles I. and James II. of England, the revolt was againſt the perſonal deſpotiſm of the men; whereas in France, it was againſt the hereditary deſpotiſm of the eſtabliſhed government. But men who can conſign over the rights



rights of poſterity for ever on the authority of a mouldy parchment, like Mr. Burke, are not qualified to judge of this revolution. It takes in a field too vaſt for their views to explore, and proceeds with a mightineſs of reaſon they cannot keep pace with.

But there are many points of view in which this revolution may be conſidered. When deſpotiſm has eſtabliſhed itſelf for ages in a country, as in France, it is not in the perſon of the King only that it reſides. It has the appearance of being ſo in ſhow, and in nominal authority; but it is not ſo in practice, and in fact. It has its ſtandard every-where. Every office and department has its deſpotiſm, founded upon cuſtom and uſage. Every place has its Baſtille, and every Baſtille its deſpot. The original hereditary deſpotiſm reſident in the perſon of the King, divides and ſubdivides itſelf into a thouſand ſhapes and forms, till at laſt the whole of it is acted by deputation. This was the caſe in France; and againſt this ſpecies of deſpotiſm, proceeding on through an endleſs labyrinth of office till the ſource of it is ſcarcely perceptible, there is no mode of redreſs. It ſtrengthens itſelf by aſſuming the appearance of duty, and tyranniſes under the pretence of obeying.

When a man reflects on the condition which France was in from the nature of her government, he will ſee other cauſes for revolt than thoſe which immediately connect themſelves with the perſon or character of Louis XVI. There were,

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if I may ſo expreſs it, a thouſand deſpotiſms to be reformed in France, which had grown up under the hereditary deſpotiſm of the monarchy, and became ſo rooted as to be in a great meaſure independent of it. Between the monarchy, the parliament, and the church, there was a *rivalſhip* of deſpotiſm; beſides the feudal deſpotiſm operating locally, and the miniſterial deſpotiſm operating every-where. But Mr. Burke, by conſidering the King as the only poſſible object of a revolt, ſpeaks as if France was a village, in which every thing that paſſed muſt be known to its commanding officer, and no oppreſſion could be acted but what he could immediately controul. Mr. Burke might have been in the Baſtille his whole life, as well under Louis XVI. as Louis XIV. and neither the one nor the other have known that ſuch a man as Mr. Burke exiſted. The deſpotic principles of the government were the ſame in both reigns, though the diſpoſitions of the men were as remote as tyranny and benevolence.

What Mr. Burke conſiders as a reproach to the French Revolution, (that of bringing it forward under a reign more mild than the preceding ones), is one of its higheſt honours. The revolutions that have taken place in other European countries, have been excited by perſonal hatred. The rage was againſt the man, and he became the victim. But, in the inſtance of France, we ſee a revolution generated in the rational contemplation of the rights of man, and diſtinguiſhing



tinguiſhing from the beginning between perſons and principles.

But Mr. Burke appears to have no idea of principles, when he is contemplating governments. "Ten years ago (ſays he) I could have felicitated "France on her having a government, without "enquiring what the nature of that government "was, or how it was adminiſtered." Is this the language of a rationable man? Is it the language of a heart feeling as it ought to feel for the rights and happineſs of the human race? On this ground, Mr. Burke muſt compliment every government in the world, while the victims who ſuffer under them, whether ſold into ſlavery, or tortured out of exiſtence, are wholly forgotten. It is power, and not principles, that Mr. Burke venerates; and under this abominable depravity, he is diſqualified to judge between them.—Thus much for his opinion as to the occaſions of the French Revolution. I now proceed to other conſiderations.

I know a place in America called Point-no-Point; becauſe as you proceed along the ſhore, gay and flowery as Mr. Burke's language, it continually recedes and preſents itſelf at a diſtance before you; but when you have got as far as you can go, there is no point at all. Juſt thus it is with Mr. Burke's three hundred and fifty-ſix pages. It is therefore difficult to reply to him. But as the points he wiſhes to eſtabliſh, may be inferred from what he abuſes, it is in his paradoxes that we muſt look for his arguments.

As

As to the tragic paintings by which Mr. Burke has outraged his own imagination, and ſeeks to work upon that of his readers, they are very well calculated for theatrical repreſentation, where facts are manufactured for the ſake of ſhow, and accommodated to produce, through the weakneſs of ſympathy, a weeping effect. But Mr. Burke ſhould recollect that he is writing Hiſtory, and not *Plays*; and that his readers will expect truth, and not the ſpouting rant of high-toned exclamation.

When we ſee a man dramatically lamenting in a publication intended to be believed, that, "*The age of chivalry is gone!* that *The glory of Europe is extinguiſhed for ever!* that *The unbought grace of life* (if any one knows what it is), *the cheap defence of nations, the nurſe of manly ſentiment and heroic enterprize, is gone!*" and all this becauſe the Quixote age of chivalry nonſenſe is gone, What opinion can we form of his judgment, or what regard can we pay to his facts? In the rhapſody of his imagination, he has diſcovered a world of wind-mills, and his ſorrows are, that there are no Quixotes to attack them. But if the age of ariſtocracy, like that of chivalry, ſhould fall, and they had originally ſome connection, Mr. Burke, the trumpeter of the Order, may continue his parody to the end, and finiſh with exclaiming, "*Othello's occupation's gone!*"

Notwithſtanding Mr. Burke's horrid paintings, when the French Revolution is compared with that of other countries, the aſtoniſhment will be, that it is marked with ſo few ſacrifices; but this aſtoniſh-





aſtoniſhment will ceaſe when we reflect that *principles*, and not *perſons*, were the meditated objects of deſtruction. The mind of the nation was acted upon by a higher ſtimulus than what the conſideration of perſons could inſpire, and ſought a higher conqueſt than could be produced by the downfal of an enemy. Among the few who fell, there do not appear to be any that were intentionally ſingled out. They all of them had their fate in the circumſtances of the moment, and were not purſued with that long, cold-blooded, unabated revenge which purſued the unfortunate Scotch in the affair of 1745.

Through the whole of Mr. Burke's book I do not obſerve that the Baſtille is mentioned more than once, and that with a kind of implication as if he were ſorry it was pulled down, and wiſhed it were built up again. "We have rebuilt Newgate (ſays he), and tenanted the manſion; and "we have priſons almoſt as ſtrong as the Baſtille "for thoſe who dare to libel the Queens of "France*." As to what a madman, like the perſon called Lord G—— G——, might ſay, and to

* Since writing the above, two other places occur in Mr. Burke's pamphlet, in which the name of the Baſtille is mentioned, but in the ſame manner. In the one, he introduces it in a ſort of obſcure queſtion, and aſks—"Will any miniſters who now ſerve ſuch a king, with but a decent appearance of reſpect, cordially obey the orders of thoſe whom but the other day, *in his name*, they had committed to the Baſtille?" In the other, the taking it is mentioned as implying criminality in the French guards who aſſiſted in demoliſhing it.—"They have not (ſays he) forgot the taking the king's caſtles at Paris."——This is Mr. Burke, who pretends to write on conſtitutional freedom.

whom Newgate is rather a bedlam than a priſon, it is unworthy a rational conſideration. It was a madman that libelled — and that is ſufficient apology; and it afforded an opportunity for confining him, which was the thing that was wiſhed for: But certain it is that Mr. Burke, who does not call himſelf a madman, whatever other people may do, has libelled, in the moſt unprovoked manner, and in the groſſeſt ſtile of the moſt vulgar abuſe, the whole repreſentative authority of France; and yet Mr. Burke takes his ſeat in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons! From his violence and his grief, his ſilence on ſome points, and his exceſs on others, it is difficult not to believe that Mr. Burke is ſorry, extremely ſorry, that arbitrary power, the power of the Pope, and the Baſtille, are pulled down.

Not one glance of compaſſion, not one commiſerating reflection, that I can find throughout his book, has he beſtowed on thoſe who lingered out the moſt wretched of lives, a life without hope, in the moſt miſerable of priſons. It is painful to behold a man employing his talents to corrupt himſelf. Nature has been kinder to Mr. Burke than he is to her. He is not affected by the reality of diſtreſs touching his heart, but by the ſhowy reſemblance of it ſtriking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird. Accuſtomed to kiſs the ariſtocratical hand that hath purloined him from himſelf, he degenerates into a compoſition of art, and the genuine ſoul of nature forſakes him. His hero or his heroine muſt be



be a tragedy-victim expiring in ſhow, and not the real priſoner of miſery, ſliding into death in the ſilence of a dungeon.

As Mr. Burke has paſſed over the whole tranſaction of the Baſtille (and his ſilence is nothing in his favour), and has entertained his readers with reflections on ſuppoſed facts diſtorted into real falſehoods, I will give, ſince he has not, ſome account of the circumſtances which preceded that tranſaction. They will ſerve to ſhew, that leſs miſchief could ſcarcely have accompanied ſuch an event, when conſidered with the treacherous and hoſtile aggravations of the enemies of the Revolution.

The mind can hardly picture to itſelf a more tremendous ſcene than what the city of Paris exhibited at the time of taking the Baſtille, and for two days before and after, nor conceive the poſſibility of its quieting ſo ſoon. At a diſtance, this tranſaction has appeared only as an act of heroiſm, ſtanding on itſelf; and the cloſe political connection it had with the Revolution is loſt in the brilliancy of the atchievement. But we are to conſider it as the ſtrength of the parties, brought man to man, and contending for the iſſue. The Baſtille was to be either the prize or the priſon of the aſſailants. The downfal of it included the idea of the downfal of Deſpotiſm; and this compounded image was become as figuratively united as Bunyan's Doubting Caſtle and Giant Deſpair.

The National Aſſembly, before and at the time of taking the Baſtille, was ſitting at Verſailles, twelve miles diſtant from Paris. About a week before the

riſing of the Pariſians, and their taking the Baſtille, it was diſcovered that a plot was forming, at the head of which was the Count d'Artois, the King's youngeſt brother, for demoliſhing the National Aſſembly, ſeizing its members, and thereby cruſhing, by a *coup de main*, all hopes and proſpects of forming a free government. For the ſake of humanity, as well as of freedom, it is well this plan did not ſucceed. Examples are not wanting to ſhew how dreadfully vindictive and cruel are all old governments, when they are ſucceſsful againſt what they call a revolt.

This plan muſt have been ſome time in contemplation; becauſe, in order to carry it into execution, it was neceſſary to collect a large military force round Paris, and to cut off the communication between that city and the National Aſſembly at Verſailles. The troops deſtined for this ſervice were chiefly the foreign troops in the pay of France, and who, for this particular purpoſe, were drawn from the diſtant provinces where they were then ſtationed. When they were collected, to the amount of between twenty-five and thirty thouſand, it was judged time to put the plan into execution. The miniſtry who were then in office, and who were friendly to the Revolution, were inſtantly diſmiſſed, and a new miniſtry formed of thoſe who had concerted the project;—among whom was Count de Broglio, and to his ſhare was given the command of thoſe troops. The character of this man, as deſcribed to me in a letter which I communicated to Mr. Burke before he began to write his book, and from



from an authority which Mr. Burke well knows was good, was that of "an high-flying ariſtocrat, "cool, and capable of every miſchief."

While theſe matters were agitating, the National Aſſembly ſtood in the moſt perilous and critical ſituation that a body of men can be ſuppoſed to act in. They were the devoted victims, and they knew it. They had the hearts and wiſhes of their country on their ſide, but military authority they had none. The guards of Broglio ſurrounded the hall where the aſſembly ſat, ready, at the word of command, to ſeize their perſons, as had been done the year before to the parliament of Paris. Had the National Aſſembly deſerted their truſt, or had they exhibited ſigns of weakneſs or fear, their enemies had been encouraged, and the country depreſſed. When the ſituation they ſtood in, the cauſe they were engaged in, and the criſis then ready to burſt which ſhould determine their perſonal and political fate, and that of their country, and probably of Europe, are taken into one view, none but a heart callous with prejudice, or corrupted by dependance, can avoid intereſting itſelf in their ſucceſs.

The archbiſhop of Vienne was at this time preſident of the National Aſſembly; a perſon too old to undergo the ſcene that a few days, or a few hours, might bring forth. A man of more activity, and bolder fortitude, was neceſſary; and the National Aſſembly choſe (under the form of a vice-preſident, for the preſidency ſtill reſided in the archbiſhop) M. de la Fayette; and this is the only inſtance of a vice-preſident being choſen.

choſen. It was at the moment that this ſtorm was pending (July 11.) that a declaration of rights was brought forward by M. de la Fayette, and is the ſame which is alluded to in page 17. It was haſtily drawn up, and makes only a part of a more extenſive declaration of rights, agreed upon and adopted afterwards by the National Aſſembly. The particular reaſon for bringing it forward at this moment, (M. de la Fayette has ſince informed me) was, that if the National Aſſembly ſhould fall in the threatened deſtruction that then ſurrounded it, ſome traces of its principles might have the chance of ſurviving the wreck.

Every thing now was drawing to a criſis. The event was freedom or ſlavery. On one ſide, an army of nearly thirty thouſand men; on the other, an unarmed body of citizens: for the citizens of Paris, on whom the National Aſſembly muſt then immediately depend, were as unarmed and as undiſciplined as the citizens of London are now.—The French guards had given ſtrong ſymptoms of their being attached to the national cauſe; but their numbers were ſmall, not a tenth part of the force that Broglio commanded, and their officers were in the intereſt of Broglio.

Matters being now ripe for execution, the new miniſtry made their appearance in office. The reader will carry in his mind, that the Baſtille was taken the 14th of July: the point of time I am now ſpeaking to, is the 12th. Immediately on the news of the change of miniſtry reaching Paris, in the afternoon, all the play-houſes and places of entertain-





entertainment, ſhops and houſes, were ſhut up. The change of miniſtry was conſidered as the prelude of hoſtilities, and the opinion was rightly founded.

The foreign troops began to advance towards the city. The Prince de Lambeſc, who commanded a body of German cavalry, approached by the Place of Lewis XV. which connects itſelf with ſome of the ſtreets. In his march, he inſulted and ſtruck an old man with his ſword. The French are remarkable for their reſpect to old age, and the inſolence with which it appeared to be done, uniting with the general fermentation they were in, produced a powerful effect, and a cry of *To arms! to arms!* ſpread itſelf in a moment over the city.

Arms they had none, nor ſcarcely any who knew the uſe of them: but deſperate reſolution, when every hope is at ſtake, ſupplies, for a while, the want of arms. Near where the Prince de Lambeſc was drawn up, were large piles of ſtones collected for building the new bridge, and with theſe the people attacked the cavalry. A party of the French guards, upon hearing the firing, ruſhed from their quarters and joined the people; and night coming on, the cavalry retreated.

The ſtreets of Paris, being narrow, are favourable for defence; and the loftineſs of the houſes, conſiſting of many ſtories, from which great annoyance might be given, ſecured them againſt nocturnal enterpriſes; and the night was ſpent in providing themſelves with every ſort of weapon they could make or procure: Guns, ſwords, blackſmiths hammers, carpenters axes, iron crows, pikes,

pikes, halberts, pitchforks, ſpits, clubs, &c. &c. The incredible numbers with which they aſſembled the next morning, and the ſtill more incredible reſolution they exhibited, embarraſſed and aſtoniſhed their enemies. Little did the new miniſtry expect ſuch a ſalute. Accuſtomed to ſlavery themſelves, they had no idea that Liberty was capable of ſuch inſpiration, or that a body of unarmed citizens would dare to face the military force of thirty thouſand men. Every moment of this day was employed in collecting arms, concerting plans, and arranging themſelves into the beſt order which ſuch an inſtantaneous movement could afford. Broglio continued lying round the city, but made no further advances this day, and the ſucceeding night paſſed with as much tranquillity as ſuch a ſcene could poſſibly produce.

But defence only was not the object of the citizens. They had a cauſe at ſtake, on which depended their freedom or their ſlavery. They every moment expected an attack, or to hear of one made on the National Aſſembly; and in ſuch a ſituation, the moſt prompt meaſures are ſometimes the beſt. The object that now preſented itſelf was the Baſtille; and the eclat of carrying ſuch a fortreſs in the face of ſuch an army, could not fail to ſtrike a terror into the new miniſtry, who had ſcarcely yet had time to meet. By ſome intercepted correſpondence this morning, it was diſcovered, that the Mayor of Paris, M. Deſſeſſelles, who appeared to be in their intereſt, was betraying them; and from this diſcovery, there remained



remained no doubt that Broglio would reinforce the Baſtille the enſuing evening. It was therefore neceſſary to attack it that day; but before this could be done, it was firſt neceſſary to procure a better ſupply of arms than they were then poſſeſſed of.

There was adjoining to the city a large magazine of arms depoſited at the Hoſpital of the Invalids, which the citizens ſummoned to ſurrender; and as the place was not defenſible, nor attempted much defence, they ſoon ſucceeded. Thus ſupplied, they marched to attack the Baſtille; a vaſt mixed multitude of all ages, and of all degrees, and armed with all ſorts of weapons. Imagination would fail in deſcribing to itſelf the appearance of ſuch a proceſſion, and of the anxiety for the events which a few hours or a few minutes might produce. What plans the miniſtry was forming, were as unknown to the people within the city, as what the citizens were doing was unknown to the miniſtry; and what movements Broglio might make for the ſupport or relief of the place, were to the citizens equally as unknown. All was myſtery and hazard.

That the Baſtille was attacked with an enthuſiaſm of heroiſm, ſuch only as the higheſt animation of liberty could inſpire, and carried in the ſpace of a few hours, is an event which the world is fully poſſeſed of. I am not undertaking a detail of the attack; but bringing into view the conſpiracy againſt the nation which provoked it, and which fell with the Baſtille. The priſon to which

the new miniſtry were dooming the National Aſſembly, in addition to its being the high altar and caſtle of deſpotiſm, became the proper object to begin with. This enterpriſe broke up the new miniſtry, who began now to fly from the ruin they had prepared for others. The troops of Broglio diſperſed, and himſelf fled alſo.

Mr. Burke has ſpoken a great deal about plots, but he has never once ſpoken of this plot againſt the National Aſſembly, and the liberties of the nation; and that he might not, he has paſſed over all the circumſtances that might throw it in his way. The exiles who have fled from France, whoſe caſe he ſo much intereſts himſelf in, and from whom he has had his leſſon, fled in conſequence of the miſcarriage of this plot. No plot was formed againſt them: they were plotting againſt others; and thoſe who fell, met, not unjuſtly, the puniſhment they were preparing to execute. But will Mr. Burke ſay, that if this plot, contrived with the ſubtilty of an ambuſcade, had ſucceeded, the ſucceſsful party would have reſtrained their wrath ſo ſoon? Let the hiſtory of all old governments anſwer the queſtion.

Whom has the National Aſſembly brought to the ſcaffold? None. They were themſelves the devoted victims of this plot, and they have not retaliated; why then are they charged with revenge they have not acted? In the tremendous breaking forth of a whole people, in which all degrees, tempers and characters are confounded, and delivering themſelves, by a miracle of exertion, from



from the deſtruction meditated againſt them, is it to be expected that nothing will happen? When men are ſore with the ſenſe of oppreſſions, and menaced with the proſpect of new ones, is the calmneſs of philoſophy, or the palſy of inſenſibility, to be looked for? Mr. Burke exclaims againſt outrage; yet the greateſt is that which himſelf has committed. His book is a volume of outrage, not apologized for by the impulſe of a moment, but cheriſhed through a ſpace of ten months; yet Mr. Burke had no provocation—no life, no intereſt at ſtake.

More of the citizens fell in this ſtruggle than of their opponents: but four or five perſons were ſeized by the populace, and inſtantly put to death; the Governor of the Baſtille, and the Mayor of Paris, who was detected in the act of betraying them; and afterwards Foulon, one of the new miniſtry, and Berthier his ſon-in-law, who had accepted the office of Intendant of Paris. Their heads were ſtuck upon ſpikes, and carried about the city; and it is upon this mode of puniſhment that Mr. Burke builds a great part of his tragic ſcene. Let us therefore examine how men came by the idea of puniſhing in this manner.

They learn it from the governments they live under, and retaliate the puniſhments they have been accuſtomed to behold. The heads ſtuck upon ſpikes, which remained for years upon Temple-bar, differed nothing in the horror of the ſcene from thoſe carried about upon ſpikes at Paris: yet this was done by the Engliſh go-

vernment. It may perhaps be ſaid, that it ſignifies nothing to a man what is done to him after he is dead; but it ſignifies much to the living; it either tortures their feelings, or hardens their hearts; and in either caſe, it inſtructs them how to puniſh when power falls into their hands.

Lay then the axe to the root, and teach governments humanity. It is their ſanguinary puniſhments which corrupt mankind. In England, the puniſhment in certain caſes, is by *hanging drawing*, and *quartering*; the heart of the ſufferer is cut out, and held up to the view of the populace. In France, under the former goverment, the puniſhments were not leſs barbarous. Who does not remember the execution of Damien, torn to pieces by horſes? The effect of thoſe cruel ſpectacles exhibited to the populace, is to deſtroy tenderneſs, or excite revenge; and by the baſe and falſe idea of governing men by terror, inſtead of reaſon, they become precedents. It is over the loweſt claſs of mankind that government by terror is intended to operate, and it is on them that it operates to the worſt effect. They have ſenſe enough to feel they are the objects aimed at; and they inflict in their turn the examples of terror they have been inſtructed to practiſe.

There is in all European countries, a large claſs of people of that deſcription which in England is called the "*mob*." Of this claſs were thoſe who committed the burnings and devaſtations in London in 1780, and of this claſs were thoſe who carried the heads upon ſpikes in Paris. Foulon



Foulon and Berthier were taken up in the country, and ſent to Paris, to undergo their examination at the Hotel de Ville; for the National Aſſembly, immediately on the new miniſtry coming into office, paſſed a decree, which they communicated to the King and Cabinet, that they (the National Aſſembly) would hold the miniſtry, of which Foulon was one, reſponſible for the meaſures they were adviſing and purſuing; but the mob, incenſed at the appearance of Foulon and Berthier, tore them from their conductors before they were carried to the Hotel de Ville, and executed them on the ſpot. Why then does Mr. Burke charge outrages of this kind on a whole people? As well may he charge the riots and outrages of 1780 on all the people of London, or thoſe in Ireland on all his countrymen.

But every thing we ſee or hear offenſive to our feelings, and derogatory to the human character, ſhould lead to other reflections than thoſe of reproach. Even the beings who commit them have ſome claim to our conſideration. How then is it that ſuch vaſt claſſes of mankind as are diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the vulgar, or the ignorant mob, are ſo numerous in all old countries? The inſtant we aſk ourſelves this queſtion, reflection feels an anſwer. They ariſe, as an unavoidable conſequence, out of the ill conſtruction of all old governments in Europe, England included with the reſt. It is by diſtortedly exalting ſome men, that others are diſtortedly debaſed, till the whole is out of nature. A vaſt

maſs

maſs of mankind are degradedly thrown into the back-ground of the human picture, to bring forward with greater glare, the puppet-ſhow of ſtate and ariſtocracy. In the commencement of a Revolution, thoſe men are rather the followers of the *camp* than of the *ſtandard* of liberty, and have yet to be inſtructed how to reverence it.

I give to Mr. Burke all his theatrical exaggerations for facts, and I then aſk him, if they do not eſtabliſh the certainty of what I here lay down? Admitting them to be true, they ſhew the neceſſity of the French Revolution, as much as any one thing he could have aſſerted. Theſe outrages were not the effect of the principles of the Revolution, but of the degraded mind that exiſted before the Revolution, and which the Revolution is calculated to reform. Place them then to their proper cauſe, and take the reproach of them to your own ſide.

It is to the honour of the National Aſſembly, and the city of Paris, that during ſuch a tremendous ſcene of arms and confuſion, beyond the controul of all authority, they have been able, by the influence of example and exhortation, to reſtrain ſo much. Never were more pains taken to inſtruct and enlighten mankind, and to make them ſee that their intereſt conſiſted in their virtue, and not in their revenge, than have been diſplayed in the Revolution of France. I now proceed to make ſome remarks on Mr. Burke's account of the expedition to Verſailles, October the 5th and 6th.

I cannot



I cannot conſider Mr. Burke's book in ſcarcely any other light than a dramatic performance; and he muſt, I think, have conſidered it in the ſame light himſelf, by the poetical liberties he has taken of omitting ſome facts, diſtorting others, and making the whole machinery bend to produce a ſtage effect. Of this kind is his account of the expedition to Verſailles. He begins this account by omitting the only facts which as cauſes are known to be true; every thing beyond theſe is conjecture even in Paris: and he then works up a tale accommodated to his own paſſions and prejudices.

It is to be obſerved throughout Mr. Burke's book, that he never ſpeaks of plots *againſt* the Revolution; and it is from thoſe plots that all the miſchiefs have ariſen. It ſuits his purpoſe to exhibit the conſequences without their cauſes. It is one of the arts of the drama to do ſo. If the crimes of men were exhibited with their ſufferings, ſtage effect would ſometimes be loſt, and the audience would be inclined to approve where it was intended they ſhould commiſerate.

After all the inveſtigations that have been made into this intricate affair, (the expedition to Verſailles), it ſtill remains enveloped in all that kind of myſtery which ever accompanies events produced more from a concurrence of awkward circumſtances, than from fixed deſign. While the characters of men are forming, as is always the caſe in revolutions, there is a reciprocal ſuſpicion, and

a diſpoſition to miſinterpret each other; and even parties directly oppoſite in principle, will ſometimes concur in puſhing forward the ſame movement with very different views, and with the hopes of its producing very different conſequences. A great deal of this may be diſcovered in this embarraſſed affair, and yet the iſſue of the whole was what nobody had in view.

The only things certainly known, are, that conſiderable uneaſineſs was at this time excited at Paris, by the delay of the King in not ſanctioning and forwarding the decrees of the National Aſſembly, particularly that of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, and the decrees of the *fourth of Auguſt*, which contained the foundation principles on which the conſtitution was to be erected. The kindeſt, and perhaps the faireſt conjecture upon this matter is, that ſome of the miniſters intended to make remarks and obſervations upon certain parts of them, before they were finally ſanctioned and ſent to the provinces; but be this as it may, the enemies of the revolution derived hope from the delay, and the friends of the revolution, uneaſineſs.

During this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, the *Garde du Corps*, which was compoſed, as ſuch regiments generally are, of perſons much connected with the Court, gave an entertainment at Verſailles (Oct. 1,) to ſome foreign regiments then arrived; and when the entertainment was at the height, on a ſignal given, the *Garde du Corps* tore the national cockade from their hats, trampled it under foot, and replaced



placed it with a counter cockade prepared for the purpoſe. An indignity of this kind amounted to defiance. It was like declaring war; and if men will give challenges, they muſt expect conſequences. But all this Mr. Burke has carefully kept out of ſight. He begins his account by ſaying, "Hiſtory will record, that on the morning of the "6th of October 1789, the King and Queen of "France, after a day of confuſion, alarm, diſmay, "and ſlaughter, lay down under the pledged ſecu-"rity of public faith, to indulge nature in a few "hours of reſpite, and troubled melancholy re-"poſe." This is neither the ſober ſtile of hiſtory, nor the intention of it. It leaves every thing to be gueſſed at, and miſtaken. One would at leaſt think there had been a battle; and a battle there probably would have been, had it not been for the moderating prudence of thoſe whom Mr. Burke involves in his cenſures. By his keeping the *Garde du Corps* out of ſight, Mr. Burke has afforded himſelf the dramatic licence of putting the King and Queen in their places, as if the object of the expedition was againſt them.—But, to return to my account—

This conduct of the *Garde du Corps*, as might well be expected, alarmed and enraged the Pariſians. The colours of the cauſe, and the cauſe itſelf, were become too united to miſtake the intention of the inſult, and the Pariſians were determined to call the *Garde du Corps* to an account. There was certainly nothing of the cowardice of aſſaſſination in marching in the face of day to de-

mand ſatisfaction, if ſuch a phraſe may be uſed, of a body of armed men who had voluntarily given defiance. But the circumſtance which ſerves to throw this affair into embarraſſment is, that the enemies of the revolution appear to have encouraged it, as well as its friends. The one hoped to prevent a civil war by checking it in time, and the other to make one. The hopes of thoſe oppoſed to the revolution, reſted in making the King of their party, and getting him from Verſailles to Metz, where they expected to collect a force, and ſet up a ſtandard. We have therefore two different objects preſenting themſelves at the ſame time, and to be accompliſhed by the ſame means: the one, to chaſtiſe the *Garde du Corps*, which was the object of the Pariſians; the other, to render the confuſion of ſuch a ſcene an inducement to the King to ſet off for Metz.

On the 5th of October, a very numerous body of women, and men in the diſguiſe of women, collected round the Hotel de Ville or town-hall at Paris, and ſetoff for Verſailles. Their profeſſed object was the *Garde du Corps*; but prudent men readily recollect that miſchief is more eaſily begun than ended; and this impreſſed itſelf with the more force, from the ſuſpicions already ſtated, and the irregularity of ſuch a cavalcade. As ſoon therefore as a ſufficient force could be collected, M. de la Fayette, by orders from the civil authority of Paris, ſet off after them at the head of twenty thouſand of the Paris militia. The revolution could derive no benefit from confuſion, and its oppoſers



oppoſers might. By an amiable and ſpirited manner of addreſs, he had hitherto been fortunate in calming diſquietudes, and in this he was extraordinarily ſucceſsful; to fruſtrate, therefore, the hopes of thoſe who might ſeek to improve this ſcene into a ſort of juſtifiable neceſſity for the King's quitting Verſailles and withdrawing to Metz, and to prevent at the ſame time the conſequences that might enſue between the *Garde du Corps* and this phalanx of men and women, he forwarded expreſſes to the King, that he was on his march to Verſailles, by the orders of the civil authority of Paris, for the purpoſe of peace and protection, expreſſing at the ſame time the neceſſity of reſtraining the *Garde du Corps* from firing upon the people*.

He arrived at Verſailles between ten and eleven at night. The *Garde du Corps* was drawn up, and the people had arrived ſome time before, but every thing had remained ſuſpended. Wiſdom and policy now conſiſted in changing a ſcene of danger into a happy event. M. de la Fayette became the mediator between the enraged parties; and the King, to remove the uneaſineſs which had ariſen from the delay already ſtated, ſent for the Preſident of the National Aſſembly, and ſigned the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, and ſuch other parts of the conſtitution as were in readineſs.

It was now about one in the morning. Every thing appeared to be compoſed, and a general

* I am warranted in aſſerting this, as I had it perſonally from M. de la Fayette, with whom I have lived in habits of friendſhip for fourteen years.

congratulation took place. By the beat of drum a proclamation was made, that the citizens of Verſailles would give the hoſpitality of their houſes to their fellow-citizens of Paris. Thoſe who could not be accommodated in this manner, remained in the ſtreets, or took up their quarters in the churches; and at two o'clock the King and Queen retired.

In this ſtate matters paſſed till the break of day, when a freſh diſturbance aroſe from the cenſurable conduct of ſome of both parties, for ſuch characters there will be in all ſuch ſcenes. One of the *Garde du Corps* appeared at one of the windows of the palace, and the people who had remained during the night in the ſtreets accoſted him with reviling and provocative language. Inſtead of retiring, as in ſuch a caſe prudence would have dictated, he preſented his muſket, fired, and killed one of the Paris militia. The peace being thus broken, the people ruſhed into the palace in queſt of the offender. They attacked the quarters of the *Garde du Corps* within the palace, and purſued them throughout the avenues of it, and to the apartments of the King. On this tumult, not the Queen only, as Mr. Burke has repreſented it, but every perſon in the palace, was awakened and alarmed; and M. de la Fayette had a ſecond time to interpoſe between the parties, the event of which was, that the *Garde du Corps* put on the national cockade, and the matter ended as by oblivion, after the loſs of two or three lives.

During



During the latter part of the time in which this confuſion was acting, the King and Queen were in public at the balcony, and neither of them concealed for ſafety's ſake, as Mr. Burke inſinuates. Matters being thus appeaſed, and tranquillity reſtored, a general acclamation broke forth, of *Le Roi à Paris—Le Roi à Paris*—The King to Paris. It was the ſhout of peace, and immediately accepted on the part of the King. By this meaſure, all future projects of trapanning the King to Metz, and ſetting up the ſtandard of oppoſition to the conſtitution, were prevented, and the ſuſpicions extinguiſhed. The King and his family reached Paris in the evening, and were congratulated on their arrival by Mr. Bailley the Mayor of Paris, in the name of the citizens. Mr. Burke, who throughout his book confounds things, perſons, and principles, has in his remarks on M. Bailley's addreſs, confounded time alſo. He cenſures M. Bailley for calling it, "*un bon jour*," a good day. Mr. Burke ſhould have informed himſelf, that this ſcene took up the ſpace of two days, the day on which it began with every appearance of danger and miſchief, and the day on which it terminated without the miſchiefs that threatened; and that it is to this peaceful termination that M. Bailley alludes, and to the arrival of the King at Paris. Not leſs than three hundred thouſand perſons arranged themſelves in the proceſſion from Verſailles to Paris, and not an act of moleſtation was committed during the whole march.

Mr.

Mr. Burke, on the authority of M. Lally Tollendal, a deſerter from the National Aſſembly, ſays, that on entering Paris, the people ſhouted, "*Tous les eveques à la lanterne.*" All Biſhops to be hanged at the lanthorn or lamp-poſts.—It is ſurpriſing that nobody could hear this but Lally Tollendal, and that nobody ſhould believe it but Mr. Burke. It has not the leaſt connection with any part of the tranſaction, and is totally foreign to every circumſtance of it. The biſhops had never been introduced before into any ſcene of Mr. Burke's drama; Why then are they, all at once, and altogether, *tout à coup et tous enſemble*, introduced now? Mr. Burke brings forward his biſhops and his lanthorn like figures in a magic lanthorn, and raiſes his ſcenes by contraſt inſtead of connection. But it ſerves to ſhew, with the reſt of his book, what little credit ought to be given, where even probability is ſet at defiance, for the purpoſe of defaming; and with this reflection, inſtead of a ſoliloquy in praiſe of chivalry, as Mr. Burke has done, I cloſe the account of the expedition to Verſailles*.

I have now to follow Mr. Burke through a pathleſs wilderneſs of rhapſodies, and a ſort of deſcant upon governments, in which he aſſerts whatever he pleaſes, on the preſumption of its being believed,

* An account of the expedition to Verſailles may be ſeen in No. 13. of the *Revolution de Paris*, containing the events from the 3d to the 10th of October 1789.



lieved, without offering either evidence or reaſons for ſo doing.

Before any thing can be reaſoned upon to a concluſion, certain facts, principles, or data, to reaſon from, muſt be eſtabliſhed, admitted, or denied. Mr. Burke, with his uſual outrage, abuſes the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, publiſhed by the National Aſſembly of France as the baſis on which the conſtitution of France is built. This he calls "paltry and blurred ſheets of paper about the rights of man."—Does Mr. Burke mean to deny that *man* has any rights? If he does, then he muſt mean that there are no ſuch things as rights any where, and that he has none himſelf; for who is there in the world but man? But if Mr. Burke means to admit that man has rights, the queſtion then will be, What are thoſe rights, and how came man by them originally?

The error of thoſe who reaſon by precedents drawn from antiquity, reſpecting the rights of man, is, that they do not go far enough into antiquity. They do not go the whole way. They ſtop in ſome of the intermediate ſtages of an hundred or a thouſand years, and produce what was then done, as a rule for the preſent day. This is no authority at all. If we travel ſtill farther into antiquity, we ſhall find a direct contrary opinion and practice prevailing; and if antiquity is to be authority, a thouſand ſuch authorities may be produced, ſucceſſively contradicting each other: But if we proceed on, we ſhall at laſt come out right; we ſhall come to the time when man came from the

the hand of his Maker. What was he then? Man? Man was his high and only title, and a higher cannot be given him.——But of titles I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

We are now got at the origin of man, and at the origin of his rights. As to the manner in which the world has been governed from that day to this, it is no farther any concern of ours than to make a proper uſe of the errors or the improvements which the hiſtory of it preſents. Thoſe who lived a hundred or a thouſand years ago, were then moderns, as we are now. They had *their* ancients, and thoſe ancients had others, and we alſo ſhall be ancients in our turn. If the mere name of antiquity is to govern in the affairs of life, the people who are to live an hundred or a thouſand years hence, may as well take us for a precedent, as we make a precedent of thoſe who lived an hundred or a thouſand years ago. The fact is, that portions of antiquity, by proving every thing, eſtabliſh nothing. It is authority againſt authority all the way, till we come to the divine origin of the rights of man at the creation. Here our enquiries find a reſting-place, and our reaſon finds a home. If a diſpute about the rights of man had ariſen at the diſtance of an hundred years from the creation, it is to this ſource of authority they muſt have referred, and it is to the ſame ſource of authority that we muſt now refer.

Though I mean not to touch upon any ſectarian principle of religion, yet it may be worth obſerving, that the genealogy of Chriſt is traced to Adam.





Why then not trace the rights of man to the creation of man? I will anſwer the queſtion. Becauſe there have been upſtart governments, thruſting themſelves between, and preſumptuouſly working to *un-make* man.

If any generation of men ever poſſeſſed the right of dictating the mode by which the world ſhould be governed for ever, it was the firſt generation that exiſted; and if that generation did it not, no ſucceeding generation can ſhew any authority for doing it, nor can ſet any up. The illuminating and divine principle of the equal rights of man, (for it has its origin from the Maker of man) relates, not only to the living individuals, but to generations of men ſucceeding each other. Every generation is equal in rights to the generations which preceded it, by the ſame rule that every individual is born equal in rights with his contemporary.

Every hiſtory of the creation, and every traditionary account, whether from the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in eſtabliſhing one point, *the unity of man*; by which I mean, that men are all of *one degree*, and conſequently that all men are born equal, and with equal natural right, in the ſame manner as if poſterity had been continued by *creation* inſtead of *generation*, the latter being only the mode by which the former is carried forward; and conſequently, every child born into the world muſt be conſidered as deriving its exiſtence from God. The world is

as new to him as it was to the firſt man that exiſted, and his natural right in it is of the ſame kind.

The Moſaic account of the creation, whether taken as divine authority, or merely hiſtorical, is full to this point, *the unity or equality of man.* The expreſſions admit of no controverſy. "And "God ſaid, Let us make man in our own image. "In the image of God created he him; male and "female created he them." The diſtinction of ſexes is pointed out, but no other diſtinction is even implied. If this be not divine authority, it is at leaſt hiſtorical authority, and ſhews that the equality of man, ſo far from being a modern doctrine, is the oldeſt upon record.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that all the religions known in the world are founded, ſo far as they relate to man, on the *unity of man*, as being all of one degree. Whether in heaven or in hell, or in whatever ſtate man may be ſuppoſed to exiſt hereafter, the good and the bad are the only diſtinctions. Nay, even the laws of governments are obliged to ſlide into this principle, by making degrees to conſiſt in crimes, and not in perſons.

It is one of the greateſt of all truths, and of the higheſt advantage to cultivate. By conſidering man in this light, and by inſtructing him to conſider himſelf in this light, it places him in a cloſe connection with all his duties, whether to his Creator, or to the creation, of which he is a part; and it is only when he forgets his origin, or, to uſe a more faſhionable phraſe, his *birth and family*, that he becomes diſſolute. It is not among the leaſt of the evils of the preſent exiſting governments in all parts of Europe, that man, conſidered as man, is thrown back to a vaſt diſtance from his Maker, and the artificial chaſm filled up by a ſucceſſion of barriers, or ſort of turnpike gates, through which he has to paſs. I will quote Mr. Burke's catalogue of barriers that he has ſet up between man and his Maker. Putting himſelf in the character of a herald, he ſays—"We fear God—we look with *awe* "to kings—with affection to parliaments—with "duty to magiſtrates—with reverence to prieſts, "and with reſpect to nobility." Mr. Burke has forgotten to put in "*chivalry.*" He has alſo forgotten to put in Peter.



The duty of man is not a wilderneſs of turnpike gates, through which he is to paſs by tickets from one to the other. It is plain and ſimple, and conſiſts but of two points. His duty to God, which every man muſt feel; and with reſpect to his neighbour, to do as he would be done by. If thoſe to whom power is delegated do well, they will be reſpected; if not, they will be deſpiſed: and with regard to thoſe to whom no power is delegated, but who aſſume it, the rational world can know nothing of them.

Hitherto we have ſpoken only (and that but in part) of the natural rights of man. We have now to conſider the civil rights of man, and to ſhew how the one originates from the other. Man did not enter into ſociety to become *worſe* than he was before, nor to have fewer rights than he had

before, but to have thoſe rights better ſecured. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights. But in order to purſue this diſtinction with more preciſion, it will be neceſſary to mark the different qualities of natural and civil rights.

A few words will explain this. Natural rights are thoſe which appertain to man in right of his exiſtence. Of this kind are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind, and alſo all thoſe rights of acting as an individual for his own comfort and happineſs, which are not injurious to the natural rights of others.——Civil rights are thoſe which appertain to man in right of his being a member of ſociety. Every civil right has for its foundation, ſome natural right pre-exiſting in the individual, but to the enjoyment of which his individual power is not, in all caſes, ſufficiently competent. Of this kind are all thoſe which relate to ſecurity and protection.

From this ſhort review, it will be eaſy to diſtinguiſh between that claſs of natural rights which man retains after entering into ſociety, and thoſe which he throws into the common ſtock as a member of ſociety.

The natural rights which he retains, are all thoſe in which the *power* to execute is as perfect in the individual as the right itſelf. Among this claſs, as is before mentioned, are all the intellectual rights, or rights of the mind: conſequently, religion is one of thoſe rights. The natural rights which are not retained, are all thoſe in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the power



power to execute them is defective. They anſwer not his purpoſe. A man, by natural right, has a right to judge in his own cauſe; and ſo far as the right of the mind is concerned, he never ſurrenders it: But what availeth it him to judge, if he has not power to redreſs? He therefore depoſits this right in the common ſtock of ſociety, and takes the arm of ſociety, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society *grants* him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in ſociety, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.

From theſe premiſes, two or three certain concluſions will follow.

Firſt, That every civil right grows out of a natural right; or, in other words, is a natural right exchanged.

Secondly, That civil power, properly conſidered as ſuch, is made up of the aggregate of that claſs of the natural rights of man, which becomes defective in the individual in point of power, and anſwers not his purpoſe; but when collected to a focus, becomes competent to the purpoſe of every one.

Thirdly, That the power produced from the aggregate of natural rights, imperfect in power in the individual, cannot be applied to invade the natural rights which are retained in the individual, and in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itſelf.

We have now, in a few words, traced man from a natural individual to a member of ſociety, and ſhewn, or endeavoured to ſhew, the quality of the natural

natural rights retained, and of thoſe which are exchanged for civil rights. Let us now apply theſe principles to governments.

In caſting our eyes over the world, it is extremely eaſy to diſtinguiſh the governments which have ariſen out of ſociety, or out of the ſocial compact, from thoſe which have not: but to place this in a clearer light than what a ſingle glance may afford, it will be proper to take a review of the ſeveral ſources from which governments have ariſen, and on which they have been founded.

They may be all comprehended under three heads. Firſt, Superſtition. Secondly, Power. Thirdly, The common intereſt of ſociety, and the common rights of man.

The firſt was a government of prieſtcraft, the ſecond of conquerors, and the third of reaſon.

When a ſet of artful men pretended, through the medium of oracles, to hold intercourſe with the Deity, as familiarly as they now march up the backſtairs in European courts, the world was completely under the government of ſuperſtition. The oracles were conſulted, and whatever they were made to ſay, became the law; and this ſort of government laſted as long as this ſort of ſuperſtition laſted.

After theſe a race of conquerors aroſe, whoſe government, like that of William the Conqueror, was founded in power, and the ſword aſſumed the name of a ſcepter. Governments thus eſtabliſhed, laſt as long as the power to ſupport them laſts; but that they might avail themſelves of every engine in their favour, they united fraud to force, and





and ſet up an idol which they called *Divine Right*, and which, in imitation of the Pope, who affects to be ſpiritual and temporal, and in contradiction to the Founder of the Chriſtian religion, twiſted itſelf afterwards into an idol of another ſhape, called *Church and State*. The key of St. Peter, and the key of the Treaſury, became quartered on one another, and the wondering cheated multitude worſhipped the invention.

When I contemplate the natural dignity of man; when I feel (for Nature has not been kind enough to me to blunt my feelings) for the honour and happineſs of its character, I become irritated at the attempt to govern mankind by force and fraud, as if they were all knaves and fools, and can ſcarcely avoid diſguſt at thoſe who are thus impoſed upon.

We have now to review the governments which ariſe out of ſociety, in contradiſtinction to thoſe which aroſe out of ſuperſtition and conqueſt.

It has been thought a conſiderable advance towards eſtabliſhing the principles of Freedom, to ſay, that government is a compact between thoſe who govern and thoſe who are governed: but this cannot be true, becauſe it is putting the effect before the cauſe; for as man muſt have exiſted before governments exiſted, there neceſſarily was a time when governments did not exiſt, and conſequently there could originally exiſt no governors to form ſuch a compact with. The fact therefore muſt be, that the *individuals themſelves*, each in his own perſonal and ſovereign right, *entered into a compact with each other* to produce a government: and this

is

is the only mode in which governments have a right to ariſe, and the only principle on which they have a right to exiſt.

To poſſeſs ourſelves of a clear idea of what government is, or ought to be, we muſt trace it to its origin. In doing this, we ſhall eaſily diſcover that governments muſt have ariſen, either *out* of the people, or *over* the people. Mr. Burke has made no diſtinction. He inveſtigates nothing to its ſource, and therefore he confounds every thing: but he has ſignified his intention of undertaking at ſome future opportunity, a compariſon between the conſtitutions of England and France. As he thus renders it a ſubject of controverſy by throwing the gauntlet, I take him up on his own ground. It is in high challenges that high truths have the right of appearing; and I accept it with the more readineſs, becauſe it affords me, at the ſame time, an opportunity of purſuing the ſubject with reſpect to governments ariſing out of ſociety.

But it will be firſt neceſſary to define what is meant by a *conſtitution*. It is not ſufficient that we adopt the word; we muſt fix alſo a ſtandard ſignification to it.

A conſtitution is not a thing in name only, but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real exiſtence; and wherever it cannot be produced in a viſible form, there is none. A conſtitution is a thing *antecedent* to a government, and a government is only the creature of a conſtitution. The conſtitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people conſtituting a government. It is the body



body of elements, to which you can refer, and quote article by article; and which contains the principles on which the government ſhall be eſtabliſhed, the manner in which it ſhall be organized, the powers it ſhall have, the mode of elections, the duration of parliaments, or by what other name ſuch bodies may be called; the powers which the executive part of the government ſhall have; and, in fine, every thing that relates to the compleat organization of a civil government, and the principles on which it ſhall act, and by which it ſhall be bound. A conſtitution, therefore, is to a government, what the laws made afterwards by that government are to a court of judicature. The court of judicature does not make the laws, neither can it alter them; it only acts in conformity to the laws made: and the government is in like manner governed by the conſtitution.

Can then Mr. Burke produce the Engliſh Conſtitution? If he cannot, we may fairly conclude, that though it has been ſo much talked about, no ſuch thing as a conſtitution exiſts, or ever did exiſt, and conſequently that the people have yet a conſtitution to form.

Mr. Burke will not, I preſume, deny the poſition I have already advanced; namely, that governments ariſe, either *out* of the people, or *over* the people. The Engliſh government is one of thoſe which aroſe out of a conqueſt, and not out of ſociety, and conſequently it aroſe over the people; and though it has been much modified from the opportunity of circumſtances ſince the time of

William the Conqueror, the country has never yet regenerated itſelf, and is therefore without a conſtitution.

I readily perceive the reaſon why Mr. Burke declined going into the compariſon between the Engliſh and French conſtitutions, becauſe he could not but perceive, when he ſat down to the taſk, that no ſuch thing as a conſtitution exiſted on his ſide the queſtion. His book is certainly bulky enough to have contained all he could ſay on this ſubject, and it would have been the beſt manner in which people could have judged of their ſeparate merits. Why then has he declined the only thing that was worth while to write upon? It was the ſtrongeſt ground he could take, if the advantages were on his ſide; but the weakeſt, if they were not: and his declining to take it, is either a ſign that he could not poſſeſs it, or could not maintain it.

Mr. Burke ſaid in a ſpeech laſt winter in parliament, That when the National Aſſembly firſt met in three Orders, (the Tiers Etats, the Clergy, and the Nobleſſe), France had then a good conſtitution. This ſhews, among numerous other inſtances, that Mr. Burke does not underſtand what a conſtitution is. The perſons ſo met, were not a *conſtitution*, but a *convention*, to make a conſtitution.

The preſent National Aſſembly of France is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the perſonal ſocial compact.—The members of it are the delegates of the nation in its *original* character; future aſſemblies will be the delegates of the nation in its *organized* character.



character. The authority of the preſent Aſſembly is different to what the authority of future Aſſemblies will be. The authority of the preſent one is to form a conſtitution: the authority of future Aſſemblies will be to legiſlate according to the principles and forms preſcribed in that conſtitution; and if experience ſhould hereafter ſhew that alterations, amendments, or additions, are neceſſary, the conſtitution will point out the mode by which ſuch things ſhall be done, and not leave it to the diſcretionary power of the future government.

A government on the principles on which conſtitutional governments ariſing out of ſociety are eſtabliſhed, cannot have the right of altering itſelf. If it had, it would be arbitrary. It might make itſelf what it pleaſed; and wherever ſuch a right is ſet up, it ſhews there is no conſtitution. The act by which the Engliſh Parliament empowered itſelf to ſit ſeven years, ſhews there is no conſtitution in England. It might, by the ſame ſelf-authority, have ſat any greater number of years, or for life. The Bill which the preſent Mr. Pitt brought into parliament ſome years ago, to reform parliament, was on the ſame erroneous principle. The right of reform is in the nation in its original character, and the conſtitutional method would be by a general convention elected for the purpoſe. There is, moreover, a paradox in the idea of vitiated bodies reforming themſelves.

From theſe preliminaries I proceed to draw ſome compariſons. I have already ſpoken of the

declaration of rights; and as I mean to be as concise as poſſible, I ſhall proceed to other parts of the French conſtitution.

The conſtitution of France ſays, That every man who pays a tax of ſixty ſous *per annum*, (2s. and 6d. Engliſh), is an elector.—What article will Mr. Burke place againſt this? Can any thing be more limited, and at the ſame time more capricious, than the qualifications of electors are in England? Limited—becauſe not one man in an hundred (I ſpeak much within compaſs) is admitted to vote: Capricious—becauſe the loweſt character that can be ſuppoſed to exiſt, and who has not ſo much as the viſible means of an honeſt livelihood, is an elector in ſome places; while, in other places, the man who pays very large taxes, and has a known fair character, and the farmer who rents to the amount of three or four hundred pounds a year, with a property on that farm to three or four times that amount, is not admitted to be an elector. Every thing is out of nature, as Mr. Burke ſays on another occaſion, in this ſtrange chaos, and all ſorts of follies are blended with all ſorts of crimes. William the Conqueror and his deſcendants parcelled out the country in this manner, and bribed ſome parts of it by what they called Charters, to hold the other parts of it the better ſubjected to their will. This is the reaſon why ſo many of thoſe charters abound in Cornwall; the people were averſe to the government eſtabliſhed at the Conqueſt, and the towns were garriſoned and bribed to enſlave the country. All the old



old charters are the badges of this conqueſt, and it is from this ſource that the capriciouſneſs of elections ariſes.

The French conſtitution ſays, That the number of repreſentatives for any place ſhall be in a ratio to the number of taxable inhabitants or electors. What article will Mr. Burke place againſt this? The county of Yorkſhire, which contains near a million of ſouls, ſends two county members; and ſo does the county of Rutland, which contains not an hundredth part of that number. The town of old Sarum, which contains not three houſes, ſends two members; and the town of Manchester, which contains upwards of ſixty thouſand ſouls, is not admitted to ſend any. Is there any principle in theſe things? Is there any thing by which you can trace the marks of freedom, or diſcover thoſe of wiſdom? No wonder, then, Mr. Burke has declined the compariſon, and endeavoured to lead his readers from the point by a wild unſyſtematical diſplay of paradoxical rhapſodies.

The French conſtitution ſays, That the National Aſſembly ſhall be elected every two years.—What article will Mr. Burke place againſt this? Why, that the nation has no right at all in the caſe: that the government is perfectly arbitrary with reſpect to this point; and he can quote for his authority, the precedent of a former parliament.

The French conſtitution ſays, There ſhall be no game laws; that the farmer on whoſe lands wild game ſhall be found (for it is by the produce of his lands they are fed) ſhall have a right to what

he

he can take: That there ſhall be no monopolies of any kind—that all trade ſhall be free, and every man free to follow any occupation by which he can procure an honeſt livelihood, and in any place, town or city throughout the nation.—What will Mr. Burke ſay to this? In England, game is made the property of thoſe at whoſe expence it is not fed; and with reſpect to monopolies, the country is cut up into monopolies. Every chartered town is an ariſtocratical monopoly in itſelf, and the qualification of electors proceeds out of thoſe chartered monopolies. Is this freedom? Is this what Mr. Burke means by a conſtitution?

In theſe chartered monopolies, a man coming from another part of the country, is hunted from them as if he were a foreign enemy. An Engliſhman is not free of his own country: every one of thoſe places preſents a barrier in his way, and tells him he is not a freeman—that he has no rights. Within theſe monopolies, are other monopolies. In a city, ſuch for inſtance as Bath, which contains between twenty and thirty thouſand inhabitants, the right of electing repreſentatives to parliament is monopoliſed by about thirty-one perſons. And within theſe monopolies are ſtill others. A man even of the ſame town, whoſe parents were not in circumſtances to give him an occupation, is debarred, in many caſes, from the natural right of acquiring one, be his genius or induſtry what it may.

Are theſe things examples to hold out to a country regenerating itſelf from ſlavery, like France?—Certainly they are not; and certain am I, that when the



the people of England come to reflect upon them, they will, like France, annihilate thoſe badges of ancient oppreſſion, thoſe traces of a conquered nation.—Had Mr. Burke poſſeſſed talents ſimilar to the author "On the Wealth of Nations," he would have comprehended all the parts which enter into, and, by aſſemblage, form a conſtitution. He would have reaſoned from minutiæ to magnitude. It is not from his prejudices only, but from the diſorderly caſt of his genius, that he is unfitted for the ſubject he writes upon. Even his genius is without a conſtitution. It is a genius at random, and not a genius conſtituted. But he muſt ſay ſomething—He has therefore mounted in the air like a balloon, to draw the eyes of the multitude from the ground they ſtand upon.

Much is to be learned from the French conſtitution. Conqueſt and tyranny tranſplanted themſelves with William the Conqueror from Normandy into England, and the country is yet diſfigured with the marks. May then the example of all France contribute to regenerate the freedom which a province of it deſtroyed!

The French conſtitution ſays, That to preſerve the national repreſentation from being corrupt, no member of the National Aſſembly ſhall be an officer of the government, a place-man, or a penſioner.—What will Mr. Burke place againſt this? I will whiſper his anſwer: *Loaves* and *fiſhes*. Ah! this government of loaves and fiſhes has more miſchief in it than people have yet reflected on. The National Aſſembly has made the diſcovery, and it holds

holds out the example to the world. Had governments agreed to quarrel on purpoſe to fleece their countries by taxes, they could not have ſucceeded better than they have done.

Many things in the Engliſh government appear to me the reverſe of what they ought to be, and of what they are ſaid to be. The Parliament, imperfectly and capriciouſly elected as it is, is nevertheleſs *ſuppoſed* to hold the national purſe in *truſt* for the nation: but in the manner in which an Engliſh parliament is conſtructed, it is like a man being both mortgager and mortgagee; and in the caſe of miſapplication of truſt, it is the criminal ſitting in judgment upon himſelf. If thoſe who vote the ſupplies are the ſame perſons who receive the ſupplies when voted, and are to account for the expenditure of thoſe ſupplies to thoſe who voted them, it is *themſelves accountable to themſelves*, and the Comedy of Errors concludes with the Pantomine of Hush. Neither the miniſterial party, nor the oppoſition, will touch upon this caſe. The national purſe is the common hack which each mounts upon. It is like what the country people call, "Ride "and tie—You ride a little way, and then I *."—They order theſe things better in France.

The French conſtitution ſays, That the right of war and peace is in the nation. Where elſe ſhould it reſide, but in thoſe who are to pay the expence?

* It is a practice in ſome parts of the country, when two travellers have but one horſe, which like the national purſe will not carry double, that the one mounts and rides two or three miles a-head, and then ties the horſe to a gate, and walks on. When the ſecond traveller arrives, he takes the horſe, rides on, and paſſes his companion a mile or two, and ties again; and ſo on—*Ride and tie.*

In



In England, this right is ſaid to reſide in a *metaphor*, ſhewn at the Tower for ſixpence or a ſhilling a-piece: So are the lions; and it would be a ſtep nearer to reaſon to ſay it reſided in them, for any inanimate metaphor is no more than a hat or a cap. We can all ſee the abſurdity of worſhipping Aaron's molten calf, or Nebuchadnezzar's golden image; but why do men continue to practiſe themſelves the abſurdities they deſpiſe in others?

It may with reaſon be ſaid, that in the manner the Engliſh nation is repreſented, it ſignifies not where this right reſides, whether in the Crown, or in the Parliament. War is the common harveſt of all thoſe who participate in the diviſion and expenditure of public money, in all countries. It is the art of *conquering at home*: the object of it is an increaſe of revenue; and as revenue cannot be increaſed without taxes, a pretence muſt be made for expenditures. In reviewing the hiſtory of the Engliſh Government, its wars and its taxes, a by-ſtander, not blinded by prejudice, nor warped by intereſt, would declare, that taxes were not raiſed to carry on wars, but that wars were raiſed to carry on taxes.

Mr. Burke, as a Member of the Houſe of Commons, is a part of the Engliſh Government; and though he profeſſes himſelf an enemy to war, he abuſes the French Conſtitution, which ſeeks to explode it. He holds up the Engliſh Government as a model in all its parts, to France; but he ſhould firſt know the remarks which the French make upon it. They contend, in favour of their own,

 that

that the portion of liberty enjoyed in England, is juſt enough to enſlave a country by, more productively than by deſpotiſm; and that as the real object of all deſpotiſm is revenue, a Government ſo formed obtains more than it could do either by direct deſpotiſm, or in a full ſtate of freedom, and is therefore, on the ground of intereſt, oppoſed to both. They account alſo for the readineſs which always appears in ſuch governments for engaging in wars, by remarking on the different motives which produce them. In deſpotic governments, wars are the effect of pride; but in thoſe governments in which they become the means of taxation, they acquire thereby a more permanent promptitude.

The French Conſtitution, therefore, to provide againſt both theſe evils, has taken away the power of declaring war from kings and miniſters, and placed the right where the expence muſt fall.

When the queſtion on the right of war and peace was agitating in the National Aſſembly, the people of England appeared to be much intereſted in the event, and highly to applaud the deciſion.—As a principle, it applies as much to one country as to another. William the Conquerer, *as a conqueror*, held this power of war and peace in himſelf, and his deſcendants have ever ſince claimed it under him as a right.

Although Mr. Burke has aſſerted the right of the parliament at the Revolution to bind and controul the nation and poſterity for *ever*, he denies, at the ſame time, that the parliament or the nation had any right to alter what he calls the ſucceſſion



ceſſion of the crown, in any thing but in part, or by a ſort of modification. By his taking this ground, he throws the caſe back to the *Norman Conqueſt*; and by thus running a line of ſucceſſion ſpringing from William the Conqueror to the preſent day, he makes it neceſſary to enquire who and what William the Conqueror was, and where he came from; and into the origin, hiſtory, and nature of what are called perogatives. Every thing muſt have had a beginning, and the fog of time and antiquity ſhould be penetrated to diſcover it. Let then Mr. Burke bring forward his William of Normandy, for it is to this origin that his argument goes. It alſo unfortunately happens, in running this line of ſucceſſion, that another line, parallel thereto, preſents itſelf, which is, that if the ſucceſſion runs in the line of the conqueſt, the nation runs in the line of being conquered, and it ought to reſcue itſelf from this reproach.

But it will perhaps be ſaid, that tho' the power of declaring war deſcends in the heritage of the conqueſt, it is held in check by the right of the parliament to with-hold the ſupplies. It will always happen, when a thing is originally wrong, that amendments do not make it right; and it often happens, that they do as much miſchief one way, as good the other: and ſuch is the caſe here; for if the one raſhly declares war as a matter of right, and the other peremptorily with-holds the ſupplies as a matter of right, the remedy becomes as bad, or worſe than the diſeaſe. The one forces

the nation to a combat, and the other ties its hands: but the more probable iſſue is, that the conteſt will end in a colluſion between the parties, and be made a ſcreen to both.

On this queſtion of war, three things are to be conſidered. Firſt, the right of declaring it: Secondly, the expence of ſupporting it: Thirdly, the mode of conducting it after it is declared. The French conſtitution places the *right* where the *expence* muſt fall, and this union can be only in the nation. The mode of conducting it after it is declared, it conſigns to the executive department.—Were this the caſe in all countries, we ſhould hear but little more of wars.

Before I proceed to conſider other parts of the French conſtitution, and by way of relieving the fatigue of argument, I will introduce an anecdote which I had from Dr. Franklin.——

While the Doctor reſided in France as miniſter from America during the war, he had numerous propoſals made to him by projectors of every country and of every kind, who wiſhed to go to the land that floweth with milk and honey, America; and among the reſt, there was one who offered himſelf to be King. He introduced his propoſal to the Doctor by letter, which is now in the hands of M. Beaumarchais, of Paris—ſtating, firſt, that as the Americans had diſmiſſed or ſent away * their King, that they would want another. Secondly, that himſelf was a Norman. Thirdly, that he was of a more ancient family than the Dukes of Normandy, and of a more honourable deſcent, his line having never been baſtardized. Fourthly, that there was already a precedent in England, of Kings coming out of Normandy: and on theſe grounds he reſted his offer, *enjoining* that the Doctor would forward it to America. But as the Doctor neither did this, nor yet ſent him an anſwer, the projector wrote a ſecond letter; in which he did not, it is true, threaten to go over and conquer America, but only with great dignity propoſed, that if his offer was not accepted, an acknowledgment of about £30,000 might be made to him for his generoſity!——Now, as all arguments reſpecting ſucceſſion muſt neceſſarily connect that ſucceſſion with ſome beginning, Mr. Burke's arguments on this ſubject go to ſhew, that there is no Engliſh origin of kings, and that they are deſcendants of the Norman line in right of the Conqueſt. It may, therefore, be of ſervice to his doctrine to make this ſtory known, and to inform him, that in caſe of that natural extinction to which all mortality is ſubject, Kings may again be had from Normandy, on more reaſonable terms than William the Conqueror; and conſequently, that the good people of England, at the Revolution of 1688, *might have done much better*, had ſuch a generous Norman as *this* known *their* wants, and they had known *his*. The chivalry character which Mr. Burke ſo much admires,

* The word he uſed was *renvoyé*, diſmiſſed or ſent away.

mires, is certainly much eaſier to make a bargain with, than a *hard-dealing Dutchman.*——But, to return to the matters of the conſtitution—

The French conſtitution ſays, *There ſhall be no titles;* and of conſequence, all that claſs of equivocal generation, which in ſome countries is called "*ariſtocracy*," and in others "*nobility*," is done away, and the *peer* is exalted into MAN.

Titles are but nick-names, and every nick-name is a title. The thing is perfectly harmleſs in itſelf; but it marks a ſort of foppery in the human character, which degrades it. It reduces man into the diminutive of man in things which are great, and the counterfeit of woman in things which are little. It talks about its fine *blue ribbon* like a girl, and ſhews its new *garter* like a child. A certain writer of ſome antiquity, ſays, "When "I was a child, I thought as a child; but when I "became a man, I put away childiſh things."

It is, properly, from the elevated mind of France, that the folly of titles has fallen. It has outgrown the baby-cloaths of *Count* and *Duke*, and breeched itſelf in manhood. France has not levelled; it has exalted. It has put down the dwarf, to ſet up the man. The puniſm of a ſenſeleſs word like *Duke*, or *Count*, or *Earl*, has ceaſed to pleaſe. Even thoſe who poſſeſſed them have diſowned the gibberiſh, and as they outgrew the rickets, have deſpiſed the rattle. The genuine mind of man, thirſting for its native home, ſociety, contemns the gewgaws that ſeparate him





from it. Titles are like circles drawn by the magician's wand, to contract the ſphere of man's felicity. He lives immured within the Baſtille of a word, and ſurveys at a diſtance the envied life of man.

Is it then any wonder that titles ſhould fall in France? Is it not a greater wonder they ſhould be kept up any-where? What are they? What is their worth, and "what is their amount?" When we think or ſpeak of a *Judge* or a *General*, we aſſociate with it the ideas of office and character; we think of gravity in the one, and bravery in the other: but when we uſe a word *merely as a title*, no ideas aſſociate with it. Through all the vocabulary of Adam, there is not ſuch an animal as a Duke or a Count; neither can we connect any certain idea with the words. Whether they mean ſtrength or weakneſs, wiſdom or folly, a child or a man, or the rider or the horſe, is all equivocal. What reſpect then can be paid to that which deſcribes nothing, and which means nothing? Imagination has given figure and character to centaurs, ſatyrs, and down to all the fairy tribe; but titles baffle even the powers of fancy, and are a chimerical non-deſcript.

But this is not all.—If a whole country is diſpoſed to hold them in contempt, all their value is gone, and none will own them. It is common opinion only that makes them any thing, or nothing, or worſe than nothing. There is no occaſion to take titles away, for they take themſelves away when ſociety concurs to ridicule them. This

ſpecies of imaginary conſequence has viſibly declined in every part of Europe, and it haſtens to its exit as the world of reaſon continues to riſe. There was a time when the loweſt claſs of what are called nobility was more thought of than the higheſt is now, and when a man in armour riding throughout Chriſtendom in queſt of adventures was more ſtared at than a modern Duke. The world has ſeen this folly fall, and it has fallen by being laughed at, and the farce of titles will follow its fate.—The patriots of France have diſcovered in good time, that rank and dignity in ſociety muſt take a new ground. The old one has fallen through.—It muſt now take the ſubſtantial ground of character, inſtead of the chimerical ground of titles; and they have brought their titles to the altar, and made of them a burnt-offering to Reaſon.

If no miſchief had annexed itſelf to the folly of titles, they would not have been worth a ſerious and formal deſtruction, ſuch as the National Aſſembly have decreed them: and this makes it neceſſary to enquire farther into the nature and character of ariſtocracy.

That, then, which is called ariſtocracy in ſome countries, and nobility in others, aroſe out of the governments founded upon conqueſt. It was originally a military order, for the purpoſe of ſupporting military government, (for ſuch were all governments founded in conqueſt); and to keep up a ſucceſſion of this order for the purpoſe for which it was eſtabliſhed, all the younger branches of thoſe families



families were diſinherited, and the law of *primogeniture*ſhip ſet up.

The nature and character of ariſtocracy ſhews itſelf to us in this law. It is a law againſt every law of nature, and Nature herſelf calls for its deſtruction. Eſtabliſh family juſtice, and ariſtocracy falls. By the ariſtocratical law of primogenitureſhip, in a family of ſix children, five are expoſed. Ariſtocracy has never more than *one* child. The reſt are begotten to be devoured. They are thrown to the cannibal for prey, and the natural parent prepares the unnatural repaſt.

As every thing which is out of nature in man, affects, more or leſs, the intereſt of ſociety, ſo does this. All the children which the ariſtocracy diſowns (which are all, except the eldeſt) are, in general, caſt like orphans on a pariſh, to be provided for by the public, but at a greater charge.—Unneceſſary offices and places in governments and courts are created at the expence of the public, to maintain them.

With what kind of parental reflections can the father or mother contemplate their younger offſpring. By nature they are children, and by marriage they are heirs; but by ariſtocracy they are baſtards and orphans. They are the fleſh and blood of their parents in one line, and nothing akin to them in the other. To reſtore, therefore, parents to their children, and children to their parents—relations to each other, and man to ſociety—and to exterminate the monſter Ariſtocracy, root and branch—the French conſtitution has deſtroyed

the law of PRIMOGENITURESHIP. Here then lies the monſter; and Mr. Burke, if he pleaſes, may write its epitaph.

Hitherto we have conſidered ariſtocracy chiefly in one point of view. We have now to conſider it in another. But whether we view it before or behind, or ſide-ways, or any way elſe, domeſtically or publicly, it is ſtill a monſter.

In France, ariſtocracy had one feature leſs in its countenance, than what it has in ſome other countries. It did not compoſe a body of hereditary legiſlators. It was not "*a corporation of ariſtocracy*," for ſuch I have heard M. de la Fayette deſcribe an Engliſh Houſe of Peers. Let us then examine the grounds upon which the French conſtitution has reſolved againſt having ſuch a Houſe in France.

Becauſe, in the firſt place, as is already mentioned, ariſtocracy is kept up by family tyranny and injuſtice.

Secondly, Becauſe there is an unnatural unfitneſs in an ariſtocracy to be legiſlators for a nation. Their ideas of *diſtributive juſtice* are corrupted at the very ſource. They begin life by trampling on all their younger brothers and ſiſters, and relations of every kind, and are taught and educated ſo to do. With what ideas of juſtice or honour can that man enter a houſe of legiſlation, who abſorbs in his own perſon the inheritance of a whole family of children, or doles out to them ſome pitiful portion with the inſolence of a gift?

Thirdly, Becauſe the idea of hereditary legiſlators is as inconſiſtent as that of hereditary judges, or



or hereditary juries; and as abſurd as an hereditary mathematician, or an hereditary wiſe man; and as ridiculous as an hereditary poet-laureat.

Fourthly, Becauſe a body of men holding themſelves accountable to nobody, ought not to be truſted by any body.

Fifthly, Becauſe it is continuing the uncivilized principle of governments founded in conqueſt, and the baſe idea of man having property in man, and governing him by perſonal right.

Sixthly, Becauſe ariſtocracy has a tendency to degenerate the human ſpecies.—By the univerſal œconomy of nature it is known, and by the inſtance of the Jews it is proved, that the human ſpecies has a tendency to degenerate, in any ſmall number of perſons, when ſeparated from the general ſtock of ſociety, and intermarrying conſtantly with each other. It defeats even its pretended end, and becomes in time the oppoſite of what is noble in man. Mr. Burke talks of nobility; let him ſhew what it is. The greateſt characters the world have known, have riſen on the democratic floor. Ariſtocracy has not been able to keep a proportionate pace with democracy. The artificial NOBLE ſhrinks into a dwarf before the NOBLE of Nature; and in the few inſtances of thoſe (for there are ſome in all countries) in whom nature, as by a miracle, has ſurvived in ariſtocracy, THOSE MEN DESPISE IT. ——But it is time to proceed to a new ſubject.

The French conſtitution has reformed the condition of the clergy. It has raiſed the income of the lower and middle claſſes, and taken from

the higher. None is now leſs than twelve hundred livres (fifty pounds ſterling), nor any higher than about two or three thouſand pounds. What will Mr. Burke place againſt this? Hear what he ſays.

He ſays, "That the people of England can ſee "without pain or grudging, an archbiſhop pre- "cede a duke; they can ſee a biſhop of Durham, "or a biſhop of Wincheſter, in poſſeſſion of "£. 10,000 a-year; and cannot ſee why it is in "worſe hands than eſtates to the like amount "in the hands of this earl or that 'ſquire." And Mr. Burke offers this as an example to France.

As to the firſt part, whether the archbiſhop precedes the duke, or the duke the biſhop, it is, I believe, to the people in general, ſomewhat like *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, or *Hopkins* and *Sternhold*; you may put which you pleaſe firſt: and as I confeſs that I do not underſtand the merits of this caſe, I will not contend it with Mr. Burke.

But with reſpect to the latter, I have ſomething to ſay.—Mr. Burke has not put the caſe right.—The compariſon is out of order, by being put between the biſhop and the earl or the ſquire. It ought to be put between the biſhop and the curate, and then it will ſtand thus:—*The people of England can ſee without pain or grudging, a biſhop of Durham, or a biſhop of Wincheſter, in poſſeſſion of ten thouſand pounds a-year, and a curate on thirty or forty pounds a-year, or leſs.*—No, Sir, they certainly do not ſee thoſe things without great



great pain or grudging. It is a caſe that applies itſelf to every man's ſenſe of juſtice, and is one among many that calls aloud for a conſtitution.

In France, the cry of "*the church! the church!*" was repeated as often as in Mr. Burke's book, and as loudly as when the diſſenters' bill was before the Engliſh parliament; but the generality of the French clergy were not to be deceived by this cry any longer. They knew, that whatever the pretence might be, it was themſelves who were one of the principal objects of it. It was the cry of the high beneficed clergy, to prevent any regulation of income taking place between thoſe of ten thouſand pounds a-year and the pariſh prieſt. They, therefore, joined their caſe to thoſe of every other oppreſſed claſs of men, and by this union obtained redreſs.

The French conſtitution has aboliſhed tythes, that ſource of perpetual diſcontent between the tythe-holder and the pariſhioner. When land is held on tythe, it is in the condition of an eſtate held between two parties; the one receiving one-tenth, and the other nine-tenths of the produce: and, conſequently, on principles of equity, if the eſtate can be improved, and made to produce by that improvement double or treble what it did before, or in any other ratio, the expence of ſuch improvement ought to be borne in like proportion between the parties who are to ſhare the produce. But this is not the caſe in tythes; the farmer bears the whole expence, and the tythe-holder takes a tenth of the improvement, in addition

dition to the original tenth, and by this means gets the value of two-tenths inſtead of one. This is another caſe that calls for a conſtitution.

The French conſtitution hath aboliſhed or renounced *Toleration*, and *Intolerance* alſo, and hath eſtabliſhed UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE.

Toleration is not the *oppoſite* of Intolerance, but is the *counterfeit* of it. Both are deſpotiſms. The one aſſumes to itſelf the right of with holding Liberty of Conſcience, and the other of granting it. The one is the pope armed with fire and faggot, and the other is the pope ſelling or granting indulgencies. The former is church and ſtate, and the latter is church and traffic.

But Toleration may be viewed in a much ſtronger light. Man worſhips not himſelf, but his Maker; and the liberty of conſcience which he claims, is not for the ſervice of himſelf, but of his God. In this caſe, therefore, we muſt neceſſarily have the aſſociated idea of two beings; the *mortal* who renders the worſhip, and the IMMORTAL BEING who is worſhipped. Toleration, therefore, places itſelf, not between man and man, nor between church and church, nor between one denomination of religion and another, but between God and man; between the being who worſhips, and the BEING who is worſhipped; and by the ſame act of aſſumed authority by which it tolerates man to pay his worſhip, it preſumptuouſly and blaſphemouſly ſets itſelf up to tolerate the Almighty to receive it.





Were a Bill brought into any parliament, intitled "AN ACT to tolerate or grant liberty to "the Almighty to receive the worſhip of a Jew "or a Turk," or "to prohibit the Almighty "from receiving it," all men would ſtartle, and call it blaſphemy. There would be an uproar. The preſumption of toleration in religious matters would then preſent itſelf unmaſked: but the preſumption is not the leſs becauſe the name of "Man" only appears to thoſe laws, for the aſſociated idea of the *worſhipper* and the *worſhipped* cannot be ſeparated.—Who, then, art thou, vain duſt and aſhes! by whatever name thou art called, whether a King, a Biſhop, a Church or a State, a Parliament, or any thing elſe, that obtrudeſt thine inſignificance between the ſoul of man and its Maker? Mind thine own concerns. If he believes not as thou believeſt, it is a proof that thou believeſt not as he believeth, and there is no earthly power can determine between you.

With reſpect to what are called denominations of religion, if every one is left to judge of its own religion, there is no ſuch thing as a religion that is wrong; but if they are to judge of each others religion, there is no ſuch thing as a religion that is right; and therefore, all the world is right, or all the world is wrong. But with reſpect to religion itſelf, without regard to names, and as directing itſelf from the univerſal family of mankind to the Divine object of all adoration, *it is man bringing to his Maker the fruits of his heart*; and though thoſe fruits may differ from each other

like

like the fruits of the earth, the grateful tribute of every one is accepted.

A Biſhop of Durham, or a Biſhop of Wincheſter, or the Archbiſhop who heads the Dukes, will not refuſe a tythe-ſheaf of wheat, becauſe it is not a cock of hay; nor a cock of hay, becauſe it is not a ſheaf of wheat; nor a pig, becauſe it is neither one nor the other: but theſe ſame perſons, under the figure of an eſtabliſhed church, will not permit their Maker to receive the varied tythes of man's devotion.

One of the continual choruſes of Mr. Burke's book is, "Church and State." He does not mean ſome one particular church, or ſome one particular ſtate, but any church and ſtate; and he uſes the term as a general figure to hold forth the political doctrine of always uniting the church with the ſtate in every country, and he cenſures the National Aſſembly for not having done this in France.—Let us beſtow a few thoughts on this ſubject.

All religions are in their nature kind and benign, and united with principles of morality. They could not have made proſelites at firſt, by profeſſing any thing that was vicious, cruel, perſecuting, or immoral. Like every thing elſe, they had their beginning; and they proceeded by perſuaſion, exhortation, and example. How then is it that they loſe their native mildneſs, and become moroſe and intolerant?

It proceeds from the connection which Mr. Burke recommends. By engendering the church with



with the ſtate, a ſort of mule-animal, capable only of deſtroying, and not of breeding up, is produced, called *The Church eſtabliſhed by Law*. It is a ſtranger, even from its birth, to any parent mother on which it is begotten, and whom in time it kicks out and deſtroys.

The inquiſition in Spain does not proceed from the religion originally profeſſed, but from this mule-animal, engendered between the church and the ſtate. The burnings in Smithfield proceeded from the ſame heterogeneous production; and it was the regeneration of this ſtrange animal in England afterwards, that renewed rancour and irreligion among the inhabitants, and that drove the people called Quakers and Diſſenters to America. Perſecution is not an original feature in *any* religion; but it is always the ſtrongly-marked feature of all law-religions, or religions eſtabliſhed by law. Take away the law-eſtabliſhment, and every religion reaſſumes its original benignity. In America, a Catholic Prieſt is a good citizen, a good character, and a good neighbour; an Epiſcopalian Miniſter is of the ſame deſcription: and this proceeds, independently of the men, from there being no law-eſtabliſhment in America.

If alſo we view this matter in a temporal ſenſe, we ſhall ſee the ill effects it has had on the proſperity of nations. The union of church and ſtate has impoveriſhed Spain. The revoking the edict of Nantes drove the ſilk manufacture from France into England; and church and ſtate are now driving the cotton manufacture from Eng-

land to America and France. Let then Mr. Burke continue to preach his antipolitical doctrine of Church and State. It will do ſome good. The National Aſſembly will not follow his advice, but will benefit by his folly. It was by obſerving the ill effects of it in England, that America has been warned againſt it; and it is by experiencing them in France, that the National Aſſembly have aboliſhed it, and, like America, have eſtabliſhed UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE, AND UNIVERSAL RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP*.

I will here ceaſe the compariſon with reſpect to the principles of the French conſtitution, and conclude this part of the ſubject with a few obſervations on the organization of the formal parts of the French and Engliſh governments.

The

* When in any country we ſee extraordinary circumſtances taking place, they naturally lead any man who has a talent for obſervation and inveſtigation, to enquire into the cauſes. The manufactures of Mancheſter, Birmingham, and Sheffield, are the principal manufactures in England. From whence did this ariſe? A little obſervation will explain the caſe. The principal, and the generality of the inhabitants of thoſe places, are not of what is called in England, *the church eſtabliſhed by law*; and they, or their fathers, (for it is within but a few years), withdrew from the perſecution of the chartered towns, where teſt-laws more particularly operate, and eſtabliſhed a ſort of aſylum for themſelves in thoſe places. It was the only aſylum that then offered, for the reſt of Europe was worſe.—But the caſe is now changing. France and America bid all comers welcome, and initiate them into all the rights of citizenſhip. Policy and intereſt, therefore, will, but perhaps too late, dictate in England, what reaſon and juſtice could not. Thoſe manufactures are withdrawing, and are ariſing in other places. There is now erecting at Paſſey, three miles from Paris, a large cotton-mill, and ſeveral are already erected in America. Soon after the rejecting the Bill for repealing the teſt-law, one of the richeſt manufacturers in England ſaid in my hearing, "England, Sir, is not a country for a diſſenter to live in—we muſt go to France." Theſe are truths, and it is doing juſtice to both parties to tell them. It is chiefly the diſſenters who have carried Engliſh manufactures to the height they are now at, and the ſame men have it in their power to carry them away; and though thoſe manufactures will afterwards continue to be made in thoſe places, the foreign market will be loſt. There are frequently appearing in the London Gazette, extracts from certain acts to prevent machines and perſons, as far as they can extend to perſons, from going out of the country. It appears from theſe, that the ill effects of the teſt-laws and church-eſtabliſhment begin to be much ſuſpected; but the remedy of force can never ſupply the remedy of reaſon. In the progreſs of leſs than a century, all the unrepreſented part of England, of all denominations, which is at leaſt a hundred times the moſt numerous, may begin to feel the neceſſity of a conſtitution, and then all thoſe matters will come regularly before them.





The executive power in each country is in the hands of a perſon ſtiled the King; but the French conſtitution diſtinguiſhes between the King and the Sovereign: It conſiders the ſtation of King as official, and places Sovereignty in the nation.

The repreſentatives of the nation, who compoſe the National Aſſembly, and who are the legiſlative power, originate in and from the people by election, as an inherent right in the people.—In England it is otherwiſe; and this ariſes from the original eſtabliſhment of what is called its monarchy; for, as by the conqueſt all the rights of the people or the nation were abſorbed into the hands of the Conqueror, and who added the title of King to that of Conqueror, thoſe ſame matters which in France are now held as rights in the people, or in the nation, are held in England as grants from what is called the Crown.

The Parliament in England, in both its branches, was erected by patents from the deſcendants of the Conqueror. The Houſe of Commons did not originate as a matter of right in the people to delegate or elect, but as a grant or boon.

By the French conſtitution, the Nation is always named before the King. The third article of the Declaration of rights ſays, "*The nation is eſſentially the ſource* (or fountain) *of all ſovereignty.*" Mr. Burke argues, that, in England, a King is the fountain—that he is the fountain of all honour. But as this idea is evidently deſcended from the Conqueſt, I ſhall make no other remark upon it, than that it is the nature of conqueſt to turn every thing upſide down; and as Mr. Burke will not be refuſed the privilege of ſpeaking twice, and as there are but two parts in the figure, the *fountain* and the *ſpout*, he will be right the ſecond time.

The French conſtitution puts the legiſlative before the executive; the Law before the King; *La Loi, Le Roi.* This alſo is in the natural order of things; becauſe laws muſt have exiſtence, before they can have execution.

A King in France does not, in addreſſing himſelf to the National Aſſembly, ſay, "My aſſembly," ſimilar to the phraſe uſed in England of *my* "Parliament;" neither can he uſe it conſiſtently with the conſtitution, nor could it be admitted. There may be propriety in the uſe of it in England, becauſe, as is before mentioned, both Houſes of Parliament originated from what is called the Crown by patent or boon—and not from the inherent





inherent rights of the people, as the National Aſſembly does in France, and whoſe name deſignates its origin.

The Preſident of the National Aſſembly does not aſk the King *to grant to the Aſſembly liberty of ſpeech*, as is the caſe with the Engliſh Houſe of Commons. The conſtitutional dignity of the National Aſſembly cannot debaſe itſelf. Speech is, in the firſt place, one of the natural rights of man always retained; and with reſpect to the National Aſſembly, the uſe of it is their *duty*, and the nation is their *authority*. They were elected by the greateſt body of men exerciſing the right of election the European world ever ſaw. They ſprung not from the filth of rotten boroughs, nor are they the vaſſal repreſentatives of ariſtocratical ones. Feeling the proper dignity of their character, they ſupport it. Their parliamentary language, whether for or againſt a queſtion, is free, bold, and manly, and extends to all the parts and circumſtances of the caſe. If any matter or ſubject reſpecting the executive department, or the perſon who preſides in it, (the King), comes before them, it is debated on with the ſpirit of men, and the language of gentlemen; and their anſwer, or their addreſs, is returned in the ſame ſtile. They ſtand not aloof with the gaping vacuity of vulgar ignorance, nor bend with the cringe of ſycophantic inſignificance. The graceful pride of truth knows no extremes, and preſerves, in every latitude of life, the right-angled character of man.

Let

Let us now look to the other ſide of the queſtion.—In the addreſſes of the Engliſh Parliaments to their Kings, we ſee neither the intrepid ſpirit of the old Parliaments of France, nor the ſerene dignity of the preſent National Aſſembly; neither do we ſee in them any thing of the ſtile of Engliſh manners, which border ſomewhat on bluntneſs. Since then they are neither of foreign extraction, nor naturally of Engliſh production, their origin muſt be ſought for elſewhere, and that origin is the Norman Conqueſt. They are evidently of the vaſſalage claſs of manners, and emphatically mark the proſtrate diſtance that exiſts in no other condition of men than between the conqueror and the conquered. That this vaſſalage idea and ſtile of ſpeaking was not got rid of even at the Revolution of 1688, is evident from the declaration of Parliament to William and Mary, in theſe words: "We do moſt humbly and faithfully *ſubmit* ourſelves, our heirs and poſterities, "for ever." Submiſſion is wholly a vaſſalage term, repugnant to the dignity of Freedom, and an echo of the language uſed at the Conqueſt.

As the eſtimation of all things is by compariſon, the Revolution of 1688, however from circumſtances it may have been exalted beyond its value, will find its level. It is already on the wane, eclipſed by the enlarging orb of reaſon, and the luminous revolutions of America and France. In leſs than another century, it will go, as well as Mr. Burke's labours, "to the family vault of all the Capulets." Mankind will then ſcarcely believe that



that a country calling itſelf free, would ſend to Holland for a man, and clothe him with power, on purpoſe to put themſelves in fear of him, and give him almoſt a million ſterling a-year for leave to *ſubmit* themſelves and their poſterity, like bondmen and bond-women, for ever.

But there is a truth that ought to be made known: I have had the opportunity of ſeeing it; which is, *that, notwithſtanding appearances, there is not any deſcription of men that deſpiſe monarchy ſo much as courtiers.* But they well know, that if it were ſeen by others, as it is ſeen by them, the juggle could not be kept up. They are in the condition of men who get their living by a ſhow, and to whom the folly of that ſhow is ſo familiar that they ridicule it; but were the audience to be made as wiſe in this reſpect as themſelves, there would be an end to the ſhow and the profits with it. The difference between a republican and a courtier with reſpect to monarchy, is, that the one oppoſes monarchy, believing it to be ſomething; and the other laughs at it, knowing it to be nothing.

As I uſed ſometimes to correſpond with Mr. Burke, believing him then to be a man of ſounder principles than his book ſhews him to be, I wrote to him laſt winter from Paris, and gave him an account how proſperouſly matters were going on. Among other ſubjects in that letter, I referred to the happy ſituation the National Aſſembly were placed in; that they had taken a ground on which their moral duty and their political intereſt were united. They have not to hold out a language which

which they do not themſelves believe, for the fraudulent purpoſe of making others believe it. Their ſtation requires no artifice to ſupport it, and can only be maintained by enlightening mankind. It is not their intereſt to cheriſh ignorance, but to diſpel it. They are not in the caſe of a miniſterial or an oppoſition party in England, who, though they are oppoſed, are ſtill united to keep up the common myſtery. The National Aſſembly muſt throw open a magazine of light. It muſt ſhew man the proper character of man; and the nearer it can bring him to that ſtandard, the ſtronger the National Aſſembly becomes.

In contemplating the French conſtitution, we ſee in it a rational order of things. The principles harmoniſe with the forms, and both with their origin. It may perhaps be ſaid as an excuſe for bad forms, that they are nothing more than forms; but this is a miſtake. Forms grow out of principles, and operate to continue the principles they grow from. It is impoſſible to practiſe a bad form on any thing but a bad principle. It cannot be ingrafted on a good one; and wherever the forms in any government are bad, it is a certain indication that the principles are bad alſo.

I will here finally cloſe this ſubject. I began it by remarking that Mr. Burke had *voluntarily* declined going into a compariſon of the Engliſh and French conſtitutions. He apologiſes (in page 241) for not doing it, by ſaying that he had not time. Mr. Burke's book was upwards of eight months in hand, and is extended to a volume of three



three hundred and ſixty-ſix pages. As his omiſſion does injury to his cauſe, his apology makes it worſe; and men on the Engliſh ſide the water will begin to conſider, whether there is not ſome radical defect in what is called the Engliſh conſtitution, that made it neceſſary for Mr. Burke to ſuppreſs the compariſon, to avoid bringing it into view.

As Mr. Burke has not written on conſtitutions, ſo neither has he written on the French revolution. He gives no account of its commencement or its progreſs. He only expreſſes his wonder. "It looks," ſays he, "to me, as if I were in a "great criſis, not of the affairs of France alone, "but of all Europe, perhaps of more than Europe. "All circumſtances taken together, the French "revolution is the moſt aſtoniſhing that has "hitherto happened in the world."

As wiſe men are aſtoniſhed at fooliſh things, and other people at wiſe ones, I know not on which ground to account for Mr. Burke's aſtoniſhment; but certain it is, that he does not underſtand the French revolution. It has apparently burſt forth like a creation from a chaos, but it is no more than the conſequence of a mental revolution priorily exiſting in France. The mind of the nation had changed before hand, and the new order of things has naturally followed the new order of thoughts.—I will here, as conciſely as I can, trace out the growth of the French revolution, and mark the circumſtances that have contributed to produce it.

The deſpotiſm of Louis XIV. united with the gaiety of his Court, and the gaudy oſtentation of his character, had ſo humbled, and at the ſame time ſo faſcinated the mind of France, that the people appeared to have loſt all ſenſe of their own dignity, in contemplating that of their Grand Monarch: and the whole reign of Louis XV. remarkable only for weakneſs and effeminacy, made no other alteration than that of ſpreading a ſort of lethargy over the nation, from which it ſhewed no diſpoſition to riſe.

The only ſigns which appeared of the ſpirit of Liberty during thoſe periods, are to be found in the writings of the French philoſophers. Monteſquieu, preſident of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, went as far as a writer under a deſpotic government could well proceed; and being obliged to divide himſelf between principle and prudence, his mind often appears under a veil, and we ought to give him credit for more than he has expreſſed.

Voltaire, who was both the flatterer and the ſatiriſt of deſpotiſm, took another line. His forte lay in expoſing and ridiculing the ſuperſtitions which prieſt-craft united with ſtate-craft had interwoven with governments. It was not from the purity of his principles, or his love of mankind, (for ſatire and philanthropy are not naturally concordant), but from his ſtrong capacity of ſeeing folly in its true ſhape, and his irreſiſtible propenſity to expoſe it, that he made thoſe attacks. They were however as formidable as



as if the motives had been virtuous; and he merits the thanks, rather than the eſteem of mankind.

On the contrary, we find in the writings of Rouſſeau, and the Abbé Raynal, a lovelineſs of ſentiment in favour of Liberty, that excites reſpect, and elevates the human faculties; but having raiſed this animation, they do not direct its operations, and leave the mind in love with an object, without deſcribing the means of poſſeſſing it.

The writings of Queſnay, Turgot, and the friends of thoſe authors, are of the ſerious kind; but they laboured under the ſame diſadvantage with Monteſquieu: their writings abound with moral maxims of government, but are rather directed to œconomiſe and reform the adminiſtration of the government, than the government itſelf.

But all thoſe writings and many others had their weight; and by the different manner in which they treated the ſubject of government, Monteſquieu by his judgment and knowledge of laws, Voltaire by his wit, Rouſſeau and Raynal by their animation, and Queſnay and Turgot by their moral maxims and ſyſtems of œconomy, readers of every claſs met with ſomething to their taſte, and a ſpirit of political enquiry began to diffuſe itſelf through the nation at the time the diſpute between England and the then colonies of America broke out.

In the war which France afterwards engaged in, it is very well known that the nation appeared

to be before hand with the French miniſtry. Each of them had its view: but thoſe views were directed to different objects; the one ſought liberty, and the other retaliation on England. The French officers and ſoldiers who after this went to America, were eventually placed in the ſchool of Freedom, and learned the practice as well as the principles of it by heart.

As it was impoſſible to ſeparate the military events which took place in America from the principles of the American revolution, the publication of thoſe events in France neceſſarily connected themſelves with the principles which produced them. Many of the facts were in themſelves principles; ſuch as the declaration of American independence, and the treaty of alliance between France and America, which recogniſed the natural right of man, and juſtified reſiſtance to oppreſſion.

The then Miniſter of France, Count Vergennes, was not the friend of America; and it is both juſtice and gratitude to ſay, that it was the Queen of France who gave the cauſe of America a faſhion at the French Court. Count Vergennes was the perſonal and ſocial friend of Dr. Franklin; and the Doctor had obtained, by his ſenſible gracefulneſs, a ſort of influence over him; but with reſpect to principles, Count Vergennes was a deſpot.

The ſituation of Dr. Franklin as Miniſter from America to France, ſhould be taken into the chain



chain of circumſtances. The diplomatic character is of itſelf the narroweſt ſphere of ſociety that man can act in. It forbids intercourſe by a reciprocity of ſuſpicion; and a diplomatic is a ſort of unconnected atom, continually repelling and repelled. But this was not the caſe with Dr. Franklin. He was not the diplomatic of a Court, but of MAN. His character as a philoſopher had been long eſtabliſhed, and his circle of ſociety in France was univerſal.

Count Vergennes reſiſted for a conſiderable time the publication in France of the American conſtitutions, tranſlated into the French language; but even in this he was obliged to give way to public opinion, and a ſort of propriety in admitting to appear what he had undertaken to defend. The American conſtitutions were to liberty, what a grammar is to language: they define its parts of ſpeech, and practically conſtruct them into ſyntax.

The peculiar ſituation of the then Marquis de la Fayette is another link in the great chain. He ſerved in America as an American officer under a commiſſion of Congreſs, and by the univerſality of his acquaintance, was in cloſe friendſhip with the civil government of America, as well as with the military line. He ſpoke the language of the country, entered into the diſcuſſions on the principles of government, and was always a welcome friend at any election.

When the war cloſed, a vaſt reinforcement to the cauſe of Liberty ſpread itſelf over France, by

the return of the French officers and ſoldiers. A knowledge of the practice was then joined to the theory; and all that was wanting to give it real exiſtence, was opportunity. Man cannot, properly ſpeaking, make circumſtances for his purpoſe, but he always has it in his power to improve them when they occur; and this was the caſe in France.

M. Neckar was diſplaced in May 1781; and by the ill management of the finances afterwards, and particularly during the extravagant adminiſtration of M. Calonne, the revenue of France, which was nearly twenty-four millions ſterling *per* year, was become unequal to the expenditure, not becauſe the revenue had decreaſed, but becauſe the expences had increaſed; and this was the circumſtance which the nation laid hold of to bring forward a revolution. The Engliſh Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, has frequently alluded to the ſtate of the French finances in his budgets, without underſtanding the ſubject. Had the French Parliaments been as ready to regiſter edicts for new taxes, as an Engliſh Parliament is to grant them, there had been no derangement in the finances, nor yet any revolution; but this will better explain itſelf as I proceed.

It will be neceſſary here to ſhew how taxes were formerly raiſed in France. The King, or rather the Court or Miniſtry acting under the uſe of that name, framed the edicts for taxes at their own diſcretion, and ſent them to the Parliaments to be regiſtered; for until they were regiſtered by



by the Parliaments, they were not operative. Diſputes had long exiſted between the Court and the Parliaments with reſpect to the extent of the Parliament's authority on this head. The Court inſiſted that the authority of Parliaments went no farther than to remonſtrate or ſhew reaſons againſt the tax, reſerving to itſelf the right of determining whether the reaſons were well or ill-founded; and in conſequence thereof, either to withdraw the edict as a matter of choice, or to *order* it to be enregiſtered as a matter of authority. The Parliaments on their part inſiſted, that they had not only a right to remonſtrate, but to reject; and on this ground they were always ſupported by the Nation.

But, to return to the order of my narrative—M. Calonne wanted money; and as he knew the ſturdy diſpoſition of the Parliaments with reſpect to new taxes, he ingeniouſly ſought either to approach them by a more gentle means than that of direct authority, or to get over their heads by a manœuvre: and, for this purpoſe, he revived the project of aſſembling a body of men from the ſeveral provinces, under the ſtile of an "Aſſembly of the Notables," or Men of Note, who met in 1787, and who were either to recommend taxes to the Parliaments, or to act as a Parliament themſelves. An Aſſembly under this name had been called in 1617.

As we are to view this as the firſt practical ſtep towards the revolution, it will be proper to enter into ſome particulars reſpecting it. The Aſſembly

bly of the Notables has in ſome places been miſtaken for the States-General, but was wholly a different body; the States-General being always by election. The perſons who compoſed the Aſſembly of the Notables were all nominated by the King, and conſiſted of one hundred and forty members. But as M. Calonne could not depend upon a majority of this Aſſembly in his favour, he very ingeniouſly arranged them in ſuch a manner as to make forty-four a majority of one hundred and forty: to effect this, he diſpoſed of them into ſeven ſeparate committees, of twenty members each. Every general queſtion was to be decided, not by a majority of perſons, but by a majority of committees; and as eleven votes would make a majority in a committee, and four committees a majority of ſeven, M. Calonne had good reaſon to conclude, that as forty-four would determine any general queſtion, he could not be out-voted. But all his plans deceived him, and in the event became his overthrow.

The then Marquis de la Fayette was placed in the ſecond committee, of which Count D'Artois was preſident: and as money-matters was the object, it naturally brought into view every circumſtance connected with it. M. de la Fayette made a verbal charge againſt Calonne, for ſelling crown-lands to the amount of two millions of livres, in a manner that appeared to be unknown to the King. The Count D'Artois (as if to intimidate, for the Baſtille was then in being) aſked the Marquis, if he would render the charge in writing?



writing? He replied, that he would.—The Count D'Artois did not demand it, but brought a meſſage from the King to that purport. M. de la Fayette then delivered in his charge in writing, to be given to the King, undertaking to ſupport it. No farther proceedings were had upon this affair; but M. Calonne was ſoon after diſmiſſed by the King, and ſet off to England.

As M. de la Fayette, from the experience of what he had ſeen in America, was better acquainted with the ſcience of civil government than the generality of the members who compoſed the Aſſembly of the Notables could then be, the brunt of the buſineſs fell conſiderably to his ſhare. The plan of thoſe who had a conſtitution in view, was to contend with the Court on the ground of taxes, and ſome of them openly profeſſed their object. Diſputes frequently aroſe between Count D'Artois and M. de la Fayette, upon various ſubjects. With reſpect to the arrears already incurred, the latter propoſed to remedy them, by accommodating the expences to the revenue, inſtead of the revenue to the expences; and as objects of reform, he propoſed to aboliſh the Baſtille, and all the State-priſons throughout the nation, (the keeping of which was attended with great expence), and to ſuppreſs *Lettres de Cachet:* But thoſe matters were not then much attended to; and with reſpect to *Lettres de Cachet, a majority of the Nobles appeared to be in favour of them.*

On the ſubject of ſupplying the Treaſury by new taxes, the Aſſembly declined taking the matter on themſelves, concurring in the opinion that they had not authority. In a debate on this ſubject, M. de la Fayette ſaid, that raiſing money by taxes could only be done by a National Aſſembly, freely elected by the people, and acting as their repreſentatives. Do you mean, ſaid the Count D'Artois, the *States General?* M. de la Fayette replied, that he did. Will you, ſaid the Count D'Artois, ſign what you ſay, to be given to the King? The other replied, that he not only would do this, but that he would go farther, and ſay, that the effectual mode would be, for the King to agree to the eſtabliſhment of a Conſtitution.

As one of the plans had thus failed, that of getting the Aſſembly to act as a Praliament, the other came into view, that of recommending. On this ſubject, the Aſſembly agreed to recommend two new taxes to be enregiſtered by the Parliament: The one a ſtamp-tax, and the other a territorial tax, or ſort of land-tax. The two have been eſtimated at about five millions ſterl. *per ann.* We have now to turn our attention to the Parliaments, on whom the buſineſs was again devolving.

The Archbiſhop of Thouloufe (ſince Archbiſhop of Sens, and now a Cardinal) was appointed to the adminiſtration of the finances, ſoon after the diſmiſſion of Calonne. He was alſo made Prime Miniſter, an office that did not always



always exiſt in France. When this office did not exiſt, the Chief of each of the principal departments tranſacted buſineſs immediately with the King; but when a Prime Miniſter was appointed, they did buſineſs only with him. The Archbiſhop arrived to more State-authority than any Miniſter ſince the Duke de Choiſeul, and the nation was ſtrongly diſpoſed in his favour; but by a line of conduct ſcarcely to be accounted for, he perverted every opportunity, turned out a deſpot, and ſunk into diſgrace, and a Cardinal.

The Aſſembly of the Notables having broken up, the new Miniſter ſent the edicts for the two new taxes recommended by the Aſſembly to the Parliaments, to be enregiſtered. They of courſe came firſt before the parliament of Paris, who returned for anſwer, *That with ſuch a revenue as the Nation then ſupported, the name of taxes ought not to be mentioned, but for the purpoſe of reducing them;* and threw both the edicts out*.

On this refuſal, the Parliament was ordered to Verſailles, where, in the uſual form, the King held, what under the old government was called, a Bed of Juſtice; and the two edicts were enregiſtered in preſence of the Parliament, by an order of State, in the manner mentioned in page 94. On this, the Parliament immediately returned to Paris, renewed their ſeſſion in

* When the Engliſh Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, mentions the French finances again in the Engliſh Parliament, it would be well that he noticed this as an example.

form, and ordered the enregiſtering to be ſtruck out, declaring that every thing done at Verſailles was illegal. All the members of the Parliament were then ſerved with Lettres de Cachet, and exiled to Trois; but as they continued as inflexible in exile as before, and as vengeance did not ſupply the place of taxes, they were after a ſhort time recalled to Paris.

The edicts were again tendered to them, and the Count D'Artois undertook to act as repreſentative of the King. For this purpoſe, he came from Verſailles to Paris, in a train of proceſſion; and the Parliament were aſſembled to receive him. But ſhow and parade had loſt their influence in France; and whatever ideas of importance he might ſet off with, he had to return with thoſe of mortification and diſappointment. On alighting from his carriage to aſcend the ſteps of the Parliament Houſe, the crowd (which was numerouſly collected) threw out trite expreſſions, ſaying "This is Monſieur "D'Artois, who wants more of our money to "ſpend." The marked diſapprobation which he ſaw, impreſſed him with apprehenſions; and the word *Aux armes! (To arms!)* was given out by the officer of the guard who attended him. It was ſo loudly vociferated, that it echoed through the avenues of the Houſe, and produced a temporary confuſion: I was then ſtanding in one of the apartments through which he had to paſs, and could not avoid reflecting



flecting how wretched was the condition of a diſreſpected man.

He endeavoured to impreſs the Parliament by great words, and opened his authority by ſaying, "The King, our Lord and Maſter." The Parliament received him very coolly, and with their uſual determination not to regiſter the taxes: and in this manner the interview ended.

After this a new ſubject took place: In the various debates and conteſts which aroſe between the Court and the Parliaments on the ſubject of taxes, the Parliament of Paris at laſt declared, that although it had been cuſtomary for Parliaments to enregiſter edicts for taxes as a matter of convenience, the right belonged only to the *States-General;* and that, therefore, the Parliament could no longer with propriety continue to debate on what it had not authority to act. The King after this came to Paris, and held a meeting with the Parliament, in which he continued from ten in the morning till about ſix in the evening; and, in a manner that appeared to proceed from him, as if unconſulted upon with the cabinet or the miniſtry, gave his word to the Parliament, that the States-General ſhould be convened.

But after this another ſcene aroſe, on a ground different from all the former. The miniſter and the cabinet were averſe to calling the States-General: They well knew, that if the States-General were aſſembled, themſelves muſt fall;

fall; and as the King had not mentioned *any time*, they hit on a project calculated to elude, without appearing to oppoſe.

For this purpoſe, the Court ſet about making a ſort of conſtitution itſelf: It was principally the work of M. Lamoignon, Keeper of the Seals, who afterwards ſhot himſelf. This new arrangement conſiſted in eſtabliſhing a body under the name of a *Cour plĕniere*, or full Court, in which were inveſted all the powers that the government might have occaſion to make uſe of. The perſons compoſing this Court were to be nominated by the King; the contended right of taxation was given up on the part of the King, and a new criminal code of laws, and law proceedings, was ſubſtituted in the room of the former. The thing, in many points, contained better principles than thoſe upon which the government had hitherto been adminiſtered: but with reſpect to the *Cour pléniere*, it was no other than a medium through which deſpotiſm was to paſs, without appearing to act directly from itſelf.

The Cabinet had high expectations from their new contrivance. The perſons who were to compoſe the *Cour pléniere*, were already nominated; and as it was neceſſary to carry a fair appearance, many of the beſt characters in the the nation were appointed among the number. It was to commence on the 8th of May 1788: But an oppoſition aroſe to it, on two grounds—the one as to principle, the other as to form.

On



On the ground of Principle it was contended, That government had not a right to alter itſelf; and that if the practice was once admitted, it would grow into a principle, and be made a precedent for any future alterations the government might wiſh to eſtabliſh: That the right of altering the government was a national right, and not a right of government.—And on the ground of Form, it was contended, That the *Cour pléniere* was nothing more than a larger Cabinet.

The then Duke de la Rochefoucault, Luxembourg, De Noailles, and many others, refuſed to accept the nomination, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the whole plan. When the edict for eſtabliſhing this new Court was ſent to the Parliaments to be enregiſtered, and put into execution, they reſiſted alſo. The Parliament of Paris not only refuſed, but denied the authority; and the conteſt renewed itſelf between the Parliament and the Cabinet more ſtrongly than ever. While the Parliament were ſitting in debate on this ſubject, the Miniſtry ordered a regiment of ſoldiers to ſurround the Houſe, and form a blockade. The Members ſent out for beds and proviſion, and lived as in a beſieged citadel: and as this had no effect, the commanding officer was ordered to enter the Parliament houſe and ſeize them; which he did, and ſome of the principal members were ſhut up in different priſons. About the ſame time a deputation of perſons arrived from the province

of

of Brittany, to remonſtrate againſt the eſtabliſhment of the *Cour pléniere*; and thoſe the Archbiſhop ſent to the Baſtille. But the ſpirit of the Nation was not to be overcome; and it was ſo fully ſenſible of the ſtrong ground it had taken, that of withholding taxes, that it contented itſelf with keeping up a ſort of quiet reſiſtance, which effectually overthrew all the plans at that time formed againſt it. The project of the *Cour pléniere* was at laſt obliged to be given up, and the Prime Miniſter not long afterwards followed its fate; and M. Neckar was recalled into office.

The attempt to eſtabliſh the *Cour pléniere* had an effect upon the Nation which itſelf did not perceive. It was a ſort of new form of government, that inſenſibly ſerved to put the old one out of ſight, and to unhinge it from the ſuperſtitious authority of antiquity. It was government dethroning government; and the old one, by attempting to make a new one, made a chaſm.

The failure of this ſcheme renewed the ſubject of convening the States-General; and this gave riſe to a new ſeries of politics. There was no ſettled form for convening the States-General: all that it poſitively meant, was a deputation from what was then called the Clergy, the Nobleſſe, and the Commons; but their numbers, or their proportions, had not been always the ſame. They had been convened only on extraordinary occaſions, the laſt of which was





in 1614; their numbers were then in equal proportions, and they voted by orders.

It could not well eſcape the ſagacity of M. Neckar, that the mode of 1614 would anſwer neither the purpoſe of the then government, nor of the nation. As matters were at that time circumſtanced, it would have been too contentious to agree upon any thing. The debates would have been endleſs upon privileges and exemptions, in which neither the wants of the government, nor the wiſhes of the nation for a conſtitution, would have been attended to. But as he did not chuſe to take the deciſion upon himſelf, he ſummoned again the *Aſſembly of the Notables*, and referred it to them. This body was in general intereſted in the deciſion, being chiefly of the ariſtocracy and the high-paid clergy; and they decided in favour of the mode of 1614. This deciſion was againſt the ſenſe of the Nation, and alſo againſt the wiſhes of the Court; for the ariſtocracy oppoſed itſelf to both, and contended for privileges independent of either. The ſubject was then taken up by the Parliament, who recommended, that the number of the Commons ſhould be equal to the other two; and that they ſhould all ſit in one houſe, and vote in one body. The number finally determined on was twelve hundred: ſix hundred to be choſen by the Commons, (and this was leſs than their proportion ought to have been when their worth and conſequence is conſidered on a national ſcale), three hundred by

the Clergy, and three hundred by the Ariſtocracy; but with reſpect to the mode of aſſembling themſelves, whether together or apart, or the manner in which they ſhould vote, thoſe matters were referred *.

The election that followed, was not a conteſted election, but an animated one. The candidates were not men, but principles. Societies were formed in Paris, and committees of

* Mr. Burke, (and I muſt take the liberty of telling him he is very unacquainted with French affairs), ſpeaking upon this ſubject, ſays, "The firſt thing that ſtruck me in the calling the States-"General, was a great departure from the ancient courſe;"—and he ſoon after ſays, "From the moment I read the liſt, I ſaw "diſtinctly, and very nearly as it has happened, all that was to "follow."—Mr. Burke certainly did not ſee all that was to follow. I endeavoured to impreſs him, as well before as after the States-General met, that there would be a *revolution*; but was not able to make him ſee it, neither would he believe it. How then he could diſtinctly ſee all the parts, when the whole was out of ſight, is beyond my comprehenſion. And with reſpect to the "departure from the ancient courſe," beſides the natural weakneſs of the remark, it ſhews that he is unacquainted with circumſtances. The departure was neceſſary, from the experience had upon it, that the ancient courſe was a bad one. The States-General of 1614 were called at the commencement of the civil war in the minority of Louis XIII; but by the claſh of arranging them by orders, they increaſed the confuſion they were called to compoſe. The Author of *L'Intrigue du Cabinet* (Intrigue of the Cabinet), who wrote before any revolution was thought of in France, ſpeaking of the States-General of 1614, ſays, "They "held the public in ſuſpenſe five months; and by the queſtions "agitated therein, and the heat with which they were put, it appears "that the Great *(les grands)* thought more to ſatisfy their *par-*"*ticular* paſſions, than to procure the good of the nation; and "the whole time paſſed away in altercations, ceremonies, and "parade." L'Intrigue du Cabinet, vol. i. p. 329.

cor-



correſpondence and communication eſtabliſhed throughout the nation, for the purpoſe of enlightening the people, and explaining to them the principles of civil government; and ſo orderly was the election conducted, that it did not give riſe even to the rumour of tumult.

The States-General were to meet at Verſailles in April 1789, but did not aſſemble till May. They ſituated themſelves in three ſeparate chambers, or rather the Clergy and the Ariſtocracy withdrew each into a ſeparate chamber. The majority of the ariſtocracy claimed what they called the privilege of voting as a ſeparate body, and of giving their conſent or their negative in that manner; and many of the biſhops and the high-beneficed clergy claimed the ſame privilege on the part of their Order.

The *Tiers Etat* (as they were then called) diſowned any knowledge of artificial Orders and artificial privileges; and they were not only reſolute on this point, but ſomewhat diſdainful. They began to conſider ariſtocracy as a kind of fungus growing out of the corruption of ſociety, that could not be admitted even as a branch of it; and from the diſpoſition the ariſtocracy had ſhewn by upholding Lettres de Cachet, and in ſundry other inſtances, it was manifeſt that no conſtitution could be formed by admitting men in any other character than as National Men.

After various altercations on this head, the Tiers Etat or Commons (as they were then called) declared themſelves (on a motion made

for that purpoſe by the Abbé Sieyes) " THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION; *and that* " *the two Orders could be conſidered but as depu-* " *ties of corporations, and could only have a de-* " *liberative voice when they aſſembled in a* " *national character with the national repreſenta-* " *tives.*" This proceeding extinguiſhed the ſtile of *Etats Généraux*, or States-General, and erected it into the ſtile it now bears, that of L'Aſſemble Nationale, or National Aſſembly.

This motion was not made in a precipitate manner: It was the reſult of cool deliberation, and concerted between the national repreſentatives and the patriotic members of the two chambers, who ſaw into the folly, miſchief, and injuſtice of artificial privileged diſtinctions. It was become evident, that no conſtitution, worthy of being called by that name, could be eſtabliſhed on any thing leſs than a national ground. The ariſtocracy had hitherto oppoſed the deſpotiſm of the Court, and affected the language of patriotiſm; but it oppoſed it as its rival (as the Engliſh Barons oppoſed King John), and it now oppoſed the nation from the ſame motives.

On carrying this motion, the national repreſentatives, as had been concerted, ſent an invitation to the two chambers, to unite with them in a national character, and proceed to buſineſs. A majority of the clergy, chiefly of the pariſh prieſts, withdrew from the clerical chamber, and joined the nation; and forty-five from the





other chamber joined in like manner. There is a ſort of ſecret hiſtory belonging to this laſt circumſtance, which is neceſſary to its explanation: It was not judged prudent that all the patriotic members of the chamber ſtiling itſelf the Nobles, ſhould quit it at once; and in conſequence of this arrangement, they drew off by degrees, always leaving ſome, as well to reaſon the caſe, as to watch the ſuſpected. In a little time, the numbers increaſed from forty-five to eighty, and ſoon after to a greater number; which, with a majority of the clergy, and the whole of the national repreſentatives, put the mal-contents in a very diminutive condition.

The King, who, very different from the general claſs called by that name, is a man of a good heart, ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to recommend an union of the three chambers, on the ground the National Aſſembly had taken; but the mal-contents exerted themſelves to prevent it, and began now to have another project in view. Their numbers conſiſted of a majority of the ariſtocratical chamber, and a minority of the clerical chamber, chiefly of biſhops and high-beneficed clergy; and theſe men were determined to put every thing to iſſue, as well by ſtrength as by ſtratagem. They had no objection to a conſtitution; but it muſt be ſuch a one as themſelves ſhould dictate, and ſuited to their own views and particular ſituations. On the other hand, the Nation diſowned knowing any thing of them but as citizens, and was

determined

determined to ſhut out all ſuch up-ſtart pretenſions. The more ariſtocracy appeared, the more it was deſpiſed; there was a viſible imbecillity and want of intellects in the majority, a ſort of *je ne ſais quoi*, that while it affected to be more than citizen, was leſs than man. It loſt ground from contempt more than from hatred; and was rather jeered at as an aſs, than dreaded as a lion. This is the general character of ariſtocracy, or what are called Nobles or Nobility, or rather No-ability, in all countries.

The plan of the mal contents conſiſted now of two things; either to deliberate and vote by chambers, (or orders), more eſpecially on all queſtions reſpecting a conſtitution, (by which the ariſtocratical chamber would have had a negative on any article of the conſtitution); or, in caſe they could not accompliſh this object, to overthrow the National Aſſembly entirely.

To effect one or other of theſe objects, they began now to cultivate a friendſhip with the deſpotiſm they had hitherto attempted to rival, and the Count D'Artois became their chief. The King (who has ſince declared himſelf deceived into their meaſures) held, according to the old form, *a Bed of Juſtice*, in which he accorded to the deliberation and vote *par tete* (by head) upon ſeveral ſubjects; but reſerved the deliberation and vote upon all queſtions reſpecting a conſtitution, to the three chambers ſeparately. This declaration of the King was made againſt the advice of M. Neckar, who now



now began to perceive that he was growing out of faſhion at Court, and that another miniſter was in contemplation.

As the form of ſitting in ſeparate chambers was yet apparently kept up, though eſſentially deſtroyed, the national repreſentatives, immediately after this declaration of the King, reſorted to their own chambers to conſult on a proteſt againſt it; and the minority of the chamber (calling itſelf the Nobles), who had joined the national cauſe, retired to a private houſe to conſult in like manner. The malcontents had by this time concerted their meaſures with the Court, which Count D'Artois undertook to conduct; and as they ſaw from the diſcontent which the declaration excited, and the oppoſition making againſt it, that they could not obtain a controul over the intended conſtitution by a ſeparate vote, they prepared themſelves for their final object—that of conſpiring againſt the National Aſſembly, and overthrowing it.

The next morning, the door of the chamber of the National Aſſembly was ſhut againſt them, and guarded by troops; and the Members were refuſed admittance. On this, they withdrew to a tennis-ground in the neighbourhood of Verſailles, as the moſt convenient place they could find, and, after renewing their ſeſſion, took an oath never to ſeparate from each other, under any circumſtance whatever, death excepted, until they had eſtabliſhed a conſtitution.

conſtitution. As the experiment of ſhutting up the houſe had no other effect than that of producing a cloſer connection in the Members, it was opened again the next day, and the public buſineſs recommenced in the uſual place.

We now are to have in view the forming of the new Miniſtry, which was to accompliſh the overthrow of the National Aſſembly. But as force would be neceſſary, orders were iſſued to aſſemble thirty thouſand troops, the command of which was given to Broglio, one of the new-intended Miniſtry, who was recalled from the country for this purpoſe. But as ſome management was neceſſary to keep this plan concealed till the moment it ſhould be ready for execution, it is to this policy that a declaration made by Count D'Artois muſt be attributed, and which is here proper to be introduced.

It could not but occur, that while the malcontents continued to reſort to their chambers ſeparate from the National Aſſembly, that more jealouſy would be excited than if they were mixed with it, and that the plot might be ſuſpected. But as they had taken their ground, and now wanted a pretence for quitting it, it was neceſſary that one ſhould be deviſed. This was effectually accompliſhed by a declaration made by Count D'Artois, "*That if they took "not a part in the National Aſſembly, the life of "the King would be endangered;*" on which they quitted their chambers, and mixed with the Aſſembly in one body.

At



At the time this declaration was made, it was generally treated as a piece of abſurdity in Count D'Artois, and calculated merely to relieve the outſtanding Members of the two chambers from the diminutive ſituation they were put in; and if nothing more had followed, this concluſion would have been good. But as things beſt explain themſelves by their events, this apparent union was only a cover to the machinations which were ſecretly going on; and the declaration accommodated itſelf to anſwer that purpoſe. In a little time the National Aſſembly found itſelf ſurrounded by troops, and thouſands more were daily arriving. On this a very ſtrong declaration was made by the National Aſſembly to the King, remonſtrating on the impropriety of the meaſure, and demanding the reaſon. The King, who was not in the ſecret of this buſineſs, as himſelf afterwards declared, gave ſubſtantially for anſwer, that he had no other object in view than to preſerve the public tranquillity, which appeared to be much diſturbed.

But in a few days from this time, the plot unravelled itſelf. M. Neckar and the Miniſtry were diſplaced, and a new one formed, of the enemies of the Revolution; and Broglio, with between twenty-five and thirty thouſand foreign troops, was arrived to ſupport them. The maſk was now thrown off, and matters were come to a criſis. The event was, that in the

ſpace of three days, the new Miniſtry and their abettors found it prudent to fly the nation; the Baſtille was taken, and Broglio and his foreign troops diſperſed; as is already related in the former part of this work.

There are ſome curious circumſtances in the hiſtory of this ſhort-lived miniſtry, and this ſhort-lived attempt at a counter-revolution. The palace of Verſailles, where the Court was ſitting, was not more than four hundred yards diſtant from the hall where the National Aſſembly was ſitting. The two places were at this moment like the ſeparate head-quarters of two combatant armies; yet the Court was as perfectly ignorant of the information which had arrived from Paris to the National Aſſembly, as if it had reſided at an hundred miles diſtance. The then Marquis de la Fayette, who (as has been already mentioned) was choſen to preſide in the National Aſſembly on this particular occaſion, named, by order of the Aſſembly, three ſucceſſive deputations to the King, on the day, and up to the evening on which the Baſtille was taken, to inform and confer with him on the ſtate of affairs: but the miniſtry, who knew not ſo much as that it was attacked, precluded all communication, and were ſolacing themſelves how dextrouſly they had ſucceeded; but in a few hours the accounts arrived ſo thick and faſt, that they had to ſtart from their deſks and run. Some ſet off in one diſguiſe, and ſome in



in another, and none in their own character. Their anxiety now was to outride the news leſt they ſhould be ſtopt, which, though it flew faſt, flew not ſo faſt as themſelves.

It is worth remarking, that the National Aſſembly neither purſued thoſe fugitive conſpirators, nor took any notice of them, nor ſought to retaliate in any ſhape whatever. Occupied with eſtabliſhing a conſtitution founded on the Rights of Man and the Authority of the People, the only authority on which Government has a right to exiſt in any country, the National Aſſembly felt none of thoſe mean paſſions which mark the character of impertinent governments, founding themſelves on their own authority, or on the abſurdity of hereditary ſucceſſion. It is the faculty of the human mind to become what it contemplates, and to act in uniſon with its object.

The conſpiracy being thus diſperſed, one of the firſt works of the National Aſſembly, inſtead of vindictive proclamations, as has been the caſe with other governments, publiſhed a Declaration of the Rights of Man, as the baſis on which the new conſtitution was to be built, and which is here ſubjoined:

# DECLARATION
## OF THE
# RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF CITIZENS,

*By the National Assembly of France.*

" THE Repreſentatives of the people of FRANCE, formed into a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, conſidering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the ſole cauſes of public misfortunes and corruptions of Government, have reſolved to ſet forth, in a ſolemn declaration, theſe natural, impreſcriptible, and unalienable rights: that this declaration being conſtantly preſent to the minds of the members of the body ſocial, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: that the acts of the legiſlative and executive powers of Government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political inſtitutions, may be more reſpected: and alſo, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Conſtitution, and the general happineſs.

" For theſe reaſons, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY doth recognize and declare, in the preſence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his bleſſing and favour, the following *ſacred* rights of men and of citizens:

' I. *Men*



' I. *Men are born, and always continue, free,* ' *and equal in reſpect of their rights. Civil diſ-* ' *tinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public* ' *utility.*

' II. *The end of all political aſſociations, is, the* ' *preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible* ' *rights of man; and theſe rights are liberty, pro-* ' *perty, ſecurity, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion.*

' III. *The nation is eſſentially the ſource of all* ' *ſovereignty; nor can any* INDIVIDUAL, *or* ' ANY BODY OF MEN, *be entitled to any authority* ' *which is not expreſsly derived from it.*

' IV. Political Liberty conſiſts in the power ' of doing whatever does not injure another. ' The exerciſe of the natural rights of every ' man, has no other limits than thoſe which are ' neceſſary to ſecure to every *other* man the ' free exerciſe of the ſame rights; and theſe ' limits are determinable only by the law.

' V. The law ought to prohibit only actions ' hurtful to ſociety. What is not prohibited by ' the law, ſhould not be hindered; nor ſhould ' any one be compelled to that which the law ' does not require.

' VI. The law is an expreſſion of the will of ' the community. All citizens have a right to ' concur, either perſonally, or by their repre- ' ſentatives, in its formation. It ſhould be the ' ſame to all, whether it protects or puniſhes; ' and *all being equal in its ſight, are equally eli-* ' *gible to all honours, places, and employments,*

*according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.*

'VII. No man should be accused, arrested, 'or held in confinement, except in cases deter- 'mined by the law, and according to the forms 'which it has prescribed. All who promote, 'solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, 'arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; and 'every citizen called upon, or apprehended by 'virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, 'and renders himself culpable by resistance.

'VIII. The law ought to impose no other 'penalties but such as are absolutely and evi- 'dently necessary: and no one ought to be pu- 'nished, but in virtue of a law promulgated 'before the offence, and legally applied.

'IX. Every man being presumed innocent 'till he has been convicted, whenever his de- 'tention becomes indispensible, all rigour to 'him, more than is necessary to secure his per- 'son, ought to be provided against by the law.

'X. No man ought to be molested on account 'of his opinions, not even on account of his *re- 'ligious* opinions, provided his avowal of them 'does not disturb the public order established 'by the law.

'XI. The unrestrained communication of 'thoughts and opinions being one of the most 'precious rights of man, every citizen may 'speak, write, and publish freely, provided he 'is



'is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in 'cases determined by the law.

'XII. A public force being necessary to 'give security to the rights of men and of citi- 'zens, that force is instituted for the benefit 'of the community, and not for the particular 'benefit of the persons with whom it is en- 'trusted.

'XIII. A common contribution being ne- 'cessary for the support of the public force, 'and for defraying the other expences of go- 'vernment, it ought to be divided equally 'among the members of the community, ac- 'cording to their abilities.

'XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by 'himself or his representative, to a free voice 'in determining the necessity of public contri- 'butions, the appropriation of them, and their 'amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

'XV. Every community has a right to de- 'mand of all its agents, an account of their 'conduct.

'XVI. Every community in which a sepa- 'ration of powers and a security of rights is 'not provided for, wants a constitution.

'XVII. The right to property being invio- 'lable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived 'of it, except in cases of evident public neces- 'sity, legally ascertained, and on condition of 'a previous just indemnity."

OBSER-

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

THE three firſt articles comprehend in general terms, the whole of a Declaration of Rights: All the ſucceeding articles either originate from them, or follow as elucidations. The 4th, 5th, and 6th, define more particularly what is only generally expreſſed in the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d.

The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th articles, are declaratory of *principles* upon which laws ſhall be conſtructed, conformable to *rights* already declared. But it is queſtioned by ſome very good people in France, as well as in other countries, whether the 10th article ſufficiently guarantees the right it is intended to accord with: beſides which, it takes off from the divine dignity of religion, and weakens its operative force upon the mind, to make it a ſubject of human laws. It then preſents itſelf to Man, like light intercepted by a cloudy medium, in which the ſource of it is obſcured from his ſight, and he ſees nothing to reverence in the duſky ray *.

The

* There is a ſingle idea, which, if it ſtrikes rightly upon the mind either in a legal or a religious ſenſe, will prevent any man, or any body of men, or any government, from going wrong on the ſubject of Religion; which is, that before any human inſtitutions of government was known in the world, there exiſted, if I may ſo expreſs it, a compact between God and Man, from the beginning of time; and that as the relation and condition which man in his *individual perſon* ſtands in towards his Maker, cannot be changed, or any-ways altered by any human laws or human authority, that religious devotion, which is a part of this compact, cannot ſo much as be made a ſubject of human laws; and that all laws muſt conform themſelves to this prior exiſting compact, and not aſſume to make the compact conform to the laws, which, beſides being human, are ſubſequent thereto. The firſt act of man, when he looked around and ſaw himſelf a creature which he did not make, and a world furniſhed for his reception, muſt have been devotion, and devotion muſt ever continue ſacred to every individual man, *as it appears right to him*; and governments do miſchief by interfering.



The remaining articles, beginning with the twelfth, are ſubſtantially contained in the principles of the preceding articles; but, in the particular ſituation which France then was, having to undo what was wrong, as well as to ſet up what was right, it was proper to be more particular than what in another condition of things would be neceſſary.

While the Declaration of Rights was before the National Aſſembly, ſome of its members remarked, that if a Declaration of Rights was publiſhed, it ſhould be accompanied by a Declaration of Duties. The obſervation diſcovered a mind that reflected, and it only erred by not reflecting far enough. A Declaration of Rights is, by reciprocity, a Declaration of Duties alſo. Whatever is my right as a man, is alſo the right of another; and it becomes my duty to guarantee, as well as to poſſeſs.

The three firſt articles are the baſis of Liberty, as well individual as national; nor can any country be called free, whoſe government does not take its beginning from the principles they contain, and continue to preſerve them pure; and the whole of the Declaration of Rights is of more value to the world, and will do more good, than all the laws and ſtatutes that have yet been promulgated.

In the declaratory exordium which prefaces the Declaration of Rights, we ſee the ſolemn and majeſtic ſpectacle of a Nation opening its commiſſion, under the auſpices of its Creator, to eſtabliſh a Government; a ſcene ſo new, and ſo tranſcendantly unequalled by any thing in the European world, that the name of a Revolution is diminutive of its character, and it riſes into a Regeneration of man. What are the preſent Governments of Europe, but a ſcene of iniquity and oppreſſion? What is that of England? Do not its own inhabitants ſay, It is a market where every man has his price, and where corruption is common traffic, at the expence of a deluded people? No wonder, then, that the French Revolution is traduced. Had it confined itſelf merely to the deſtruction of flagrant deſpotiſm, perhaps Mr. Burke and ſome others had been ſilent. Their cry now is, "It is gone too far;" that is, it has gone too far for them. It ſtares corruption in the face, and the venal tribe are all alarmed. Their fear diſcovers



diſcovers itſelf in their outrage, and they are but publiſhing the groans of a wounded vice. But from ſuch oppoſition, the French Revolution, inſtead of ſuffering, receives an homage. The more it is ſtruck, the more ſparks it will emit; and the fear is, it will not be ſtruck enough. It has nothing to dread from attacks: Truth has given it an eſtabliſhment; and Time will record it with a name as laſting as his own.

Having now traced the progreſs of the French Revolution through moſt of its principal ſtages, from its commencement, to the taking of the Baſtille, and its eſtabliſhment by the Declaration of Rights, I will cloſe the ſubject with the energetic apoſtrophe of M. de la Fayette—*May this great monument raiſed to Liberty, ſerve as a leſſon to the oppreſſor, and an example to the oppreſſed!**

* See page 18 of this work.—N. B. Since the taking of the Baſtille, the occurrences have been publiſhed: but the matters recorded in this narrative, are prior to that period; and ſome of them, as may be eaſily ſeen, can be but very little known.

## MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTER.

TO prevent interrupting the argument in the preceding part of this work, or the narrative that follows it, I reſerved ſome obſervations to be thrown together into a Miſcellaneous Chapter; by which variety might not be cenſured for confuſion. Mr. Burke's Book is *all* Miſcellany. His intention was to make an attack on the French Revolution; but inſtead of proceeding with an orderly arrangement, he has ſtormed it with a mob of ideas tumbling over and deſtroying one another.

But this confuſion and contradiction in Mr. Burke's Book is eaſily accounted for.—When a man in a long cauſe attempts to ſteer his courſe by any thing elſe than ſome polar truth or principle, he is ſure to be loſt. It is beyond the compaſs of his capacity to keep all the parts of an argument together, and make them unite in one iſſue, by any other means than having this guide always in view. Neither memory nor invention will ſupply the want of it. The former fails him, and the latter betrays him.

Notwithſtanding the nonſenſe, for it deſerves no better name, that Mr. Burke has aſſerted about hereditary rights, and hereditary ſucceſſion, and that a Nation has not a right to form a Government for itſelf; it happened to fall in his way to give ſome account of what Govern-



Government is. "*Government*, ſays he, *is a* "*contrivance of human wiſdom.*"

Admitting that Government is a contrivance of human *wiſdom*, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that hereditary ſucceſſion, and hereditary rights, (as they are called), can make no part of it, becauſe it is impoſſible to make wiſdom hereditary; and on the other hand, *that* cannot be a wiſe contrivance, which in its operation may commit the government of a nation to the wiſdom of an ideot. The ground which Mr. Burke now takes, is fatal to every part of his cauſe. The argument changes from hereditary rights to hereditary wiſdom; and the queſtion is, Who is the wiſeſt man? He muſt now ſhew that every one in the line of hereditary ſucceſſion was a Solomon, or his title is not good to be a king.—What a ſtroke has Mr. Burke now made! To uſe a ſailors phraſe, he has *ſwabbed the deck*, and ſcarcely left a name legible in the liſt of Kings; and he has mowed down and thinned the Houſe of Peers, with a ſcythe as formidable as Death and Time.

But Mr. Burke appears to have been aware of this retort; and he has taken care to guard againſt it, by making government to be not only a *contrivance* of human wiſdom, but a *monopoly* of wiſdom. He puts the nation as fools on one ſide, and places his government of wiſdom, all wiſe men of Gotham, on the other ſide; and he then proclaims, and ſays, that "*Men have a* RIGHT *that their* WANTS *ſhould* "*be*

" *be provided for by this wiſdom.*" Having thus made proclamation, he next proceeds to explain to them what their *wants* are, and alſo what their *rights* are. In this he has ſucceeded dextrouſly, for he makes their wants to be a *want* of wiſdom; but as this is but cold comfort, he then informs them, that they have a *right* (not to any of the wiſdom) but to be governed by it: and in order to impreſs them with a ſolemn reverence for this monopoly-government of wiſdom, and of its vaſt capacity for all purpoſes, poſſible or impoſſible, right or wrong, he proceeds with aſtrological myſterious importance, to tell to them its powers, in theſe words—" The Rights of men in govern-" ment are their advantages; and theſe are " often in balances between differences of " good; and in compromiſes ſometimes be-" tween *good* and *evil*, and ſometimes between " *evil* and *evil*. Political reaſon is a *computing* " *principle*; adding—ſubtracting—multiplying " —and dividing, morally, and not metaphy-" ſically or mathematically, true moral demon-" ſtrations."

As the wondering audience, whom Mr. Burke ſuppoſes himſelf talking to, may not underſtand all this learned jargon, I will undertake to be its interpreter. The meaning then, good people, of all this, is, *That government is governed by no principle whatever; that it can make evil good, or good evil, juſt as it pleaſes. In ſhort, that government is arbitrary power.*

But



But there are ſome things which Mr. Burke has forgotten. *Firſt*, He has not ſhewn where the wiſdom originally came from: and *ſecondly*, he has not ſhewn by what authority it firſt began to act. In the manner he introduces the matter, it is either government ſtealing wiſdom, or wiſdom ſtealing government. It is without an origin, and its powers without authority. In ſhort, it is uſurpation.

Whether it be from a ſenſe of ſhame, or from a conſciouſneſs of ſome radical defect in a government neceſſary to be kept out of ſight, or from both, or from any other cauſe, I undertake not to determine; but ſo it is, that a monarchical reaſoner never traces government to its ſource, or from its ſource. It is one of the *ſhibboleths* by which he may be known. A a thouſand years hence, thoſe who ſhall live in America or in France, will look back with contemplative pride on the origin of their governments, and ſay, *This was the work of our glorious anceſtors!* But what can a monarchical talker ſay? What has he to exult in? Alas! he has nothing. A certain ſomething forbids him to look back to a beginning, leſt ſome robber or ſome Robin Hood ſhould riſe from the long obſcurity of time, and ſay, *I am the origin!* Hard as Mr. Burke laboured the Regency Bill and Hereditary Succeſſion two years ago, and much as he dived for precedents, he ſtill had not boldneſs enough to bring up William of Normandy, and ſay, *There is the head of the*

*liſt!*

*liſt! there is the fountain of honour!* the ſon of a proſtitute, and the plunderer of the Engliſh nation.

The opinions of men with reſpect to government, are changing faſt in all countries. The revolutions of America and France have thrown a beam of light over the world, which reaches into man. The enormous expence of governments have provoked people to think, by making them feel: and when once the veil begins to rend, it admits not of repair. Ignorance is of a peculiar nature: once diſpelled, and it is impoſſible to re-eſtabliſh it. It is not originally a thing of itſelf, but is only the abſence of knowledge; and though man may be *kept* ignorant, he cannot be *made* ignorant. The mind, in diſcovering truth, acts in the ſame manner as it acts through the eye in diſcovering objects; when once any object has been ſeen, it is impoſſible to put the mind back to the ſame condition it was in before it ſaw it. Thoſe who talk of a counter revolution in France, ſhew how little they underſtand of man. There does not exiſt in the compaſs of language, an arrangement of words to expreſs ſo much as the means of effecting a counter revolution. The means muſt be an obliteration of knowledge; and it has never yet been diſcovered, how to make man *unknow* his knowledge, or *unthink* his thoughts.

Mr Burke is labouring in vain to ſtop the progreſs of knowledge; and it comes with the worſe grace from him, as there is a certain tranſaction



action known in the city, which renders him ſuſpected of being a penſioner in a fictitious name. This may account for ſome ſtrange doctrine he has advanced in his book, which, though he points it at the Revolution Society, is effectually directed againſt the whole Nation.

"The King of England," ſays he, "holds *his* "Crown (for it does not belong to the Nation, "according to Mr. Burke) in *contempt* of the "choice of the Revolution Society, who have "not a ſingle vote for a King among them "either *individually* or *collectively*; and his "Majeſty's heirs, each in their time and order, "will come to the Crown *with the ſame con-* "*tempt* of their choice, with which his Majeſty "has ſucceeded to that which he now wears."

As to who is King in England or elſewhere, or whether there is any King at all, or whether the people chuſe a Cherokee Chief, or a Heſſian Huſſar for a King, it is not a matter that I trouble myſelf about—be that to themſelves; but with reſpect to the doctrine, ſo far as it relates to the Rights of Men and Nations, it is as abominable as any thing ever uttered in the moſt enſlaved country under heaven. Whether it ſounds worſe to my ear, by not being accuſtomed to hear ſuch deſpotiſm, than what it does to the ear of another perſon, I am not ſo well a judge of; but of its abominable principle I am at no loſs to judge.

It is not the Revolution Society that Mr. Burke means; it is the Nation, as well in its

*original*, as in its *representative* character; and he has taken care to make himself understood, by saying that they have not a vote either *collectively* or *individually*. The Revolution Society is composed of citizens of all denominations, and of members of both the Houses of Parliament; and consequently, if there is not a right to a vote in any of the characters, there can be no right to any, either in the nation, or in its parliament. This ought to be a caution to every country, how it imports foreign families to be kings. It is somewhat curious to observe, that although the people of England have been in the habit of talking about kings, it is always a Foreign House of kings; hating Foreigners, yet governed by them.—It is now the House of Brunswick, one of the petty tribes of Germany.

It has hitherto been the practice of the English Parliaments, to regulate what was called the succession, (taking it for granted, that the Nation then continued to accord to the form of annexing a monarchical branch to its government; for without this, the Parliament could not have had authority to have sent either to Holland or to Hanover, or to impose a King upon the Nation against its will.) And this must be the utmost limit to which Parliament can go upon the case; but the right of the Nation goes to the *whole* case, because it has the right of changing its *whole* form of government. The right of a Parliament is only a right in trust, a right by delegation, and that but from a very small part of



of the Nation; and one of its Houses has not even this. But the right of the Nation is an original right, as universal as taxation. The Nation is the paymaster of every thing, and every thing must conform to its general will.

I remember taking notice of a speech in what is called the English House of Peers, by the then Earl of Shelburne, and I think it was at the time he was Minister, which is applicable to this case. I do not directly charge my memory with every particular; but the words and the purport, as nearly as I remember, were these: *That the form of a Government was a matter wholly at the will of a Nation, at all times: that if it chose a monarchical form, it had a right to have it so; and if it afterwards chose to be a Republic, it had a right to be a Republic, and to say to a King, 'We have no longer any occasion for you.'*

When Mr. Burke says that "His Majesty's "heirs and successors, each in their time and "order, will come to the crown with the *same* "*contempt* of their choice with which His Ma"jesty has succeeded to that he wears," it is saying too much even to the humblest individual in the country; part of whose daily labour goes towards making up the million sterling a year, which the country gives the person it stiles a King. Government with insolence, is despotism; but when contempt is added, it becomes worse; and to pay for contempt, is the excess of slavery. This species of Government comes from Germany; and reminds me of what one of the

Brunſwick ſoldiers told me, who was taken priſoner by the Americans in the late war: "Ah!" ſaid he, "America is a fine free country, it is "worth the people's fighting for; I know the "difference by knowing my own: in my coun-"try, if the prince ſays, Eat ſtraw, we eat ſtraw." God help that country, thought I, be it England or elſewhere, whoſe liberties are to be protected by German principles of government, and Princes of Brunſwick!

As Mr. Burke ſometimes ſpeaks of England, ſometimes of France, and ſometimes of the world, and of government in general, it is difficult to anſwer his book without apparently meeting him on the ſame ground. Although principles of Government are general ſubjects, it is next to impoſſible in many caſes to ſeparate them from the idea of place and circumſtance; and the more ſo when circumſtances are put for arguments, which is frequently the caſe with Mr. Burke.

In the former part of his book, addreſſing himſelf to the people of France, he ſays, "No "experience has taught us, (meaning the Engliſh), "that in any other courſe or method than "that of an *hereditary crown*, can our liberties "be regularly perpetuated and preſerved ſacred "as our *hereditary right*." I aſk Mr. Burke, who is to take them away?—M. de la Fayette, in ſpeaking to France, ſays, "*For a Nation to "be free, it is ſufficient that ſhe wills it.*" But Mr. Burke repreſents England as wanting capacity to take care of itſelf, and that its liberties muſt



muſt be taken care of by a King holding it in "contempt." If England is ſunk to this, it is preparing itſelf to eat ſtraw, as in Hanover or in Brunſwick. But beſides the folly of the declaration, it happens that the facts are all againſt Mr. Burke. It was by the Government *being hereditary*, that the liberties of the people were endangered. Charles I. and James II. are inſtances of this truth; yet neither of them went ſo far as to hold the Nation in contempt.

As it is ſometimes of advantage to the people of one country, to hear what thoſe of other countries have to ſay reſpecting it, it is poſſible that the people of France may learn ſomething from Mr. Burke's book, and that the people of England may alſo learn ſomething from the anſwers it will occaſion. When Nations fall out about freedom, a wide field of debate is opened. The argument commences with the rights of war. without its evils; and as knowledge is the object contended for, the party that ſuſtains the defeat obtains the prize.

Mr. Burke talks about what he calls an hereditary crown, as if it were ſome production of Nature; or as if, like Time, it had a power to operate, not only independently, but in ſpite of man; or as if it were a thing or a ſubject univerſally conſented to. Alas! it has none of thoſe properties, but is the reverſe of them all. It is a thing in imagination, the propriety of which is more than doubted, and the legality of which in a few years will be denied.

But, to arrange this matter in a clearer view than what general expreſſions can convey, it will be neceſſary to ſtate the diſtinct heads under which (what is called) an hereditary crown, or, more properly ſpeaking, an hereditary ſucceſſion to the Government of a Nation, can be conſidered; which are,

Firſt, The right of a particular Family to eſtabliſh itſelf.

Secondly, The right of a Nation to eſtabliſh a particular Family.

With reſpect to the *firſt* of theſe heads, that of a Family eſtabliſhing itſelf with hereditary powers on its own authority, and independent of the conſent of a Nation, all men will concur in calling it deſpotiſm; and it would be treſpaſſing on their underſtanding to attempt to prove it.

But the *ſecond* head, that of a Nation eſtabliſhing a particular Family with *hereditary powers*, does not preſent itſelf as deſpotiſm on the firſt reflection; but if men will permit a ſecond reflection to take place, and carry that reflection forward but one remove out of their own perſons to that of their offſpring, they will then ſee that hereditary ſucceſſion becomes in its conſequences the ſame deſpotiſm to others, which they reprobated for themſelves. It operates to preclude the conſent of the ſucceeding generation; and the preclusion of conſent is deſpotiſm. When the perſon who at any time ſhall be in poſſeſſion of a Government, or thoſe who ſtand in ſucceſſion to him, ſhall ſay to a Nation, I hold



hold this power in 'contempt' of you, it ſignifies not on what authority he pretends to ſay it. It is no relief, but an aggravation to a perſon in ſlavery, to reflect that he was ſold by his parent; and as that which heightens the criminality of an act cannot be produced to prove the legality of it, hereditary ſucceſſion cannot be eſtabliſhed as a legal thing.

In order to arrive at a more perfect deciſion on this head, it will be proper to conſider the generation which undertakes to eſtabliſh a Family with *hereditary powers*, a-part and ſeparate from the generations which are to follow; and alſo to conſider the character in which the *firſt* generation acts with reſpect to ſucceeding generations.

The generation which firſt ſelects a perſon, and puts him at the head of its Government, either with the title of King, or any other diſtinction, acts its *own choice*, be it wiſe or fooliſh, as a free agent for itſelf. The perſon ſo ſet up is not hereditary, but ſelected and appointed; and the generation who ſets him up, does not live under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice and eſtabliſhment. Were the generation who ſets him up, and the perſon ſo ſet up, to live for ever, it never could become hereditary ſucceſſion; and of conſequence, hereditary ſucceſſion can only follow on the death of the firſt parties.

As therefore hereditary ſucceſſion is out of the queſtion with reſpect to the *firſt* generation, we have now to conſider the character in which *that* generation acts with reſpect to the commencing generation, and to all ſucceeding ones.

It

It assumes a character, to which it has neither right nor title. It changes itself from a *Legislator* to a *Testator*, and affects to make its Will, which is to have operation after the demise of the makers, to bequeath the Government; and it not only attempts to bequeath, but to establish on the succeeding generation, a new and different form of government under which itself lived. Itself, as is already observed, lived not under an hereditary Government, but under a Government of its own choice and establishment; and it now attempts, by virtue of a will and testament, (and which it has not authority to make), to take from the commencing generation, and all future ones, the rights and free agency by which itself acted.

But, exclusive of the right which any generation has to act collectively as a testator, the objects to which it applies itself in this case, are not within the compass of any law, or of any will or testament.

The rights of men in society, are neither deviseable, nor transferable, nor annihilable, but are descendable only; and it is not in the power of any generation to intercept finally, and cut off the descent. If the present generation, or any other, are disposed to be slaves, it does not lessen the right of the succeeding generation to be free: wrongs cannot have a legal descent. When Mr. Burke attempts to maintain, that the *English Nation did at the Revolution of* 1688, *most solemnly renounce and abdicate their rights for themselves, and for all their posterity for ever*; he speaks a language that merits not reply, and which can only excite contempt for his prostitute principles, or pity for his ignorance.

In



In whatever light hereditary succession, as growing out of the will and testament of some former generation, presents itself, it is an absurdity. A cannot make a will to take from B the property of B, and give it to C; yet this is the manner in which (what is called) hereditary succession by law operates. A certain former generation made a will, to take away the rights of the commencing generation, and all future ones, and convey those rights to a third person, who afterwards comes forward, and tells them, in Mr. Burke's language, that they have *no rights*, that their rights are already bequeathed to him, and that he will govern in *contempt* of them. From such principles, and such ignorance, Good Lord deliver the world!

But, after all, what is this metaphor called a crown, or rather what is monarchy? Is it a thing, or is it a name, or is it a fraud? Is it "a contrivance of human wisdom," or of human craft to obtain money from a nation under specious pretences? Is it a thing necessary to a nation? If it is, in what does that necessity consist, what services does it perform, what is its business, and what are its merits? Doth the virtue consist in the metaphor, or in the man? Doth the goldsmith that makes the crown, make the virtue also? Doth it operate like Fortunatus's wishing-cap, or Harlequin's wooden sword? Doth it make a man a conjuror? In fine, what is it? It appears to be a something going much out of fashion, falling into ridicule, and rejected in some countries both as unnecessary and expensive. In

America

America it is conſidered as an abſurdity; and in France it has ſo far declined, that the goodneſs of the man, and the reſpect for his perſonal character, are the only things that preſerve the appearance of its exiſtence.

If Government be what Mr. Burke deſcribes it, "a contrivance of human wiſdom," I might aſk him, if wiſdom was at ſuch a low ebb in England, that it was become neceſſary to import it from Holland and from Hanover? But I will do the country the juſtice to ſay, that was not the caſe; and even if it was, it miſtook the cargo. The wiſdom of every country, when properly exerted, is ſufficient for all its purpoſes; and there could exiſt no more real occaſion in England to have ſent for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a German Elector, than there was in America to have done a ſimilar thing. If a country does not underſtand its own affairs, how is a foreigner to underſtand them, who knows neither its laws, its manners, nor its language? If there exiſted a man ſo tranſcendantly wiſe above all others, that his wiſdom was neceſſary to inſtruct a nation, ſome reaſon might be offered for monarchy; but when we caſt our eyes about a country, and obſerve how every part underſtands its own affairs; and when we look around the world, and ſee that of all men in it, the race of kings are the moſt inſignificant in capacity, our reaſon cannot fail to aſk us—What are thoſe men kept for?

If there is any thing in monarchy which we people of America do not underſtand, I wiſh Mr. Burke



Burke would be ſo kind as to inform us. I ſee in America, a government extending over a country ten times as large as England, and conducted with regularity, for a fortieth part of the expence which government coſts in England. If I aſk a man in America, if he wants a King? he retorts, and aſks me if I take him for an ideot? How is it that this difference happens? are we more or leſs wiſe than others? I ſee in America, the generality of people living in a ſtile of plenty unknown in monarchical countries; and I ſee that the principle of its government, which is that of the *equal Rights of Man*, is making a rapid progreſs in the world.

If monarchy is a uſeleſs thing, why is it kept up anywhere? and if a neceſſary thing, how can it be diſpenſed with? That *civil government* is neceſſary, all civilized nations will agree; but civil government is republican government. All that part of the government of England which begins with the office of conſtable, and proceeds through the department of magiſtrate, quarter-ſeſſion, and general aſſize, including trial by jury, is republican government. Nothing of monarchy appears in any part of it, except the name which William the Conqueror impoſed upon the Engliſh, that of obliging them to call him "Their Sovereign Lord the King."

It is eaſy to conceive, that a band of intereſted men, ſuch as Placemen, Penſioners, Lords of the bed-chamber, Lords of the kitchen, Lords of the neceſſary-houſe, and the Lord knows what beſides, can find as many reaſons for monarchy as their

ſalaries, paid at the expence of the country, amount to; but if I aſk the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradeſman, and down through all the occupations of life to the common labourer, what ſervice monarchy is to him? he can give me no anſwer. If I aſk him what monarchy is, he believes it is ſomething like a ſinecure.

Notwithſtanding the taxes of England amount to almoſt ſeventeen millions a-year, ſaid to be for the expences of Government, it is ſtill evident that the ſenſe of the Nation is left to govern itſelf, and does govern itſelf by magiſtrates and juries, almoſt at its own charge, on republican principles, excluſive of the expence of taxes. The ſalaries of the Judges are almoſt the only charge that is paid out of the revenue. Conſidering that all the internal Government is executed by the people, the taxes of England ought to be the lighteſt of any nation in Europe; inſtead of which, they are the contrary. As this cannot be accounted for on the ſcore of civil government, the ſubject neceſſarily extends itſelf to the monarchical part.

When the people of England ſent for George the Firſt, (and it would puzzle a wiſer man than Mr. Burke to diſcover for what he could be wanted, or what ſervice he could render), they ought at leaſt to have conditioned for the abandonment of Hanover. Beſides the endleſs German intrigues that muſt follow from a German Elector being King of England, there is a natural impoſſibility of uniting in the ſame perſon the principles of Freedom and the principles of Deſpotiſm,



Deſpotiſm, or, as it is uſually called in England, Arbitrary Power. A German Elector is in his electorate a deſpot: How then could it be expected that he ſhould be attached to principles of liberty in one country, while his intereſt in another was to be ſupported by deſpotiſm? The union cannot exiſt; and it might eaſily have been foreſeen, that German Electors would make German Kings, or, in Mr. Burke's words, would aſſume government with 'contempt.' The Engliſh have been in the habit of conſidering a King of England only in the character in which he appears to them: whereas the ſame perſon, while the connection laſts, has a home-ſeat in another country, the intereſt of which is different to their own, and the principles of the governments in oppoſition to each other—To ſuch a perſon England will appear as a town-reſidence, and the Electorate as the eſtate. The Engliſh may wiſh, as I believe they do, ſucceſs to the principles of Liberty in France, or in Germany; but a German Elector trembles for the fate of deſpotiſm in his electorate: and the Dutchy of Mecklenburgh, where the preſent Queen's family governs, is under the ſame wretched ſtate of arbitrary power, and the people in ſlaviſh vaſſalage.

There never was a time when it became the Engliſh to watch continental intrigues more circumſpectly than at the preſent moment, and to diſtinguiſh the politics of the Electorate from the politics of the Nation. The revolution of France has entirely changed the ground with reſpect to England,

England and France, as nations: but the German deſpots, with Pruſſia at their head, are combining againſt Liberty; and the fondneſs of Mr. Pitt for office, and the intereſt which all his family-connections have obtained, do not give ſufficient ſecurity againſt this intrigue.

As every thing which paſſes in the world becomes matter for hiſtory, I will now quit this ſubject, and take a conciſe review of the ſtate of parties and politics in England, as Mr. Burke has done in France.

Whether the preſent reign commenced with contempt, I leave to Mr. Burke: certain however it is, that it had ſtrongly that appearance. The animoſity of the Engliſh Nation, it is very well remembered, ran high; and, had the true principles of Liberty been as well underſtood then as they now promiſe to be, it is probable the Nation would not have patiently ſubmitted to ſo much. George the Firſt and Second were ſenſible of a rival in the remains of the Stuarts; and as they could not but conſider themſelves as ſtanding on their good behaviour, they had prudence to keep their German principles of Government to themſelves; but as the Stuart family wore away, the prudence became leſs neceſſary.

The conteſt between rights, and what were called prerogatives, continued to heat the Nation till ſome time after the concluſion of the American War, when all at once it fell a calm—Execration exchanged itſelf for applauſe, and Court popularity ſprung up like a muſhroom in a night.

To



To account for this ſudden tranſition, it is proper to obſerve, that there are two diſtinct ſpecies of popularity; the one excited by merit, the other by reſentment. As the Nation had formed itſelf into two parties, and each was extolling the merits of its parliamentary champions for and againſt prerogative, nothing could operate to give a more general ſhock than an immediate coalition of the champions themſelves. The partiſans of each being thus ſuddenly left in the lurch, and mutually heated with diſguſt at the meaſure, felt no other relief than uniting in a common execration againſt both. A higher ſtimulus of reſentment being thus excited, than what the conteſt on prerogatives had occaſioned, the Nation quitted all former objects of rights and wrongs, and fought only that of gratification. The indignation at the Coalition, ſo effectually ſuperſeded the indignation againſt the Court, as to extinguiſh it; and without any change of principles on the part of the Court, the ſame people who had reprobated its deſpotiſm, united with it, to revenge themſelves on the Coalition Parliament. The caſe was not, which they liked beſt,—but, which they hated moſt; and the leaſt hated paſſed for love. The diſſolution of the Coalition Parliament, as it afforded the means of gratifying the reſentment of the Nation, could not fail to be popular; and from hence aroſe the popularity of the Court.

Tranſitions of this kind exhibit a Nation under the government of temper, inſtead of a fixed and ſteady principle; and having once committed itſelf,

however

however raſhly, it feels itſelf urged along to juſtify by continuance its firſt proceeding.—Meaſures which at other times it would cenſure, it now approves, and acts perſuaſion upon itſelf to ſuffocate its judgment.

On the return of a new Parliament, the new Miniſter, Mr. Pitt, found himſelf in a ſecure majority: and the nation gave him credit, not out of regard to himſelf, but becauſe it had reſolved to do it out of reſentment to another. He introduced himſelf to public notice by a propoſed Reform of Parliament, which in its operation would have amounted to a public juſtification of corruption. The Nation was to be at the expence of buying up the rotten boroughs, whereas it ought to puniſh the perſons who deal in the traffic.

Paſſing over the two bubbles, of the Dutch buſineſs, and the million a-year to ſink the national debt, the matter which moſt preſents itſelf, is the affair of the Regency. Never, in the courſe of my obſervation, was deluſion more ſucceſsfully acted, nor a nation more completely deceived.—But, to make this appear, it will be neceſſary to go over the circumſtances.

Mr. Fox had ſtated in the Houſe of Commons, that the Prince of Wales, as heir in ſucceſſion, had a right in himſelf to aſſume the government. This was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt; and, ſo far as the oppoſition was confined to the doctrine, it was juſt. But the principles





which Mr. Pitt maintained on the contrary ſide, were as bad, or worſe in their extent, than thoſe of Mr. Fox; becauſe they went to eſtabliſh an ariſtocracy over the Nation, and over the ſmall repreſentation it has in the Houſe of Commons.

Whether the Engliſh form of Government be good or bad, is not in this caſe the queſtion; but, taking it as it ſtands, without regard to its merits or demerits, Mr. Pitt was farther from the point than Mr. Fox.

It is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of three parts:—while therefore the Nation is diſpoſed to continue this form, the parts have a *national ſtanding*, independent of each other, and are not the creatures of each other. Had Mr. Fox paſſed through Parliament, and ſaid, that the perſon alluded to claimed on the ground of the Nation, Mr. Pitt muſt then have contended (what he called) the right of the Parliament, againſt the right of the Nation.

By the appearance which the conteſt made, Mr. Fox took the hereditary ground, and Mr. Pitt the parliamentary ground; but the fact is, they both took hereditary ground, and Mr. Pitt took the worſt of the two.

What is called the Parliament, is made up of two Houſes; one of which is more hereditary, and more beyond the controul of the Nation, than what the Crown (as it is called) is ſuppoſed to be. It is an hereditary ariſtocracy, aſſuming and aſſerting indefeaſible, irrevokable rights and authority, wholly independent of the

Nation. Where then was the merited popularity of exalting this hereditary power over another hereditary power less independent of the Nation than what itself assumed to be, and of absorbing the rights of the Nation into a House over which it has neither election nor controul?

The general impulse of the Nation was right; but it acted without reflection. It approved the opposition made to the right set up by Mr. Fox, without perceiving that Mr. Pitt was supporting another indefeasible right, more remote from the Nation, in opposition to it.

With respect to the House of Commons, it is elected but by a small part of the Nation; but were the election as universal as taxation, which it ought to be, it would still be only the organ of the Nation, and cannot possess inherent rights.—When the National Assembly of France resolves a matter, the resolve is made in right of the Nation; but Mr. Pitt, on all national questions, so far as they refer to the House of Commons, absorbs the rights of the Nation into the organ, and makes the organ into a Nation, and the Nation itself into a cypher.

In a few words, the question on the Regency was a question on a million a-year, which is appropriated to the executive department; and Mr. Pitt could not possess himself of any management of this sum, without setting up the supremacy of Parliament; and when this was accomplished,



accomplished, it was indifferent who should be Regent, as he must be Regent at his own cost. Among the curiosities which this contentious debate afforded, was that of making the Great Seal into a King; the affixing of which to an act, was to be royal authority. If, therefore, Royal Authority is a Great Seal, it consequently is in itself nothing; and a good Constitution would be of infinitely more value to the Nation, than what the three Nominal Powers, as they now stand, are worth.

The continual use of the word *Constitution* in the English Parliament, shews there is none; and that the whole is merely a form of Government without a Constitution, and constituting itself with what powers it pleases. If there were a Constitution, it certainly could be referred to; and the debate on any constitutional point, would terminate by producing the Constitution. One member says, This is Constitution; and another says, That is Constitution—To-day it is one thing; and to-morrow, it is something else—while the maintaining the debate proves there is none. Constitution is now the cant word of Parliament, tuning itself to the ear of the Nation. Formerly it was the *universal supremacy of Parliament*—the *omnipotence of Parliament*. But since the progress of Liberty in France, those phrases have a despotic harshness in their note; and the English Parliament have catched the fashion from the National Assem-

bly, but without the ſubſtance, of ſpeaking of *Conſtitution.*

As the preſent generation of people in England did not make the Government, they are not accountable for any of its defects; but that ſooner or later it muſt come into thei hands to undergo a conſtitutional reformation is as certain as that the ſame thing has happened in France. If France, with a revenue of nearly twenty-four millions ſterling, with an extent of rich and fertile country above four times larger than England, with a population of twenty-four millions of inhabitants to ſupport taxation, with upwards of ninety millions ſterling of gold and ſilver circulating in the nation, and with a debt leſs than the preſent debt of England—ſtill found it neceſſary, from whatever cauſe, to come to a ſettlement of its affairs, it ſolves the problem of funding for both countries.

It is out of the queſtion to ſay how long what is called the Engliſh conſtitution has laſted, and to argue from thence how long it is to laſt; the queſtion is, how long can the funding ſyſtem laſt? It is a thing but of modern invention, and has not yet continued beyond the life of a man; yet in that ſhort ſpace it has ſo far accumulated, that, together with the current expences, it requires an amount of taxes at leaſt equal to the whole landed rental of the nation in acres to defray the annual expenditure.



penditure. That a government could not always have gone on by the ſame ſyſtem which has been followed for the laſt ſeventy years, muſt be evident to every man; and for the ſame reaſon it cannot always go on.

The funding ſyſtem is not money; neither is it, properly ſpeaking, credit. It in effect creates upon paper the ſum which it appears to borrow, and lays on a tax to keep the imaginary capital alive by the payment of intereſt, and ſends the annuity to market, to be ſold for paper already in circulation. If any credit is given, it is to the diſpoſition of the people to pay the tax, and not to the government which lays it on. When this diſpoſition expires, what is ſuppoſed to be the credit of Government expires with it. The inſtance of France under the former Government, ſhews that it is impoſſible to compel the payment of taxes by force, when a whole nation is determined to take its ſtand upon that ground.

Mr. Burke, in his review of the finances of France, ſtates the quantity of gold and ſilver in France, at about eighty-eight millions ſterling. In doing this, he has, I preſume, divided by the difference of exchange, inſtead of the ſtandard of twenty-four livres to a pound ſterling; for M. Neckar's ſtatement, from which Mr. Burke's is taken, is *two thouſand two hundred millions of livres*, which is upwards of ninety-one millions and an half ſterling.

M. Neckar

M. Neckar in France, and Mr. George Chalmers of the Office of Trade and Plantation in England, of which Lord Hawkesbury is president, published nearly about the same time (1786) an account of the quantity of money in each nation, from the returns of the Mint of each nation. Mr. Chalmers, from the returns of the English Mint at the Tower of London, states the quantity of money in England, including Scotland and Ireland, to be twenty millions sterling*.

M. Neckar † says, that the amount of money in France, recoined from the old coin which was called in, was two thousand five hundred millions of livres, (upwards of one hundred and four millions sterling); and, after deducting for waste, and what may be in the West Indies, and other possible circumstances, states the circulation quantity at home, to be ninety-one millions and an half sterling; but, taking it as Mr. Burke has put it, it is sixty-eight millions more than the national quantity in England.

That the quantity of money in France cannot be under this sum, may at once be seen from the state of the French Revenue, without referring to the records of the French Mint for proofs. The revenue of France prior to

* See *Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain*, by G. Chalmers.

† See Administration of the Finances of France, Vol. III. by M. Neckar.

the



the Revolution, was nearly twenty-four millions sterling; and as paper had then no existence in France, the whole revenue was collected upon gold and silver; and it would have been impossible to have collected such a quantity of revenue upon a less national quantity than M. Neckar has stated. Before the establishment of paper in England, the revenue was about a fourth part of the national amount of gold and silver. as may be known by referring to the revenue prior to King William, and the quantity of money stated to be in the nation at that time, which was nearly as much as it is now.

It can be of no real service to a Nation, to impose upon itself, or to permit itself to be imposed upon; but the prejudices of some, and the imposition of others, have always represented France as a nation possessing but little money—whereas the quantity is not only more than four times what the quantity is in England, but is considerably greater on a proportion of numbers. To account for this deficiency on the part of England, some reference should be had to the English system of funding. It operates to multiply paper, and to substitute it in the room of money, in various shapes; and the more paper is multiplied, the more opportunities are afforded to export the specie; and it admits of a possibility (by extending it to

small

ſmall notes) of increaſing paper till there is no money left.

I know this is not a pleaſant ſubject to Engliſh readers; but the matters I am going to mention, are ſo important in themſelves, as to require the attention of men intereſted in money-tranſactions of a public nature.—There is a circumſtance ſtated by M. Neckar, in his treatiſe on the adminiſtration of the finances, which has never been attended to in England, but which forms the only baſis whereon to eſtimate the quantity of money (gold and ſilver) which ought to be in every nation in Europe, to preſerve a relative proportion with other nations.

Liſbon and Cadiz are the two ports into which (money) gold and ſilver from South America are imported, and which afterwards divides and ſpreads itſelf over Europe by means of commerce, and increaſes the quantity of money in all parts of Europe. If, therefore, the amount of the annual importation into Europe can be known, and the relative proportion of the foreign commerce of the ſeveral nations by which it is diſtributed can be aſcertained, they give a rule, ſufficiently true, to aſcertain the quantity of money which ought to be found in any nation, at any given time.

M. Neckar ſhews from the regiſters of Liſbon and Cadiz, that the importation of gold and ſilver into Europe, is five millions ſterling





annually. He has not taken it on a ſingle year, but on an average of fifteen ſucceeding years, from 1763 to 1777, both incluſive; in which time, the amount was one thouſand eight hundred million livres, which is ſeventy-five millions ſterling *.

From the commencement of the Hanover ſucceſſion in 1714, to the time Mr. Chalmers publiſhed, is ſeventy-two years; and the quantity imported into Europe, in that time, would be three hundred and ſixty millions ſterling.

If the foreign commerce of Great Britain be ſtated at a ſixth part of what the whole foreign commerce of Europe amounts to, (which is probably an inferior eſtimation to what the gentlemen at the Exchange would allow) the proportion which Britain ſhould draw by commerce of this ſum, to keep herſelf on a proportion with the reſt of Europe, would be alſo a ſixth part, which is ſixty millions ſterling; and if the ſame allowance for waſte and accident be made for England which M. Neckar makes for France, the quantity remaining after theſe deductions would be fifty-two millions; and this ſum ought to have been in the nation (at the time Mr. Chalmers publiſhed) in addition to the ſum which was in the nation at the commencement of the Hanover ſucceſſion, and to have made in the whole at leaſt ſixty-ſix millions ſterling; inſtead of

* Adminiſtration of the Finances of France, Vol. iii.

which, there were but twenty millions, which is forty-six millions below its proportionate quantity.

As the quantity of gold and silver imported into Lisbon and Cadiz, is more exactly ascertained than that of any commodity imported into England; and as the quantity of money coined at the Tower of London, is still more positively known; the leading facts do not admit of controversy. Either, therefore, the commerce of England is unproductive of profit, or the gold and silver which it brings in, leak continually away by unseen means, at the average rate of about three quarters of a million a-year, which, in the course of seventy-two years, accounts for the deficiency; and its absence is supplied by paper *.

The

* Whether the English commerce does not bring in money, or whether the Government sends it out after it is brought in, is a matter which the parties concerned can best explain; but that the deficiency exists, is not in the power of either to disprove. While Dr. Price, Mr. Eden (now Auckland), Mr. Chalmers, and others, were debating whether the quantity of money in England was greater or less than at the Revolution, the circumstance was not adverted to, that since the Revolution, there cannot have been less than four hundred millions sterling imported into Europe; and therefore, the quantity in England ought at least to have been four times greater than it was at the Revolution, to be on a proportion with Europe. What England is now doing by paper, is what she would have been able to have done by solid money, if gold and silver had come into the nation in the proportion it ought, or had not been sent out; and she is endeavouring to restore by paper, the balance she has lost by money. It is certain, that the gold and silver which arrive annually



The Revolution of France is attended with many novel circumstances, not only in the po-

ally in the register-ships to Spain and Portugal, do not remain in those countries. Taking the value half in gold and half in silver, it is about four hundred tons annually; and from the number of ships and galloons employed in the trade of bringing those metals from South America to Portugal and Spain, the quantity sufficiently proves itself, without referring to the registers.

In the situation England now is, it is impossible she can increase in money. High taxes not only lessen the property of the individuals, but they lessen also the money-capital of a nation, by inducing smuggling, which can only be carried on by gold and silver. By the politics which the British Government have carried on with the Inland Powers of Germany and the Continent, it has made an enemy of all the Maritime Powers, and is therefore obliged to keep up a large navy; but though the navy is built in England, the naval stores must be purchased from abroad, and that from countries where the greatest part must be paid for in gold and silver. Some fallacious rumours have been set afloat in England to induce a belief of money, and, among others, that of the French refugees bringing great quantities. The idea is ridiculous. The general part of the money in France is silver; and it would take upwards of twenty of the largest broad wheel waggons, with ten horses each, to remove one million sterling of silver. Is it then to be supposed, that a few people fleeing on horse-back, or in post-chaises, in a secret manner, and having the French Custom-House to pass, and the sea to cross, could bring even a sufficiency for their own expences?

When millions of money are spoken of, it should be recollected, that such sums can only accumulate in a country by slow degrees, and a long procession of time. The most frugal system that England could now adopt, would not recover, in a century, the balance she has lost in money since the commencement of the Hanover succession. She is seventy millions behind France, and she must be in some considerable proportion behind every country in Europe, because the returns of the English Mint do not shew an increase of money, while the registers of Lisbon and Cadiz shew an European increase of between three and four hundred millions sterling.

litical ſphere, but in the circle of money tranſactions. Among others, it ſhews that a Government may be in a ſtate of inſolvency, and a Nation rich. So far as the fact is confined to the late Government of France, it was inſolvent; becauſe the Nation would no longer ſupport its extravagance, and therefore it could no longer ſupport itſelf—but with reſpect to the Nation, all the means exiſted. A Government may be ſaid to be inſolvent, every time it applies to a Nation to diſcharge its arrears. The inſolvency of the late Government of France, and the preſent Government of England, differed in no other reſpect than as the diſpoſition of the people differ. The people of France refuſed their aid to the old Government; and the people of England ſubmit to taxation without enquiry. What is called the Crown in England, has been inſolvent ſeveral times; the laſt of which, publicly known, was in May 1777, when it applied to the Nation to diſcharge upwards of £. 600,000, private debts, which otherwiſe it could not pay.

It was the error of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Burke, and all thoſe who were unacquainted with the affairs of France, to confound the French Nation with the French Government. The French Nation, in effect, endeavoured to render the late Government inſolvent, for the purpoſe of taking Government into its own hands; and it reſerved its means for the ſupport of the new Govern-



Government. In a country of ſuch vaſt extent and population as France, the natural means cannot be wanting; and the political means appear the inſtant the Nation is diſpoſed to permit them. When Mr. Burke, in a ſpeech laſt Winter in the Britiſh Parliament, *caſt his eyes over the map of Europe, and ſaw a chaſm that once was France*, he talked like a dreamer of dreams. The ſame natural France exiſted as before, and all the natural means exiſted with it. The only chaſm was that which the extinction of deſpotiſm had left, and which was to be filled up with a conſtitution more formidable in reſources than the power which had expired.

Although the French Nation rendered the late Government inſolvent, it did not permit the inſolvency to act towards the creditors; and the creditors conſidering the Nation as the real paymaſter, and the Government only as the agent, reſted themſelves on the Nation, in preference to the Government. This appears greatly to diſturb Mr. Burke, as the precedent is fatal to the policy by which Governments have ſuppoſed themſelves ſecure. They have contracted debts, with a view of attaching what is called the monied intereſt of a Nation to their ſupport; but the example in France ſhews, that the permanent ſecurity of the creditor is in the Nation, and not in the Government; and that in all poſſible revolutions that may happen in Governments, the means are always with the Nation,

Nation, and the Nation always in exiſtence, Mr. Burke argues, that the creditors ought to have abided the fate of the Government which they truſted; but the National Aſſembly conſidered them as the creditors of the Nation, and not of the Government—of the maſter, and not of the ſteward.

Notwithſtanding the late Government could not diſcharge the current expences, the preſent Government has paid off a great part of the capital. This has been accompliſhed by two means; the one by leſſening the expences of Government, and the other by the ſale of the monaſtic and eccleſiaſtical landed eſtates. The devotees and penitent debauchees, extortioners and miſers of former days, to enſure themſelves a better world than that which they were about to leave, had bequeathed immenſe property in truſt to the prieſthood, for *pious uſes*; and the prieſthood kept it for themſelves. The National Aſſembly has ordered it to be ſold for the good of the whole Nation, and the prieſthood to be decently provided for.

In conſequence of the Revolution, the annual intereſt of the debt of France will be reduced at leaſt ſix millions ſterling, by paying off upwards of one hundred millions of the capital; which, with leſſening the former expences of Government at leaſt three millions, will place France in a ſituation worthy the imitation of Europe.

Upon



Upon a whole review of the ſubject, how vaſt is the contraſt! While Mr. Burke has been talking of a general bankruptcy in France, the National Aſſembly has been paying off the capital of its debt; and while taxes have increaſed near a million a-year in England, they have lowered ſeveral millions a-year in France. Not a word has either Mr. Burke or Mr. Pitt ſaid about French affairs, or the ſtate of the French finances, in the preſent Seſſion of Parliament. The ſubject begins to be too well underſtood, and impoſition ſerves no longer.

There is a general enigma running through the whole of Mr. Burke's Book. He writes in a rage againſt the National Aſſembly; but what is he enraged about? If his aſſertions were as true as they are groundleſs, and that France, by her Revolution, had annihilated her power, and become what he calls a *chaſm*, it might excite the grief of a Frenchman, (conſidering himſelf as a national man), and provoke his rage againſt the National Aſſembly; but why ſhould it excite the rage of Mr. Burke?—Alas! it is not the Nation of France that Mr. Burke means, but the COURT; and every Court in Europe, dreading the ſame fate, is in mourning. He writes neither in the character of a Frenchman nor an Engliſhman, but in the fawning character of that creature known in all countries, and a friend to none,

a COURTIER. Whether it be the Court of Verſailles, or the Court of St. James or Carlton-Houſe, or the Court in expectation, ſignifies not; for the caterpillar principle of all Courts and Courtiers are alike. They form a common policy throughout Europe, detached and ſeparate from the intereſt of Nations: and while they appear to quarrel, they agree to plunder. Nothing can be more terrible to a Court or a Courtier, than the Revolution of France. That which is a bleſſing to Nations, is bitterneſs to them; and as their exiſtence depends on the duplicity of a country, they tremble at the approach of principles, and dread the precedent that threatens their overthrow.

CON-



## CONCLUSION.

REASON and Ignorance, the oppoſites of each other, influence the great bulk of mankind. If either of theſe can be rendered ſufficiently extenſive in a country, the machinery of Government goes eaſily on. Reaſon obeys itſelf; and Ignorance ſubmits to whatever is dictated to it.

The two modes of Government which prevail in the world, are, *firſt*, Government by election and repreſentation: *Secondly*, Government by hereditary ſucceſſion. The former is generally known by the name of republic; the latter by that of monarchy and ariſtocracy.

Thoſe two diſtinct and oppoſite forms, erect themſelves on the two diſtinct and oppoſite baſes of Reaſon and Ignorance.—As the exerciſe of Government requires talents and abilities, and as talents and abilities cannot have hereditary deſcent, it is evident that hereditary ſucceſſion requires a belief from man, to which his reaſon cannot ſubſcribe, and which can only be eſtabliſhed upon his ignorance; and the more ignorant any country is, the better it is fitted for this ſpecies of Government.

On the contrary, Government in a well-conſtituted republic, requires no belief from man beyond what his reaſon can give. He ſees the *rationale* of the whole ſyſtem, its origin and its operation; and as it is beſt ſupported

when beſt underſtood, the human faculties act with boldneſs, and acquire, under this form of Government, a gigantic manlineſs.

As, therefore, each of thoſe forms acts on a different baſe, the one moving freely by the aid of reaſon, the other by ignorance; we have next to conſider, what it is that gives motion to that ſpecies of Government which is called mixed Government, or, as it is ſometimes ludicrouſly ſtiled, a Government of *this*, *that*, and *t'other*.

The moving power in this ſpecies of Government, is of neceſſity, Corruption. However imperfect election and repreſentation may be in mixed Governments, they ſtill give exerciſe to a greater portion of reaſon than is convenient to the hereditary Part; and therefore it becomes neceſſary to buy the reaſon up. A mixed Government is an imperfect every-thing, cementing and ſoldering the diſcordant parts together by corruption, to act as a whole. Mr. Burke appears highly diſguſted, that France, ſince ſhe had reſolved on a revolution, did not adopt what he calls "*A Britiſh Conſtitution*;" and the regretful manner in which he expreſſes himſelf on this occaſion, implies a ſuſpicion, that the Britiſh Conſtitution needed ſomething to keep its defects in countenance.

In mixed Governments there is no reſponſibility; the parts cover each other till reſponſibility is loſt; and the corruption which moves the



the machine, contrives at the ſame time its own eſcape. When it is laid down as a maxim, that *a King can do no wrong*, it places him in a ſtate of ſimilar ſecurity with that of ideots and perſons inſane, and reſponſibility is out of the queſtion with reſpect to himſelf. It then deſcends upon the Miniſter, who ſhelters himſelf under a majority in Parliament, which, by places, penſions, and corruption, he can always command; and that majority juſtifies itſelf by the ſame authority with which it protects the Miniſter. In this rotatory motion, reſponſibility is thrown off from the parts, and from the whole.

When there is a Part in a Government which can do no wrong, it implies that it does nothing; and is only the machine of another power, by whoſe advice and direction it acts. What is ſuppoſed to be the King in mixed Governments, is the Cabinet; and as the Cabinet is always a part of the Parliament, and the members juſtifying in one character what they adviſe and act in another, a mixed Government becomes a continual enigma; entailing upon a country, by the quantity of corruption neceſſary to ſolder the parts, the expence of ſupporting all the forms of Government at once, and finally reſolving itſelf into a Government by Committee; in which the adviſers, the actors, the approvers, the juſti-

fiers, the perſons reſponſible, and the perſons not reſponſible, are the ſame perſons.

By this pantomimical contrivance, and change of ſcene and character, the parts help each other out in matters which neither of them ſingly would aſſume to act. When money is to be obtained, the maſs of variety apparently diſſolves, and a profuſion of parliamentary praiſes paſſes between the parts. Each admires with aſtoniſhment, the wiſdom, the liberality, the diſintereſtedneſs of the other; and all of them breathe a pitying ſigh at the burthens of the Nation.

But in a well-conſtituted republic, nothing of this ſoldering, praiſing, and pitying, can take place; the repreſentation being equal throughout the country, and compleat in itſelf, however it may be arranged into legiſlative and executive, they have all one and the ſame natural ſource. The parts are not foreigners to each other, like democracy, ariſtocracy, and monarchy. As there are no diſcordant diſtinctions, there is nothing to corrupt by compromiſe, nor confound by contrivance. Public meaſures appeal of themſelves to the underſtanding of the Nation, and, reſting on their own merits, diſown any flattering application to vanity. The continual whine of lamenting the burden of taxes, however ſucceſsfully it may be practiſed in mixed Governments, is inconſiſtent with the ſenſe



ſenſe and ſpirit of a republic. If taxes are neceſſary, they are of courſe advantageous; but if they require an apology, the apology itſelf implies an impeachment. Why then is man thus impoſed upon, or why does he impoſe upon himſelf?

When men are ſpoken of as kings and ſubjects, or when Government is mentioned under the diſtinct or combined heads of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, what is it that *reaſoning* man is to underſtand by the terms? If there really exiſted in the world two or more diſtinct and ſeparate *elements* of human power, we ſhould then ſee the ſeveral origins to which thoſe terms would deſcriptively apply: but as there is but one ſpecies of man, there can be but one element of human power; and that element is man himſelf. Monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, are but creatures of imagination; and a thouſand ſuch may be contrived, as well as three.

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From the Revolutions of America and France, and the ſymptoms that have appeared in other countries, it is evident that the opinion of the world is changed with reſpect to ſyſtems of Government, and that revolutions are not within the compaſs of political calculations. The progreſs of time and circumſtances, which men aſſign to the accompliſhment of great changes, is too mechanical to meaſure the force of the mind, and the rapidity of reflection, by which revolutions are generated:

All

All the old governments have received a ſhock from thoſe that already appear, and which were once more improbable, and are a greater ſubject of wonder, than a general revolution in Europe would be now.

When we ſurvey the wretched condition of man under the monarchical and hereditary ſyſtems of Government, dragged from his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoveriſhed by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that thoſe ſyſtems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle and conſtruction of Governments is neceſſary.

What is government more than the management of the affairs of a Nation? It is not, and from its nature cannot be, the property of any particular man or family, but of the whole community, at whoſe expence it is ſupported; and though by force or contrivance it has been uſurped into an inheritance, the uſurpation cannot alter the right of things. Sovereignty, as a matter of right, appertains to the Nation only, and not to any individual; and a Nation has at all times an inherent indefeaſible right to aboliſh any form of Government it finds inconvenient, and eſtabliſh ſuch as accords with its intereſt, diſpoſition, and happineſs. The romantic and barbarous diſtinction of men into Kings and ſubjects, though it may ſuit the condition of courtiers, cannot that of citizens; and is exploded by the principle upon which Governments are now founded. Every citizen



citizen is a member of the Sovereignty, and, as ſuch, can acknowledge no perſonal ſubjection; and his obedience can be only to the laws.

When men think of what Government is, they muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe it to poſſeſs a knowledge of all the objects and matters upon which its authority is to be exerciſed. In this view of Government, the republican ſyſtem, as eſtabliſhed by America and France, operates to embrace the whole of a Nation; and the knowledge neceſſary to the intereſt of all the parts, is to be found in the center, which the parts by repreſentation form: But the old Governments are on a conſtruction that excludes knowledge as well as happineſs; Government by Monks, who know nothing of the world beyond the walls of a Convent, is as conſiſtent as government by Kings.

What were formerly called Revolutions, were little more than a change of perſons, or an alteration of local circumſtances. They roſe and fell like things of courſe, and had nothing in their exiſtence or their fate that could influence beyond the ſpot that produced them. But what we now ſee in the world, from the Revolutions of America and France, are a renovation of the natural order of things, a ſyſtem of principles as univerſal as truth and the exiſtence of man, and combining moral with political happineſs and national proſperity.

'I. *Men are born and always continue free, and* 'equal in reſpect of their rights. *Civil diſtinctions,* 'therefore, *can be founded only on public utility.*

'II. *The*

'II. *The end of all political associations is the pre-*
'*servation of the natural and imprescriptible rights*
'*of man; and these rights are liberty, property,*
'*security, and resistance of oppression.*

'III. *The Nation is essentially the source of all So-*
'*vereignty; nor can any* INDIVIDUAL, *or* ANY
'BODY OF MEN, *be entitled to any authority which*
'*is not expressly derived from it.*'

In these principles, there is nothing to throw a Nation into confusion by inflaming ambition. They are calculated to call forth wisdom and abilities, and to exercise them for the public good, and not for the emolument or aggrandizement of particular descriptions of men or families. Monarchical sovereignty, the enemy of mankind, and the source of misery, is abolished; and sovereignty itself is restored to its natural and original place, the Nation. Were this the case throughout Europe, the cause of wars would be taken away.

It is attributed to Henry the Fourth of France, a man of an enlarged and benevolent heart, that he proposed, about the year 1610, a plan for abolishing war in Europe. The plan consisted in constituting an European Congress, or as the French Authors stile it, a Pacific Republic; by appointing delegates from the several Nations, who were to act as a Court of arbitration in any disputes that might arise between nation and nation.

Had such a plan been adopted at the time it was proposed, the taxes of England and France, as two of the parties, would have been at least ten millions sterling annually to each Nation less than





they were at the commencement of the French Revolution.

To conceive a cause why such a plan has not been adopted, (and that instead of a Congress for the purpose of *preventing* war, it has been called only to *terminate* a war, after a fruitless expence of several years), it will be necessary to consider the interest of Governments as a distinct interest to that of Nations.

Whatever is the cause of taxes to a Nation, becomes also the means of revenue to a Government. Every war terminates with an addition of taxes, and consequently with an addition of revenue; and in any event of war, in the manner they are now commenced and concluded, the power and interest of Governments are increased. War, therefore, from its productiveness, as it easily furnishes the pretence of necessity for taxes and appointments to places and offices, becomes a principal part of the system of old Governments; and to establish any mode to abolish war, however advantageous it might be to Nations, would be to take from such Government the most lucrative of its branches. The frivolous matters upon which war is made, shew the disposition and avidity of Governments to uphold the system of war, and betray the motives upon which they act.

Why are not Republics plunged into war, but because the nature of their Government does not admit of an interest distinct from that of the Nation? Even Holland, though an ill-constructed Republic,

and with a commerce extending over the world, exiſted nearly a century without war: and the inſtant the form of Government was changed in France, the republican principles of peace and domeſtic proſperity and œconomy aroſe with the new Government; and the ſame conſequences would follow the ſame cauſes in other Nations.

As war is the ſyſtem of Government on the old conſtruction, the animoſity which Nations reciprocally entertain, is nothing more than what the policy of their Governments excites, to keep up the ſpirit of the ſyſtem. Each Government accuſes the other of perfidy, intrigue, and ambition, as a means of heating the imagination of their reſpective Nations, and incenſing them to hoſtilities. Man is not the enemy of man, but through the medium of a falſe ſyſtem of Government. Inſtead, therefore, of exclaiming againſt the ambition of Kings, the exclamation ſhould be directed againſt the principle of ſuch Governments; and inſtead of ſeeking to reform the individual, the wiſdom of a Nation ſhould apply itſelf to reform the ſyſtem.

Whether the forms and maxims of Governments which are ſtill in practice, were adapted to the condition of the world at the period they were eſtabliſhed, is not in this caſe the queſtion. The older they are, the leſs correſpondence can they have with the preſent ſtate of things. Time, and change of circumſtances and opinions, have the ſame progreſſive effect in rendering modes of Government obſolete, as they have upon cuſtoms and



and manners.—Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the tranquil arts, by which the proſperity of Nations is beſt promoted, require a different ſyſtem of Government, and a different ſpecies of knowledge to direct its operations, than what might have been required in the former condition of the world.

As it is not difficult to perceive, from the enlightened ſtate of mankind, that hereditary Governments are verging to their decline, and that Revolutions on the broad baſis of national ſovereignty, and Government by repreſentation, are making their way in Europe, it would be an act of wiſdom to anticipate their approach, and produce Revolutions by reaſon and accommodation, rather than commit them to the iſſue of convulſions.

From what we now ſee, nothing of reform in the political world ought to be held improbable. It is an age of Revolutions, in which every thing may be looked for. The intrigue of Courts, by which the ſyſtem of war is kept up, may provoke a confederation of Nations to aboliſh it: and an European Congreſs, to patronize the progreſs of free Government, and promote the civilization of Nations with each other, is an event nearer in probability, than once were the revolutions and alliance of France and America.

FINIS.

NOT Paines
NOT in Hist. of D.N.B.

A

# SKETCH

OF THE

# REIGN

OF

# *GEORGE THE THIRD,*

FROM

1780,

TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR

1790.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT,
OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.
M.DCC.XCI.

A

# SKETCH, &c. &c.

TO thoſe who open the volume of hiſtory with a view to improve their underſtanding; who are competent to carry their reſearches beyond the external appearance of events, and to ſpeculate on the concealed cauſes which produce the elevation, or accelerate the decline of empires, there is not, perhaps, in the annals of time a period more pregnant with political matter, than the one which has elapſed between the year 1780 and the preſent time. In that ſhort interval, we have ſeen the Britiſh Empire, which had embraced both hemiſpheres, and to which India and America were only pro-

vinces; which had ſucceſsfully oppoſed, under the auſpices of the late Earl of Chatham, the combined force of the Houſe of Bourbon, and, after giving laws to Europe, had diſpenſed peace to mankind: we have ſeen this empire ſhaken to its baſis, convulſed at home, and aſſailed on every ſide; vainly invoking the aid of that perfidious Princeſs, whoſe fleets we had conducted into ſeas unknown to her barbarous ſubjects, and whoſe victorious banner we had taught to fly on the ſhore of Greece and of Aſia Minor. It was from her ungrateful hand that England, already bending beneath the complicated calamities of domeſtic diviſion and of foreign war, was deſtined to receive the final blow, which unnerved our arm, and compelled us, reluctantly, to aſſemble our diſtant legions for the protection of the capital, and the preſervation of our exiſtence. It is unneceſſary to ſay, that I allude to the "Armed Neutrality;" a meaſure which originated from the cabinet of Catherine the Second, although it was

followed



followed by all the Baltic Powers; and the retribution due to which, however long delayed, is now probably near its accompliſhment. But we have not only ſeen the Britiſh monarchy, in common with other ſtates and kingdoms, oppreſſed by enemies, and ſinking under the weight of adverſe fortune, or puſillanimous and feeble counſels: we have ſeen this expiring and diminiſhed empire (unlike to every other, and in this diſſimilarity laying the ſtrongeſt claim to the admiration of mankind), within the tranſitory period of only ten years, riſe from a ſtate of humiliation and depreſſion, readjuſt her ſcattered inſignia, reſume her ancient luſtre, and wing a ſublimer flight than ſhe had ever held acroſs the political expanſe. It is in vain that the moſt laborious reſearch would endeavour to parallel this extraordinary renovation in the hiſtory of modern Europe. It is only in the Athenian or Roman Annals; it is only at the fatal periods of Marathon, and of Cannæ, that we ſee any example of a

 republic

republic ſuddenly and rapidly emerging from the loweſt point of ruin and calamity, into greater power and grandeur than ſhe had previouſly enjoyed.

The Auſtrian Eagle, which, under Charles the Fifth and Ferdinand the Second, had ſoared ſo high, and which had even nearly extinguiſhed all the Germanic liberties; ſtripped of its plumage by Guſtavus Adolphus, and chained to the earth by the manacles which were impoſed on it at the Treaty of Weſtphalia, long ſlumbered in peaceful bondage, 'till Marlborough releaſed the Imperial captive, and once again reſtored it to freedom, though not to its former greatneſs.

Spain, which under Philip the Second had menaced Europe, and ſeemed almoſt in poſſeſſion of her inordinate projects of ambition; which fitted out her invincible Armada for the ſubjection of England, while ſhe prepared to place an Infanta on the throne of France: Exhauſted by her own perpetual efforts, and having drained the treaſures of the new world, in vainly attempting

to



to reduce a revolted province, ſunk at once into impotent inſignificance; and now, after the lapſe of two hundread years, appears to be only ſlowly emerging from poverty and weakneſs.

Sweden, which like a torrent overran Poland, Saxony, and Denmark, at the commencement of the preſent century; and which, conducted by the frantic valour of Charles the Twelfth, appeared ready to plant her triumphant ſtandards on the walls of Moſcow, was hurled in a ſingle day from the zenith of power and glory. All her laurels withered at Pultowa; and ſince that memorable æra, her melancholy and ſteril annals contain nothing which can awaken curioſity, or intereſt mankind, though more than ſeventy years have elapſed ſince Charles expiated his wild and deſtructive projects of ambition under the walls of Frederickſhall. At the moment when I am writing, a Prince, emulous of the fame of Guſtavus Adolphus, and adorned with qualities which, in a more fortunate period, might

have

have reſtored the drooping genius of Sweden, and re-inſtated her in thoſe provinces which ſhe has loſt, is endeavouring to ſupply the inherent deficiencies ariſing from the impoveriſhed and depopulated ſtate of his dominions, by perſonal fortitude and ability. He has even made an effort not inglorious, to check the Ruſſian progreſs, and to aſſert the ancient pre-eminence of his ſceptre in the Baltic. Theſe, however, are feeble attempts, and ſerve rather to remind us of what Sweden once was, than to awaken any well-grounded expectation that ſhe can again reſume her former ſituation in Europe.

Even France, the favoured country of nature; bleſſed with a happy diverſity of climates; enriched with the choiceſt and moſt delicate productions of a luxuriant ſoil; embracing the Atlantic and the Mediteranean ſeas; formed for empire, for dominion, and for ſuperiority among the European kingdoms; uniting in herſelf every natural advantage which induſtry can beſtow, or commerce can procure;

inured



inured to habits of obedience and loyalty, as well as trained to conqueſt and to war: France herſelf, after the ſevere chaſtiſement which Louis the Fourteenth, towards the concluſion of his reign, received from Eugene and Marlborough, remained almoſt ſupine and torpid during thirty years which ſucceeded the Treaty of Utrecht; content to cultivate the peaceful olive, and oppreſſed under the load of public debt, which the inſatiable and ruinous ambition of her ſovereign had incurred. It was not 'till Marechal Saxe awoke her dormant genius, and revived in his perſon the ſublime talents which have equalled him with Condè and Turenne, that France, in any meaſure, reſumed her aſcendant, or ſeemed again to occupy her natural pre-eminence among the ſtates of Europe.

It cannot be more curious to enquire, than it muſt be inſtructive to aſcertain, whence has ariſen this characteriſtic, and peculiar principal of reſuſcitation, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, which, in

a ſhort

a ſhort ſpace of time, has raiſed England from her depreſſion; and has enabled her, unlike the other ſurrounding monarchies, to profit of her very misfortunes, and to engraft ſplendor and power upon her loſſes and defeats.

Where are we to ſearch for this vivifying ſource of renovation? Is it in her ſpirit of commercial enterprize; in her undiminiſhed induſtry; in her numerous and ingenious manufactures, which have penetrated into almoſt every province of the civilized world? Doubtleſs, theſe cauſes have contributed much to extricate and to reſtore the nation; but, efficacious and ſalutary as their tendency and operation are, they cannot be conſidered as adequate to ſo great a work.

It was requiſite that Providence ſhould extend its tutelary care, to prolong the life and reign of a Prince, inexpreſſibly dear and neceſſary to his people; whoſe experience, matured by years and chaſtened by adverſity, might, and could alone be equal to the arduous taſk of ſelecting from among



among his ſubjects, thoſe who from capacity and virtue were competent to heal the wounds, and reſtore the energy of the commonwealth. It was requiſite that a miniſter ſhould ariſe, who, to incorruptible integrity, and unblemiſhed manners, ſhould unite ſtrength of mind, ſevere œconomy, vigilance which never ſleeps, eloquence to captivate, and vigour to ſubdue. Rare, and almoſt unexampled combination of endowments, conferred by Heaven on thoſe, and on thoſe only, whom, in her wiſe diſpenſations, ſhe deſtines to ſuſtain, and reſtore a ſinking monarchy! Yet ſuch a miniſter, may it be aſſerted without flattery, has this age and country ſeen. Such an adminiſtration have we already enjoyed during near ſeven years; and to it may be juſtly aſcribed thoſe auſpicious and happy events, which the preſent age regards with mingled wonder and admiration, and which will be long commemorated by a grateful poſterity.

To trace the gradual progreſſion from the darkneſs of 1780, to the bright ſunſhine

ſhine of the preſent moment: to pourtray ſome of the leading characters and events, which have ſucceſſively marked and diſtinguiſhed the intermediate time: to deſcribe that ſtormy and tempeſtuous period, which, during two years, ſhook the cabinet, the palace, and the throne, till in 1784, the preſent miniſter, after a long and painful ſtruggle, advanced into open day, and commenced his brilliant career: to mark the principal and moſt diſcriminating features of his domeſtic government, and foreign policy: to take a general and rapid ſurvey of the cauſes which have involved the monarchy of France in anarchy, and which ſeem to threaten that beautiful portion of Europe with all the horrors of civil war, of bloodſhed, and of bankruptcy: finally, to deduce this intereſting ſeries of events from the period at which I have commenced, to the time when I ſhall lay before the public the picture which I am now deſigning: theſe are the objects of the preſent attempt. I am ſenſible of all its difficulty and delicacy.



cacy. I know how dangerous it is to hold up even truths to the eye of prejudice, or of party; and how reluctantly we allow the veil to be withdrawn from before the political ſanctuary, when we are intereſted in its concealment or its defence. I feel how invidious is the taſk of appreciating the motives and actions of our cotemporaries, our friends, and our fellow citizens. I am not inſenſible, above all, of my own incapacity to treat of matters yet recent, and obſcured by the paſſions and intereſts of the great actors themſelves. But, great as theſe impediments are, they cannot induce me to relinquiſh my deſign. What narrative can be ſo inſtructive, or ſo intereſting *to* the preſent age, as the hiſtory *of* the preſent age? "Veteris populi "Romani, proſpera, vel adverſa, claris "ſcriptoribus memorata ſunt:" Of the laſt ten years, no ſketch has yet been offered to the public. It will be my province, "ſine ira et ſtudio, quorum cauſas procul "habeo;" with as much impartiality as the ſubject itſelf, and the infirmities of

our nature will admit, to delineate the events which have paſſed in ſucceſſion be-before us, ſince the diſaſtrous period where the preſent memoirs commence.

The Britiſh empire, which only a few years preceding that æra had appeared to be ſo elevated and durable, then exhibited a melancholy and inſtructive leſſon of the mutability of human greatneſs. Civil war, which had commenced its deſtruction, was aided by a combination of the firſt European powers to compleat its fall. Her fleets and armies, accuſtomed to conqueſt, retreated before the navies of France and Spain. Her ſhores, ſo long unuſed to hoſtile invaſion, were threatened and inſulted. Her finances groaning beneath new and annual loans, conducted upon injudicious or ruinous principles, ſeemed to approach that point, beyond which public credit cannot exiſt or ſurvive. Diſcord raiſed her flaming brand in the capital, the ſenate, and the cabinet. London, ſcarcely eſcaped from conflagration and pillage, looked forward to a general ſuſpenſion of commerce,



merce, and to national inſolvency, as imminent and almoſt inevitable. Clamour and diſcontent filled the kingdom, and characteriſed the aſſemblies of the people in the different counties. Ireland, diſdaining all further appeal except to the ſword, and treading in the traces of America, armed her ſubjects, not ſo much for defence and protection, as for the purpoſes of emancipation from the yoke of England. In the Britiſh Channel, once ſacred from foreign intruſion, the iſlands of Jerſey were repeatedly attacked. Spain, which had already re-united Minorca to her crown, held Gibraltar beſieged, and meditated the conqueſt of the Floridas. Every month brought accounts of the diminution of the Weſt India Iſlands, which ſucceſſively fell into the hands of France; while Jamaica, left almoſt to her own internal capacities of defence, expected with trembling ſolicitude the long meditated invaſion by the united fleets of the Houſe of Bourbon.

In India, Hyder Ally, the ſcourge of the

the Britiſh nation, aided by the arms of France, was on the point of exterminating and expelling us from our moſt ancient poſſeſſions. Madras was menaced by famine, as well as by war; while Bengal itſelf ſcarcely ſuſtained the preſſure of the Mahrattas; and the vaſt fabric which Clive had cemented with a profuſion of European and Aſiatic blood, was ready to crumble with as much rapidity as it had been originally conſtructed.

In America, the names of Clinton and Cornwallis had ſucceeded to thoſe of Howe. New armies had occupied the poſts of their victorious, but departed predeceſſors. The war which had long blazed in the midland provinces, was then principally transferred to thoſe of Carolina and Virginia. Uſeleſs trophies and barren laurels appeared to be the only advantages, which we were deſtined to derive or acquire. Impenetrable woods and impaſſible moraſſes, in the centre of which freedom had diſplayed her banner, perpetually baffled all the exertions of valour,



lour, military ſkill, and perſeverance. England began to awake from her dream of ſubjugating the Thirteen Colonies, and already meditated the dereliction of that ruinous and expenſive undertaking; while her pride, her honour, and her indignation ſtill propelled her forward, and amuſed her with hopes of ſucceſs, which conſtantly vaniſhed at a nearer view. Like the Roman empire under Gallienus, that of Britain ſeemed to approach the period of all its glories, and to be menaced with impending and total ſubverſion.

From this gloomy and dejecting picture of foreign affairs, it may be judicious to paſs to a more animated, if not a more exhilerating ſcene; that which was exhibited at home in the two houſes of Parliament. The principal figure which here preſented itſelf, was the firſt miniſter, Lord North, ſtruggling againſt a hoſt of enemies, and ſlowly retreating before them, while they preſſed forward with loud and repeated clamours. A thouſand javelins hung upon his

his political buckler, the points of which were continually broken and turned aſide by his urbanity, his ready and pleaſant wit, or his able and ingenious reaſonings, when ſufficiently ſtung by the reproaches which were heaped on him, to awaken and to rouſe his torpid parts. Inur'd to the habits of parliamentary debate, maſter of all the ſcience of miniſterial evaſion or defence: though deſtitute of energy and coercion of character, yet eloquent, mild, perſuaſive, and bleſſed with an almoſt inſuperable tranquillity of temper, he patiently ſaw the ſtorm exhauſt itſelf; and looked round, ſerene and placid, to that powerful phalanx, which, long accuſtomed to obey, ſtill cloſely adhered to him under every circumſtance of public diſtreſs, and never abandoned him in the hour of neceſſity. Even the lethargic and ſoporific qualities of his body, as they frequently prevented him from either hearing or feeling the invectives of oppoſition, in ſome meaſure diſarmed and blunted their edge; while ſlumbers, which ſo



ſo often fly the couch of princes, not unuſually viſited Lord North amidſt all the din and tumult of the Treaſury Bench. Near him ſat the American Secretary, Lord George Germain; whoſe more irritable nerves, and more communicative or unguarded character, afforded materials and ſcope for continual attack. Gifted with extraordinary natural endowments, though little cultivated by polite letters, or adorned by ſcience; active, perſevering, deciſive, and capable of conducting the greateſt affairs of ſtate, he was yet purſued by the ſame fatality which had blaſted his early proſpects of greatneſs. Unſucceſsful in age upon the plains of America, as he had been unfortunate in youth upon thoſe of Germany, he vainly invoked an exhauſted nation, and a diſcontented Parliament, to continue a war, which, however juſt and neceſſary in its origin, had become odious and ungrateful, from a long ſeries of ill ſucceſs. Loyal to his Sovereign, pertinacious in his favourite meaſure of ſubjecting America,

and conceiving his own political ſituation inſeparably connected with the final ſucceſs of that attempt, he adhered inflexibly to it, and regarded its proſecution as a ſacred principle, from which no obſtacles could induce him to recede.

Mr. Ellis, who for near half a century, ſince the times of Walpole and Pelham, had occupied a place under Government, continued to retain his ancient corner on the Treaſury Bench; while Mr. Dundas, whoſe pliant and verſatile talents have adapted themſelves to almoſt every Adminiſtration, and whoſe abilities are calculated to ſtrengthen and ſupport any, was ſeated nearer to the centre of action, and boldly preſented himſelf at the poſt of danger, whenever the enemy attempted to ſtorm the outworks. His friend and companion Mr. Rigby, ſtill enjoyed the ample revenue of the Pay Office, without a partner; and in the exceſſes of a voluptuous table, of wine and conviviality, drowned the recollection of tireſome debates, and more diſgraceful defeats.

The



The two great luminaries of legal knowledge, Thurlow and Wedderburne, who had long occupied and adorned their ſeats on the ſame ſide of the houſe, had been ſucceſſively raiſed to the honours of the peerage; and their empty places were filled by others far inferior in energy, dignity and capacity. Such was the aſpect of miniſtry at the period to which I allude. On the other ſide of the houſe, Mr. Fox led on the bands of oppoſition in cloſe and well conducted files, while Mr. Burke charged at the head of his irregular ſquadrons, and carried terror into the ranks of adminiſtration. Dunning, in defiance of nature, deſtitute almoſt of organs of articulation, monotonous and diſguſting in his tones, ungraceful in his figure, poſſeſſing no external advantages, and unadorned by any factitious circumſtances of birth and alliance; yet, under all theſe impediments, arreſted the judgment, charmed the ear, and captivated the imagination, by the ſtream of his eloquence: though it ſometimes flowed through the channels of

law, it was always bright, clear, and lucid. Keppel, Conway, Howe, and Barrè occupied their reſpective ſtations in this formidable and augmenting body, and aided the general attack upon the feeble and diſmayed adherents of the miniſter.

Suſtain'd by the purity and integrity of his intentions; repoſing on the eſteem and affections of his people; and bent on the proſecution of a war, which, however unfortunate in its conduct, was founded in the juſt rights of his throne, no ſymptom of change or alarm was to be traced in the ſovereign. At no period of his reign were his fortitude and magnanimity put to ſo ſevere a teſt, and at none were they more unſhaken. Equanimity, ſerenity, and dignity appeared in his features, and pervaded his manners, even in moments of the moſt acute perſonal ſuffering. That piety, and that reſignation to the diſpenſations of Providence, which has always formed ſo diſtinguiſhing a part of his character, eminently gilded the gloom of this melancholy portion of his reign, preceded

and



and followed by ſcenes of proſperity and glory. Such was the ſublime and affecting ſpectacle which George the Third exhibited to mankind, amidſt the convulſions of every kind which menaced his domeſtic tranquillity, diminiſhed his empire, and attacked him with augmenting violence.

To the limited and erring eye of man, incapable of pervading futurity, and of removing the darkneſs which ſurrounds it, Louis the Sixteenth then preſented a very different and a much more enviable figure. Fortunate in having ſucceeded to a prince, who was ſunk in diſſolute pleaſures, and loſt to all public exertion before his reign expired, he aſcended the throne of Henry the Fourth, under every flattering circumſtance of youth and of proſperity. His want of any eminent talents ſeemed to be amply compenſated by œconomy, application, decorum of manners, and, above all, by a ſelection of wiſe and able miniſters. A ſucceſsful war, which eclipſed and obliterated the diſgraces and defeats, ſuſ-

tained

tained by France in her laſt rupture with England, endeared him to a loyal and affectionate nation, characteriſed for ages by its predilection and attachment to its monarchs. A Queen, diſtinguiſhed by endowments of mind, of manners, and of perſon, not leſs than by her high rank and imperial deſcent, had formed the bond of connexion between the Houſes of Bourbon and of Auſtria, while ſhe rendered Verſailles the reſidence of pleaſure, gaiety, and magnificence. France appeared to re-aſcend in the ſcale of Europe, in the ſame proportion as Great Britain declined; and flattery, if not reaſon, already predicted the revival of the proud age of Lewis the Fourteenth. But, to confound the ſpeculations of policy, and to evince the haſty tranſitions of human greatneſs, it was preciſely at this very juncture that the ſeeds were ſown, which we have ſince ſeen matured; which have already overturned the very elements of order and government, ſtained the palace of Verſailles with blood, and menace the extinction of property,



property, perſonal ſecurity, and every thing dear to mankind. The troops who were ſent as auxiliaries to the rebellious provinces of Great Britain beyond the Atlantic, ſpeedily imbibed that ſpirit of freedom, which they were commanded to defend; and did not relinquiſh theſe ſentiments ſo incompatible with abſolute monarchy, when they returned to their native country. On the other hand, the anticipation of the public revenue, which was neceſſarily produced by a war, however glorious and ſucceſsful, added to the immoderate expences of a diſſipated and luxurious court, ſoon reduced the King to adopt a meaſure, which though diſintereſted and even patriotic, opened the way to ſhake his throne. Louis the Sixteenth was perſuaded to break the royal houſehold, to diſmiſs about four hundred officers holding poſts immediately about his perſon, and to content himſelf with a leſs expenſive and ſplendid eſtabliſhment. Perhaps no advice more replete with calamity, could have been conceived or followed.

lowed. The pomp and external paraphernalia of majeſty being once withdrawn; and the numbers of nobility attached to the ſovereign by intereſt, vanity, or affection, being once diſbanded, the throne was left naked, unprotected, and expoſed to inſult. Experience has evinced its deſtructive tendency; and has ſhewn that only a limited monarch, who reigns in the affections of his ſubjects, and whoſe intereſts are intimately blended with thoſe of his people, can remain an object of reſpect and homage, diveſted of the ſplendor and protection of a royal court, and numerous houſehold.

The Empreſs Queen, Maria Thereſa, cloſed at this period a reign of forty years, marked by the moſt ſtriking vicciſſitudes of proſperous and of adverſe fortune. During the exiſtence of the powerful combination which ſhook her throne in the commencement of her life, ſhe exhibited the moſt undaunted magnanimity, the greateſt reſources of mind, and a courage ſuperior to her ſex. Driven from Vienna in 1741, while



while Bohemia and Auſtria were over-run by the French and Bavarians, ſhe found protection and ſuccours in the loyalty of her Hungarian ſubjects, who at ſight of her beauty, youth, and misfortunes, forgot their hereditary enmity and jealouſy of the Imperial houſe from which ſhe ſprung. The afternoon and evening of her reign, though frequently diſturbed by foreign wars, were paſſed by her in the diſcharge of every duty due from a ſovereign to her people. Mild, clement, humane, munificent, and ever extending the proofs of her parental tenderneſs to her wide extended dominions, ſhe was idolized by the Hungarians, beloved by the Flemings, and dear to every order of citizens. That piety and fortitude which had characterized her life, accompanied and brightened her dying moments. Her crowns deſcended to her ſon Joſeph; a Prince who had given premature expectations of genius and capacity, and whoſe emulation of the King of Pruſſia promiſed to render him worthy of ſo great an antagoniſt. But Eu-

rope was ſoon undeceived in this favorable anticipation of the talents of Joſeph the Second. Agitated with perpetual and varying ſchemes of conqueſt: reſtleſs, and incapable of repoſe: planning innovations in religion, in manners, and in civil life, which were no ſooner executed than revoked: oppreſſive and deſpotic, without the art either of concealing theſe qualities, or of rendering their effects palatable to his ſubjects: menacing at the ſame moment the juſt franchiſes of the Netherlands, and the antient liberties of Hungary: dreaded in the empire, and deteſted in his own capital: anxious to enlarge the limits of his dominions, even at the expence of faith and juſtice: rapacious of eccleſiaſtical property, and profuſe only of the blood of his people; Joſeph ſoon alienated the affections of every rank, and cloſed a tempeſtuous reign, unregretted, and unlamented; leaving the Houſe of Auſtria in embarraſſments, produced by his violence and ambition, ſcarcely inferior to thoſe which had ſo nearly overturned and extinguiſhed it,



it, at the death of his grandfather Charles the Sixth.

Two illuſtrious and extraordinary Princes then filled the thrones of Muſcovy and of Pruſſia. A woman was ſtill deſtined to ſway the ſceptre of the Czars, and to govern the immenſe regions extending from the Frozen to the Caſpian Sea. Unequalled in magnificence, and unconquerable in war, Catherine the Second had enlarged the limits of her vaſt dominions, covered the Black Sea with Ruſſian fleets, and threatened the entire ſubverſion of the Ottoman power. Protectreſs of the ſciences and liberal arts, ſhe cultivated the friendſhip of d'Alembert, courted the correſpondence and the praiſes of Voltaire, and, like Louis XIV., extended her munificence to men of letters throughout every kingdom of Europe. Intoxicated with ſucceſs, and elevated to the ſummit of human grandeur and felicity, ſhe forgot the friendly hand which had aided her arms, and taught them the way to victory; while dreaded and admired in every quar-

ter of the globe, ſhe ſeemed to have chained the inconſtancy of fortune, and to defy the changes and clouds which ſo frequently darken the concluſion of a female reign.

Frederic, covered with laurels, and retired from Berlin to the ſolitary magnificence of Potzdam; in the boſom of literary repoſe, and ſinking under the preſſure of augmenting infirmities, advanced towards the termination of his memorable life and reign. Alienated from, or indifferent to the misfortunes of England, he regarded with a philoſophic and averted eye her preſent unequal conteſt againſt ſo many powers; and extended no relief, nor made any exertion in favour of his antient ally.

Portugal alone, among ſo many neutral, or hoſtile ſtates, ventured at this diſtreſsful moment, to give ſome affirmative marks of friendſhip to the crown of Great Britain.

While Europe exhibited this aſpect, ſo little calculated to awaken hope, freſh

loſſes



loſſes and defeats awaited the arms of England beyond the Atlantic. The capture of the Iſland of St. Euſtatius, which, on its firſt promulgation, had diffuſed a general joy throughout the nation, produced in the event only obloquy to the captors, and a ſuſpenſion the moſt untimely and injurious in our naval and military exertions; while the troops, which ſhould have acted with vigour againſt the enemy, were ſunk in inactivity, or occupied in plunder.

As the year advanced, new iſlands were loſt, and new diſgraces incurred; 'till the climax of national calamity attained its ultimate point, by the ſurrender of an army of ſeven thouſand men, who laid down their arms before Waſhington and Rochambeau, on the ſhore of the Cheſapeake. After ſix years of mutual ſlaughter and alternate ſucceſs, the genius of America triumphed, and this laſt unexampled victory for ever confirmed her independence. The intelligence, when it was received in England, ſhook the already tottering Adminiſtration, and precipitated its fall.

Diſmay,

Diſmay and terror pervaded the cabinet, and agitated the counſels. The Oppoſition, conſcious of the augmenting diſtreſs and fluctuating irreſolution of the firſt miniſter, called aloud for an explicit avowal of his renunciation of any further efforts to ſubjugate the revolted colonies. The expreſſive ſilence of Lord North to theſe peremptory demands, left no room to doubt either of his ſentiments or his wiſhes; and the Secretary for America, retiring from a ſituation no longer tenable, after a rude attack from Lord Carmarthen, was received into the quiet boſom of the Houſe of Lords. The enemy ruſhed into the breach which this diſunion had occaſioned, and already beheld the prize within their graſp. The Adminiſtration, however, ſtill lingered, though deſtitute of animation or energy; a feeble and ineffectual effort was even made to prolong their exiſtence, by the ſubſtitution of Mr. Ellis in the place of Lord George Germain; but this ſtep ſerved only to accelerate their diſſolution. Oppoſition, eager to ſeize the prey, and acquiring



quiring force as they advanced, puſhed on towards the citadel; 'till Lord North, on the 20th of March, 1782, exhibited the ſingular and humiliating ſpectacle of a Firſt Miniſter diveſting himſelf of all the inſignia of office, before a crowded Houſe of Commons; and announcing his reſignation to an aſtoniſhed audience, who ſcarcely credited the fact of which they were witneſſes. The novelty and effect of this extraordinary ſurrender of power, were encreaſed by its being equally ſudden and unexpected. Neither his friends nor his enemies were aware of the blow; and even his ſovereign did not ſuſpect, 'till almoſt the very inſtant in which he executed his purpoſe, that any ſuch was meditated or intended. It is nugatory and unneceſſary here to enquire, whether it was principally produced by timidity, fatigue, or diſguſt. Probably, by a combination of all theſe emotions; and unqueſtionably by a very unforeſeen and haſty determination.

In this diſarmed and unprepared ſituation, without either time or ability for framing

framing a new miniſtry, the King could only ſurrender at diſcretion. He did ſo; and the royal garriſon, entered by ſtorm, was plundered by the conquerors. Three garters were found among the ſpoils, and which ſerved to decorate the principal chieftains. Offices and poſts were diſtributed at their arbitrary pleaſure; and a new Adminiſtration ſoon appeared, compoſed of motley materials, and evincing in its very formation and component parts, the principles of ſpeedy diſſolution. The feeble genius of Lord Rockingham preſided over it, but could inſpire no heat or energy into the heterogeneous maſs. Ill calculated for ſo arduous and delicate a ſtation, he wanted talents to guide, and animate the complicated machine of which he was only the oſtenſible leader. Mr. Fox and the Earl of Shelburne occupied the two Secretaryſhips of State; while Keppel, raiſed to the peerage for his ſervices on the 27th of July, 1778, ſucceeded to the preſidency of the vacant Board of Admiralty.

It is not my intention minutely to deli-

neate



neate or depicture the meaſures of this tranſitory Adminiſtration, juſt ſhewn to the Britiſh, as Marcellus was to the Roman people; and ſnatched away by an extinction as haſty, but not as much lamented. I have ever regarded the ſhort period of its duration, as the laſt and loweſt point of national and royal depreſſion. Though illuminated by a victory, which has ſhed an unexampled luſtre over the annals of England, no ray of it reflected upon the Miniſtry: they had vilified and perſecuted the great naval commander who obtained it, previous to his departure for his ſtation: they recalled him in the very moment of his conqueſts. The annals of that period, circumſcribed within three months, are marked by the humiliating and fruitleſs attempts of the Government to obtain peace from Holland; though illuſory promiſes and aſſurances of ſucceſs had been held out to parliament, and to the country, by Mr. Fox, before his entry upon office. The peerage, in the almoſt only inſtance where it was conferred, was

 extorted

extorted from the ſovereign, without even the decencies of reſpect, or of requeſt; and the extraordinary ſpectacle of a newly-created Peer kiſſing the King's hand in the Queen's drawing room, in violation of all form or uſage, was reſerved for the Rockingham Adminiſtration to exhibit, in the perſon of Sir Fletcher Norton.

A bill, which without materially conducing to national œconomy, or public benefit, diminiſhed on one hand the dignity which uſed to wait upon the perſon of the ſovereign; and on the other, diſarmed every ſucceeding miniſter, by leaving him ſcarcely any objects with which to ſtimulate activity, or reward merit and adherence. A bill, which by compelling every Adminiſtration, from want of offices, to multiply the peerage, as the only thing left in their power to beſtow; and which, if not redreſſed and repealed, may eventually deſtroy the balance of the conſtitution. A bill, well known, and as well



well characterized by the name of its eloquent, but theoretical and viſionary author, was introduced, and rapidly carried through the unreſiſting Houſes of Parliament; while the King was compelled to lend his name and aid to the completion of a law, which diſbanded his houſhold, and diſarmed his authority.

This unwiſe and impolitic attack upon the majeſty of the throne, was properly accompanied and ſucceeded by ſimilar invaſions of the hereditary franchiſes of the people. Under the ſpecious allegation of extinguiſhing the corrupt influence of the Crown, a great and induſtrious body of men, the officers of the cuſtoms, were deprived of their juſt and unalienable right to vote in elections for their repreſentatives in Parliament; and the natural reward of merit or ſervices was converted by the Legiſlature, into an inſtrument of puniſhment and privation.

But, happily for the monarch and for the nation, a Miniſtry, in which hypocritical profeſſion was ſubſtituted for action;

 whoſe

whoſe conqueſts were limited to St. James's, and whoſe trophies were only obtained over clerks of the Green Cloth and houſekeepers, now drew near its extinction. The natural deceaſe of the Marquis of Rockingham, which took place upon the 1ſt of July, 1782, can ſcarcely be ſaid to have preceded, or anticipated his political diſmiſſion. He expired in the vicinity of London; regretted only by his immediate friends and adherents; eſteemed as a virtuous and a well intentioned, though an inadequate Miniſter. His elevation to the firſt poſt in the Adminiſtration was injurious to his character as a man of talents; and he was twice deſtined in the preſent reign, to ſee the political fabrick which he had reared, moulder within a few months, and ſink under its own preſſure. Like Galba, "Major privato viſus, dum privatus fuit; "et omnium conſenſu, capax imperii, "niſi imperaſſet."

Releaſed by this interpoſition of fortune, from a bondage equally ſevere and

humiliating,



humiliating, the Sovereign made a ſelection from among his ſervants, more conſonant to his own perſonal inclinations, as well as more calculated to advance the public ſervice. The Earl of Shelburne aſſumed the vacant Treaſurer's ſtaff, which had dropped from the hand of the deceaſed Marquis; while the honeſt and virtuous incapacity of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, was ſupplied by equal probity and integrity, but accompanied with thoſe ſublime and early talents, which Mr. Pitt alone has diſplayed and ſuſtained in the preſent age. Having declined the proffered advances of the late Miniſtry, and having refuſed to form any inferior part of, or accept any ſecondary ſituation under that ſyſtem, he now firſt appeared in the front ranks of government; and evinced to an aſtoniſhed nation, that in a poſt ſo arduous as that of the ſuperintendance of the complicated finances of an exhauſted and impoveriſhed country, he could unite the energy and vigour of youth, with the

maturity

maturity and experience of more advanced life.

Some ſubordinate alterations in other departments of ſtate completed the new Adminiſtration; which, at its commencement was favoured by the advanced period of the year and ſeſſion, and the prorogation of Parliament which naturally followed. The adherents of Lord Rockingham filled the Lower Houſe with loud clamours and pointed inſinuations, againſt the ſuppoſed motives and authors of a change ſo inimical, as they aſſerted, to the beſt intereſts of the monarchy. Mr. Fox in a manly and magnanimous, Mr. Burke, in a querulous and reluctant manner, reſpectively reſigned their ſituations. The impaſſioned exclamations of the latter were only interrupted and extinguiſhed by the arrival of the Black Rod, and the ſummons to attend the Chancellor at the bar of the Houſe of Lords. The ſeſſion cloſed; and oblivion already drew her veil acroſs the departed Adminiſtration, while new convulſions, and new ſcenes of political confuſion



confuſion were ſilently, but rapidly, generating in the womb of time.

Peace, which for ſo many years had fled, now prepared to return. Inactivity, and a premature ſuſpenſion of hoſtility beyond the Atlantic, gradually opened the paſſage to univerſal tranquillity in Europe. America, already declared independent by the Legiſlature, no longer occupied the arms or efforts of Great Britain. Holland, divided by the Orange and the Republican factions, feebly ſuſtained her portion of the common attack. France, arreſted in the midſt of all her conqueſts by the arm of Rodney, ſaw her boaſted navy ſcattered over the Weſtern world; happy to eſcape the purſuit of a victorious fleet, and to ſink undiſturbed, in the havens of Martinico, or of Boſton. It only remained to humble the arrogance of Spain; who, inſolent with unaccuſtomed ſucceſs, and elated with the trophies acquired at Minorca, and in Florida, had aſſembled her forces of every kind round the rock of Gibraltar, and already anticipated the reunion

union of that proud fortreſs to her dominions. To indulge at once the gratification of national vanity, as well as the acquiſition of glory, a Prince of the Blood Royal of France was invited to quit the effeminate pleaſures of Verſailles, and to become a ſpectator of its reduction from the Spaniſh camp. Preparations only inferior to thoſe of Philip the Second againſt Elizabeth, were made to accelerate and ſecure ſo favourite an object of the court of Madrid; while all Europe might be ſaid, in common with the Count d'Artois, to have fixed their eyes upon this animating ſpectacle. I need not relate the event; inſcribed in characters which muſt laſt as long as military fame and valour are revered among men. The formidable armaments of Charles the Third periſhed under the ſuperior fire of the garriſon; and the miſerable victims who eſcaped from the conflagration, were indebted for their lives to the exertions of that very enemy, for whoſe deſtruction they had been aſſembled.





Under this ſingular blaze of glory and ſucceſs was terminated a war, which had been marked during its progreſs with every circumſtance adverſe to England, and which, at many periods, had menaced its very exiſtence. Negociations, prolonged throughout the autumn, produced a general pacification at the beginning of 1783; the terms of which, however widely different they were from thoſe which Great Britain dictated at the treaties of Utrecht and of Fontainbleau, ſeemed neither ignominious nor diſadvantageous, in the enfeebled ſtate of the finances and reſources of the country. France reſtored almoſt all her acquiſitions, while Spain retained her conqueſts; and Holland, which had tardily and reluctantly been forced from her pacific ſyſtem, was abandoned by her allies, and left to expiate by conceſſions, the departure from her ancient policy and connexions.

But the waves of party, which had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated, could not immediately ſubſide with the

extinction of hoſtilities. The two powerful factions, who had ſucceſſively poſſeſſed, and been deprived of the government, however adverſe they were to each other, yet united in their common oppoſition to the new intruders. The character of the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, though diſtinguiſhed by many impoſing qualities of mind, by ingratiating and popular manners, and by an enlarged acquaintance with the foreign intereſts of England; yet wanted that ſtamp of probity and principle, without which a great nation never confers eſteem and confidence. Inſincerity and duplicity were aſcribed to him by his enemies. Accuſations and ſuſpicions were circulated, poſſibly originating only in calumny, which arraigned his purity of conduct as a Miniſter, and inſinuated his acquiſition of perſonal wealth by the abuſe of his high ſituation, during the progreſs of the late negociations, to the ſordid purpoſes of private gain. Doubts of this complexion, however unauthenticated or unjuſt they may be ſuppoſed, yet, by



by operating on the public, equally indiſpoſed them towards the peace, and towards its author.

To theſe obvious and oſtenſible cauſes of his diſmiſſion, may be added the extraordinary and almoſt inexplicable indifference which marked his conduct, towards preſerving a ſituation, which it had been the leading and predominant object of his life to acquire. Parliament met, and after long and violent debates, renewed at various times, expreſſed its diſapprobation of the peace recently concluded, though by a very ſmall majority. It is even highly probable that this mark of their diſſatisfaction would not have been attended or followed by any ſuch affirmative proofs of national reſentment, as to have compelled a Miniſter of firmneſs and rectitude to retire from his public ſituation. Whether any conſciouſneſs of a deficiency in either of theſe qualities, or whether motives more concealed and unaſcertainable actuated the Earl of Shelburne; it is certain that he did not heſitate to take the warning

 which

which had been given him, and to lay down his office without delay.

But though he had embraced this puſillanimous and precipitate part, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, animated by feelings of integrity, loyalty, and duty to his Prince and to his country, generouſly refuſed to abandon them to the reſentments and diſcretionary mandates of two factions, who had agreed to a mutual ſacrifice of principle, and even of decency, in order to gratify their thirſt of power. After a manly and magnanimous, but ineffectual ſtruggle, he was however compelled to yield to ſo unequal a force. The Sovereign, who had vainly endeavoured to compoſe a new Adminiſtration, and who had been beſieged in his own palace during ſix weeks, found the lines of circumvallation too ſtrong to force, and ſurrendered a ſecond time priſoner of war. The two victorious chieftains, who had agreed to bury all paſt cauſes of reſentment in oblivion, entered the breach in triumph, bound their captive, poſted their centinels, and inveſted themſelves in



in the ſpoils which their conduct had acquired. The larger ſhare however of theſe emoluments fell to Mr. Fox; and the Treaſury was transferred from the mild incapacity of Lord Rockingham, whom death had removed, to the laborious, but limited and ſubſervient talents of the Duke of Portland. Lord North, who did not feel with Cæſar, that "the firſt ſituation "in a village out-valued the ſecond in an "empire", was content with the inferior portion of power and profit, allotted him by the liberality of his new aſſociates, and mixed in the cavalcade, which he had ſo long conducted. Too happy to obtain an amneſty for the misfortunes of his Adminiſtration, and ſoothed with the unaccuſtomed panegyrics of thoſe who had ſo lately called out for axes and ſcaffolds; he ſunk without emotion, into a ſubordinate office, and reſigned the painful preeminence of ſtate into hands of greater energy or ambition.

A pauſe ſucceeded to this extraordinary and eventful transfer of power; as the monarch

monarch and the nation were equally incapable of inſtantly exerting any effort for their emancipation. The "Coalition" impoſed their fetters upon both; and little attentive to acquire the affection, were ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of their priſoners. Relying on their own united ſtrength to retain the conqueſts which they had made, they only began already to project the means of perpetuating and extending the term of their duration. To atchieve this object, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to reconſtruct the edifice which their injudicious ſpirit of reform had lately overthrown; and to ſubſtitute other charges and offices in the place of thoſe, which had been annihilated in the houſehold of the Sovereign. Theſe pleaſing anticipations and reveries formed a grateful occupation during the receſs of Parliament; and the ſucceeding winter was deſtined to ſee the chains, which an unprincipled ambition had fabricated, impoſed with all the ſolemnity of legiſlation upon an unreſiſting people.

There



There is however a limit preſcribed to violence, which it has ever been found impracticable to paſs; and the "Coalition" was deſtined to be taught by it's own experience, that no combination of talents, power, or ability can ſuſtain a Government, where all opinion of principle, or reſpect for character have ceaſed to exiſt, on the part of the nation towards its tyrants. Even the forms of the conſtitution and the ſanctity of law will not prevent a generous and an enlightened country, from diſcerning the abuſe of that authority, which while it extinguiſhes prerogative, militates equally againſt freedom. Time alone was requiſite to mature theſe reflections; and the Adminiſtration opened the way to their own deſtruction, by the very means which they had concerted for placing their greatneſs beyond the reach of accident.

Mr. Fox introduced his celebrated "Eaſt India Bill," with all that ſplendor of parts, and diſplay of ability, which has rendered him ſo diſtinguiſhed in the hiſ-

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tory of the preſent age. Though India was not in that department of public buſineſs, over which as Secretary of State, he perſonally preſided, yet the ſuperior energy of his character, and the convenient facility of his new colleague, allowed him to aſſume this arduous and dangerous pre-eminence. Mr. Burke's ample and inexhauſtible ſtock of materials and documents, ſupplied any deficiencies of memory or local information; while the "Inſtitutes of *Timur*," and the wiſeſt regulations of European policy, were new-modelled by this generous legiſlator. The oppreſſions and calamities under which India had ſo long ſuffered; the peculations, committed by the ſervants of the Company, as well as the wanton and unprincipled wars in which they had engaged, were highly painted, and ſtrongly reprobated. The remedy to theſe numerous evils was preſented; and all palliatives were deprecated, as unequal to the extermination of a diſeaſe which had pervaded the whole ſyſtem, which demanded a meaſure of more than



than ordinary vigour in the Legiſlature. The Houſe of Commons yielded to theſe convincing and miniſterial arguments, ſo calculated to operate on their paſſions as well as their judgments. The ineffectual oppoſition which was made to it by Mr. Pitt, and a few perſons who adhered to him, neither retarded nor impeded the rapid progreſs of the bill. It was carried through one Houſe of Parliament by prodigious ſuperiority of numbers; and it was not apprehended that the ſubſervient underſtandings of the other Houſe, generally diſpoſed to ſee all meaſures of all Adminiſtrations with a favourable eye, would reject the preſent, or canvaſs it with unuſual ſeverity. The "Coalition" appeared already to touch the ſhore, and to be near the accompliſhment of their moſt ſanguine projects of greatneſs.

The magnanimity and penetration of the Sovereign, awakened and directed by the timely exhortation of thoſe who collected round the throne in this critical and dangerous conjuncture, ſnatched the country

from the impending misfortune. The great incorporated bodies in various parts of the kingdom, ſlowly rouſed to a comprehenſion of the evil, and alarmed at the violation of the chartered rights of the firſt commercial company in the nation, appeared ready to reclaim and to defend their own threatened immunities, or properties. London led the way in theſe ſymptoms of conſternation, and was followed by the principal cities and provinces. Addreſſes, remonſtrances, and petitions, arrived from every part of Great Britain. Satire and ridicule, ſo powerful in their operation upon the minds of men, united with reaſon and argument to overturn a Miniſtry, who had attempted to conſtruct their own grandeur, equally on the ruin of the Prerogative, and the deſtruction of the Conſtitution. Two caricature drawings, conceived with exquiſite humour, and whoſe effect can perhaps be compared with nothing in our hiſtory, except the ſong of "Lillabullero" under James the Second, were circulated in every company. In one of theſe, the

Secretary



Secretary of State who had introduced the bill, was depictured carrying, like Atlas, the whole Eaſt-India Houſe upon his ſhoulders; while the affrighted Directors, looking out of the windows, appeared vainly to invoke aſſiſtance againſt the violence. The other repreſented his triumphal entry into Dehli, the capital of his newly conquered dominions. Mr. Fox was habited in the ſplendid Aſiatic dreſs of Shaw Allum; while his obedient colleague in office Lord North, degraded to the inferior nature of the trained and managed elephant, ſupported the victor on his back. Mr. Burke, as a trumpeter, accompanied the proceſſion, proclaiming the virtues and trophies of this ſucceſſor of Tamerlane and Aurungzebe.

The ſtorm of national indignation, though long and tardy in forming, had now collected, and prepared to burſt with the utmoſt violence. The Houſe of Peers led the way, by throwing out the Eaſt-India Bill; and on the ſubſequent night, at a late hour, his Majeſty ſent to de-

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mand the ſeals of office from the two Secretaries of State. An Adminiſtration, at the head of which was Mr. Pitt, and of which he may be ſaid to have formed the vital principle, was inſtantly compoſed. So ſecure, however, were the late Miniſters of their aſcendancy in the Houſe of Commons, and in ſuch contempt were theſe efforts of the Crown to liberate itſelf held by them, that when the writ was moved for Appleby, in conſequence of the new Firſt Lord of the Treaſury having vacated his ſeat, it was received with loud, and almoſt general laughter. Even thoſe whoſe judgment and experience in Parliamentary matters were moſt reſpected, ventured to predict that a few weeks would ſee the termination of this fugitive Government, either by a gradual or a violent death. For the firſt time ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick; perhaps it may be ſaid ſince the exiſtence of the monarchy, the ſovereign and the people were united in oppoſition to the repreſentatives of the people. The patient and

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paſſive fortitude of Mr. Pitt ſuſtained him, even more than his talents or integrity, during near three months that this ſiege continued; nor did he adviſe his Sovereign to have recourſe to the laſt conſtitutional meaſure left him, that of diſſolution, till above a hundred and twenty addreſſes, couched in terms of loyalty, and of reprobation againſt the attempt to overturn the prerogative, left no room to heſitate on its popularity, or on the general joy with which it would be received. The elections for the new Parliament, which at no period of the preſent century were ever ſo incorrupt, and ſo free from all miniſterial interference, evinced beyond diſpute, how odious to the nation were the principles and conduct of the late Adminiſtration. The Firſt Miniſter emerged at length, from a ſtate of the moſt painful exertion and depreſſion, into political day; and the reins of Government, ſo long and ſo violently retained by the "Coalition," fell from their hands. It is from this æra that we may date the ſlow, but progreſſive elevation of the Britiſh

tiſh empire; which, ſhaken and convulſed during the calamitous period of the American war, had not been leſs agitated by internal ſtruggles of faction, ſince its termination. But, before we arrive at that exhilerating ſcene, it may be a not leſs inſtructive, though it is a leſs pleaſing taſk, to ſurvey the picture of the empire at the moment when the preſent Miniſter commenced his Adminiſtration.

Exhauſted in her finances, and deprived of vigour from the rapid ſucceſſion of ſo many Governments, debility, languor, and decay characteriſed every internal department of the State. The public funds ſeemed to have ſunk below the point of depreſſion, to which even the misfortunes of the war had reduced them; and the confiſcation which had menaced the Eaſt India Company while Mr. Fox's bill impended over their property, had operated to ſink their ſtock below any former precedent. The revenue was diminiſhed and invaded by the bold inroads of contraband commerce, which loudly called on the



the Legiſlature for effectual interpoſition and redreſs. No foreign alliance, or connexion with any of the great powers on the Continent, offered the proſpect of ſupport in a future war. Holland was completely governed by the Republican faction, who, under Van Berkel in the preſent, as under the De Witts in the laſt century, had entered into the cloſeſt connexions with the Court of Verſailles; while the Prince of Orange, retaining little more than the name of Stadtholder, was reduced to a ſtate of paſſive inſignificance. Denmark, whoſe ſovereigns had been connected by alliances of blood and policy with the Crown of England for near half a century; and whoſe natural intereſts, in oppoſition to thoſe of Sweden, tended to confirm theſe tyes; had departed from her ancient principles, and no longer cultivated the friendſhip of a kingdom, incapable of extending protection, or rendering itſelf reſpectable in the Baltic. From the Court of Stockholm, attached for ages to France, no demonſtrations of

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amity could be expected. The Emperor, occupied in ſyſtems of reformation, or projects of aggrandizement; planning the exchange of the Netherlands with the Elector Palatine, while he wantonly attacked the Republic of Holland, whoſe troops, in defiance of the moſt ſacred treaties, he had ejected by force from the barrier towns of Flanders: Joſeph, engaged in theſe ambitious enterprizes, and already connected with the Court of Peterſburgh, might be regarded as inimical rather than friendly to Great Britain. Ruſſia continued in a ſtate of ſullen alienation, and Pruſſia betrayed no marks of returning friendſhip; while France, ſtill conducted by the ſplendid and impoſing counſels of Vergennes, appeared to extend, to cement, and to confirm her greatneſs.

The firſt years of the preſent Adminiſtration were principally characteriſed by thoſe beneficial regulations of commerce, and by thoſe ſalutary meaſures of finance, ſo indiſpenſably requiſite in the fallen and impoveriſhed condition of the country. An

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"East India bill," mild and temperate in its genius, and widely different from the rapacious and arbitrary principles which had rendered the former ſo univerſally odious, was introduced, and paſſed into a law. The moſt vigorous and efficacious meaſures were adopted for the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling. The royal woods and foreſts, from whence ſo great a ſupport to the navy ought naturally to be derived, but which had been completely abandoned, as an object of national protection, for half a century, did not eſcape the vigilant attention of a Miniſter, anxious to avail himſelf of every public reſource. Proviſion was made for the ſlow, but certain diminution of the national debt, by the appropriation of a million ſterling annually, veſted in the hands of commiſſioners for the purchaſe of ſtock.

The conſolidation of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, a meaſure of incredible labour and detail, as well as of infinite advantage to commerce, by facilitating and ſimplifying the intricacies attendant on mercan-



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tile tranſactions, and the payment of duties; a regulation which in itſelf might immortalize any Adminiſtration, was fully and permanently effected. It had failed under the inert and feeble efforts of Lord North; and its completion, ſo evidently productive of national benefit, drew applauſes even from the enemies and oppoſers of the Miniſter. This long liſt of enlightened and patriotic meaſures was cloſed by the accompliſhment of one of the greateſt, but moſt delicate and arduous attempts, which have diſtinguiſhed the preſent century; I mean the "Commercial Treaty with France." An enlarged and liberal policy; the greateſt incitements to general induſtry; the extenſion of commerce, and the extinction of thoſe mutual jealouſies and antipathies, which have for ſo many ages actuated the rival monarchies of France and England: theſe were the characteriſtics and principles of a treaty, which, notwithſtanding the ſpacious objections urged againſt it in Parliament, excited univerſal approbation, and extorted



ed involuntary eulogiums. The genius of Great Britain, long obſcured and fettered, began to aſſert its antient energy; and, liberated from domeſtic anarchy, prepared to re-appear on the theatre of Europe, from whence ſhe had been baniſhed by internal calamities and diſtreſs. The ſignature of the "Germanic League," at Berlin, whoſe object was the preſervation of the liberties of the Empire againſt the ambition of Joſeph the Second, was the firſt ſymptom exhibited of returning attention to the concerns of the Continent; and though this confederation was only acceded to by his Britannic Majeſty in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, yet its effect unqueſtionably extended beyond its oſtenſible object, and recalled the Engliſh nation again to general view and conſideration.

While under a wiſe, vigorous, and œconomical Government, we were thus reſuming our ancient eminence and dignity among the European States, the clouds of diſcontent and civil commotion were ra-

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pidly collecting over the monarchy of France. The finances, involved ſince the ceſſation of the late war in augmenting embarraſſments and inextricable difficulties, might have been found beyond the probity of a Sully, or the capacity of a Colbert, to re-eſtabliſh: in the hands of Calonne, raiſed to the ſuperintendance, they appeared to preſent a proſpect of public inſolvency as imminent and unavoidable. Though the Court of Verſailles was much diminiſhed in majeſty and ſplendor by the numerous reforms which had ſucceſſively taken place, yet the miniſtry had not ſubſtituted any judicious ſyſtem of frugality, nor adopted any meaſures of energy and wiſdom, either for the alleviation of the national burthens, and liquidation of the enormous debt contracted under the late and preſent King; nor (which ſeemed to be ſtill more neceſſary for their perſonal ſafety) to guard againſt the gathering ſtorm of public violence and indignation.

Louis the Sixteenth had already, in a con-



ſiderable degree, ſurvived the reſpect, though he continued to enjoy the affection of his people. The firſt years of his reign, conducted by Maurepas and Vergennes, had been diſtinguiſhed by the moſt brilliant ſucceſs; which, while it dazzled and flattered the national vanity, had, in a great meaſure, concealed from view the ruin which it occaſioned in the finances. The King poſſeſſed none of thoſe qualities, either corporal or mental, calculated to faſcinate, and to ſupply the place of more ſolid endowments. His figure was deſtitute of dignity, and his addreſs awkward and embarraſſed. He neither knew how to aſſume the open and winning manners of Henry the Fourth, nor how to adopt the majeſtic condeſcenſion of Louis the Fourteenth. Attached to the Queen from motives rather ſenſual than intellectual, and reſtrained by religious ſcruples from forming any connexions of gallantry with other women, he never, in any inſtance, violated his nuptial fidelity, though ſurrounded by courtiers anxious to anticipate, and eager

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to adminiſter to his deſires on the firſt intimation. Addicted to the pleaſures of the table, and ſometimes induced to paſs the limits of temperance and ſobriety, he yielded in thoſe moments of facility to the demands which the profuſion of the Queen, and of his brother the Court d'Artois, made it neceſſary for them continually to renew. His own expences were moderate, and his pleaſures few. The former were chiefly confined to the conſtruction of the Caſtle of Compiegne, and the repairs of the palace of Verſailles. The latter conſiſted principally in the amuſement of the chace. Though much neglected in his education during the life of Louis the Fifteenth, his mind was not uninformed; and he had attained ſince his acceſſion to the throne, a very conſiderable degree of acquaintance with polite letters, hiſtory, and geography, by his own private application and ſolitary ſtudy, unaſſiſted by any aid. In the art of reigning, he had unfortunately made little progreſs or proficiency. Unambitious



tious and moderate in his character, he formed no views of conqueſt. He even diſapproved, though only paſſively, of the alliance with America, into which his miniſters had led him in the commencement of his reign; and ſuffered himſelf, with ſome degree of averſion and reluctance, to be made an acceſſary to the independence of the Thirteen Colonies.

His parts, however ſluggiſh, inert, and limited, yet were not inadequate to the comprehenſion and diſcharge of the high duties annexed to his ſtation. He unqueſtionably loved his people, and paſſionately deſired, at the price of every perſonal renunciation and ſacrifice, to render his reign dear to France. Averſe to cruelty, and of a nature acceſſible to the impreſſions of pity and humanity, he threw open the gates of the caſtle of Vincennes, which for ages had been one of the principal priſons of ſtate; and mitigated, in numerous inſtances, the rigour of arbitrary power, which his grandfather had ſtrengthened and abuſed.

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His behaviour on the night of the 5th of October, 1789, has evinced, notwithſtanding the doubts which have been entertained upon that point, that he did not want *perſonal* reſolution or fortitude. But the quality in which he has been eminently deficient, and to the want of which may be principally aſcribed all the late calamities of his life, is *Political* courage and deciſion. In times of tranquillity and repoſe, this defect might not have been perceived; or, if diſcovered, might have yet been limited in its effects: in tempeſtuous periods, and popular inſurrections, it has convulſed the monarchy, and menaced the exiſtence of the throne itſelf.

The character of the Queen, though ſtrongly contraſted with that of Louis the Sixteenth, was perhaps ſtill more calculated to alienate the affections and excite the clamours of the nation. Of a figure favoured by nature, and adorned by gracious and inſinuating manners, ſhe was formed to attach mankind. The ſhort period which elapſed, ſubſequent to her marriage



marriage with the Dauphin, in 1770, and previous to her aſcending the throne, was marked by the moſt general partiality, and by all the flattering prognoſtics of poetry and genius, who anticipated the future glories and felicity of her reign*. Her education in the court of Vienna, under the ſevere inſpection of Maria Thereſa, a Princeſs

* It was during this brilliant and tranſitory portion of her life, that ſhe was ſeen by the author of a production, which has recently made its appearance in this country; and which, from the celebrity of the writer, as well as from the intereſt excited by the ſubject itſelf, has been read with univerſal avidity. It is not my intention to criticiſe, or to appreciate the merits of a performance, which embraces ſo many objects, and ranges over ſo vaſt a field, as the late Revolution in France opens to a creative imagination. With ſome errors and ſome blemiſhes, it appears to me to be a moſt extraordinary exhibition of genius, fancy, and in many parts, of deep, able, and judicious reaſoning. Its author is entitled to ſomething more than the mere approbation of every man who reſpects kingly power, or eſtabliſhed Government; and who deprecates the violence of popular innovation. Perhaps the portrait of the Dauphineſs may be too highly coloured; but it is the colouring of Titian, and not of a common artiſt. Indeed, thoſe who remember the preſent Queen before the death of Louis the Fifteenth, muſt admit that ſhe was then calculated to excite ſentiments of perſonal admiration and delight, in no ordinary degree.

eminent for chaſtity and piety, ſeemed in ſome meaſure to guarantee the exiſtence of theſe qualities in her daughter. But, Marie Antoinette appears to have inherited ſcarce any of the characteriſtic virtues or vices of the Auſtrian family, except her attachment to the Houſe from whence ſhe ſprung. The fond predictions of adulation, offered to the Dauphineſs, were not realized by the Queen. Her levity of manners; her expenſive prodigality; her diſſipations; her attachments; her retirements; perhaps, more than all theſe defects, her ſuppoſed abuſe of the aſcendant which ſhe had acquired and preſerved over her huſband, gradually eſtranged every order of the people; and eventually, as the public embarraſſments augmented, rendered her generally odious. Her actions were examined with the moſt ſevere and unjuſt ſpirit of national enquiry. Her political connections with the Imperial ambaſſador were as loudly arraigned on one hand, as her perſonal intimacy with the Comte d'Artois was ſtrongly cenſured on the



the other. Imputations the moſt injurious to her fame as a woman and a wife, were ſuperadded to accuſations of her diſpoſition to ſacrifice the intereſt, and ſquander the treaſures of the kingdom over which ſhe reigned, in order to aggrandize her brother the Emperor. She was accuſed of miniſtering to the weakneſſes, and even ſtimulating the appetites of the King, with a view to avail herſelf of his fondneſs, or temporary privation of reflexion.

The continual viſits, and long interviews which ſhe accorded to Madamoiſelle Bertin, excited ſentiments of diſapprobation in thoſe, who thought the leiſure of the firſt Queen in Europe indecently thrown away in diſquiſitions upon a cap, or conſultations upon a handkerchief. Her purchaſe of the palace of St. Cloud, in the midſt of general pecuniary diſtreſs, was taxed with equal imprudence and profuſion. Her frequent retirements to Trianon were ſtigmatized, as exhibiting ſcenes unfit for the public eye. The myſterious and inexplicable tranſaction relative to the famous neck-

lace, asserted to have been purchased by her; although the Cardinal de Rohan and the Comtesse de la Motte were the victims of it, yet had left impressions disadvantageous to her honour in the minds of a nation, disposed to see all her actions through an unfavourable medium. Her predilection for, and attachment to the Duchess de Polignac, suffered the most malignant comments of satyrical prejudice; and the liberal donations, or high employments, with which that family was distinguished, necessarily added to the load of public execration. These accumulated topics of popular invective and animadversion, were circulated with rapidity, and received with equal avidity, by an ignorant and credulous multitude, who filled the arcades of the "Palais Royal," and who imbibed the most inveterate detestation of their Queen, as conceiving her the author of the public distress. They had already, in some degree, marked her out as a victim to the general indignation; and anxiously waited for the favourable occasion,



occasion, which should liberate the Sovereign and the nation from the pretended evils of her influence, and leave Louis the Sixteenth to the impulse of his natural beneficence and affection for his people.

The Count de Provence, the eldest of the King's two brothers, acted a very inferior and subordinate part upon this great theatre. Either destitute of talents to excite public attention, or repressing them from motives of prudence and situation, he appeared only in the back ground; and formed a contrast to the imposing qualities which distinguished the Count d'Artois. Of a figure much more graceful and elegant than either of his brothers, this Prince was likewise adorned with more dignified, if not more courteous manners. Attached to the Queen from similarity of taste and character, he even exceeded her in profusion, expence, and dissipation. After having passed the morning on the "Plaine de Sablons," in the dress and occupations of a jockey, he only retired from these fatigues, to repose in the

palace

arms of Madamoiſelle Contat. His little palace of " Bagatelle," in the " Bois de Boulogne," was at once the ſcene of the moſt refined and voluptuous debauch, and of the moſt profligate pleaſures which luxury could deviſe or aſſemble. Two ſons, already advancing faſt towards manhood, and whoſe conſtitutions ſeemed to promiſe a vigorous health, attracted the eyes of the nation, and gave him a manifeſt ſuperiority to the Count de Provence, whoſe marriage had not been fruitful. The feeble and debilitated ſtate of the Dauphin, whoſe infirmities already appeared to menace a premature end, left only the Duke de Normandie between him and the eventual ſucceſſion to the Crown. Though not endowed with any eminent talents, yet, as being of a character more decided and affirmative than either the King or the Count de Provence, he came more forward to public view; and by his adherence to the Queen, influenced very conſiderably on affairs of ſtate.

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At a greater diſtance from the throne, but decorated with the title of Firſt Prince of the Blood, was ſeen the Duke of Orleans. Poſſeſſed of an immenſe revenue, and having in reverſion all the domains of his father-in-law, the Duke de Penthievre, he might be eſteemed the richeſt ſubject in Europe. His reputation for generoſity and munificence, bore, however, no proportion to his ample poſſeſſions: on the contrary, though profuſe in the gratification of his appetites, he was accuſed by the popular voice of an attention to the arts of œconomy, unworthy of his high birth and ſplendid fortune. Emulous of being thought to reſemble Henry the Fourth, and the Regent Duke of Orleans, from both of which Princes he derived his deſcent, he had no ſimilarity to either, except in the foibles which ſhaded the character of the former, and in the vices which diſgraced the conduct of the latter. The beneficence, the heroic valour, and clemency of mind, which characteriſed the King of Navarre, were not to be traced

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in his degenerate grandſon. The ſublime talents, the military genius, and the various endowments of a ſtateſman and a general, which combined in the Regent, were as vainly ſought in the Duke of Orleans.

Abandoned to pleaſures of every deſcription, he yet had no elevation nor refinement in his amuſements. His perſonal courage, which had ſuſtained ſome injury, and excited ſome ſarcaſtic comments, from his behaviour under d'Orvilliers in 1778, had not been retrieved by his unpropitious attempt to ſignalize himſelf, by accompanying Charles and Robert into the air. The malignant reflexions formerly thrown out upon his intrepidity as a naval officer, were followed by paſquinades upon his ſuppoſed apprehenſions in the balloon; and he was ſaid to have been as unfortunate in the park of Meudon, where he alighted from his aerial excurſion, as he had been at an earlier period of his life, in the vicinity of the iſlands of Uſhant. Notwithſtanding



ing theſe aſperſions and defects, he yet poſſeſſed qualities, which if conducted by judgment, might have redeemed him from the load of obloquy under which he was oppreſſed. His talents were certainly above mediocrity; his mind enlarged, his manners condeſcending and popular, and his underſtanding cultivated by letters, and an extenſive acquaintance with mankind.

He was the only Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon who had ever viſited England in perſon; the Duke d'Alençon, brother to Henry the Third of France, having been the laſt, who in the proſecution of his deſign to marry Elizabeth, had paſſed over into theſe kingdoms. The diſorders in the finances, and the deſperate, or arbitrary meaſures to which the Court was neceſſitated perpetually to have recourſe, in order to raiſe new loans and obtain ſupplies, had given the Duke of Orleans an occaſion, of which he gladly availed himſelf, to regain his long loſt popularity. To this public and oſtenſible cauſe of his alienation from the Court, were added

ſome private miſunderſtandings, which had their origin in the interference of the Queen to prevent an alliance, which was projected between the eldeſt ſon of the Count d'Artois, and the daughter of the Duke of Orleans: a marriage which it was more than poſſible might eventually elevate the young Princeſs to the Throne of France. Animated and ſtimulated by theſe motives, he ſeemed to awake from the diſſolute pleaſures in which he had been plunged, and to aſſume the more dignified and ingratiating character of an oppoſer of deſpotiſm, and a protector of the people. This change of conduct ſoon produced its full effect; and he paſſed with the moſt rapid tranſition, from the contempt and reprobation of the inhabitants of Paris, to the heighth of favour and general attachment.

Such was the aſpect which the Court of Verſailles preſented at the commencement of the year 1787, and ſuch were the principal characters and perſonages of which it was compoſed. The ſources of diſcontent, and



and even of revolt and inſurrection, were numerous and augmenting. The ordinary channels of revenue were either dried up, or had become inadequate to the exigencies of the Government. Recourſe was therefore reluctantly had to other modes of obtaining ſupplies; and the convocation of the "Notables" was propoſed by Calonne to the King, and adopted immediately, as the only remaining expedient.

In theſe critical circumſtances of perplexity and diſtreſs, Vergennes, whoſe high reputation and ſuperior talents had hitherto diffuſed a luſtre over the councils of France, and alone ſuſtained the tottering load of public credit and national grandeur: this celebrated Miniſter, the ſucceſſor of Maurepas, and who, ſince his death, had during eight years held the firſt place in the Adminiſtration, was removed by death from a ſcene, to which all his abilities would probably have been found unequal. Fortunate in his alliances, in his wars, in his negociations, in his acquiſi-

tion of fame, in the enjoyment of the royal favour and the popular opinion, he was yet more happy in not ſurviving theſe frail and uncertain poſſeſſions. Unlike to Louvois and to Fleury, he neither forfeited the affection of his Sovereign, nor outlived his own talents and capacity. Admired, regretted, and lamented, his death ſeemed to be the ſignal which unlooſed the jarring elements of civil commotion, and which marked the æra of the extinction of tranquillity and obedience.

The diſmiſſion of Calonne followed in a few weeks; and the elevation of an eccleſiaſtic, the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, to the ſupreme controul of the finances, whatever expectations it might at firſt awaken of alleviation and redreſs, only tended in the event to aggravate the national calamities, and to encreaſe the popular diſcontent. New ſyſtems, equally unproductive as the preceding, and only calculated for temporary relief, afforded neither a remedy to the preſſing neceſſities of the court, nor to the clamorous grievances



ances of the people. The "Notables" were found to be equally incompetent and averſe, to adduce any cure for theſe multiplied diſtempers of the ſtate. They were therefore diſſolved; and the nation already began to demand an aſſembly of the "States General," as the laſt and only meaſure competent to extricate and retrieve them from the danger of impending bankruptcy and ruin.

But the troubles and internal feuds of the Dutch commonwealth, which had been long nouriſhed and fed by the political liberality of the cabinet of Verſailles; which had grown up under the foſtering hand of Vergennes, and which a ſeries of deep and artful negociations had inflamed and augmented, now approached rapidly to their criſis. Never could they have attained to their maturity at a more inauſpicious moment for France; and never was the triumph of fortune over the machinations of policy more conſpicuouſly exemplified.

William

William the Fifth, Prince of Orange, poſſeſſed the Stadtholderate of the United Provinces. Allied by name rather than by blood, to the great Houſe of Naſſau, ſo fertile in heroes and in legiſlators, few traces of the ſublime qualities which have rendered that family immortal, were to be diſcovered in their ſucceſſor. But, in the Princeſs his wife, ſprung from the union of the houſes of Brandenburgh and Naſſau, the characteriſtic energy of both was viſible. Driven out of the Province of Holland by the indignities and inſults with which the republican faction had treated the Prince, whom they had compelled to retire to Nimeguen, ſhe had the courage to ſet out for the Hague, and, unattended by any guards, to traverſe a hoſtile country, in the hope of adjuſting by her preſence, addreſs, and flexibility, the points in diſpute between her huſband and the States. In this arduous and delicate attempt ſhe was fruſtrated, and even her perſon laid under an arreſt, by the brutality of one of the military officers in



in the ſervice of the Republic. Obliged to abandon her project, and to return to Nimeguen, ſhe invoked the protection and aſſiſtance of the King of Pruſſia, to re-inſtate the exiled Stadtholder in the hereditary dignities and offices, of which he had been ſo unjuſtly and unconſtitutionally deprived. It was not to her uncle that ſhe addreſſed theſe entreaties. The great Frederick was no more: he had paid the common tribute to mortality, and had expired at Potzdam under the accumulating weight of age and diſeaſes. But, though he no longer animated in perſon the councils of Berlin, the vigour of his genius ſurvived: it ſeemed even to have attained new force in the hands of a Sovereign, whoſe more active period of life led him to adopt meaſures of deciſion, and whoſe near relationſhip to the Princeſs of Orange ſtimulated him to warmer exertions in her behalf.

The juncture was favourable to the Pruſſian interpoſition; and England, under the auſpices of a Miniſter prompt to

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ſeize the occaſion of again re-appearing with dignity and effect on the Continent, avowedly joined and aided the attack upon the enemies of the houſe of Orange. An army of about fifteen thouſand men, commanded by the firſt military genius in Europe, the Duke of Brunſwick, entered the territories of the States General, in September, 1787, and over-ran with the ſame rapidity that Louis the Fourteenth had done in laſt century, the province of Holland. Amſterdam itſelf, the centre of diſaffection, and the laſt aſylum of the French and republican factions, after a ſhort and ineffectual ſtruggle, capitulated, and received the conqueror. A complete, but almoſt bloodleſs revolution was effected; and the Hague, ſo long a prey to diſcord and to animoſity, ſaw the Stadtholder return, and occupy his high ſtation, with every expreſſion of loyalty and attachment.

France, embarraſſed, and incapable from her domeſtic misfortunes, of interfering either with honour to herſelf, or efficacy to her



her friends, though ſhe appeared to make a feeble effort in their favour, yet ultimately gave way to the ſtorm, and conſented to diſarm; nay more, publicly to deny her having ever intended to ſuſtain that party, in whoſe ſupport ſhe had expended her treaſures, and for whom, in more auſpicious æras, ſhe would have involved Europe in blood and hoſtility. The high reputation which ſo ſignal a ſucceſs reflected on the councils of Great Britain, was contraſted and rendered more ſplendid, by a compariſon with the fallen ſtate of her ancient rival, who, only a few years preceding theſe events, in conjunction with America, had ſeemed to give laws in every quarter of the globe. The energy and wiſe precaution of the Miniſter did not, however, remit its vigilance, or content itſelf with having liberated the Dutch Republic, and reinſtated the Stadtholder. Attentive to profit of this fortunate and propitious moment, and to avail himſelf of the gratitude with which the aſſiſtance extended to Holland had equally

impreſſed the Government and the people, he cemented thoſe ſentiments by immediately framing, and eventually concluding a defenſive treaty with the United Provinces. It was ſigned in April, 1788, and was evidently built on the model of that, which had been terminated under the auſpices of Vergennes, between France and Holland, towards the cloſe of the year 1785. Reciprocal ſuccours, naval and military, were ſtipulated; and the bands of political union were drawn as cloſe, as human wiſdom and mutual intereſt could deviſe.

This alliance, ſo much approved, and ſo highly beneficial to England, was ſucceeded by a ſecond, ſimilar in its tenor, nature, and tendency, between the Courts of St. James's and Berlin, which was ratified in the month of Auguſt of the ſame year. They had been preceded by a ſubſidiary treaty between England and the Landgrave of Heſſe, which enabled the former power, on the payment of a certain annual ſum, to demand from the latter,



latter, at a very ſhort notice, a body of twelve thouſand troops.

Thus, in the ſpace of only four years which might be ſaid to have elapſed ſince the complete triumph of the Sovereign and the nation over the "Coalition," had Great Britain, under the conduct of a Miniſter who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, riſen from a ſtate of unexampled depreſſion, to her antient ſuperiority among the European kingdoms. The finances had been re-eſtabliſhed by a ſyſtem of unremitting and ſevere œconomy. Commerce, aided and emancipated by the wiſe regulations of an enlarged policy, opened new ſources, and navigated ſeas hitherto unknown or unexplored, in the proſecution of its objects. Public credit attained a point of elevation and permanence, unparelleled ſince the commencement of the unfortunate war with America. The councils of England, conducted on principles, not of a crooked duplicity, but of rectitude and magnanimity, excited reſpect and approbation in the ſurrounding

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ſtates, while they diffuſed proſperity and felicity over every part of the iſland.

Political alliances and connections on the Continent, added the proſpect of ſtability to every meaſure which was calculated for internal ſecurity or commercial advantage. The calamities of Lord North's Adminiſtration, and the anarchy which ſucceeded that unfortunate period; the defalcation of thirteen provinces, and of both the Floridas from the empire: the diſgraces of Saratoga, and of the Cheſapeake: the tumults, and conflagration of London: in a word, the varied and accumulated misfortunes, which for a long ſeries of years oppreſſed, and had almoſt overwhelmed the commonwealth, were already eraſed from the recollection. A mild and happy calm had ſmoothed theſe troubled waves. The Sovereign was deſervedly dear to every rank and order of his ſubjects, who united in regarding him as their father and benefactor. The Government, beloved at home, was reſpected abroad; and the people, happy beyond the example of former



former times, looked up with equal affection and veneration towards the ſource of theſe multiplied benefits.

But in the midſt of this flattering aſpect of affairs, an unexpected and diſaſtrous change was preparing to manifeſt itſelf, which no human prudence could have foreſeen, or precautions delayed. We were deſtined to experience in its fulleſt extent, the mutability of fortune, and the fragility of greatneſs; to hold out a memorable leſſon to our own, and to future times, that the ſplendor and felicity of man, however ſolid the foundations on which they may ſeem to repoſe, are in the hands of a ſuperior Being, who confers, or withdraws them in an inſtant. I am arrived at that awful and affecting period, when the feelings of all thoſe who ſhall peruſe theſe ſheets, will anticipate my own; and which, from a variety of motives, I ſhould wiſh to cover under a veil of oblivion, if the publicity of the great leading facts, and ſtill more, if the inſtruction conveyed by the narration itſelf,

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as one of the moſt intereſting portions of modern annals, did not ſupercede my perſonal inclinations. It is not, however, either in my plan or my intention, to relate the *private* hiſtory of that extraordinary period; or to drag into daylight facts and anecdotes, which, curious and entertaining as they muſt appear to poſterity, are, in every ſenſe, unfit for the peruſal of the preſent age. Sentiments of duty, delicacy, and reſpect towards a Prince inexpreſſibly dear to his people: towards a Queen, who during near thirty years, and in every relation of domeſtic life, has been blameleſs and exemplary: towards thoſe illuſtrious perſons, on whom the ſceptre of George the Third muſt, in the ordinary progreſs of events, at ſome future, and as we truſt, far diſtant period, devolve: even motives of prudence, decorum, and propriety, arreſt my pen; and prevent me from ſhading a picture, the outline only of which it is either wiſe or neceſſary to hold up to the public eye, placed as we are ſo near the object.

The very nature of the ſubject is, indeed, ſuch



ſuch as to add peculiar embarraſſments to thoſe general ones, which preſent themſelves in the way of every man who ſhall venture to relate the tranſactions of the time in which he lives, and of which he forms himſelf, though an imperceptible, yet a real and efficient part. Nor is it even a ſufficient juſtification or inducement to undertake ſuch a taſk, that the mild genius of the century in which we write, or the freedom which enables us to dictate without apprehenſion, appear to liberate us from every reſtraint. There are feelings in a generous mind, anterior to all written law, and far ſuperior in their operation to thoſe regulations which are impoſed by Courts of Judicature, or legiſlative bodies. It is to theſe reſtrictions that I ſhall ſubject my pen, while the great chain of events may yet be preſented to the Engliſh people, and the fidelity of hiſtorical truth be preſerved inviolate. "Ut, non modo caſus, eventuſque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti ſunt, ſed ratio etiam, cauſſæque noſcantur." Like the ſublime writer whom I have juſt cited, and who flouriſhed under the golden

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reign of Trajan, we too, "rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, et quæ ſentias dicere licet," may, unawed by power, affix the ſentiment of approbation and of cenſure, in conformity to our own conviction. Such is equally my deſign and my determination. But it is only for thoſe who can elevate their minds above the little partialities and prejudices of the day, that it belongs to appreciate the performance of this promiſe; and to decide how far the preſent work may venture to lay claim to any portion of Roman energy and freedom, or how far the immortal writings of antiquity would be ſullied and degraded by a compariſon with this production.

It is not eaſy to imagine or to parallel in the hiſtory of the preſent century, a period of more perfect ſerenity than that which England preſented in the autumn of 1788. The King, accompanied by the Queen, and ſurrounded by his family, after having tried the effects of a relaxation from public buſineſs, and of the medicinal





cinal waters of Cheltenham, had returned to Windſor; not, indeed, in a ſtate of vigorous health, but by no means in any ſuch declining ſtate of indiſpoſition, as to excite alarm among his ſubjects. The Prince of Wales, as uſual, paſſed the ſummer at his Marine Pavillion at Brighthelmſtone. Mr. Pitt, occupied in the functions of his ſtation, was detained in the vicinity of the capital; while Mr. Fox, whoſe faculties of body and mind had been not a little exerciſed and exhauſted, by a toilſome attendance in Covent Garden during the extreme heats of Auguſt, which was thought requiſite to ſecure the election of Lord John Townſend as member for Weſtminſter; indulged a degree of neceſſary repoſe, and withdrew for a ſhort time from the hurry of political life. He quitted England, and repaired to Switzerland and Italy, as a ſcene calculated to amuſe and entertain, while it reſtored and invigorated a conſtitution, impaired by conſtant exertion. The great leaders of Miniſtry and Oppoſition, having laid

aſide their political animoſities, were diſperſed in peaceful inactivity over every part of the kingdom. From this ſtate of public recreation and felicity, the nation was rudely and ſuddenly awoke, by the reports of his Majeſty being attacked with an unexpected and dangerous illneſs. The preciſe nature of it was for ſeveral days unaſcertained and unexplained, even to thoſe whoſe reſidence near the court ſhould have enabled them to obtain early and authentic information. Meanwhile, fame augmented the evil, and the death of the Sovereign was believed to have either already taken place, or to be imminent and inevitable.

The grief and diſtraction which were manifeſted in every part of the iſland, on the publication of this calamitous event, can be only compared with that of the Roman people, on the news of Germanicus being ſeized with mortal ſymptoms at Antioch; as the diſtreſsful ſituation of the Queen bore ſome reſemblance to that of Agrippina. "Paſſim



"Paſſim ſilentia et gemitus, nihil compoſitum in oſtentationem; et quanquam neque inſignibus lugentium abſtinerent, altius animis mœrebant." Time, however, gradually divulged the truth, and changed the apprehenſions of the nation for the ſituation of the King. His diſorder was underſtood to have fallen upon the brain, and to have produced, as might be expected, a temporary privation of reaſon. As the cauſe of this alienation of mind was extraneous and violent, it might be hoped that it could only be of ſhort duration: but the iſſue was uncertain, while the ſuſpenſion of all government, and of every function attached to the kingly dignity, was immediate and indiſputable. A ſpecies of interregnum in fact took place; though unaccompanied by any of thoſe circumſtances, which uſually characterize and accompany that unfortunate ſtate. The kingdom, anxious, and with eyes directed towards their Sovereign, betrayed no ſymptoms of confuſion, anarchy, or civil commotion. The Firſt Miniſter continued to exer-

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ciſe, by a general ſubmiſſion and conſent, the powers delegated to him before the King's indiſpoſition; and the political machine, well conſtructed, and properly organized, ſuſtained no derangement or injury whatſoever from this ſhock, except thoſe inſeparably connected with delay in the tranſactions or negociations pending with foreign courts.

Meanwhile, the Heir to the monarchy had quitted Brighthelmſtone on the firſt information of his father's malady, and repaired to Windſor, whither he was followed by the Duke of York. Phyſicians were called in, though ineffectually; and as the nature of the diſtemper and of its final termination opened a wide field to conjecture, change and alteration, an expreſs was ſent to overtake Mr. Fox in whatever part of the Continent he might be found; and to intreat that he would return without delay to England.

The two Houſes of Parliament, in conſequence of the preceding prorogation, met in a few days ſubſequent to theſe extraordinary



traordinary events. The general agitation and curioſity, even if they had not been aided by other emotions of hope and fear, of ambition, and of public duty, would alone have produced a numerous attendance. Mr Pitt opened the ſubject of their meeting in a very conciſe and pathetic manner; lamented the occaſion, expreſſed his hope that the cauſe would ſpeedily be removed, and in purſuance of that idea, adviſed an immediate adjournment of a fortnight. The propoſition was received in deep ſilence by the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe, and aſſented to in mute acquieſcence. Their leader was not yet arrived; and conſequently time was wanted to adjuſt and determine on their plan of action, under circumſtances ſo delicate and unprecedented. In the interval which took place, his Majeſty was removed to the palace of Kew. The Prince of Wales returned to Carlton Houſe; and Mr. Fox, impatiently expected, after a journey which he performed with incredible expedition from Bologna, in a very infirm

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and diſordered ſtate of health, arrived in London, and aſſumed his juſt pre-eminence in the counſels of his party.

Thoſe counſels evinced their nature and object, as ſoon as the late adjournment was at an end; and Mr. Fox, generouſly, though perhaps injudiciouſly ſtepping forward in the ſenate, rather laid claim to the vacant ſceptre in the name and on the behalf of the Heir Apparent, as belonging and devolving to him of right; than preferred his pretenſions with modeſty and ſubmiſſion, at the bar of the aſſembled nation. Perhaps a ſtep more injurious to the great perſonage whom it was intended to ſerve, or more pregnant with conſequences to be deprecated, of every kind, could not have been deviſed or executed. Perhaps, too, when time ſhall have withdrawn that curtain which is ſtill ſtretched acroſs theſe recent and intereſting events, we may diſcover, that in advancing ſo unqualified a demand of the regency, he did not preciſely follow the dictates of his own elevated mind, and illuminated judgment.

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It wakened a jealous ſpirit of enquiry into the ſuppoſed origin and foundation of that aſſerted right, in the breaſts even of the moſt liberal and unprejudiced. It compelled Adminiſtration to probe that problematical and obſcure part of the Britiſh Conſtitution. It reminded thoſe, to whom the writings of Shakeſpear were familiar, of that affecting and pathetic ſcene, where Henry the Fourth, under a temporary privation of his faculties, finds on his recovery, that his eldeſt ſon has carried away the inſignia of his royal dignity, which, had he only waited a few hours, would have been his by devolution.

The diſcernment of Mr. Pitt ſaw, and inſtantly enabled him to profit of this error in his antagoniſt. He demanded the diſcuſſion and deciſion of ſo great and leading a principle, which led to concluſions unlimited and undefined, as well as ſubverſive of the tenure on which a King of England had originally received his crown; previous to any ulterior diſpoſition and diſtribution of offices. He was joined

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by the majority of the Houſe in this requiſition, and thus commenced his reſiſtance under auſpices and circumſtances peculiarly fortunate. It was in vain that the Prince of Wales, already rendered ſenſible of the injury which his cauſe had ſuſtained, equally in Parliament and among the people, by Mr. Fox's unqualified claim of right, endeavoured to wave and prevent all further diſcuſſion of ſo invidious a ſubject. It was in vain that the Duke of York, in his brother's name, and by his authority, renounced any ſuch aſſumption of power, and made this public declaration in the Houſe of Lords. Nor was Mr. Fox's attempt to qualify his firſt aſſertion, and to give it a more mitigated ſenſe, received with better ſucceſs in the other Houſe. Parliament, rouſed to a ſenſe of the neceſſity of declaring itſelf ſolely competent to fill the vacant throne, proceeded to that great act without circumlocution or delay; and having pronounced upon this important preliminary, then decided that the Prince of Wales





ſhould be invited and requeſted to accept the Regency, under certain limitations. The month of December elapſed in theſe conteſts, and the year 1789 commenced under the moſt gloomy preſages. Mutual aſperity and reproach embittered every debate. No appearances of convaleſcence or recovery, ſo ardently anticipated by the nation, had yet manifeſted themſelves in the malady of the King. In addition to the keeneſt ſenſations of private diſtreſs as a mother and a wife, the Queen ſaw herſelf on the point of being placed in the moſt pain[illegible]l, though indiſpenſably neceſſary ſituation; that of being entruſted with the care of the Royal Perſon, and of ſtanding in a ſort of rivality and competition to her eldeſt ſon. The Prince, who aſpired to a Regency, unfettered by any reſtrictions, betrayed in his reply to a letter which the Firſt Miniſter addreſſed to him, and in which the great features of that intended delegation of the Royal power were delineated, his warm reſentment and diſſatisfaction at many of thoſe defalcations.

He concluded, however, by reluctantly and coldly conſenting to receive it, curtailed and degraded as it might be by Miniſterial or Parliamentary diſtruſt.

A ſecond examination of the phyſicians who had attended his Majeſty during the courſe of his diſorder, which took place before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and which was certainly not conducted on the part of Oppoſition with either delicacy or judgment, tended to throw very little light on the great object of public enquiry; the probable duration and period of this afflicting malady. Mr. Pitt conſtantly and warmly maintained the probability of its happy termination; and regarding it as neither diſtant nor hopeleſs, made the reſumption of the Royal power by the Sovereign with facility and celerity, as ſoon as he ſhould be enabled to wield the ſceptre, the firſt and leading principle of all his meaſures and propoſitions. The adherents of the Prince of Wales ſaw the proſpect of his father's recovery through a very different medium, and conceived of it not only as improbable,



ble, but as hourly augmenting in that improbability. They were ſuſtained in this opinion by Warren, as the Miniſter was confirmed in his oppoſite ſentiment by Willis; two phyſicians, on whoſe contradictory prognoſtics and apprehenſions each party implicitly relied. The former, at the ſummit of his profeſſion, and unqueſtionably poſſeſſed of great medical ſkill, was yet accuſed by the public voice of leaning in his inclination towards the party of the Prince. The latter, brought from a diſtant province to attend the Sovereign under his ſevere diſorder, and having been peculiarly converſant in that ſpecies of diſeaſe, boldly and early aſſerted that he entertained ſcarcely any doubts of the King's perfect re-eſtabliſhment at no remote period. The event fully juſtified his prediction.

Meanwhile the introduction of the propoſitions upon which the Regency Bill was meant to be founded, and the reſtrictions intended to be impoſed upon the power of the future Regent, which were

brought forward by the Firſt Miniſter in the Houſe of Commons, carried the rage and virulence of party to its utmoſt height. The negation of the power of creating Peers: the nomination of a council to aſſiſt the Queen: and the complete reſervation of the Royal houſehold, were all arraigned and condemned in the warmeſt terms by Mr. Fox, as dictated only by ambition, and not originating in ſtate neceſſity, or even in regard to the ſituation of the Monarch. The hiſtory of France under the unhappy reign of Charles the Sixth, was cited, as bearing a manifeſt reſemblance to the preſent diſaſtrous period; and a Queen, equally venerated and beloved by the nation, was compared to the unnatural Iſabella of Bavaria; as her ſon the Dauphin's abandoned and perſecuted ſtate was aſſerted to be ſimilar to that of the Prince of Wales. Unmoved by theſe invectives, and ſuſtained by conſcious rectitude of intention, the Miniſter ſteadily purſued his way: nor was he, in this critical and diſtreſſing moment, deſerted



deſerted by either Houſe of Parliament. The Chancellor, who, at the commencement of the King's illneſs, had been ſuppoſed to have liſtened to propoſals for forming a part of a new Adminiſtration; anxious to evince the falſehood of ſo unjuſt an aſperſion, and to give the moſt unequivocal proofs of loyalty and of adherence to his Sovereign under the preſent circumſtances, collected all the energy of his mind in the various appeals, which he ſucceſsfully made to the honour and patriotiſm of the Houſe of Lords.

In this ſtage of the public buſineſs, at a moment when the King's ſituation appeared moſt to exclude hope, and while the Houſe of Commons were fully occupied in framing the principal component parts of the act which was to eſtabliſh the Regency, Mr. Fox withdrew from the ſcene, and quitting London, retired to Bath. His diſordered ſtate of health was aſſigned as a pretext for this receſſion at ſo extraordinary and critical a juncture; but the public conceived the motives of it to originate in very different

different cauſes. Diſſention and jealouſy had already pervaded the counſels of Carlton Houſe. The diſtribution of offices under the approaching Regency had produced alienation among the chiefs. An interior Cabinet, different in its views, and oppoſite in its objects to the great oſtenſible leaders of the party attached to the Prince of Wales, had ſet up a ſeparate ſtandard, and formed a diſtinct intereſt. Difference of opinion had manifeſted itſelf upon ſome very delicate, and perſonal points. Cabal and intrigue had penetrated into the cloſet. His Royal Highneſs was generally ſuppoſed to have experienced difficulties, if not peremptory refuſals of gratifying his wiſhes, on the part of the Duke of Portland; and that, in relation to perſons and things peculiarly near his heart. Theſe numerous ſources of diſunion were ſtill however, in ſome meaſure concealed from view, by their very nature, and the mutual intereſt or honour of the parties themſelves. The great acts of parliamentary legiſlation proceeded, and



and were nearly approaching to their termination. A very ſhort period, probably not exceeding three days, muſt have completed the bill, which was to declare the incapacity of the Sovereign to conduct the national affairs, and to transfer the ſceptre, though with diminiſhed influence, to his ſon. The members of Adminiſtration were on the point of reſigning their charges, and the new Miniſtry, already ſettled, prepared to enter on office: while the Engliſh people, fondly attached by every ſenſe of loyalty and affection to their Monarch, as well as from gratitude and eſteem to the Firſt Miniſter, in dejection and ſilence looked on, and ſaw the Government transferred to others, who, whatever abilities they might collectively poſſeſs, certainly neither merited nor enjoyed the general approbation and confidence.

But the term of interregnum and miſfortune was now arrived; and the impending calamity which had menaced England with all the evils of a Regency, far

far more to be deprecated and dreaded than thoſe from which the country had eſcaped in 1784, was ſuddenly and unexpectedly diſſipated. The diſorder, under which the King had ſuffered during three months, and whoſe violence had hitherto appeared to baffle all medical ſkill and exertion, gradually, but rapidly ſubſided. Sanity of mind and reaſon reſumed their ſeat, and left no trace of their temporary ſubverſion. Time confirmed the cure, and reſtored to his ſubjects a Prince, rendered ſupremely and peculiarly dear to them by the recent proſpect and apprehenſion of his loſs. The viſion of a Regency faded and diſappeared, as the Sovereign came forward to public view, and was totally extinguiſhed by his reſumption of all the regal functions. The demonſtrations of national joy far exceeded any recorded in the Engliſh annals, and were probably more real and unfeigned than ever were offered on ſimilar occaſions. It was not only that a King, beloved and reſpected, was recovered from the moſt afflicting of

all



all ſituations incident to humanity, and enabled to re-aſcend the throne. Sentiments of diſapprobation and of general condemnation, affixed to the meaſures and conduct of the oppoſite party, heightened the emotions of pleaſure, by a compariſon with that ſtate from which the kingdom had been ſo fortunately delivered. No efforts of deſpotiſm, or mandates of abſolute power could have produced the illuminations, which the capital exhibited in teſtimony of its loyalty; and theſe proofs of attachment were renewed, and even augmented, on the occaſion of his Majeſty's firſt appearance in public, and his ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, to return thanks to Heaven for his recovery. Serenity and tranquillity, ſo long baniſhed, reſumed their place, and ſoon effaced the recollection of a calamity, not more awful and alarming in its appearance and progreſs, than ſpeedily and happily extinguiſhed.

The attention of Europe, which had been ſo powerfully attracted towards England during the continuance of the ſevere indiſpo-



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ſition of George the Third, was now to be directed to another object ſcarcely leſs productive of change, and big with the moſt important conſequences. France, ſo long inured to ſervitude, and only tracing the exiſtence of her liberties in the page of forgotten hiſtorians, or antiquaries: whoſe fetters, originally impoſed by Richlieu, and ſtrengthened by Mazarin, had been rivetted by the lapſe of near two centuries; by the proud tyranny of Louis the Fourteenth, and by the profligate deſpotiſm of his ſucceſſor: France, ſtimulated by the writings of genius and philoſophy, which in defiance of arbitrary power, have illuminated and dignified the preſent age, aſpired to freedom. The weakneſs of the Sovereign; the incapacity or timidity of his Miniſters; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury and finances; the unexampled and pertinacious oppoſition of the Parliament of Paris to regiſter, or ſanction the Royal edicts for the impoſition of new taxes; the failure of the harveſts, and conſequent augmentation in the price of bread; all

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theſe concurring circumſtances contributed to produce and accelerate a revolution.

The various Parliaments of the kingdom, in terms of energy and firmneſs to which they had been long diſuſed, clamorouſly demanded the immediate convocation of the "States General," as the only conſtitutional, or adequate remedy to the diſtempers of the ſtate. They adhered to this requiſition, not only in defiance of the diſpleaſure of the Crown, which was manifeſted by the baniſhment of the Parliament of Paris to Troyes in Champagne; but in oppoſition to their own eſſential intereſts, and even eventual exiſtence. The nobility, attached by ſo many ties to the Sovereign, and the natural ſupporters of his prerogative; irritated at the attempt made by Calonne, and perſiſted in by the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, to deprive them of their exemption from the projected land tax, or "impot territorial," joined the courts of judicature in their refuſal to regiſter the meaſures propoſed, and forſook their hereditary maxims of policy, to adopt

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the popular party. The irreſolute conduct of the Firſt Miniſter under theſe delicate and trying circumſtances, invigorated and emboldened the enemies of Government; and the ſpirit of remonſtrance, complaint, and menace, deſſeminated with induſtry, became daily more general and alarming.

The Archbiſhop, after many inefficient or unſucceſsful plans for the re-eſtabliſhment of the finances, and ſome ill-conceived exertions of ſeverity and power againſt his opponents, felt himſelf unequal to combat the gathering ſtorm of national indignation; and retiring from a ſituation of danger and eminence, abandoned his maſter to the mercy of events. He even quitted France, and paſſed the Alps into Italy; as Calonne, under ſimilar expreſſions of general reſentment, had done in the preceding year; when finding the Royal protection withdrawn, and already impeached by the Parliament of Paris, he retreated firſt into Holland, and from thence croſſed the ſea to England. In this perplexed ſituation, Louis the Sixteenth



teenth, compelled to diſmiſs one Miniſter, and forſaken by another; ſurrounded with embarraſſments, and having only a choice of evils; conſcious that the very foundations of the throne and monarchy were crumbling under his feet; endowed with no talents or great qualities which might enable him to ſuſtain his own dignity, coerce his ſubjects, or reſtore order and energy in the public affairs: alarmed and terrified at the demonſtrations of diſcontent which appeared in the capital, and the provinces: under the preſſure of theſe various conſiderations and apprehenſions, he embraced the reſolution of meeting the wiſhes of the nation; and if driven to the laſt neceſſity, of laying the diſtreſſes of the Crown before the repreſentatives of the people.

Neckar, who had conducted the finances during the proſecution of the late war with England, and who had attained a very unmerited degree of popularity ſince his diſmiſſion from office, was reinſtated in his employment of Comptroller General. The avowed enemy of Calonne, whom he

he accuſed of peculation and malverſation, he had appealed to the public by various controverſial writings, defamatory of that Miniſter, and tending to criminate him as a defaulter in the eyes of France and of all Europe. The famous "Compte rendu au Roi" in 1781, in which he laid open to his own Sovereign, and to all mankind, the expenditure, revenue, and reſources of his country, may be regarded not only as an unprecedented diſcloſure of the hitherto ſacred and unrevealed arcana of the French monarchy; but as having operated much beyond the immediate and oſtenſible pretext of his own juſtification, by awakening, and directing the reflexions of every claſs of men towards the profuſe diſtribution of the public treaſure. Simple in his exterior, and decent in his manners, Neckar attained the fame of diſintereſtedneſs and probity. Equally republican in birth and in principles, he flattered by theſe circumſtances, the prevailing ſpirit and genius of the times. Avowedly odious to the party of the Queen, and of



of the Count d'Artois, he could hardly be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the real confidence or attachment of the King, who had only been driven by his own diſtreſs, and the current of popular favor, to have recourſe to his aſſiſtance and ſervices. Deficient in all the eſſential qualities of a great Miniſter, and ignorant of thoſe enlarged principles of taxation and revenue, which were alone competent to the extrication of ſo vaſt a monarchy as France, he ſupplied theſe defects by little arts and narrow projects, adapted to the exigencies of the day. In the Canton of Bern his talents might have entitled him to reſpect, and they would have been in their proper ſphere. An able arithmetician, but a feeble ſtateſman, he only appeared in the firſt ſtation of finance, to evince how inadequate were his abilities to that dangerous elevation; and after vainly attempting to ſuſtain an ill-founded reputation, he has now retired to oblivion, unlamented, and almoſt unnoticed by that nation, among whom he was ſo lately idolized.

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Although the recall and nomination of Neckar appeared to give general ſatisfaction, and awakened the hopes of his numerous and ſanguine admirers, yet theſe ſymptoms of approbation gradually ſubſided. The temporary effect of his name in raiſing the public credit, produced no permanent or beneficial conſequence. Languor and debility characterized every operation of finance; and Government became leſs competent to reſiſt the encroachments of the people, in proportion as its embarraſſment multiplied. Paris, rendered clamorous by the high price of grain, and attributing this ſcarcity more to the arts of monopoly, and even to the indirect interference of the Court in permitting the exportation of corn, than to any deficiency in the productions of the earth, proceeded to acts of violence, bordering on inſurrection. The introduction of a body of military forces into the capital, quelled, not without a conſiderable effuſion of blood, theſe firſt ſymptoms of revolt, and reſtored a degree of tranquillity





and ſubmiſſion. Notwithſtanding this apparent check to the ſpirit of popular innovation, every circumſtance tended to evince, that the numerous ſubjects of complaint on the ſide of the People could not be extinguiſhed, by any expedient ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion on the part of the Crown; or of an appeal to the ſword, if the former meaſure ſhould be thought too degrading for a Prince born in the purple, and accuſtomed to regard his power as unlimited and irreſiſtible. The naked and unprotected Majeſty of the throne, no longer environed, as under Louis the Fourteenth, by a ſplendid houſehold and the pomp of royalty, formed a very inefficient barrier againſt a nation, enthuſiaſtic in their demands of a conſtitution; and who ſeemed to be determined to ſeize the favourable moment, for curtailing the odious prerogative of iſſuing "Lettres de Cachet," and raiſing ſupplies by arbitrary mandate. The levities and profuſion of the Queen; the haughty tone which was aſſumed by the Count d'Artois on ſeveral occaſions; and

the ſuppoſed ſubſervience of the King to his wife and brother, encreaſed the frenzy for reformation, and added to the general effervescence. Yielding with ungracious reluctance to theſe manifeſtations of the approaching ſtorm, the King conſented to adopt the humiliating and unwelcome advice offered by his Miniſter, of convoking the States General at Verſailles: but, at the ſame time, ſtimulated to reſiſtance by his own feelings, as well as by the exhortations of thoſe who were continually near his perſon, he began to prepare for extremities, and to aſſemble forces.

The Duke of Orleans, who, at an early period of the preſent troubles, had been ordered to retire to his ſeat at Reinſy, on account of the active part which he had taken in oppoſition to the Government, had obtained, from the lenity or indulgence of the Court, permiſſion to reviſit Paris. Leſs ſenſible to this mark of favour, than irritated by the act of ſeverity which preceded it, he determined on revenge, and embraced with ardor the popular cauſe. His high quality and near alliance to the



the Sovereign; his immenſe revenues; his central ſituation at the "Palais Royal," in the heart of the metropolis; his numerous connexions, and extenſive influence: this combination of circumſtances enabled him to become a very dangerous and formidable opponent to the Crown, in its preſent fallen and debilitated ſtate. He probably did not apprehend the extremities to which his own intrigues might conduct a tumultuous aſſembly; or he might conceive that he ſhould always be able to direct its operations, and to ſuperintend its movements. It is even poſſible, as his enemies aſſert, that the flattering proſpect of the Regency, which already opened itſelf to his ambition as neither a remote nor improbable event, conduced to determine his line of action, and to prevent him from ſeeing the precipices with which ſuch a purſuit was ſurrounded. He was elected a member of the States General for Crepy in Valois, and took his ſeat in the Aſſembly.

This extraordinary convocation of all the orders of the kingdom, which had

not been ſummoned ſince the Regency of Mary of Medicis, and whoſe very exiſtence ſeemed to have been annihilated by three long reigns of arbitrary power, was opened with the utmoſt ſolemnity by Louis the Sixteenth, aſſiſted by the Princes of the Blood, and accompanied with all the external ſplendor becoming ſo auguſt a ceremony. Many ſources of internal diſcord and confuſion, almoſt inevitable from the competition and oppoſite pretenſions or intereſt of the Nobility, Clergy, and Third Eſtate; the facility of introducing corruption among ſo vaſt and mixed a body of men; above all, the loyalty and adherence naturally to be expected from the two firſt claſſes of the ſtates: theſe inherent vices in their formation inſpired the Court with a confidence, that no unanimity or exertion of vigour would ever characterize ſo heterogeneous a maſs. The firſt proceedings of the Aſſembly juſtified theſe expectations. Much time elapſed in diſputes ariſing from the incompatibility of the reſpective demands of the different orders; and though





theſe were at laſt happily terminated by the Nobility and Clergy renouncing, or acquieſcing in the claims of the delegates of the people; yet the Sovereign ſtill poſſeſſed great reſources, and various means of protracting or averting any act militating vitally againſt his prerogatives.

Had Louis the Sixteenth been left to the impulſe and direction of his own character, it is probable that he would have continued to yield to the encroachments of the democratical ſpirit, which had already produced ſo many involuntary conceſſions on the part of the Crown; and which, encreaſing in vigour as it proceeded, avowedly aimed at giving birth to a free conſtitution, and a limited monarchy. He wanted all that energy, elevation, and courage requiſite to ſuſtain him in a ſtruggle againſt his people, and to enable him to repreſs their attempts at emancipation. But in the Queen and the Count d'Artois, reſentment at the inroads of a nation whom they had long regarded only as formed for ſervitude; and the habitual exerciſe of arbitrary power,

warmly impelled to every exertion for its preſervation; while it dictated the moſt decided meaſures for repreſſing and chaſtizing a mutinous and diſcontented capital.

They united their efforts to ſuſtain the irreſolution of the King, and ſucceeded. It was determined in the cabinet of Verſailles, to adopt the moſt vigorous principles; to diſſolve the National Aſſembly; to diſmiſs the Comptroller-General; and to puniſh the inſolence of the metropolis. Prudence and addreſs were, however, requiſite to mature theſe counſels, and to facilitate their execution. A great body of forces, principally conſiſting of the Swiſs and German regiments in the ſervice of France, was gradually collected from different provinces. The Marechal de Broglio, an officer of high military reputation, and of known attachment to the Crown, was named to the ſupreme command. Every neceſſary preparation for maintaining the Royal authority, if neceſſary, by the moſt ſpirited and ſevere acts of puniſhment, was made, without even the



affectation of diſguiſe or concealment. The capital, incapable of reſiſtance, and unconſcious even of its own capacities of defence; deſtitute of leaders, of arms, and of troops, waited patiently the chaſtizement which impended.

Paris, involved in circumſtances more diſtreſsful even than thoſe in which it ſtood, when inveſted by Henry the Third in 1589, and under an equal neceſſity of ſubmitting to the conditions which an incenſed monarch might have dictated, was ſnatched from pillage by a revolution not leſs ſudden and unexpected, than that which, two centuries preceding, had deprived Henry the Third of his life. The frantic and ſanguinary zeal of a Monk affected this deliverance in one inſtance: in the other, the Pariſians were indebted to the timidity, delays, and want of deciſion in the Court. During the firſt days of July, the metropolis, though turbulent and riotous, made no exertions to oppoſe the army by which it was encircled and ſurrounded. The partizans and ſupporters of the Royal power were numerous, and ready

ready to evince their zeal and loyalty. The " Prevot des Marchands," who is the firſt municipal magiſtrate, was in the intereſts of the Crown. The Baſtile awed one part of the capital, as the " Hotel des Invalides" did the other. Paris, taken in the toils of arbitrary power, might have been diſarmed, and deprived of the means to excite future commotion. The imprudence, puſillanimity, and impatience of the Court rendered theſe advantages of no avail, and precipitated the unfortunate Prince upon meaſures which terminated in irremediable diſgrace and ruin.

Miſtaking, or neglecting the moſt obvious principles of policy and wiſe precaution, which dictated to commence the plan of operations by ſubjecting Paris, from whence alone any danger was to be apprehended; the King was induced to diſmiſs Neckar with expreſſions of indignation, which were accompanied by menaces and inſult on the part of his brother, the Count d'Artois. This ſtep, which evinced a total change of reſolutions, and which, from



from the popularity of the Miniſter, was likely to produce a violent fermentation in every order of men, was followed by others equally injudicious. The States General were driven into the " Salle des Etats" where they held their meetings, by detachments of the Guards; who ſurrounded them, and who waited only the orders of the Court, to proceed to greater extremities againſt the obnoxious repreſentatives of the nation.

Had theſe manifeſtations of vigour been only ſuſtained by inſtantly attacking and entering Paris, it is not to be doubted that, unprepared as it ſtill was, and unwilling to expoſe to the licence of an incenſed ſoldiery the lives and properties of its citizens, the capital would have been without difficulty reduced to obedience. But, an ill-timed and fatal delay, equally injurious with the preceding precipitation, gave the inhabitants time to recover from their firſt emotions of ſurprize and apprehenſion. They ſaw the timidity and imbecility of the Government, who having founded the

charge, dared not advance to the attack. They profited by this want of exertion; and paſſing from one extreme rapidly to another, they almoſt unanimouſly took up arms againſt their rulers and oppreſſors. Joined by the French Guards, who, from a long reſidence in the capital, had been peculiarly expoſed to ſeduction, and who at this deciſive moment abandoned their Sovereign, the Pariſians broke through every obſtacle by which they had hitherto been reſtrained. The ſupplies of arms and ammunition which had been provided for their ſubjugation, were turned againſt the Crown; and the "Hotel des Invalides," the great repoſitory of military ſtores, after a faint reſiſtance, ſurrendered.

The Prince de Lambeſc, who alone, of all the officers commanding the Royal troops in the vicinity of Paris, attempted to carry into execution the plan for diſarming the capital, was repulſed in a premature and injudicious attack, which he made at the head of his dragoons, near the entrance of the garden of the Tuilleries. Already the

"Prevot



"Prevot des Marchands," Monſieur de Fleſſelles, convicted of entertaining a correſpondence with the Court, and detected in ſending private intelligence to Monſieur de Launay, Governor of the Baſtile, had been ſeized by the people, and fallen the firſt victim to the general indignation. His head, borne on a lance, exhibited an alarming example of the danger to which adherence to the Sovereign muſt expoſe, in a time of anarchy and inſurrection.

The Baſtile alone remained; and while it continued in the power of the Crown, Paris could not be regarded as free, or even as ſecure from the ſevereſt chaſtiſement. It was inſtantly inveſted by a mixed multitude, compoſed of citizens and ſoldiers who had joined the popular banner. De Launay, who commanded in the caſtle, by an act of perfidy unjuſtifiable under any circumſtances, and which rendered his fate leſs regretted, rather accelerated, than delayed the capture of this important fortreſs. He diſplayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley; but abuſing the con-

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dence which theſe ſignals inſpired, he diſcharged a heavy fire from the cannon and muſquetry of the place upon the beſiegers, and made a conſiderable carnage. Far from intimidating, he only augmented, by ſo treacherous a breach of faith, the rage of an incenſed populace. They renewed their exertions with a valour raiſed to frenzy, and were crowned with ſucceſs. The Baſtile, that awful engine of deſpotiſm, whoſe name alone diffuſed terror, and which for many ages had been ſacred to ſilence and deſpair, was entered by the victorious aſſailants. De Launay, ſeized and dragged to the "Place de Greve," was inſtantly diſpatched, and his head carried in triumph through the ſtreets of Paris.

Few captives, either of inferior or of eminent rank, were found in the apartments of the Baſtile. The Count de Lorges, at a very advanced period of life, diſcovered in one of the dungeons of the "Tour de la Bertaudiere," was liberated, and exhibited to the public curioſity in the "Palais Royal." His ſqualid appearance, his



his beard which deſcended to his waiſt, and above all, his imbecility, reſulting probably from the effect of an impriſonment of thirty-two years, were objects highly calculated to operate upon the ſenſes and paſſions of every beholder. It is indeed impoſſible, however we may lament or condemn the ferocious ſpirit which has characterized and diſgraced the French revolution, not to participate in the exultation, which a capital and a country ſo highly illuminated, and ſo long oppreſſed, muſt have experienced, at the extinction of this deteſtable and juſtly dreaded priſon of ſtate. Nor does the rapidity with which it was captured excite leſs admiration, when its powers of reſiſtance are conſidered, and the ſpeedy relief which might have been afforded to it by the numerous bodies of regular forces, with which Paris was ſurrounded on every ſide.

With the Baſtile, expired the royal authority and conſideration. The deſpotiſm of the French Princes, which long prescription,

preſcription, ſubmiſſion, and military ſtrength ſeemed to render equally ſacred and unaſſailable: which neither the calamities of the cloſe of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, the profligacy and enormities of the ſucceeding Regency, nor the ſtate of degradation into which the monarchy ſunk under Louis the Fifteenth, had ever ſhaken: that power, which appeared to derive its ſupport almoſt as much from the loyalty and veneration, as from the dread and terrors of the ſubject, fell proſtrate in the duſt, and never betrayed any ſymptom of returning life.

Paris, liberated from all reſtraint, or even wholeſome police, appeared to riot in the intoxication of freedom; and ſtained its acquiſition by ſcenes of violence and blood, unworthy the firſt capital in Europe. Every trace of obedience diſappeared; and even the promoters of the late inſurrection were not ſecure from the capricious fury of a frantic and ſavage populace, who filled the "Place de Greve" with clamours, and frequently tore the victim whom



whom their indignation had ſelected, from the hands of juſtice.

But, at Verſailles, conſternation and alarm filled the court on the arrival of this extraordinary intelligence. Yielding at once to the united impulſe of his terrors and his natural inclinations, the King, without even preſerving the forms of Majeſty however fallen, repaired to the National Aſſembly, rather as a ſuppliant than a monarch. Diſordered in his dreſs, and unaccompanied by his guards or uſual attendants, he betrayed his agitation in the ſpeech which he addreſſed to the States. Only two days preceding this melancholy exhibition of degraded dignity, he had replied to a remonſtrance which they preſented to him, in terms of determination mixed with menace. He now adopted the language of diſtreſs, invoked their aſſiſtance, diſowned his intention to employ force for the ſubjection of the capital, aſſured them that he had already ſent orders to withdraw the troops which had inveſted Paris and Verſailles; and profeſſed

feſſed his deſire to give the moſt unequivocal proofs of his deference to the wiſhes of his ſubjects. He concluded by imploring them to make known theſe his paternal diſpoſitions, to the inhabitants of the diſtracted metropolis.

The Aſſembly, which trembled a few hours before for its own ſafety, and had expected to be offered up as victims to the vengeance of an irritated Sovereign, replied with expreſſions of loyalty and affection to theſe gracious declarations, although evidently extorted by fear. It was however far otherwiſe at Paris, where the populace, deeming their triumph incomplete while the King remained apparently tranquil in his palace; not only exacted his perſonal and immediate preſence among them, to ſanction their outrages on his authority; but accompanied this demand with menaces, if refuſed, of ſetting fire to Verſailles, and at once extinguiſhing the obnoxious Princes of the Houſe of Bourbon in the flames. Perhaps a monarch endowed with qualities



ties ſuch as Louis the Fourteenth poſſeſſed, would perhaps have refuſed compliance with this humiliating requiſition; and while his army was yet entire, and the royal dignity not totally degraded, have embraced the generous reſolution of meeting the ſtorm, of trying the fortune of war, and at leaſt devolving to his ſucceſſor the prerogatives, which at his acceſſion he had received and exerciſed. But Louis the Sixteenth poſſeſſed no abilities competent to ſo magnanimous and unequal a ſtruggle. He had already abandoned his attempts to maintain the Royal power in its original vigour; and he had now ſcarcely any option between the loſs of his throne, and a complete ſubmiſſion to the arbitrary pleaſure of a populace, thirſting for blood, inflamed by ſucceſs, and daily offering up victims to its revenge.

Under theſe melancholy circumſtances, He did not heſitate to yield obedience to the mandate, which it was no longer ſafe to refuſe. After ſuch a night as Charles

the Firſt may be ſuppoſed to have paſſed, previous to his aſcending the ſcaffold; but unattended with that ſerenity and fortitude, which eminently diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh Monarch in the laſt act of life, he ſet out for Paris. Conſcious however, of the peril attendant on his appearance in the metropolis of his dominions, and doubtful of eſcaping from the rage of the multitude to whom he was to be preſented, he prepared for death, as at leaſt, a poſſible event. He received the ſacrament, made ſome private diſpoſitions of affairs, and gave various orders in conſequence. Though deſirous to ſee and embrace his ſon and daughter before his departure, he yet had firmneſs ſufficient to refuſe himſelf this indulgence, as fearing that it might too deeply affect, and diſqualify him for the part which he was to perform. " J'en aurai plus de plaiſir," ſaid he, " ſi je reviens." A gentleman who was near his perſon on this occaſion, encouraging him, and venturing to anſwer for



for his ſafety, the King replied, " Henry Quatre valoit mieux que moi; et cependant on l'a aſſaſſiné."

Though he quitted Verſailles at an early hour, it was late before he entered Paris, from the immenſe multitudes who aſſembled to ſee him paſs, and who teſtified no ſentiments of loyalty in their acclamations. When arrived at the " Place de Greve," and conducted to the " Hotel de Ville," the new Mayor, Monſieur Bailli, who had been elected to ſupply the late unfortunate firſt magiſtrate, inſulted the fallen Prince by a mock ſurrender of the keys of his capital; which he accompanied with a ſarcaſtic and inſolent reflexion on the different ſituation in which Henry the Fourth ſtood, when he received a ſimilar teſtimony of its ſubmiſſion and allegiance. The cries of the people, who inſiſted that the King ſhould ſhew himſelf on the balcony, compelled him to give this laſt proof of his deference to their wiſhes; and to add to the condeſcenſion, he accepted from the hands of the Mayor, the National cockade, which

he firſt carried to his lips, and then placed in his hat. After having been detained and exhibited as a captive to his own ſubjects during the greater part of the day, without ſuſtenance or refreſhment of any kind, he was at length permitted to return to Verſailles, and to conceal his emotions in the privacy of his own apartments.

While this humiliating ſcene was acting before the eyes of all France, which were turned towards ſo unuſual and attractive a ſight, the adherents to the late meaſures, terrified at the menaces thrown out againſt them, and dreading the moſt fatal conſequences of popular fury, profited of the King's abſence and viſit to his capital, to effect their own eſcape.

The Count d'Artois, regarding himſelf as peculiarly marked out for proſcription and impeachment, and apprehenſive that even his proximity of blood to the Sovereign might prove an inſufficient protection to his life, fled among the firſt, carrying with him his ſons, the Dukes d'Angouleme



gouleme and de Berri; two youths who were ſucceſſively preſumptive heirs to the Crown, in caſe of the demiſe of the Dauphin. In the hurry of a precipitate retreat, it was found extremely difficult to furniſh a few hundred louis d'ors to a Prince, for whoſe expenſive gratifications, only ſome days before, the treaſures of the monarchy were inſufficient. He took the road to Flanders; and was already far advanced towards the frontiers, before his departure was known or ſuſpected at Paris. When ſo diſtinguiſhed a perſonage, and one ſo nearly allied to the throne, deemed himſelf no longer ſafe even in the Royal reſidence, it cannot excite wonder that thoſe of a leſs elevated condition, and who were equally obnoxious to an enraged populace, ſhould conſult their ſafety by inſtant flight. The principal roads were covered with illuſtrious fugitives, under every poſſible diſguiſe and concealment. The Prince of Condé quitted Chantilly, followed by his ſon and grandſon, the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien. The Prince of Conti, the

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laſt in ſucceſſion of the Blood Royal, after undergoing many extremities of hunger and fatigue, arrived at Luxembourg; to which place likewiſe the Mareſchal de Broglio, abandoning his army, repaired without delay.

The Ducheſs of Polignac, ſo long unrival'd in the affections of the Queen, and round whom all the pleaſures of the Court of Verſailles were uſed to aſſemble; tearing herſelf from this ſcene of diſſipation, attain'd with difficulty the city of Bale in Switzerland; after having encountered numerous dangers, and been preſerved from the laſt degree of violence as ſhe paſſed through Sens, by the happy preſence of mind which diſtinguiſhed an Abbé, by whom ſhe was accompanied. At Bale, by one of thoſe ſingular accidents which evince the power of fortune, ſhe found in the inn at which ſhe alighted, the late Miniſter, Neckar; who having paſſed through Swabia after his diſmiſſion, on his way to Geneva, here firſt received from his enemies, the intel-



intelligence of the revolution. The Baron de Breteuil, purſued by the moſt marked deteſtation of his countrymen, evaded, as well as the Prince de Lambeſc, the ſnares prepared to intercept them: the former reaching Bern in ſafety, as the latter did Turin. Monſieur de Beſenval, leſs fortunate, was ſeized at Brie Comte Robert; and even the ſolicitations of Neckar himſelf, who endeavoured to interpoſe in his behalf, were inſufficient to obtain his enlargement.

In this general conſternation, the Queen, abandoned by all her deareſt connexions, remained with her two children, friendleſs, and almoſt alone, in the palace of Verſailles. No Prince of the Royal Family ventured to abide the ſtorm, except the Count de Provence; who during the continuance of all theſe diſorders, had enjoyed a diſtinguiſhed ſhare, at leaſt of negative approbation; and whoſe conduct throughout the critical circumſtances which preceded the ſedition of Paris, had been ſuch

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as to conciliate, in ſome degree, the popular favour.

The Duke of Orleans, to whoſe intrigues, or oppoſition to the Crown, may be greatly aſcribed the rapid progreſs of the general diſcontent, and the exceſſes of the people; viewed from the "Palais Royal" with ſecret pleaſure, the effects of his machinations, and enjoyed his triumph over the vanquiſhed court. The military command of the National troops, and of the capital, were conferred by almoſt unanimous delegation on the Marquis de la Fayette; as the ſupreme civil and municipal juriſdiction devolved on Bailli, Mayor of Paris. The union of both theſe powers, was however frequently found unequal to impoſing proper reſtraints upon the ungoverned paſſions and ſavage violence of a populace, new to freedom, and who ſtained its acquiſition by daily acts of vengeance and cruelty. The heads of Foulon and Berthier, one of whom had occupied a high ſituation in the late



late miniſtry, and the other had been intendant of Paris, were carried through the ſtreets; and the circumſtances with which the death of theſe eminent perſons were accompanied, are only to be compared in horror and atrocity with thoſe attendant on the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, or the aſſaſſination of the Marechal d'Ancre under Louis the Thirteenth.

Meanwhile, at the inſtigation and requeſt of the National Aſſembly, Neckar was recalled, and invited by letters of the moſt flattering, and even penitential tenor, from the King himſelf, to reſume the ſuperintendance of the finances. He yielded, though with apparent reluctance, to theſe entreaties; and repaired to Court, loaded with expreſſions of general attachment and veneration in every place through which he paſſed: while the credulous and deluded multitude expected from his preſence, a ſpeedy redreſs of all their grievances, the revival of public credit, and a remedy to the ſcarcity of grain, which had excited the clamours of the capital and

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the kingdom. To the admiration and aſtoniſhment of mankind, in an abſolute monarchy ſo ſtrongly cemented as that of France appeared to have been, and in which loyalty was antiently eſteemed to be characteriſtic of every claſs of citizens, no efforts were made to ſupport the Royal power. An enthuſiaſtic paſſion for liberty pervaded all the provinces; and the revolution, commenced on the banks of the Seine, ſpread with equal rapidity and unanimity, to the foot of the Alps and Pyrenees; to the Rhine and the Mediterranean.

No permanent calm ſucceeded to this ſtorm of popular indignation. Elated with the poſſeſſion of freedom, and exerciſing in many inſtances, a tyranny more oppreſſive and ſevere than that from which they had juſt eſcaped, the people meditated new and greater invaſions on the dignity, as well as the prerogatives of the Crown. The preſs, freed even from that wholeſome and neceſſary reſtriction, which Governments the moſt relaxed impoſe upon the publication of opinions, compenſated for the fetters which

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it had ſo long worn, by giving birth to every ſpecies of licentious production and inſolent attack upon perſons of the higheſt rank. The Queen was peculiarly the object of theſe libellous invectives; and every accuſation private or political, which malignity could invent, to alienate the affections and irritate the paſſions of mankind againſt her, was circulated, and publicly expoſed to ſale. Although all the pomp and majeſty, which in better times had ſurrounded and concealed the Sovereign, was now entirely withdrawn: though only guarded by the burgeſſes of Verſailles, and deſtitute of any military protection againſt inſult and outrage, Louis the Sixteenth ſtood expoſed to every enterprize which a mutinous capital might undertake or execute; yet ſome veſtiges of perſonal liberty he ſtill retained. He was free to enjoy the diverſion of the chace; and the National Aſſembly, convoked at Verſailles, continued to hold its meetings there, under his immediate ſuperintendance and inſpection. It was even thought decent and neceſſary, on the part of the new tribunes

of the people, to march ſome regiments, in the month of September, on whoſe adherence they conceived that they could ſafely rely, to perform the ordinary functions of ſtate; at the ſame time that they prevented any eſcape, if ſuch was intended by the King.

But, where ſo many inflammable materials were collected, it was not poſſible that any conſiderable time could elapſe before they burſt into a conflagration. After one or two attempts, which the vigilance and activity of La Fayette prevented from being carried into full execution, the populace of Paris, excited by various arts, and incenſed at the Queen for having brought the Dauphin, and preſented him to the officers of the regular troops after a public entertainment, roſe as by univerſal conſent, and determined to march to Verſailles. By what motives, or with what intentions, the conductors of this armed mob were actuated, it is perhaps impoſſible at preſent poſitively to aſſert. The deepeſt and blackeſt deſigns have, by popular malignity, been attributed to the Duke



Duke of Orleans; no leſs than the attainment of the Regency, at whatever price, and by every mode, however treaſonable or flagitious. Many of the circumſtances which diſtinguiſhed that extraordinary ſcene, unqueſtionably evince a plan not more artful than nefarious; and which ſeemed calculated, by operating on the fears of the Sovereign, to induce him to abandon the throne, and ſeek his ſafety in flight; while the Queen, who was more an object of national obloquy and averſion, might be inſtantly offered up as a victim to the frantic multitude.

It is difficult to do juſtice to the horrors of a night, ſimilar only to thoſe which are furniſhed by the annals of Charles the Ninth, and which reminds us of the times of Catherine of Medicis. Poſterity will ſcarcely credit, that at the concluſion of the eighteenth century, and in a country eminently diſtinguiſhed by all the ſofter virtues of humanity, acts of blood and ferocity more ſavage than the Janizaries of Conſtantinople uſually exerciſe againſt

againſt their deſpots, were performed with impunity. The ſingularity and incredibility of the recital will be augmented by recollecting, that many of the moſt violent among theſe ruffians, were women; or, at leaſt habited in a female dreſs. Armed with every deſtructive weapon, they aſſaulted the guards who were ſtationed at the door of the Queen's apartments, burſt into them, murdered thoſe who oppoſed their progreſs, and penetrated to the chamber in which ſhe ſlept. The efforts which were made to retard their fury, and the cries of "Sauvez la Reine," which echoed through the palace, gave her an inſtant in which to eſcape. The firſt Queen in Europe was ſaved from a death the moſt ignominious, by the interval of almoſt a ſingle moment. Undreſſed, and nearly naked, ſhe gained a private ſtaircaſe, which conveyed her to the King, who received her in his arms, where ſhe fell ſenſeleſs with terror. The materials of the bed from which ſhe had juſt riſen, after undergoing the ſtricteſt ſearch, in hopes of diſcovering the unhappy object of their purſuit,



ſuit, were ſcattered over the room, as ſome gratification to their diſappointed vengeance.

Louis the Sixteenth himſelf, appearing on the balcony of his apartment, in the language and attitude of ſupplication, vainly implored the populace to ſpare his guards, whom he ſaw maſſacred at his feet, without the power of extending to them any relief. He as vainly beſought the Queen to yield to the neceſſity of the time, and to retire to Rambouillet, where her perſon would at leaſt be ſecure. Exerting a courage ſuperior to her ſex, and elevated above a ſenſe of the danger to which ſhe was ſo conſpicuouſly expoſed, ſhe firmly perſiſted in her refuſal to fly; and declared her determination to accompany the King, and at leaſt to expire as ſhe had lived, a Queen of France. Yet, conſcious of the probability of her falling a ſacrifice to the popular rage, ſhe armed herſelf with a poniard, as a laſt reſource againſt the degradation of plebeian violence and brutality.

It is impoſſible, how much ſoever we may condemn

condemn certain parts of her conduct and character, not to admire the heroiſm and magnanimity of this deportment, in which we ſeem to recognize the blood of ſo many Emperors from whom ſhe deſcended. The weakneſs of the woman was notwithſtanding, mingled with the fortitude of the Sovereign; and when ſhe entered the coach which was to convey herſelf and the captive King from Verſailles to Paris, terrified at the cries of a furious multitude who ſeemed to demand her forfeit life, ſhe threw herſelf into the arms of La Fayette, who offered her his hand at the door of the carriage; and whoſe protection ſhe invoked to preſerve her from outrage and death. Placing the Dauphin in her lap, and ſeated by her huſband, the cavalcade moved ſlowly towards the capital; while the heads of the murdered "Gardes du Corps," borne on poles, and held up to her view, preſented a melancholy proſpect of her own probable deſtiny. They at length reached the palace of the Thuilleries, thus accompanied, and took poſſeſſion of that



that part of it deſtined for their reception and reſidence: while cannon, mounted at the principal avenues, under pretence of ſafety and defence, ſecured them from reſcue, and rendered eſcape impracticable.

Perhaps no day ſo ignominious to the Royal dignity had been beheld, ſince the elevation of the Capetian Princes to the throne of France. The capture and impriſonment of Louis the Ninth at Damietta, of King John at Poictiers, and of Francis the Firſt at the battle of Pavia, however unfortunate and humiliating, yet were at laſt ſoftened by many conſiderations. Thoſe Monarchs were all taken in arms, after exerting the moſt heroic acts of valour againſt their conquerors, and owed their misfortunes only to the chance of war. Even Henry the Third, when he fled from his capital, purſued by the Guiſes, yet retained his perſonal independence, and ſoon returned to beſiege and to chaſtiſe his rebellious ſubjects. Louis the Sixteenth, ſunk below eſteem or commiſeration, and not having exerted either abi-

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lity or courage in the defence of his invaded prerogatives, only held a precarious life at the mercy of a ſeditious and inſolent populace, who having already impriſoned, might in any moment of reſentment, terminate the reign of their fallen and degraded King. The palace in which he was confined, having been in a great meaſure neglected for more than a century, during which time Paris had rarely ſeen any Sovereign reſident in the metropolis, was totally unfit for the reception of a Court; and even the apartments which were occupied by the King himſelf, were in ſo ruinous or decayed a condition, as not altogether to exclude the inclemency of the weather. To this ſituation was a Monarch reduced, who only a few months before, might be regarded as at the ſummit of human greatneſs; and the foundations of whoſe throne, ſtrengthened by long poſſeſſion and by habits of obedience, ſeemed to bid defiance to all the ordinary convulſions which overturn empires, and deſtroy the firmeſt fabrics of human power and wiſdom.

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While theſe ſcenes of outrage and violence were exhibiting in France, it is difficult to imagine a picture of more complete ſerenity than England preſented; and this internal repoſe was accompanied with every circumſtance of external proſperity, and augmenting national conſideration. The year which immediately ſucceeded the malady of George the Third, may be ranked among the happieſt of his reign, whether it be conſidered as perſonally affecting himſelf, or as productive of felicity to his people. The recent danger from which he had eſcaped, rendered his health and ſafety peculiarly precious to his ſubjects; as the animated expreſſions of their attachment and loyalty muſt have deeply touched the heart of a Prince, infinitely ſenſible to theſe genuine marks of affection. The character of the Sovereign was not more formed to produce, than that of his Adminiſtration was to perpetuate the general tranquillity. The conduct of Mr. Pitt during the whole progreſs of the late commotions in France, may be held up

as a model of political honor and rectitude; perhaps, equally ſo of wiſdom. Unlike to Richlieu, who fomented the cauſes of diſcord between Charles the Firſt, and his Parliament: unlike to Vergennes, who ſtimulated the Americans to reſiſtance; and after a ſeries of indirect and inſidious arts, violated the moſt ſolemn treaties in order to aſſure their final independence; the Engliſh Miniſter ſteadily and ſyſtematically adhered to the moſt exact neutrality. The native elevation of his mind, and the magnanimity which has ever characteriſed his meaſures, rendered him incapable of deſcending to the little artifices of crooked and vulgar ſtateſmen. The probity of his private life pervaded and marked his public line of action; nor did ſo uncommon and dignified a mode of proceeding, under circumſtances which might ſeem to juſtify and authorize a more relaxed conduct, fail to produce its full effect on the two nations who were peculiarly affected by it, as well as on the other ſtates of Europe. Some approbation, if not admiration, is indeed due



due to a Government, who have been able to unite vigour, energy, and protection, with the moſt religious adherence to the national faith, and to every principle of ſound and generous policy.

The period which is compriſed between the months of May 1789 and 1790, like the reign of Antoninus Pius, affords few materials for hiſtory, drawn from the interior events of the time. England, at peace with all the world, in the boſom of repoſe, ſaw her commerce and manufactures expand, her credit augment, and her name excite reſpect among the moſt diſtant nations; while many of the great ſurrounding European kingdoms were either involved in foreign war, or deſolated by domeſtic troubles. This tranquillity was not however allied to an ignominious and enervate ſloth; but, on the contrary, was ſecured by vigilance, activity, and exertion. In conjunction with Pruſſia and Holland, Great Britain indirectly extended her attention and ſuccour to Guſtavus the Third, ſinking under an unequal conteſt with the vaſt empire of Ruſſia.

Ruſſia. She reſtrained and arreſted Denmark, even after that power, as an auxiliary of the Court of Peterſburgh, had already taken up arms, and committed hoſtilities againſt Sweden. She ſignified to Leopold, who had recently ſucceeded to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, her deſire that he would recall his troops from the Banks of the Danube; and ſhe ſuſtained by her negociations the firmneſs of the Ottoman counſels, while ſhe ſilently, but not leſs decidedly, impoſed limits on the ambition of their great enemy Catherine the Second, by prohibiting her fleet from preſuming to quit the Baltic, and to complete the deſtruction of the Turks in the Archipelago.

In this exalted ſituation, to which perhaps no parallel in our annals can be adduced, ſince the termination of the ſhort, but ſplendid protectorate of Cromwell, a ſtorm unexpectedly and ſuddenly aroſe from a quarter, where it would ſeem, that no foreſight or precautions could have anticipated the danger. Among the new and unexplored paths of commerce, which the ſpirit



ſpirit of a diſcerning and adventurous people had attempted to open ſince the peace of 1783, were particularly two, which appeared to promiſe the moſt beneficial returns. The firſt was a whale fiſhery, ſimilar to that which had been carried on for ages near the coaſts of Greenland; but transferred to the Southern hemiſphere, near the extremity of Patagonia, and in the ſtormy ſeas which ſurround Cape Horn; as well as in the Pacific Ocean. In the courſe of a few years, this branch of trade had augmented rapidly, and was found on trial to afford very important advantages; nor had it received any impediment from the vague pretenſions of the Spaniſh Crown to the ſovereignty of the ſhores waſhed by that ocean, which was the ſcene of their exertions.

The ſecond of theſe enterprizes, original in its own nature, able in its conception, bold in its execution, and having no precedent for its guidance, was directed to countries and to objects almoſt as much unknown to geographical, as to commercial knowledge

ledge or experience. It demanded many qualities rarely and difficultly combined: a conſiderable capital; miniſterial approbation; faithful and capable conductors; dextrous navigators; and above all, much time and perſeverance to ripen, and ultimately recompenſe the perſons engaging in ſo eccentric and expenſive an expedition. This extraordinary union of talents and circumſtances was, however, found in men of no ſuperior deſcription among the mercantile inhabitants of London; and it will remain a ſtriking monument to future ages, of the energy, capacity, and nautical ability, which diſtinguiſh the preſent century and the Britiſh nation, above the moſt enlightened periods of any antient or modern people.

The North Weſt coaſt of America, the part of the earth to which this embarkation was deſtined, was not only ſo remote, but ſo undefined, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, that its very exiſtence remained unknown or doubtful, before the diſcoveries of the reign of George the Third.

In





At the commencement of the preſent century, it was thought to be almoſt as much beyond the ordinary bounds of navigation, as the iſlands of the Heſperides appeared to the Greeks; and Swift himſelf, only eighty years ago, when he compoſed the entertaining voyages of Lemuel Gulliver, eſteeming it the proper region of fable and romance, ſelected it for the poſition of his imaginary Brobdignag. The immenſe tract of land, extending northward from California and New Albion to the Frozen Sea, had, indeed, in a more recent period, been partly explored, and faintly traced by Cook; though much remained for future enterprize and induſtry to accompliſh, before this diſcovery could be converted to any purpoſe of public utility. He had, however, aſcertained the exiſtence of the continent; and he had received from the barbarous natives, with whom he eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of barter, ſome valuable ſpecimens of furs, in exchange for European commodities of a far inferior nature.

 The

The hope of procuring a conſiderable number of theſe rare and coſtly ſkins, for the ſale of which a very advantageous market preſented itſelf at Canton in China, was the leading inducement to the adventurers, who engaged in the expedition. But, in the purſuit of private emolument, objects of general and national conſequence were neceſſarily implicated and interwoven. Behind this coaſt, to the eaſtward, lay the vaſt continent of America; opening a field to commercial activity and reſearch, in which the imagination itſelf was loſt. The diſcovery of a communication through this unexplored country, and which may ultimately connect it, to a certain degree, with our ſettlements in Hudſon's Bay, appears from their account, not to be totally viſionary, though it was regarded as ſuch by Cook himſelf.

Conceptions and enterprizes more calculated to enlarge the ſphere of induſtry; to connect the moſt remote parts of the planet of the earth by the bands of amity and commerce; to extend the limits of



of the human mind; and to immortalize, while they enriched the nation which originated them, have perhaps ſcarcely ever been imagined or executed. They were not inferior to the moſt ſublime and daring expeditions of antient Greece, and ſeemed to partake of the ſpirit of Columbus: though the preſent age, familiarized to naval ſkill and enterprize, no longer ſees with the ſame admiration, or confers the ſame eulogiums on modern candidates for fame; who are ſeldom regarded through any other medium than that of utility, or pecuniary advantage.

Animated by theſe views, and having received the moſt affirmative marks of the protection of Government previous to their departure, five ſhips were fitted out from London in 1785, and the two ſucceeding years. Four of theſe veſſels, after doubling Cape Horn, arrived ſafely on the North Weſt coaſt of America. The ſanguine expectations which had been entertained, of effecting a lucrative

exchange of commodities with the natives, were fully and ſpeedily realized. Cargoes of the fineſt furs were procured, and ſold to the Chineſe, even under great commercial diſcouragements and pecuniary impoſitions, at ſo high a price, as amply to reimburſe and enrich the adventurers. Other attempts, of a ſimilar nature, were made from Bengal; and two veſſels were ſucceſſively diſpatched from the Ganges to the ſame coaſt, in the year 1786. A factory was eſtabliſhed at Nootka Sound, a port ſituated in the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, on the ſhore of America. Poſſeſſion of it was ſolemnly taken in the name of the Sovereign and Crown of England: amicable treaties were concluded with the chiefs of the neighbouring diſtricts; and a tract of land was purchaſed from one of them, on which the new proprietors proceeded to form a ſettlement, and to conſtruct ſtorehouſes. Every thing bore the appearance of a riſing colony, and each year opened new ſources of commerce and advantage.

Although



Although individuals, occupied in exertions of this private nature, could not be expected to extend their views or efforts to objects of public utility, yet ſome further information was collaterally and incidentally acquired, reſpecting the continent of America, in the courſe of their voyages. It is even pretended that a ſloop, named the "Waſhington," navigated for ſome hundred miles along a vaſt number of iſlands, ſcattered in a ſea, which interſects that continent in a north-eaſt direction; and though the accounts hitherto received or tranſmitted, of this extraordinary and intereſting fact, are not either ſo minute, or ſo accurate, as by any means to entitle them to be implicitly received, yet they appear to be not totally deſtitute of foundation, or probability. Every proſpect, either of national advantage, or of private emolument, which the commerce of theſe coaſts ſeemed to promiſe to Great Britain, was, however, deſtined to experience a ſudden and unexpected ſuſpenſion.

On

On the 6th of May, 1789, two Spaniſh ſhips of war entered Nootka Sound; the commanding officer of which, after making every profeſſion of amity during ſeveral days, ſeized on the Engliſh veſſels, in the name of his Sovereign, as they ſucceſſively arrived from various parts of the coaſt, impriſoned the crews, confiſcated or plundered the cargoes, and ultimately carried them as lawful prizes to St. Blas, in Mexico. Violations ſo unprovoked, not only of the peace ſubſiſting between the two Monarchies, but of all the laws eſtabliſhed between civilized nations, were accompanied and aggravated by every circumſtance of duplicity, inſolence, and cruelty; while they were contraſted with the moſt friendly aſſiſtance and attentions, ſhewn to the captains of two American ſhips, the "Waſhington" and the "Columbia," who had been brought by the ſame commercial inducements to the port of Nootka. Theſe teſtimonies of protection and regard were even carried ſo far by the Spaniards, as to compel the crew of one of the captured Engliſh



Engliſh veſſels to aſſiſt in navigating the "Columbia" to Canton; through which channel, the firſt regular and authentic account of theſe acts of hoſtility, was officially tranſmitted to the Engliſh Adminiſtration, though they had been preceded by ſome vague and indiſtinct intimations of the ſame nature, made by the Spaniſh embaſſador at the Court of London.

The conduct of the Firſt Miniſter on receiving this intelligence, evinced no leſs the magnanimity than the deciſion of his character. Without deſcending to the tedious and humiliating forms of requeſt with the Court of Spain, which might elude and protract, if not ultimately refuſe, according to its uſual policy, any reparation for theſe outrages; he, in the firſt inſtance, by a meſſage from the King, informed the two Houſes of Parliament of the whole ſeries of tranſactions. He clearly evinced the nullity and injuſtice of any general pretenſions on the part of the Spaniſh Crown, to a territory, diſcovered, planted, and occupied by the Engliſh; but in particular, to the Port of Nootka,

ſituated

ſituated at a diſtance from any known ſettlement belonging to that nation. He profeſſed his anxious deſire to terminate by amicable explanation and treaty, the preſent cauſe of diſpute. He at the ſame time declared his determined intention, not only to exact from the Court of Madrid an adequate ſatisfaction and compenſation for the injuries recently ſuſtained; but to compel Spain to renounce decidedly and formally, any indefinite claim which ſhe might have ſet up, either to the excluſive navigation of the Pacific ocean, or to the ſovereignty of the whole North Weſt coaſt of America. He called on the loyalty, dignity, and honour of the Houſe of Commons for ſupport, in maintaining theſe invaded rights by force of arms, if Spain ſhould be inſenſible to the language of reaſon.

The approbation which ſo manly an appeal to the nation excited, was general and animated. The leaders of Oppoſition joined in that ſentiment, and expreſſed their conviction of the wiſdom as well as neceſſity



neceſſity of ſuſtaining by every military and naval exertion, the effect of negotiation. The celerity with which theſe reſolutions were followed, in the equipment of a powerful armament, was calculated to augment the high reputation of the Miniſtry throughout Europe, while it called into action all the reſources of the kingdom. A diſſolution of Parliament, unqueſtionably judicious under the circumſtance of a probably impending war, followed theſe demonſtrations of reſentment, and demands of reparation.

If we compare the energy and deciſion of ſo vigorous a line of conduct, with that which was adopted by Sir Robert Walpole or Lord North, in ſimilar ſituations, the contraſt muſt be highly flattering to the preſent Adminiſtration. The ſluggiſh and reluctant diſinclination of the former, to perceive or to reſent the depredations committed by the Spaniards upon the Engliſh trade, during a long ſeries of years; while it emboldened the

enemy, depreſſed the genius of England: until Parliament, rouſed by ſuch a continuation of inſults and indignities, at length vindicated the national honour, and drove the Miniſter from the ſuperintendance of affairs.

The temporiſing and puſillanimous counſels of Lord North, in the diſpute reſpecting the Falkland iſlands; and the ultimate termination of it, which left the right undecided, and even aſſerted by the Court of Madrid, at the ſame moment that from motives of political convenience, Spain thought proper to cede the conteſted territory to England: theſe humiliating meaſures, expoſed and reprobated by the pen of Junius, ſtand in need of no comment, and are ſufficiently appreciated by a juſt and diſcerning people.

Spain was no longer governed by Charles the Third, at the time when theſe intereſting events took place. That Prince, after a reign of above twenty years as Sovereign of Naples, had



had aſcended the Spaniſh throne on the death of his brother Ferdinand the Sixth, in 1759; and expired at a very advanced period of life, in December, 1788. His unconcealed diſlike of the Engliſh nation, from whom in his youth he had received ſome ſignal benefits, as well as ſome painful and perſonal humiliations, had probably induced him, even more than the ties of blood, or connexions of policy with the Court of France, to join that kingdom in two ſucceſſive wars which ſhe carried on againſt Great Britain.

To the counſels of his reign, and probably to a ſyſtematic plan in concert with the Cabinet of Verſailles, for attacking the commerce, and ſetting limits to the enterprizes of England on the North Weſt coaſt of America, we may without injuſtice attribute the acts of violence, committed by Don Martinez in the Port of Nootka. The ſhort period, compriſing ſcarcely five months, which elapſed between the death of Charles the Third, and thoſe infractions of the peace previouſly ſubſiſting between

the two Crowns, leave no room to doubt that the original orders were iſſued during the life of the late Sovereign.

Charles the Fourth ſucceeded to the Spaniſh monarchy under theſe circumſtances. Though of a mature age, his character was little known or underſtood beyond the limits of his own dominions. In the early part of his life he had appeared to evince ſentiments more Caſtilian, than any of the deſcendants of Philip the Fifth had hitherto diſcovered; and to promiſe a reign, in which the feelings of a common origin and deſcent would influence leſs on affairs of ſtate, than a wiſe conſideration of the true policy and intereſts, becoming a genuine King of Spain. It may however be queſtioned, whether this anticipation of his maxims and ſuppoſed line of conduct, will be confirmed by experience; and whether he will emancipate himſelf from the partialities, naturally connected with his near affinity to Louis the Sixteenth. The ſame Miniſters ſeem to govern, and the ſame principles to animate



mate the Court of Madrid, which have uniformly characterized it ſince the extinction of the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of Auſtria: and the time is probably ſtill diſtant, when the pernicious effects of the treaty of Utrecht in uniting two monarchies, which for ages anterior to that event had never acted in conjunction againſt Great Britain, will have finally ceaſed to operate.

Meanwhile, the efforts of the Firſt Miniſter to terminate the preſent diſpute by negotiation, kept equal pace with the exertions made to equip a formidable naval force. At the ſame time that a fleet, the command of which was deſtined to Lord Howe, aſſembled at Portſmouth, Mr. Fitzherbert was diſpatched as ambaſſador to Madrid, in order to try the effect of remonſtrance and expoſtulation. The Engliſh people, unanimous in their approbation of the meaſures purſued, and in their demand of reparation for the injuries ſuſtained, loudly called for inſtant war, or for the moſt unequivocal and ſatisfactory conceſſions.

The

The convulſions and embarraſſed ſtate of the French monarchy, together with the perſonal ſituation of the King of France, appeared to render an adherence to, or completion of the family compact impracticable, however well inclined the Court of Verſailles might be ſuppoſed, to aſſiſt and ſupport her ally.

Spain doubtleſs felt and regretted this incapacity, which compelled her to commence a war againſt England, unaſſiſted by any European power; and the event of which, in the preſent circumſtances, might be fatal to her grandeur or commerce in every part of the world. She ſeemed to yield to theſe obvious conſiderations; and the Spaniſh Miniſtry towards the cloſe of July, agreed to make a compenſation for the loſſes, ſuſtained by the Engliſh adventurers plundered at Nootka, as a baſis or preliminary to a final and amicable arrangement. Notwithſtanding, however, this apparent deſire of adjuſting the points in diſpute, and of avoiding the ultimate appeal to the ſword, every exertion was not only made in



in the ports of Cadiz and Ferrol, to fit out a numerous ſquadron; but the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Court of France, expended the treaſures of his maſter, in endeavours to induce the National Aſſembly to adopt the quarrels of Charles the Fourth, and to fulfil in its whole extent the obligations of the family compact. His labours, though not equally ſucceſsful, as, under more propitious circumſtances they might have proved, yet produced a vote favourable to the views and wiſhes of the Crown of Spain. A general profeſſion on the part of the National Aſſembly, of adherence to the ſtipulations formed between the two nations; and a reſolution inſtantly to arm a conſiderable naval force at Breſt, were procured and publiſhed. The hopes of a ſpeedy and permanent accommodation between the Courts of London and Madrid, which the firſt conceſſion on the part of the latter power had excited, gradually grew more uncertain and problematical. Autumn advanced, without any certainty or deciſion on this great point; and though the

the fleet of England, which had cruized in the Bay of Biſcay during near ſix weeks, returned again to Spithead, without having ſeen an enemy, yet the expectation of an eventual rupture was rather augmented than diminiſhed.

While theſe negociations and armaments detained the Weſt of Europe in ſuſpenſe, the moſt important and unexpected events had taken place among the Princes of the Germanic empire, in conſequence of the death of the late Emperor Joſeph the Second. That reſtleſs and turbulent Prince, exhauſted in body, and agitated in mind, expired at Vienna in the commencement of the preſent year. His vaſt, but divided and revolted provinces, devolved to his brother Leopold, Great Duke of Tuſcany. Few Sovereigns have ever acceded to a throne under more critical and alarming circumſtances. Though Laudohn had cloſed his brilliant career of military glory, and even ſhed a luſtre over the laſt hours of Joſeph, by the capture of Belgrade: though the Turks had been driven





beyond the Danube, and the Imperial troops had at length penetrated into Servia and Moldavia; yet theſe advantages, bought with three campaigns, and preceded by defeats and diſaſters, offered a very inadequate compenſation for the calamities, which menaced or afflicted every other part of the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. Hungary, ſo renowned for its enthuſiaſtic loyalty and attachment to Maria Thereſa, when that Princeſs was involved in the deepeſt diſtreſs, had been alienated by her ſucceſſor; who inſulted their moſt ſacred prejudices, while he invaded their moſt valuable immunities. Poſterity will ſcarcely believe that this injudicious and infatuated Prince, ſoon after his acceſſion, from reſentment to the Hungarians, not only removed the crown and regalia of that monarchy from Buda, the antient capital, to Vienna: but, as a mark of ſcorn and contempt, cauſed theſe venerable inſignia of the kingly dignity, inexpreſſibly precious in the eſtimation of the people, to be conveyed from one capi-

tal to the other, in the common ſtage waggon.

The King of Pruſſia hung over Bohemia, with a prodigious army, ready to enter that kingdom. The German Princes were almoſt univerſally diſaffected to the late Emperor, and had reprobated his inſidious projects for an exchange of territory with the Elector Palatine. The Netherlands, irritated by a long ſeries of oppreſſion, confiſcation, and violation of all their antient liberties, had renounced any allegiance to a Prince, whom they regarded not as a protector, but a tyrant. Philip the Second, when he recalled the ſanguinary Duke of Alva, was ſcarcely more deteſted, and had not more completely loſt the low countries, than Joſeph the Second had done. Dalton, though at the head of a regular and formidable body of forces, had been compelled precipitately to evacuate Bruſſels, and to ſeek his ſafety in a diſorderly and ignominious retreat. Luxembourg alone remained, of all the ten provinces, when Leopold

ſucceeded



ſucceeded to his brother; and Flanders no longer even liſtened to the propoſitions of accommodation, which Joſeph in his dying moments offered to his revolted ſubjects.

In this ſituation, ſurrounded with difficulties occaſioned by the ambition and deſpotiſm of his predeceſſor, the new King of Hungary, after ſome months of delay and irreſolution, wiſely yielded to the neceſſity, impoſed on him by the diſtracted condition of his affairs. The Courts of Berlin and of London, acting in concert, and ſuſtained by a Pruſſian army, gave law to the Houſe of Auſtria. Leopold conſented to abandon the alliance of the Empreſs of Ruſſia; to reſtore to Turkey the territories lately acquired; and to receive his Flemiſh ſubjects into favour, after conceding and confirming, in the moſt extended degree, all their liberties and privileges. This vigorous and ſucceſsful interpoſition was inſtantly followed by a peremptory requiſition, on the part of the ſame Powers to Catherine the Second, by which that haughty and enterprizing

Princeſs was required to follow the example exhibited by the King of Hungary; and to grant an equitable peace to the Ottoman Porte, as well as to conclude the war which ſhe carried on againſt Sweden.

From ſo humiliating a neceſſity, the Empreſs extricated herſelf by one of the moſt rapid, unforeſeen, and perhaps maſterly ſtrokes of policy, which is to be found in the annals of the preſent century. She made a peace with that King of Sweden, againſt whom ſhe had not ſcrupled, a few years ſince, to excite his own ſoldiers and ſubjects to revolt: who had ſcarcely eſcaped from captivity at Wybourg, by forcing a paſſage through the Ruſſian fleet, with which he was ſurrounded: and who had not only committed hoſtilities and waged war upon her empire; but was ſuppoſed to have drawn his pen againſt her reputation, and to have accuſed her to Europe, and to future times, as an uſurper, inſatiable in her thirſt of power, and deſtitute of faith or honour. Only a few days intervened between the moſt rancorous



rancorous diſplay of perſonal enmity, and the ſolemn exchange of the ratifications of peace: while Catherine, liberated by this ſucceſsful exertion from an enemy who detained her fleet in the Baltic, and who might preſent himſelf at the very gates of her capital, aſſumed new vigour, diſdained to ſubmit to the mandates of Pruſſia, and continued her military operations againſt the Turks.

She did not ſtop here; but, irritated by the attempt to fetter her arms and limit her conqueſts, ſhe preſſed Guſtavus the Third to enter into a confederacy againſt thoſe powers, with whom he had been ſo lately in ſtrict alliance; and to whoſe timely interference or good offices, he had been in a great meaſure indebted for his preſervation. She negociated anew with the Prince Regent and Cabinet of Denmark, whom the interpoſition of England had hitherto reluctantly retained in neutrality. She corrupted, or perſuaded the Poliſh Diet to expreſs ſentiments hoſtile to Pruſſia; and encouraged Spain to

 refuſe,

refuſe compliance with the demands of the Britiſh Government.

Under theſe circumſtances and appearances, hoſtile or inauſpicious to the repoſe of Europe, the month of October commenced. During its progreſs, the hopes and fears of the nation were painfully ſuſpended, by the uncertainty of the final event. The impatience and anxiety, natural to, and inſeparable from ſuch a ſituation, were infinitely augmented by the ſecrecy and ſilence, which ſurrounded and concealed the operations of the cabinet. The powers and energies of Government, concentered round the Firſt Miniſter, and veſted in his perſon, exhibited to the Engliſh nation, all the vigor, celerity, and deciſion of a deſpotiſm, unaccompanied with its characteriſtic and concomitant evils. Though the fineſt and moſt numerous fleet which Great Britain had ever equipped, lay at Spithead, ready to ſtand out into the Atlantic upon the ſhorteſt notice: though Admiral Corniſh, at the head of eight ſhips of the line, had already ſet ſail;



ſail; and, favored by an eaſterly wind, was clear of the Channel: though a detachment of the Guards, to the number of above two thouſand men, were under orders to march to Portſmouth; and every preparation was made to facilitate their prompt embarkation: though the blow which impended over the Spaniſh monarchy, hung by a ſingle thread, and might every inſtant fall; yet, not a whiſper tranſpired, to gratify the curioſity of an eager capital, and an expecting country.

Univerſal ignorance, or fanciful conjecture prevailed, reſpecting the deſtination of theſe powerful naval and military armaments; while the magnitude and ſcattered poſition of the Spaniſh dominions, from the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi to that of the river Plate, left an ample field for the imagination, and afforded ſcope for unbounded aſſertion. To thoſe who recollected the delays, the publicity, and the timidity which degraded the counſels, and fruſtrated the meaſures

or

or exertions of England, during the Adminiſtration which conducted the American war, the preſent contraſt was matter of equal wonder and admiration. The nation, conſcious that its honour and its intereſts were committed to a depoſitary of tranſcendent integrity and firmneſs, patiently waited the winding up of the cataſtrophe, with eyes fixed on its conductor. Opinion fluctuated rapidly and capriciouſly from war to peace, as the moſt trifling events appeared to indicate the one or the other; and October expired as it had begun, in uncertainty and ſuſpence.

During the three firſt days of the ſucceeding month, as every hour might be ſuppoſed to decide on this momentous queſtion, expectation ſeemed to have attained its higheſt point; while the rapid approach of that period, when Parliament was ſummoned to meet for the diſpatch of public buſineſs, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, ſuperadded to the length of time which had already elapſed ſince the



the commencement of the negotiation, appeared to preclude the poſſibility of any further delay. It was not till the fourth of November, a day already rendered memorable and auſpicious in the annals of Great Britain, that the meſſenger ſo long expected, arrived with pacific intelligence. Spain, after a reſiſtance proportioned to the magnitude and importance of the objects conteſted, and after peremptory and reiterated refuſals to concede upon points, equally affecting her pride and her intereſts; relaxed at once from this tone, complied with the demands of England, and ſigned a "Convention," which terminated every paſt or preſent cauſe of diſpute between the two Crowns.

To the wiſdom and moderation of the Spaniſh Firſt Miniſter, the Count de Florida Blanca, this timely and temperate reſolution, which arreſted the ſword already unſheathed, was attributed, by an opinion, not only general, but unqueſtionably ſuſtained on high authority and

 evidence.

evidence. If the hiſtorian was permitted to ſpeculate upon the events of futurity; or if, from aſcertained and exiſting facts or circumſtances, we might be allowed to predict reſpecting thoſe which would have taken place; it is more than merely probable, that Spain muſt have ſuſtained very deep and laſting injury from that war, which was thus unexpectedly and ſuddenly averted.

The naval power of England, which at no period of paſt time, had ever been ſo expeditiouſly or vigorouſly called into action: the ſpirit and unanimity which prevailed throughout the kingdom: the acknowledged energy and capacity of the Adminiſtration: the very nature of the war in which we were ready to engage, which muſt have been not only offenſive, but directed to parts of the globe peculiarly calculated to inflame the ardor of the aſſailants, by proſpects of wealth and plunder: the defenceleſs and unprotected ſtate of many of the Spaniſh colonies in both hemiſpheres: the anarchy, and conſequent incapacity of



of France, to extend any prompt and effectual ſupport to the Crown of Spain: even the leſs important, but diſtreſsful and perplexing embarraſſments, reſulting from the earthquake which demoliſhed the fortreſs of Oran upon the coaſt of Africa, almoſt preciſely at the ſame time when the Emperor of Morocco commenced hoſtilities againſt the Catholic King: this combination of cauſes or events, in which there appears to be no exaggeration, may perhaps, without the imputation of national partiality, juſtify an opinion, that the Spaniſh monarchy was ſnatched by the wiſe and yielding policy of its Miniſter, from evils and calamities of no common deſcription.

While, however, I anticipate theſe advantages, which might probably have reſulted from war, under the circumſtances already enumerated; it is unqueſtionable, that to a country ſo deeply involved in debt, no ſeries of conqueſts which the wildeſt imagination can ſuppoſe, had they even been realized, could have compen-

fated for the misfortunes inſeparably connected with hoſtilities. Peace, even though only obtained upon the moſt moderate, and barely equitable terms, muſt, to every reflecting mind, have been far preferable to the acquiſition of all the provinces, which Cortez ever conquered, or Pizarro ſubdued. But the "Convention" recently ſigned, while on one hand it made ample reparation and reſtitution to the injured Crown, and plundered ſubjects of Great Britain; on the other, opened new and unexplored ſources of wealth and commerce. After having been ſubmitted to the inſpection and inveſtigation of the people of England, during many weeks: after having received the moſt authentic atteſtations of public gratitude and ſatisfaction, in addreſſes to the Throne, from the great corporate bodies of London, Edinburgh, and Briſtol; neceſſarily compoſed of perſons highly ſenſible to, and highly enlightened upon, the commercial intereſts of the country: after having been finally diſcuſſed



cuſſed with all the ſeverity of political criticiſm, in the two Houſes of Parliament, and attained the ſanction of decided approbation in both: having undergone theſe rigorous diſquiſitions upon its merits, the "Convention" may be examined, like any other fact in the Engliſh annals, with the candour, impartiality, and temper of hiſtory.

That Great Britain has obtained by it points and objects, hitherto reſerved or refuſed by the Court of Madrid, in every treaty ſince the termination of the reign of Philip the Fourth, is inconteſtible. Time alone can completely aſcertain the value and intrinſic worth of theſe conceſſions, which are, in a great degree, dependant on the induſtry and enterprize exerted, in converting them to national advantage. That jealous and tenacious power, which originally diſcovered and conquered the New World, over which ſhe has always endeavoured to draw the deepeſt veil, while ſhe excluded every European ſtate from any participation in her vaſt

vaſt acquiſitions; has, for the firſt time, receded from her high and excluſive pretenſions. The pretended donation of the See of Rome, and all the antiquated claims which long preſcription had rendered venerable, have been for ever relinquiſhed and abandoned by the preſent Convention. The navigation of the Pacific Ocean is, in effect, declared to be as free as that of the Atlantic. The right, claimed by England, of purſuing the fiſhery on thoſe parts of the coaſt of South America, unoccupied and uncolonized by Spain, is not only avowed: but a vaſt tract of the Magellanic regions, on either ſide of Cape Horn, comprizing the whole coaſt below the moſt ſouthern ſettlement already made by the Spaniards, is declared to be free to both countries, for every purpoſe of temporary accommodation; while the two Crowns are equally interdicted and reſtrained, from forming future permanent eſtabliſhments on that inhoſpitable ſhore. In return for this liberal and ample conceſſion, England ſubmits to the equitable



ble demand, of not permitting her veſſels to approach within ten leagues of the coaſts and countries, actually occupied by Spain upon the Pacific Ocean.

On the North Weſt Coaſt of America, the original diſcovery, occupancy, and ſovereignty of which, appear to furniſh matter of infinite doubt and diſcuſſion, ſtill greater advantages are ſecured by the Convention. Without recapitulating the primary ground of diſpute, upon which clear and immediate ſatisfaction is ſtipulated: the whole continent, north of the ſettlements already poſſeſſed by Spain, is left open to both nations; with only a reciprocal right of entry for purpoſes of trade, into the ports or places which either may occupy.

The ſame general and equal principle is laid down as the baſis of accommodation, in the ſouthern and northern hemiſphere, and forms the predominant feature of the treaty. It was not denied by the Miniſter, and it was juſtly aſſerted by his opponents, when the Convention was agitated in the Houſe of Commons, that to render

render it perfect, and exempt from future poſſible miſinterpretation, a preciſe limit ſhould have been drawn, both on the coaſt of North and South America. But the evils inſeparable from a prolongation of the diſpute, muſt have ſo greatly outweighed the benefit to be derived from any line of demarcation which could have been inſtantly ſettled, that no poſſible cenſure can be affixed on that account; ſince its expediency was not more obvious, than its immediate execution was difficult and impracticable. Nor can it be reaſonably doubted, that where ſo clear a principle is by mutual conſent eſtabliſhed, no eſſential obſtacle can ariſe, in the courſe of future negotiations between the two Courts, for the final ſettlement of their reſpective boundaries.

To complete this great act of public benefit and national glory, it only remained to meet the expence occaſioned by it, with promptitude and alacrity. The Miniſter, ſo far from avoiding or protracting that neceſſary, but painful and arduous taſk, followed the Convention, with the immediate



diate production of the accounts reſpecting the naval and military armaments, and the pecuniary impoſitions which he meant to propoſe for their ſpeedy liquidation. Not more diſtinguiſhed by the magnitude and energy of his preparations to humble the monarchy of Spain, when war appeared inevitable; than characteriſed by the moſt ſalutary and ſevere œconomy, when that neceſſity no longer exiſted; his enlarged and active mind overcame the difficulties, by which common ſtateſmen are impeded. He propoſed to raiſe, not merely the intereſt of the debt recently incurred; but to extinguiſh the principal itſelf, in the ſpace of four years, though amounting to above three millions ſterling. The effect of ſo judicious and provident a meaſure, which muſt equally evince the magnanimity of the Miniſter from whom it originated, and the reſources of the country which adopted it, will be felt through every kingdom of Europe. It is not exceeded by any of the acts of wiſdom, found in the annals of Eliza-

beth, when the counſels of England were directed by the foreſight and policy of a Burleigh. It is without precedent ſince the beginning of the preſent century, and is calculated to excite the admiration and incredulity of future times.

The day, upon which Mr. Pitt ſubmitted to Parliament a ſyſtem, ſo calculated for general advantage, was diſtinguiſhed by another act, which might have rendered illuſtrious a perſon, leſs conſpicuouſly eminent above his fellow citizens. The garter, which was conferred by the Sovereign upon Lord Chatham, evinced the indifference or ſuperiority of the Miniſter to the higheſt external decoration and diſtinction; as powerfully, as his renunciation of a lucrative office in favour of Colonel Barré, at a much earlier period of his adminiſtration, had proved his diſintereſtedneſs and contempt of emolument.

As it ſeems hardly poſſible to have made greater ſacrifices, ſo perhaps, it is difficult to ſelect any example in modern times, of ſo early an acquiſition of that glory



glory, which isthe juſt reward of rectitude and talents. Whether the names of Clarendon, of Godolphin, or of Pelham, can be placed in any degree of compariſon or competition with that of Pitt, it may be left to poſterity to determine. But it is competent to the hiſtorian of the preſent age, to aſſert and to prove, that at no period ſince the reſtoration of monarchy in the perſon of Charles the Second, has this country permanently attained to ſo high a point of ſolid greatneſs and importance, as ſhe enjoys at the preſent moment. We ſhould ſearch in vain for any traces of national conſideration or honor, in the profligate annals of that diſſolute and dependent Prince, whom I have juſt named; or in the bigotted and tranſitory reign of his leſs criminal, but more unfortunate ſucceſſor. Shall we diſcover greater ſubject for pride and exultation, even under the temperate and elective government of William the Third?

Whatever obligations we may owe to the Prince of Orange, as our deliverer

from civil and ſpiritual tyranny, his arms were conſtantly reſtrained by the Generals, as his meaſures were uniformly defeated by the policy and power, of Louis the Fourteenth.

After a perpetual and unequal ſtruggle, in which her commerce was almoſt annihilated, and in which the ſolitary laurels of the Boyne and of La Hogue, were contraſted with the annual defeats received on the Continent, and in the Channel, Great Britain nearly ſunk under the exertion. Though the peace of Ryſwick produced a ſhort and deluſive calm, yet the Crown of Spain, in violation of the moſt ſolemn renunciations, was quietly transferred, in the year 1700, on the extinction of the Spaniſh branch of the Houſe of Auſtria, to a Prince of France: while the laſt hours of William were occupied by ineffectual efforts, to prevent the fatal conſequences of an act, inconteſtably injurious to, or ſubverſive of the ſecurity, intereſts, and greatneſs of England.

It muſt be admitted, that the female reign



reign which ſucceeded, ſo long as it was conducted by the counſels of Godolphin, and the genius of Marlborough, preſents a ſtriking picture of military glory, and ſucceſſive triumphs. The Court of Verſailles, accuſtomed to confer, condeſcended to ſolicit for peace; and Torcy, at Gertruydenburg, in 1709, exhibited the humiliating ſight of a Miniſter of Louis the Fourteenth, proſtrate before England and Holland. But the imprudence or preſumption of an Adminiſtration, intoxicated with proſperity, and unmindful of the changes of human affairs, allowed the moment to elapſe, in which the ſafety and intereſts of their country might have been for ever ſecured, on the moſt durable foundations. The horizon ſoon became darkened, and the proſpect obſcured by clouds.

Villars reſcued France from her ſtate of danger and diſtreſs, while Oxford and Bolingbroke diſgraced the government, and accelerated the death of their feeble miſtreſs, by meaſures of puſillanimity, and breaches of national faith. The

trophies

trophies of Blenheim and of Malplaquet were obliterated by the defeat of Denain, and the peace of Utrecht: the Houſe of Auſtria was betrayed in that diſhonourable treaty; and the evening of a reign, ſo diſtinguiſhed and ſo ſplendid, cloſed in weakneſs, and is only recollected with regret.

If the annals of the laſt Princeſs of the Stuart line afford ſo little matter for hiſtoric praiſe, it is not in the labyrinth of Continental Politics and alliances, which characteriſed and compoſed thoſe of George the Firſt, that we can look for topics of eulogium, or ſubjects for admiration. The naval victory, obtained by Byng in 1718, over the Spaniſh fleet in the Faro of Meſſina, however brilliant and deciſive; ſo far from being productive of any advantage to the nation, counteracted every principle of wiſe and judicious policy. It ſtands contraſted with the fatal bankruptcy of the South Sea year; with the melancholy ſacrifice of Hoſier's devoted ſquadron, under the walls of Porto Bello; with a dereliction of the intereſts



tereſts and honour of the Crown of England, rendered ſubſervient to injurious predilections, and foreign acquiſitions.

The commencement of the reign of George the Second, conducted, as the greater part of that of his father had been, by the counſels of Walpole, diſcloſes ſcarcely a more exhilarating proſpect. It was, indeed, pacific: but this peace was the ignominious and ſupine inſecurity of James; not the dignified and martial tranquillity of Elizabeth. I am at a loſs to find, in the preſent century, any portion of time leſs diſtinguiſhed by wiſdom and vigor; or during which, Great Britain was fallen into more complete inſignificance, than in that interval which elapſed from the death of George the Firſt in 1727, to the cloſe, of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, in 1742. Though the ſubſervient fleet of this country eſcorted the younger ſon of Philip the Fifth, from Barcelona into Italy: though we facilitated and advanced the grandeur of the Houſe of Bourbon: though we tamely ſubmitted to

the acts of violence, exerciſed by Spain againſt our commerce in all the American ſeas: though we abandoned the Emperor Charles the Sixth, to the united force of France, Spain, and Sardinia, who diſmembered Naples and Sicily from the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, in ſo unequal a conteſt: though, in order that the meaſure of incapacity and miſconduct ſhould be complete, we even permitted Louis the Fifteenth, by incorporating the Dutchy of Lorrain with his hereditary poſſeſſions, to cement and perfect the French greatneſs; yet theſe mighty and numerous conceſſions did not conciliate affection, or procure reſpect. Verſed in the arts of Parliamentary addreſs, and the ſcience of domeſtic venality, but conſcious of his incapacity to conduct the veſſel through the ſtorm which impended; Walpole, when he had exhauſted every endeavour, to detain his Sovereign and his country in diſgraceful neutrality, reluctantly reſigned the reigns of power, which he had held too long for the honor of his maſter, or the glory and advantage of England.

Pelham,



Pelham, after a ſhort interval, ſucceeded. His Adminiſtration, though neither fortunate and ſucceſsful in war, nor ſecure and undiſturbed in peace, yet was rendered reſpectable, by the luſtre of his private and perſonal virtues. The inglorious campaigns of Fontenoy, and of La Feldt: the defeats of the allied army in Flanders, followed by the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, and the ſiege of Maeſtricht: the peace of Aix la Chapelle, humiliating and injurious to Great Britain: the ravages, or hoſtilities, continued to be exerciſed by France againſt our colonies in America and the Eaſt Indies, even ſubſequent to that treaty: theſe ſubjects of general complaint and diſſatisfaction, which clouded the Miniſtry of Pelham, conſoled the nation for his loſs, when removed by death in 1754, from the ſuperintendance of public affairs.

The ſhort remainder of the reign of George the Second, was equally calamitous and diſgraceful, 'till that memorable and brilliant, but tranſitory æra, preceding

its final termination, when the genius of Pitt renewed the glories and ſucceſſes ſo long forgotten. The loſs of Minorca, and the ignominious convention of Cloſter-ſeven, were eraſed by the ſucceſſive conqueſts of Martinico, Canada, Plaſſey, Beſliſle, and the Havanna. But, the demiſe of the Sovereign, in 1760, and the transfer of miniſterial authority which ſucceeded, prevented the beneficial conſequences, naturally to have been expected from this chain of victories. A peace, which never can be ſufficiently reprobated, and in which the ignorance of the intereſts of the nation, was only exceeded by the dereliction of the honor of the Crown, reſtored to the two branches of the Houſe of Bourbon, thoſe provinces and poſſeſſions, of which they had been deprived by the Earl of Chatham.

I ſhall not enumerate the fleeting phantoms of Adminiſtration, which annually appeared and vaniſhed; nor attempt to deſcribe that period which elapſed, from the reſignation of Lord Bute, to the year 1770, when the reins of power were delegated to



to Lord North. There are certainly few events, included within that portion of time, which can induce us to lament that it was not of longer duration. With ſtill greater reaſon, I wiſh to draw a veil acroſs the ſeries of errors, incapacity, and miſconduct, which preceded and produced that fatal war, terminated by the emancipation of America; and which ſtill blazed in every quarter of the globe, at the æra when theſe memoirs commence.

From the elevation on which we are placed, it affords a ſort of melancholy pleaſure, to look down upon the anarchy and calamity, which endear the preſent Government, by a compariſon with that ſtate from which we have eſcaped. The actual ſituation of this country realizes the warmeſt wiſh of a Miniſter, or a Sovereign, to whom the proſperity and glory of England are ſupremely dear. That object which William vainly ſought to attain; which Godolphin and Marlborough allowed to eſcape; and which the Earl of Chatham was not permitted to accompliſh; has

been reſerved for the preſent age to behold. The monarchies of France and Spain have been ſucceſſively humbled and reſtrained, without the neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſword. Great Britain, at the concluſion of 1790, is become by general conſent, the acknowledged Arbitreſs of Europe; and to her poſſeſſion of external conſideration and reſpect, unites every internal ſource of wealth and felicity.

From the ſurvey of ſo auguſt and animating a ſcene, it is natural to turn our eyes towards the picture exhibited by France, at the preſent moment. The convulſions which have agitated that diſtracted country ſince the month of October 1789, though ſometimes apparently ſuſpended or extinguiſhed, yet may poſſibly revive with augmented violence. The laſt fourteen months ſeem to have been alternately diſtinguiſhed, by acts of feſtivity and of ſlaughter; by the pageant of a Fœderation, in the "Champ de Mars" at Paris, where the national freedom was ſolemnly recognized by a captive and degraded Sove-

reign;



reign; and by the memorable carnage of Nancy, which ſo quickly followed. It is perhaps impoſſible for the wiſeſt ſtateſman to predict the eventual conſequence of theſe conflicting cauſes; or to hazard a decided opinion on the final reſult, as yet concealed in futurity, and obſcured by ſo many contradictory appearances. The depreſſion and humiliation of the clergy; the ſale of the eccleſiaſtical property; the annihilation of the orders of nobility, which were almoſt coeval with the times of Clovis and of Pharamond; the abolition of the peerage; the renewal of the dangerous experiments of Law, and the creation of a paper currency, nearly as deſtitute of ſolid ſupport, as was the ſyſtem of that celebrated miniſter: Theſe extraordinary operations, or meaſures of government, in a great degree without precedent in the hiſtory of modern European nations, have not yet ſufficiently unfolded and developed their full effect, to enable the philoſopher and the hiſtorian to confer on them his cenſure, or his admiration.

It

It has not even hitherto been aſcertained or exemplified, ſince the extinction of the Roman freedom by Marius and Sylla, that a people whoſe numbers exceed twenty millions, are capable of being permanently governed under a free conſtitution. Nor has mankind yet ſeen any inſtance of a capital, and a country, habituated for ages to deſpotiſm, ſunk in pleaſures, loſt to public principle, deſtitute even of the forms of external reſpect for the national religion, and only intoxicated with the ſpeculations of a diſtempered and viſionary philoſophy, which ever aſpired or attained to a well-regulated and wiſely-cemented Liberty.

It was not in ſuch a ſtate of morals or of ſociety, that the Athenians broke the fetters of arbitrary power, when rouſed by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. The elder Brutus bore no ſimilarity either to Mirabeau, or to La Fayette. Rome vainly aſſaſſinated her Dictator, when public virtue was no longer to be found in the ſenate, or among the people. The Mountaineers of Switzerland, who threw off the



the yoke of the Houſe of Auſtria; and the oppreſſed peaſants of the Low Countries, who revolted from the tyranny of Philip the Second, were poor, hardy, and martial. The Engliſh Parliament, which oppoſed, and ultimately vanquiſhed Charles the Firſt, called upon a nation, which however inflamed by fanaticiſm, was unſubdued by luxury, and uncorrupted by venality. Times of effeminacy and refinement have not hitherto been found to produce a plant, of ſo hardy and vigorous a nature, as Freedom; and if we are deſtined to ſee in the hiſtory of France, an example of this extraordinary contradiction to the reſult of all experience, it will be a ſtriking leſſon of the inſufficiency and fallibility, of human wiſdom or obſervation.

The time which has elapſed ſince the Revolution of July, 1789, has not been ſufficient, to aſcertain all its conſequences, or to ripen and mature the many cauſes, which may ſtill ſhake the freedom of France, before it attains to ſolidity. The yielding and

and paſſive conduct of the King, which has ſo powerfully operated to produce ſubmiſſion in the two orders of the nobility and clergy, may be overborne by events, or may be affected by the advice and counſels of thoſe who approach his perſon. The natural levity, and characteriſtic inconſtancy of the nation, may conduce to make them weary of a poſſeſſion, which however ineſtimable in its nature, is neither to be attained, nor preſerved, without unremitting vigilance and exertion. The ceſſation or ruin of many branches of trade, neceſſarily reſulting from the late convulſions: the ſeverity of the taxes, which a free Government is compelled to exact, in common with the moſt deſpotic Monarch: the long habits of unconditional ſubmiſſion, ſo forcible in their operation upon the mind and character: All theſe principles may ferment, and ultimately burſt into action.

To the internal ſources of change and commotion, external ones may unite. Of the ſeven fugitive Princes of the Blood, who precipitately





cipitately abandoned their country at the commencement of the national troubles, only one, the Prince of Conti, has yet ventured to reviſit Paris, or ſubmitted to take the Civic Oath, impoſed by the new conſtitution. The malcontents, aſſembled at Turin round the perſon of the Count d'Artois, aided by the capacity and reſources of Calonne, and ready to be led on by Maillebois, menace the duration of the National Aſſembly. Even though theſe ſtorms were diſſipated, yet the Courts of Vienna and Madrid cannot be ſuppoſed to look with pleaſure, or approbation, on the fallen condition of Louis the Sixteenth; and would, probably, aid with more than wiſhes, any effectual ſtruggles which might be made for the reſtoration of his antient prerogatives. Theſe reflections and conſiderations may inſpire ſome reaſonable doubt, reſpecting the final iſſue of the ſubverſion of the Royal Power, and the permanency of a free conſtitution in France.

Whatever may be the reſult, and though liberty ſhould even ultimately triumph,

its attainment has been accompanied with, at leaſt, a temporary diminution, approaching to total ſuſpenſion, of the political ſtrength, importance, and conſideration of the kingdom, as a European ſtate. The energy and activity of the Crown have been withdrawn; and a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, the moſt fatal to every national and public effort, has prevailed throughout all the naval and military departments. The French colonies in the Weſt Indies are engaged in civil war, or become a prey to inſurrection and anarchy. The frontiers, towards Germany, Savoy, and Spain, are either expoſed to inſult and invaſion; or protected by troops, upon whoſe ſteady attachment and fidelity, after the late defection from their Prince, no ſecure reliance can be placed. That powerful monarchy, which for near a century and a half has inſpired terror, and whoſe reſtleſs ambition has been ſo dangerous to every ſurrounding country: which has twice, during that time, nearly ſubjected Holland; which placed Philip the Fifth on the Spaniſh throne in 1700, and



and raiſed an Elector of Bavaria to the Imperial dignity, at a ſtill more recent period: that power, occupied in endleſs metaphyſical diſquiſitions upon the rights of men, or employed in deſperate projects of revenue and finance, appears not only to be incapable of invading the repoſe of her neighbours, but even of providing for her own internal ſafety and tranquillity.

Such is the ſtriking contraſt, which the two monarchies of France and England actually preſent. The one, ſtruggling through difficulties, to complete a ſyſtem of liberty; and attempting to renovate her diſordered finances, plunged into almoſt irremediable confuſion. The other, enjoying all the advantages of eſtabliſhed order; conducted by a Government equally vigorous and popular; meeting every pecuniary embarraſſment or impoſition, with new and unexampled reſources; ſtrengthening her credit, and extending her commerce, while ſhe covers the ocean with her navy, and ſpreads the glory of her name over every quarter of the earth.

I am arrived at that period, where the preſent work muſt neceſſarily terminate. I am conſcious that it is only an outline; but the events of which I have treated, are not ſufficiently removed, to admit of minute enquiry, or profound inveſtigation. Yet, this imperfect production may perhaps ſerve to light the ſteps of ſome future Hume or Gibbon, to whom genius ſhall delegate the ſublime taſk, of recording and perpetuating the Engliſh annals. My object has been only to commemorate the facts and characters, which have made the deepeſt impreſſion on my memory and underſtanding, while a ſpectator of their full effect; and to ſtamp them with the genuine ſentiment which they excited, of approbation or cenſure. "Statui res geſtas "Populi Romani," ſays Salluſt, "carp-"tim, ut quæque memoria digna vide-"bantur, perſcribere; eo magis, quod "mihi a Spe, Metu, partibus Reipublicæ, "animus liber erat."

Whether I may be eſteemed altogether exempt from the emotions, diſclaimed by the



the Roman writer, I muſt leave to thoſe who ſhall peruſe this work, to determine. It is difficult to diveſt ourſelves of the predilections, which almoſt neceſſarily ariſe in our minds, when engaged in the recital or deſcription of ſcenes, acted in ages and countries the moſt remote. It would rather imply a degree of apathy, and defect of feeling, than any ſuperiority to common and vulgar prejudice, if I could ſurvey with the ſame tranquillity, the calamities, which only a few years ſince, threatened the deſtruction of England, and the preſent elevated ſtate of ſecurity which we enjoy: or if in relating them, I ſhould allow no portion of enthuſiaſm to mix with the veneration, always due to hiſtoric truth. Gratitude is naturally excited in every generous breaſt, by private benefits: but the Sovereign, or the Miniſter, who are the benefactors of nations, kindle, even in the hiſtorian who tranſmits to future times the events of their government, a venial partiality; nor can the reign

reign of Trajan and Aurelius be written with the ſame indifference, as we feel in deſcribing the gluttony of Vitellius, or the crimes of Caracalla.

FINIS.